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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

COMMUNICATION EQUITY AND CONVERSATION IN MARITAL DYADS: A STRUCTURAL, FUNCTIONAL, AND TOPIC-CHANGE ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC CONVERSATION

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED

TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

In Partial Fulfillment

for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

KARL JAMES KRAYER

Norman, Oklahoma

May, 1982

COMMUNICATION EQUITY AND CONVERSATION

IN MARITAL DYADS: A STRUCTURAL,

FUNCTIONAL, AND TOPIC-CHANGE

ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC CONVERSATION

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The help and encouragement I have received in this project may not have been a sufficient condition for its completion, but it was a very necessary one. My initial thanks must go to my parents, who raised me in a Christian home, provided me with support, and kept me excited and encouraged through twenty-one years of school. Unfortunately, my father did not live to see the completion of this study, yet I am certain the pride expressed by my mother reflects his enthusiasm as well.

My committee members, Dr. Ralph Cooley, Dr. Russell Driver, Dr. Blaine Goss, Dr. Dorothy Higginbotham, and Dr. Bonnie Johnson, have been very helpful during my stay at the University of Oklahoma, and throughout this project. My thanks to all of them. Thanks also to Dr. Dencil Taylor, of Midwestern State University, Wichita Falls, Texas, who offered me space to gather interview data in his department. A special word of thanks goes to Dr. Mark Shaw, who, while not a committee member, spent a great deal of time critiquing the manuscript.

A number of graduate students, who I am glad to call my friends, assisted me in the data gathering and

analysis phases. The amount of time they unselfishly gave me throughout was invaluable. These students are Connie Bacon, Susan Brown, Gretta Kontas, Carrol Haggard, Danny and Mary John O'Hair, Debbie Roach, and Marla Scafe.

Finally, four people have been so special to me that they deserve additional mention. Their help has gone beyond work on this project. Indeed, they kept me functioning as a human being in a year of loneliness, crises, turmoil, and tragedy.

Mary John and Danny O'Hair are examples of all that is best in hospitality and generosity. I took abundant advantage of their unselfish open-door policy this year. In addition to being competent scholars of interpersonal communication, they are ultimate practicioners of the same.

Ralph Cooley is an exemplary chairman. His personal encouragement, generosity with his time and facilities, knowledge and skill with problems of data collection, analysis, and interpretation, and research experience helped make this project enjoyable and worthwhile. His patience with me during this project was immense. My personal growth as a communication scholar has been highly influenced by his instruction. I look forward to years of scholarly and personal interaction with him.

Susan Brown gave an enormous amount of time during the data analysis stage of this project; she has given great

amounts of her time in helping me resolve personal issues, fixed me meals when I was without, and has done countless "little" things, which when all added up, cannot be measured by material means. Her smile and friendly words of encouragement have been sunshine on many dark days. Words are an insufficient medium to express my gratitude to her.

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this dissertation to my mother, Joyce Louise Krayer, who has gone beyond the call of duty to support me throughout my graduate education. She has been a force of inspiration in completing this project. While she has struggled with tragedy, sorrow, and problems with personal health, she has unselfishly shared her financial and personal resources. In equity terms, I am greatly overbenefited by her contributions to our relationship. My undying love for her stands as a perpetual means to demonstrate my deepest appreciation for the way she has touched my life.

COMMUNICATION EQUITY AND CONVERSATION IN MARITAL DYADS: A STRUCTURAL, FUNCTIONAL, AND TOPIC-CHANGE ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC CONVERSATION

BY

KARL JAMES KRAYER

Major Professor: Ralph E. Cooley

This study examined separate public conversations between twelve husbands and wives in an effort to relate conversation behaviors to their perceptions of context-free and context-specific communication equity. Couples were arrayed according to husbands' and wives' perceptions of context-free and context-specific communication equity and were divided into three cells (high, medium, and low) for both equity formulations. Conversation behaviors were gathered from four questions and then analyzed according to three systems: structural, functional, and topic-change. Conversational behavior patterns, using constructs from each of these three systems, were related to the three levels of context-free and context-specific communication equity for each defined array. Because of the tight distributions resulting from the context-free and context-specific

communication equity instruments, only the high and low cells were analyzed. Equity theory best accounted for conversation patterns for the structural system, turn-intiation, and topic-initiation.

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COMMUNICATION EQUITY AND CONVERSATION IN MARITAL DYADS: A STRUCTURAL, FUNCTIONAL, AND TOPIC-CHANGE ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC CONVERSATION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Without doubt, the marital dyad is an exemplary intimate relationship. Within such a relationship, marital partners regularly create and sustain activities which serve to maintain their interaction as intimate. Phillips and Metzger (1976) suggest that intimacy is an end state involving two partners who regularly and reliably exchange goods, services, advice, time, supports, and other sentiments. Within this framework, this study asserts three propositions: (1) Intimate relationships in general and marital dyads in particular place special importance upon components which sustain their relationship. Partners both contribute to and receive from their relationship tangible and non-tangible items which they may differentially value. (2) Given a potential for differential worth of these items, participants may view themselves as contributing more or less of these components and obtaining, as a result, more or less

of these components and obtaining, as a result, more or less from the relationship as compared with their partners. (3) The talk which is generated between marital partners is a central contribution to the relationship, and as such, may be differentially valued as well as differentially contributed to by each participant, resulting in any number of perceived differential outcomes for the relationship.

Thomas (1977) argues the central role of talk within the marital dyad:

> Talking is one of the primary activities marital partners engage in together and most couples spend enormous amounts of time talking to each other. Communication between marital partners is vitally important for individual well-being and mutual harmony. It talk reflects difficulties and strengths in the marriage and in other areas of life, and sets the stage for future marital satisfaction or discord (p. 1).

Exactly how this talk is studied and the framework in which it is analyzed for application to marital dyads is ultimately the test by which the strength of the present study may be assessed. Raush, Barry, Hertel, and Swain (1974) make the point explicit:

> The real work of understanding communication between intimates begins with decisions of what to look at and how to look at it. These decisions are rooted in theoretical positions investigative premises. Unfortunately, theories about interaction between intimates are neither sufficiently firm nor sufficiently specific at present to provide us with other than rough lines of guidance (pp. 4-5).

In this study, conversation is investigated as primary data

without the application of abstract constructs or any judgments of internal states about the speakers who produced it. Further, principles of equity theory are utilized as a constructive framework within which to view this talk and to make statements about the members of the marital dyad. Each of these two positions are detailed in the following sections.

Equity Theory

Equity theory is a sociopsychological formulation concerned with the comparison of inputs to and outcomes from relationships. A relationship is perceived as equitable if a participant believes that the outcomes he or she receives from the relationship are fair when compared with what he or she contributes to the relationship relative to another participant. Given equal inputs, if one participant's outcomes are greater or less than another participant's, or given equal outcomes, if one participant contributes more or less than another participant, the relationship is likely to be perceived as inequitable. Equity theorists argue that such a state of inequity is a motivating force for the person experiencing it to restore equity to the relationship.

Inputs and outcomes in a marital dyad are varied. Further, these inputs and outcomes may either be positive or negative. Positive inputs could be good looks, money contributed to the relationship, or time which is taken to

listen to problems. Negative inputs could be grouchiness, lack of social skills, or failure to perform relational duties according to social role demands. Similarly, outcomes may be positive, such as satisfaction or "feeling good," prestige and status, or enjoying the benefits of two incomes; or negative, such as not having much time alone, insecurity and restlessness in the relationship, or headaches.

Further, these inputs and outcomes may be valued differently by the participants. What one member of the dyad perceives to be a very important input may not be perceived as an input at all by the other member. An outcome that one participant views as a direct result of something within their relationship may be perceived as totally unrelated to the relationship by another member.

Talk and Equity

One of the predominant inputs as defined in the equity framework that partners in a marital dyad contribute to their relationship is talk. The effect that talk as an input has upon various aspects or outcomes in an intimate relationship has been well documented (c.f., Bagarozzi and Atilano, 1980). What is not clear, however, is precisely how perceptions of equity are derived from the communication between marital partners. Exact conversation behaviors have never been specified. Rather, the research which has utilized "communication" as a variable has assumed, not

investigated, its existence. An investigation of how couples structure their talk, the functions that their contributions make in their conversation, and the topics they talk about is needed. Further, questions concerning how participants react to or feel about their communication have not originated from conversational behaviors. Rather than structuring items from context-specific communication behaviors and asking participants their reactions to them, research has only queried subjects about communication in a global, perceptual, and context-free sense. As a result, a description of these behaviors as well as insight into relationships from a communication behavior perspective has been lost.

Equity principles may be manifested, and thus investigated, within a marital couple's communication in several different ways. First, every interaction occurs in a specific context and can be analyzed in relation to that context. Assuming that each contribution a member makes is an input to a conversation, and therefore, to the relationship, the analysis of the perceptions of specific occasions of talk between marital partners will yield information concerning the equity of their communication as well as adding information concerning the equity of their relationship. Conversational phenomena such as interruption behavior, length of contributions, kinds of topics discussed, means by which topics are changed, behavioral strategies and tactics used to gain and maintain the right to speak, all

are inputs, and therefore, impact upon the conversation in which they appear and upon the relationship of which the conversation is a part. Rather than assessing, as previous research has done, the impact of these inputs on variables such as relational satisfaction, role strain, role discrepancy, role conflict, or attitudes toward sex, this research emphasizes the impact of these inputs in a context-specific sense upon the conversation in which they appear. All of these inputs may be proportionally differentiated between the participants. With interest in determining the couple's perception of equity in their own relationship, and assuming that each behavior has some meaning to the relationship, each participant was asked to assess the degree of equity of conversation-specific behaviors by indicating their feeling about them in the context of the conversation of which they were a part. A level of equity is derived for each participant in the study. Participants are grouped in cells according to equity level, and patterns from the couples' conversation are correlated with the equity level.

Conversely, equity principles are also manifested communicatively in a relationship on a context-free basis. Given the central role that conversation plays in an intimate relationship, it may be assumed that participants in a general sense attach meaning to and have feelings about the day-to-day communicative activities which have become substantiated over the course of their relationship. Items such

as length of conversations, topics discussed, who initiates conversations, the ability to interrupt, and getting one's "say" in conversations are also inputs, and as such, their degree of equitableness may be assessed by the participants. Such items are not context-specific, and thus the impact that they have can be generalized to the couple's relationship, providing a measure of context-free communication equity. A level of such equity is derived for each participant in the study with which patterns from the couples' conversation are correlated. To summarize, this study describes the behaviors manifest in marital couple's conversations and relates them back to their perceptions of context-free and context-specific communication equity.

Because this research is without a solid descriptive history, the delineation of a priori hypotheses appears inappropriate. However, seven research questions, which narrow the area of interest, are offered:

(1) What are the patterns of structural and functional communication and topic-change in the conversation between husbands and wives?

(2) Given a level of context-free communication equity, what are the patterns of structural communication appropriate to each level?

(3) Given a level of context-free communication equity, what are the patterns of functional communication appropriate to each level?

(4) Given a level of context-free communication equity, what are the patterns of topic-change appropriate to each level?

(5) Given a level of context-specific communication equity, what are the patterns of structural communication appropriate to each level?

(6) Given a level of context-specific communication equity, what are the patterns of functional communication appropriate to each level?

(7) Given a level of context-specific communication equity, what are the patterns of topic-change appropriate to each level?

Method

These research questions are investigated through both self-report and behavioral data. Conversation behaviors are studied through three analytical systems: structural (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1978), functional (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975), and topic-change (Cooley and Albrecht, 1980). The structural system includes constructs which allow for the analysis of talk on its surface-level, focusing upon phenomena such as turn-sequencing, interruption patterns, and length of each participant's contributions. Constructs of the functional system examine the nature and use of language within the structure. Each contribution offered by the participants has a functional role within the overall conversation of which it is a part. The assignment of a function to a contribution is behaviorally-based and is determined through an examination of the effect or response the contribution elicits within the discourse apart from the intent or goal-state of its user. An analysis of topic-change

highlights what couples talk about in their conversation and focuses upon the differentiation of content within the conversation. Topic-change points are those places where differentiation occurs. What the couples talk about reveals things about how their relationship developed historically and places a contextual aura around the structure and function of their talk.

The data for the study were gathered in two sessions for each couple. At the first session, couples completed instruments with biographical information, a four-item instrument for global relational equity (Walster, Walster, and Berscheid, 1978) (see Appendix D), and an eighteen-item instrument measuring context-free communication equity developed by Krayer (see Appendix E).

At the second session, each couple's conversation was audio and video-tape recorded. Couples were seated on a sofa facing an interviewer, microphones were placed around the neck of each participant, and a video camera was placed several feet in front of them. The couples were asked five questions, each of which dealt with their general ideas about their marriage and relationship. The conversations lasted thirty to forty minutes.

Following their conversation, each couple was separated and sent to separate rooms. While one participant completed a seventeen-item instrument which measured context-specific communication equity, the other participant was

engaged in a topic interview. The participants then changed roles so that each member had an opportunity to complete each task. The conversation data were transcribed linearly for analysis (see Appendix J for an example of a transcribed conversation). Finally, the three analytical systems employed in the study were applied to the data for the purpose of investigating the research questions.

Subjects were twelve caucasian couples. All couples were assured the highest level of confidentiality. Only the principal investigators of this project were allowed to view these tapes, and in those cases in this report where actual quotations from the data have been excerpted for illustrative purposes, names and events which could possibly identify the couples have been changed or obliterated. See Appendix B for the official informed consent form required by the Office of Research Administration at the University of Oklahoma which was given to each couple.

The chapters which follow are summarized as follows: Chapter II provides a rationale for this study and a review of the relevant literature from which the research questions are derived. Chapter III details the design and methodology by which the study is conducted. Chapter IV presents the results of the data analysis. Chapter V provides an interpretation of these results and suggests implications for communication theory and research.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

The present chapter reviews the relevant research in each of four areas: equity theory, intimate relationships, communicative interaction, and equity in communication. The rationale which yields the research questions of interest is also provided under each section.

Equity Theory

Equity theory is a sociopsychological theory concerned wtih social comparison processes. In general, the theory deals with an individual's feelings and reactions concerning how he or she is treated compared to those around him or her in a relationship. In essence, a person may be said to be in an equitable relationship when one participant in the relationship perceives that what he or she is getting out of the relationship is fair when compared with what he or she has invested relative to another participant. To the extent that any participant in a relationship: (1) obtains more or less from his or her interaction than any other participant with equal inputs or (2) obtains equal

outcomes from his or her interaction than any other participant with more or less inputs, the relationship is considered inequitable.[1] The present section includes discussions of: the propositions underlying equity theory, definitional and computational formulae, and a review of scholarly literature.

The Propositions Underlying Equity Theory

Walster, Berscheid, and Walster (1976) set forth four propositions concerning the nature of and rationale for equity theory. These propositions received the heartiest of endorsements from a prominent equity theorists, J. Stacy Adams, who noted that equity theory "may, indeed, eventually result in a comprehensive theory of social relationships" and that the Walster, et. al., formulation of the theory "strikes us as having a well articulated structure, being parsimoniously elegant, and having an increased predictive range" (Adams and Freedman, 1976, p. 44). Each of these propositions is reviewed in turn.

(1) Individuals will try to maximize their outcomes (where outcomes equal rewards minus costs). This proposition rests on the assumption that man is basically a selfish person (Walster, Walster, and Berscheid, 1978). In any relationship, therefore, a participant is expected to get the most out of the relationship that he or she possibly can.

Outcomes are defined as "the positive and negative consequences that a scrutineer perceives a participant has

incurred as a consequence of his relationship with another" (Walster, Berscheid, and Walster, 1976, p. 3). Rewards are positive outcomes; costs are negative outcomes (Homans, 1961; Walster, Walster, and Berscheid, 1978). A participant's outcomes, therefore, are equal to the rewards obtained from the relationship minus the costs incurred.

(2) (A) Groups can maximize collective reward by evolving accepted systems for equitably apportioning resources among members. Thus, group members will evolve such systems of equity, and will attempt to induce members to accept and adhere to these systems. (B) Groups will generally reward members who treat others equitably, and generally punish (increase the costs for) members who treat others inequitably.

Because proposition (1) suggests that an individual attempts to get what he or she wants, there must be some restraint placed on individuals within a system, or the system will break down under the attempts at monopolization. Proposition (2A) suggests a compromise within a system by which resources are allocated for the maximization of collective outcome and the avoidance of unproductive conflict.

The extent to which individuals behave equitably according to proposition (2A) requirements depends upon the degree to which the system in which they operate makes equitable behavior profitable. Proposition (2B) suggests that both individuals and collectivities may maximize their

outcomes by rewarding participants who treat others equitably and by punishing those who do not.

Walster and her colleagues (1976, 1978) suggest that there are occasions where individuals in a relationship may be expected to behave in ways not in harmony with these propositions. They note in a corollary proposition that "so long as individuals perceive they can maximize their outcomes by behaving inequitably, they will do so" (1978, p. 16). Two reasons are given for this proposed inequitable behavior: (1) an individual may be confident that he or she can maximize his or her outcomes by behaving inequitably and (2) an individual may wish to test the system in order to verify that sanctions against inequity are operative. "Only by testing limits occasionally can one adapt to a changing world. Thus, an individual can maximize his total outcomes if he tests equity norms now and then" (1976, p. 5).

(3) When individuals find themselves participating in inequitable relationships, they become distressed. The more inequitable the relationship, the more distress they feel. Homans (1961) contends that individuals who participate in inequitable relationships feel distressed regardless of whether they are the beneficiaries or the victims of the inequity. Generally, those persons who are victims feel distress through anger (c.f., Walster, Berscheid, and Walster, 1976; Leventhal, Weiss, and Long, 1969) and those persons who are beneficiaries feel distressed through guilt

(c.f., Adams and Rosenbaum, 1962; Leventhal, Weiss, and Long, 1969). In addition, findings from experiments by Leventhal, Weiss, and Long (1969) and Leventhal and Bergman (1969) suggest that as the level of perceived inequity increases, the distress felt by individuals also increases.

(4) Individuals who discover they are in an inequitable relationship attempt to eliminate their distress by restoring equity. The greater the inequity that exists, the more distress they feel, and the harder they try to restore equity. Implicit in the proposition is the notion that by restoring equity to the relationship, individuals may reduce their distress. Adams (1963) suggests that as the distress increases, the probability increases that more than one method by which distress may be reduced will be utilized. Two general ways in which equity may be restored to a relationship are actual and psychological (Adams, 1963; Walster, Berscheid, and Walster, 1976; Walster, Walster, and Berscheid, 1978; Miner, 1980).

Actual equity may be restored to a relationship by lowering the inputs or contributions one makes to a relationship (for example, refusing to have sex on weeknights), raising the inputs that another participant must contribute to the relationship (for example, washing the dishes so sloppily that the dishes must be rewashed and the floor must be mopped) or lowering the outcomes that another person receives from the relationship (for example, damaging the

television set so that less pleasure time is available).

Psychological equity may be restored to a relationship by changing one's perception of the contributions and outcomes in a relationship. Hence, an individual may underestimate or minimize the importance of the contributions made to the relationship, exaggerate the outcomes received from the relationship, or underestimate or minimize the importance of the outcomes other participants receive from the relationship.

The summary provided by Walster, Walster, and Berscheid (1978) of their four propositions is insightful:

> Equity theorists concur that men try to maximize their outcomes (Proposition I). A group of individuals can maximize their total outcomes by devising an equitable system for sharing resources. Thus groups try to induce members to behave equitably, i.e., they try to insure that all participants receive equal relative gains. They can do this in only one way: by making it more profitable to be "fair" than to be greedy. They reward members who behave equitably and punish members who behave inequitably (Proposition II). When socialized individuals find themselves enmeshed in an inequitable relationship, they experience distress (Proposition III). They can, and do, reduce their distress either by restoring actual equity or by restoring psychological equity to their relationship (Proposition IV) (p. 19).

Definitional and Computational Formulae

J. Stacy Adams (1963, 1965), proposed a simple formula for assessing equitable relationships. A condition of equity exists, when,

$$\frac{O_A}{I_A} = \frac{O_B}{I_B}$$

where subscripts A and B are two participants in a relationship, O_A and O_B are the outcomes received by the two participants, and I_A and I_B are the inputs contributed by the two participants. Walster, Berscheid, and Walster (1976) suggest that the formula is limited in application, noting that "this simple notation is adequate only so long as all participants have positive inputs. This formula is not suitable in social relations where inputsmmay be negative as well as positive" (p. 3).

In order to allow for the impact of negative inputs, Walster, Berscheid, and Walster (1976) established a formula by which a relationship may be assessed as equitable or inequitable:

$$\frac{O_A - I_A}{(|I_A|)^{K_A}} = \frac{O_B - I_B}{(|I_B|)^{K_B}}$$

In this formula, O_A and O_B refer to the outcomes participants A and B receive from their relationship. Outcomes may be positive or negative and refer to the consequences a participant perceives he or she has incurred as a result of being a member of the relationship. Positive outcomes are labeled rewards and negative outcomes are labeled costs. One's total outcomes in a relationship "are equal to the rewards he obtains from the relationship minus the costs he incurs" (Walster, Berscheid, and Walster, 1976).

I_A and I_B refer to the inputs the participants contribute to their relationship. Inputs may be assets (which yield rewards) or liabilities (which yield costs). $|I_A|$ and $|I_B|$ are the absolute values of these inputs, which disregards the sign. $|I|$ must be greater than zero.

The exponents K_A and K_B take a value of +1 or -1, depending upon the sign of A and B's inputs and A and B's gains, or outcomes minus inputs. [K_A = sign (I_A) x sign (O_A - I_A)] and [K_B = sign (I_B) x sign (O_B - I_B)]. When first published (1973), this Walster, et. al., formula omitted these exponents. The effect of the exponents is "simply to change the way relative outcomes are computed: If K = +1 then we have (O - I) x $|I|$, but if K = -1, then we have $|I|$ x (O - I). Without the exponent K, the formula would yield meaningless results when I [is less than] O and O - I [is greater than] O, or I [is greater than] O and O - I [is less than] O" (Walster, Berscheid, and Walster, 1976, p. 4).

This formula allows for the calculation of a participant's relative gains or losses from a relationship. Relative gains or losses are calculated by subtracting a participant's inputs to the relationship from their outcomes from the relationship (O - I). If the participant's outcomes equal his or her inputs (O = I), the participant is breaking even; if the participant's outcomes exceed his or her inputs (O [is greater than] I), the relative gain is positive and the participant is gaining a profit from the relationship,

and if the participant's outcomes fall short of his or her inputs (O [is less than] I), the relative gain is negative and the participant is suffering a loss from the relationship. "Thus, the sign and the magnitude of this measure (relative gains) indicates how 'profitable' the relationship has been to each of the participants" (Walster, Berscheid, and Walster, 1976, p. 4).

In short, the assessment of equity is based on the perceptions one has of a particular relationship. Such perceptions are held by both participants in a relationship. As will be seen, the Walster, et. al., measures of relational equity (see Appendix D) allow for measurements either by one of the participant's assessments of the inputs and outcomes for both participants or each of the participants' assessments of their own inputs and outcomes in the relationship.[2]

Review of Literature

Background. Equity theory is an outgrowth of human exchange theory developed by Homans (1961). Exchange, to Homans, involves the activity of two participants, where the activity of each reinforces or punishes the activity of the other, and where the activity of each influences the other accordingly. His premise is that humans form and sustain their relationships on the basis of the benefits, costs, or rewards that such relationships are found or are

expected to bring. Exchange, therefore, involves reciprocal interaction for the purpose of gaining mutual reward.

Thibaut and Kelley (1959) discuss the importance of cost and reward factors in interpersonal relationships. They established an emphasis on the relative value of outside alternatives to a relationship as compared with the value of an existing relationship. Such a conceptualization permits individuals to evaluate the worth of a relationship as a whole and in the context of a number of other possible affiliations.

Traupmann (1978) argues that equity theory represents a theoretical advance over the more general exchange theories such as that conceptualized by Homans (1961) in four major areas: (1) inputs and outcomes are defined where they can be operationalized; (2) the conditions under which equity or inequity will be perceived are more clearly specified; (3) equity theory is more applicable to ongoing relationships, and (4) the assessment of equity or inequity may be made from outside or from within the relationship.

Since its introduction, dozens of studies have been conducted utilizing principles of equity theory in several different areas. Summaries of major studies in the area of business relationships, exploiter/victim relationships, and altruistic relationships are presented here. While less research has been conducted in the area of equity and intimate relationships than in any other area, this review

demonstrates the validity of equity and lays a foundation for the justification of applying equity theory to intimate relationships.

Equity in business relationships. Early research in equity dealt with employee compensation. Adams and Rosenbaum (1962) investigated the relationship of worker productivity to cognitive dissonance concerning wage inequity. Subjects were split into two equal groups after being hired as interviewers for survey market research. Half of the subjects were told they were unqualified, but would be hired anyway. Half of the subjects were paid on an hourly basis while the other half were paid by the interview. Consistent with equity theory principles, the unqualified group, where guilt had been induced, conducted more interviews than did the qualified group in an effort to justify their inequitable outcomes. These outcomes, were, of course, receiving equal pay with the qualified group. Unqualified subjects produced less interviews than did the qualified subjects when paid by the interview.

In an effort to assess the quality of work productivity in equitable and inequitable conditions, two further experiments were conducted (Adams, 1963; Adams and Jacobsen, 1964). The results of the first experiment involved with interviews show that subjects who were inequitably overpaid completed fewer interviews, but the ones they did conduct were of higher quality than those working under equitable

payment. The results of the second experiment, involved with proofreading galleys, included job security as an additional variable. Six different conditions varying equity, security, and amount of pay were established. Equity theory predicts higher quality but lower quantity work in conditions where inequity exists, regardless of security. The insecurity hypothesis suggests higher quality but lower quantity work in conditions where insecurity exists, regardless of equity. The results indicated that subjects who were inequitably overpaid produced less but higher quality work than all other subjects who were paid equitably, regardless of job security, thus supporting the principles of equity theory.

Other studies which have lent support to equity theory in relationships are Cook (1969), who found that subjects who were inequitably overpaid perceived and performed their task more favorably than equitably paid subjects; Pritchard, Dunnette, and Jorgenson (1972), who found that subjects who were inequitably overpaid performed better at their task while subjects who were inequitably underpaid did not perform as well as equitably paid subjects. Over- and underpaid subjects also reported more dissatisfaction; Evans and Molinari (1970) in an interviewing piece-rate study found a trend among inequitably unqualified overpaid subjects in both secure and insecure conditions to produce higher work than equitably paid qualified subjects. Productivity was greater among qualified secure subjects than among

unqualified secure ones, whereas productivity was greater among unqualified insecure subjects than among secure ones; Lawler, Koplin, Young, and Fadem (1968), in a three period, two-hour per period interviewing piece-rate study found that overpaid subjects produced lower quantity but higher quality work than equitably paid subjects in the initial period only. The writers argued that as time progressed, the unqualified subjects' perceptions of their qualifications increased. Lawler and O'Gara (1967) investigated work attitudes along with effects of inequity and productivity. Inequitably underpaid subjects produced more interviews, but of lower quality, and perceived their task as more interesting but less complex, important, and challenging than equitably paid subjects.[3]

Equity in exploitative relationships. An exploitative relationship is defined by Walster, Walster, and Berscheid (1978) as an exchange "in which one participant takes far more than he deserves while his hapless partner gets far less" (p. 21). An exploiter is a person who performs some act which results in an excess of his own relative gains when compared with those of his or her partner, or the victim in the relationship. Several studies have been conducted in this area. Following the organizational patterns of Walster, Berscheid, and Walster (1976) and Walster, Walster, and Berscheid (1978), this section deals with exploiter

reactions, victim reactions, and reactions from external agents and entities.

Consistent with the third proposition of equity theory, an exploiter (who receives higher outcomes than deserved) should feel distress. The proposition argues that as the amount of inequity increases, the amount of distress increases, and the harder the individual will work to restore equity (c.f., Brock and Buss, 1962; Lerner and Simmons, 1966; Lerner and Matthews, 1967). As noted earlier, such restoration may be actual or psychological.

Actual equity is typically restored by an exploiter through compensation (Walster, Walster, Abrahams, and Brown, 1966; Berscheid, Walster, and Barclay, 1969) and less typically through self-deprivation, whereby an exploiter may voluntarily reduce his or her relative outcomes to the victim's level. Such a strategy, despite support from Sarnoff (1962) is rarely used, as "in the view of our assumption that individuals prefer to maximize their rewards whenever possible (Proposition I), we would expect individuals to restore equity by employing self-punishment as a last resort" (Walster, Walster, and Berscheid, 1978, p. 10).

An exploiter may restore psychological equity in three different ways: derogating the victim (Davis and Jones, 1960), minimizing the amount of harm he or she has done to another person (Brock and Buss, 1962), and denying any responsibility for the actions which have harmed an

individual. To accomplish denial, the exploiter transfers responsibility for the action to another person or to external circumstances. By so doing, the relationship with the victim from the perception of the exploiter becomes an equitable one.

Four means by which victims (those who receive lower outcomes than deserved) can restore equity to the relationship are as follows: the victim may (1) seek restitution, (2) retaliate against the exploiter, (3) forgive the exploiter, or (4) justify the exploitation. The first three options are means by which victims may restore actual equity; the final option is a means of psychological restoration.

Finally, given an inequitable relationship, reactions by external sources such as friends, businesses (for example, welfare agencies or insurance companies), courts of law, or society in general, are prevalent. Walster, Berscheid, and Walster (1976) argue that "society should be wary of introducing a compensation procedure that erodes individuals' responsibility for restoring equity, thus weakening their adherence to equity norms" (p. 22). Such availability of public compensation will reduce an individual's motivation to initiate his or her own means of restoring equity and thus should only be resorted to "when attempts to induce the exploiter to compensate have failed" (p. 23).

Equity in altruistic relationships. While exploitative

relationships view a participant who receives less relative gains from a relationship as a victim, in altruistic relationships, such a person is labeled a philanthropist, defined as one who "gives more to his fellow man than his fellow man is entitled to or can ever hope to return" (Hatfield, Walster, and Piliavin, 1978, p. 127). There is some evidence to suggest that philanthropists should, at minimum, have mixed feelings about making such sacrifices.

Two conclusions are clear concerning reactions to equity in altruistic relationships (c.f., Homans, 1961; Hatfield, Walster, and Piliavin, 1978; Walster, Berscheid, and Walster, 1976). (1) When inequity in a relationship is intentionally as opposed to inadvertently produced, participants in the relationship will experience more distress and have stronger desires to restore equity. Propositions three and four of the theory suggest that if an individual is found to be in an inequitable relationship, the individual will feel distress and seek to restore actual or psychological equity to the relationship. An individual who feels responsible for creating inequity should feel more distress than an individual, who, through no fault of his or her own, finds him or herself in an inequitable relationship (Walster, Berscheid, and Walster, 1976). Research has indicated that when an individual is intentionally helped, the desire to reciprocate (and thereby restore equity to the relationship) is higher than when the individual is helped

inadvertently (c.f., Goranson and Berkowitz, 1966; Greenberg and Frisch, 1972).

(2) Undeserved help produces inequity in a relationship. More distress is produced and the need for restoration of equity to a relationship is greater when the participants know that a recipient of help cannot or will not reciprocate the help. If one of the participants receives help and all participants know that the recipient can and will reciprocate, any inequity produced in the relationship is short-lived and low in producing distress.

Numerous studies support this second conclusion. Morris and Rosen (1973) found evidence that individuals are more willing to accept gifts that can be repaid than gifts that cannot. In addition, they found that people are reluctant to ask for help that they cannot repay. Similar conclusions were reported by Berkowitz and Friedman (1967) and Greenberg and Shapiro (1971). In addition, Gergen and Gergen (1971) demonstrated that individuals prefer to receive help that can be reciprocated as opposed to help that cannot be reciprocated.

Intimate Relationships

This section reviews: (1) definitions of intimate relationships, (2) characteristics which distinguish intimate relationships from casual relationships and close friendships, (3) the role of communication in the intimate relationship, and (4) the application of equity to intimate relationships.

Definitions

Each of the terms in intimate relationships needs to be defined here. Beginning with "relationship," the definition provided by Thibaut and Kelley (1959) is insightful:

> Two individuals may be said to have formed a relationship when on repeated occasions they are observed to interact. By interaction it is meant that they emit behavior in each others' presence, they create products for each other. In every case we would identify as an instance of interaction there is at least the possibility that the actions of each person affect the other (p. 10) (emphasis added).

Simply put, in interactions between individuals, of which communication plays an integral part, the conversational activity of one has an effect upon another within their relationship. The reader should note that the Thibaut and Kelley definition of relationship does not account for any qualitative differences among types of relationships. As will be argued (c.f., Berger and Calabrese, 1977; Miller and Steinberg, 1975), there are differences between role relationships, interpersonal relationships, and intimate relationships.

What, then, is meant by "intimate" and how can intimacy be applied to relationships? Conceptualizing a definition is difficult. Hatfield, Utne, and Traupmann (1979) noted that when a Supreme Court Justice attempted to define pornography, he could not, but argued that he knew it when he saw it. "Most of us would second his statement with regard to intimate relationships" (pp. 106-107). In

descending order of usage, the American Heritage Dictionary (1979), provides the following components for a definition of "intimate":

> (1) marked by close acquaintance, association, or familiarity. (2) pertaining to or indicative of one's deepest nature. (3) essential; innermost; (4) characterized by informality and privacy. (5) very personal; private; secret.

Acknowledging that "intimate relationships are varied and complex," Walster, Walster, and Berscheid (1978) defined an intimate relationship as one between "loving persons whose lives are deeply intertwined" (p. 146). While such relationships may be between best friends, lovers, spouses, or parents and children, the focus of the present study is on marital dyads, many of which satisfy Walster, Walster, and Berscheid's definition.

Characteristics of Intimate Relationships

Basically the same seven major characteristics which distinguish an intimate relationship from a casual relationship and close friendships are listed by Hatfield, Utne, and Traupmann (1979), Walster, Walster, and Berscheid (1978), and Traupmann (1978). Supplemental research and evidence is added to these seven characteristics for this section.

(1) As a relationship approaches intimacy, the intensity of liking between the participants increases. As Hatfield, Utne, and Traupmann argue, "if an intimate relationship is to remain intimate, participants must basically like

or love each other" (1979, p. 107).

(2) As a relationship approaches intimacy, the depth and breadth of information exchange increases. Numerous sources document the notion that there are communication content differences in intimate relations as opposed to casual relations (Altman and Taylor, 1973; Huesmann and Levinger, 1976). Some topics which are likely to surface in an intimate relationship are information about colleagues, sexual problems, idiosyncrasies, and personal strengths and weaknesses. In addition, these same scholars suggest that as individuals become more intimate with one another, they both expect and give more information.

(3) As a relationship approaches intimacy, the length of the relationship is expected to increase. Whereas casual relationships are usually short-term in endurance, intimate relationships are both expected to and generally do last longer. As a result of this, equity theorists suggest that (a) the perception of equity in the relationship becomes more difficult to calculate and (b) individuals' tolerance for perceived inequity is higher due to the fact that the relationship is expected to endure and so inequities will be counterbalanced by equities (Hatfield, Utne, and Traupmann, 1979).

(4) As a relationship approaches intimacy, the value of the resources exchanged between the participants increases. This is true whether the focus is on rewards or punishments

one gains from the relationship. As one becomes more intimate with another, the rewards one receives from the relationship take on higher significance as does the pain or hurt one may receive from being involved in it.

(5) As a relationship approaches intimacy, the variety in the resources exchanged between the participants increases. One of the most frequently cited works in support of this notion is the theoretic position advanced by Foa (Foa, 1971; Foa and Foa, 1974), which posits a classification of resources (love, services, goods, status, information, and money) which vary along the dimensions of particularism and concreteness. Particularism varies according to the extent to which the value of a resource is determined by the person who contributes it. Gold or other scarce resources may be valuable regardless of who gives it. Hence, those items are examples of nonparticularistic resources. Conversely, the value of the attention that one gives to another person is highly dependent upon the person who gives the attention. Hence, attention is an example of a particularistic resource.

Concreteness refers to the means by which the resource is characteristically expressed. Resources may be expressed both tangibly (because they may be held or viewed) and symbolically (because they are verbal, such as information). Such a classification is important. Participants in casual relationships generally exchange a limited number of resources

and their relationship does not endure long enough to engage in a complicated exchange. Therefore, those resources which are exchanged are highly nonparticularistic and concrete (money, goods, and information).

In an intimate relationship, which does endure long enough to exchange particular, complicated, and symbolic resources, the participants will generally exchange resources from all six categories. The impact of this upon these individuals' perceptions of equity is clearly stated by Walster and her associates (1978):

> Casuals are exchanging resources of set value; thus, it is fairly easy to calculate equity. Intimates exchange these set value commodities, plus a potpourri of ambiguous value commodities. It is no wonder, then, that intimates may find the calculation of equity/inequity a mind-boggling task (p. 151).

(6) As relationships move to levels of intimacy, the kinds or types of resources which are exchanged vary greatly. In casual relationships, the resources which are exchanged are of a highly similar nature. This is largely due to the limited number of contexts in which such exchanges occur. In intimate relationships, the kinds of resources which are exchanged cross "type" lines, and thus, may be of a highly dissimilar nature. The variety of exchanged resources is largely due to the fact that intimate relationships and the resources which are exchanged within them occur in a wide variety of contexts. Negotiating inputs for

exchange "is what much of getting acquainted is all about" (Walster, Walster, and Berscheid, 1978, p. 152). In a casual relationship,

> it is easy enough to know that a round of beer on Monday night equals a round on Tuesday. It is far more difficult to decide if dinner at an expensive restaurant on Monday balances out three nights of neglect due to a heavy work load (Walster, Walster, and Berscheid, 1978, p. 152).

(7) As relationships move to an intimate level, the analytical unit becomes "we" instead of "you" and "me." Wilmot (1979) documents the notion that marital dyads often present a united front. Such a front is often functional (i.e., for an outside person to sell a product to one partner in the relationship without the consent of the other partner is often difficult) as well as expected (i.e., as people begin to see members of an intimate relationship together at certain affairs and functions, they come to expect them to be together and will question why they are separated, should such occasions occur). As a result, the partners in the relationship define themselves as a tangible unit, not as individuals who interact with others. Such a unit is clearly conventional as well. Couples are expected by society to present themselves as "we." The implication of this for equity is clear: a researcher must identify the interaction in terms of whether the participants are relating to one another as individuals or as a couple. The inputs contributed may be a singular or a joint effort; the outcomes received

may belong to one of the members or to the couple jointly. In terms of conversation, a participant may be speaking for him or herself only or for the couple as a unit. The responses that a contribution elicits may reflect upon either the individual in the relationship or the relationship in general, apart from either of the participants singularly. In the present research, such an identification of the interaction is not applicable, in that the participants, and not the investigator, determine the level of equity/inequity operative in the relationship.

Communication in Intimate Relationships

While the preceding section has detailed the characteristics which distinguish casual relationships from intimate ones, the exact role that communication plays in an intimate relationship has not been specified. This section reviews the relevant research on communication in intimate relationships and the developmental perspectives of intimate relationships.

Nature of communication. There are traces of communication research in numerous works on intimate relationships. In communication, Bochner (1976) reviewed literature from disciplines other than communication involved with familial interaction. While his review specifies areas for future research in terms of certain behaviors to study and methods by which to study them, Bochner's review emphasizes the

family as an intact unit without specifying the role of the intimate marital dyad within it. Similarly, Wilmot's treatment of dyadic communication (1979) emphasizes the notion of the initmate dyad as a functional unit presenting a united front, but fails to detail any communication differences between marital dyads and others.

Perhaps the most developed work in communication literature concerning intimates was outlined by Phillips and Metzger (1976). Taking a rhetorical approach to their study, they argue that intimate relationships are essentially bargaining exchanges and the communication which takes place with such relationships is both purposive and undertaken with the intent of exchange. They contrast their rhetorical viewpoint with perspectives from psychology, sociology, and psychiatry by constructing propositions concerning interpersonal communication. Two of the most important propositions are concerned with sources of one's need for interpersonal relations (that the drive for intimacy is centered in individual perception of problems that need to be solved) and interpersonal choices by which one presents oneself (that intimacy can be managed by exerting the will to develop skills at relationships). Interestingly, these writers use interpersonal and intimate in practically synonymous and interchangable ways.

Finally, two works have placed the role of communication in a central position within the marital dyad. Raush,

Barry, Hartel, and Swain (1974) discuss the impact of communication on conflict within a marriage. Importantly, their theoretic position suggests that the product of the interaction is less important than the process by which it is sustained:

> The outcome itself -- who wins and who loses in a specific interchange -- is often of minor importance. What counts for the future is what gets said or is unsaid, by whom and to whom, when and in what way (p. 2).

Thomas (1977) examined marital communication from a decision-making perspective. He focused his research directly on the role of verbal behavior. His theoretic assumptions about communication provide for talk as a window by which marital relations may be analyzed, suggesting that it "reflects difficulties and strengths in the marriage and in other areas of life, and sets the stage for future marital satisfaction or discord" (p. 1). Indeed, Thomas suggests that practicioners interested in intervention strategies for marital dyads will find their task easier provided that they have "a conception of the behavioral events that comprise marital communication and some of its principal characteristics" (p. 1). Hence, patterns of communication in intimate relationships can in fact reveal, at least on a theoretic level, interesting things about the nature of these relationships.

Developmental perspectives. The development of an intimate relationship from an interpersonal one is dependent

upon the development of an interpersonal relationship from an impersonal one as a prerequisite. Two major perspectives may be found in communication literature which deal with the development of an interpersonal relationship. These perspectives are explicated by Miller and Steinberg (1975) and Berger and Calabrese (1977).

Miller and Steinberg (1975) distinguish between two types of relationships: impersonal and interpersonal. The type of relationship under analysis is defined through the kinds of predictions that one makes with the person communicated with. If the predictions are made on a sociological or cultural basis, the communication is impersonal (or, in other words, role communication). If, however, the predictions are made on a psychological basis, the communication is interpersonal (or, in other words, communication between-people).

As relationships move from impersonal to interpersonal, the Miller and Steinberg perspective suggests that there are differences in the communication that takes place. First, the level on which the participants know each other changes. In impersonal relationships, the participants know each other on a descriptive level. As such, they may identify one another among others. Further, they know each other on a predictive level. This knowledge enables them to make speculations about each others' future behavior. However, when individuals move to an interpersonal relationship, the participants move to an explanatory level. They then feel

that they are privy to the reasons why the other participants act as they do.

Second, the rules that operate to govern the relationship change. Rules govern both procedure and content of communication in relationships. In impersonal relationships, procedures for interaction are largely determined by the society or culture in which the relationship takes place. The content of the interaction, therefore, is predominately demographic and superficial, and limited in the degree to which self-disclosure takes place. When one moves to an interpersonal relationship, the rules for interaction are often negotiated between the participants and the rules which result are not necessarily harmonious with those which are socially or culturally defined. Further, the content of the talk changes to a highly disclosing, self-revealing nature, where the participants discuss topics which may not be socially acceptable outside of their defined relationship.

Berger and Calabrese (1977) developed a theory of interpersonal communication which focuses on initial interaction, which they label as the entry phase. Their theory is labeled a developmental one and is presented in axiomatic form. Their basic position is that communication functions to reduce uncertainty in the early stages of interpersonal interaction. The authors produced seven axioms concerning the nature of communication during the entry phase: (1) uncertainty

decreases as communication increases; (2) uncertainty decreases as nonverbal affiliative expressiveness increases; (3) as uncertainty decreases, information-seeking behavior decreases; (4) as uncertainty decreases, levels of intimacy increase; (5) as uncertainty decreases, reciprocity rates for sharing information decrease; (6) as similarity between participants increases, uncertainty decreases, and (7) as uncertainty decreases, levels of liking increase. The reader should note that the Berger and Calabrese formulation is not based on a study of interpersonal communication, but rather, is a theory that was developed from existing literature.

Both of these perspectives do well in differentiating a role or a casual relationship from an interpersonal relationship in terms of differences in communication. What is not specified from these works are the qualitative differences between interpersonal relationships and intimate relationships. Without doubt, however, before a relationship advances to intimacy, the stages suggested by these two perspectives must have been met. Developmentally, impersonal relationships move into interpersonal relationships prior to their emergence into an intimate relationship. Necessarily then, requirements for an interpersonal relationship msut be met and these requirements thus precede the emergence of an intimate relationship.

One distressing point about the state of the literature in intimate communication is that clear distinctions are not

made between interpersonal relationships and intimate relationships. For example, Phillips and Metzger (1976) use the two terms interchangably. Here two arguments are posited: (1) not all interpersonal relationships develop into intimate ones and (2) intimate relationships have qualitative differences from interpersonal relationships. Each of these arguments is dealt with in turn.

An interpersonal relationship exists when each person in the relationship reacts with each other person as an individual. The participants in the relationship, then, know each other as persons and communicate accordingly, as previously specified. In no way, however, do all interpersonal relationships develop to the stage where the participants are communicating as "loving persons whose lives are deeply intertwined." That is, one person may be in an interpersonal relationship with another person but not necessarily in any intimate sense. One may know another interpersonally by liking and not loving, one may know another interpersonally by being attracted to him or her without feeling any affection, or one may know another interpersonally without ever affecting the other's life.

There are three major qualitative differences advanced here that distinguish interpersonal relationships from intimate ones. First, just as self-disclosing comments increase as a relationship moves from impersonal to interpersonal, so the number of these comments also increases as a relationship

moves to intimate from interpersonal. Second, just as the kinds of topics that are acceptable for conversation increase as a relationship moves from impersonal to interpersonal, so does the number of these topics increase as a relationship moves from interpersonal to intimacy. Even more topics have relevant content to the participants, making them possible subjects for discussion. Finally, interpersonal relationships, based on liking, are largely interactions which are attraction-oriented. People get to know others as people because they are feel attracted to them. In an intimate relationship, which is based on loving, interactions are largely affection-oriented. The notion of how one appeals to another goes beyond attraction into areas of displaying genuine care and affection for the other.

Equity in Intimate Relationships

Less equity research has been conducted in intimate relationships than in any other area. Due to its significance in the present study, the study of intimate relationships in equity research is given careful consideration here.

Controversy exists in the literature regarding the applicability of equity theory to intimate relationships. Such debate is largely on a theoretical level. Indeed, as Traupmann (1978) argued in the introduction to her interview work in equity and intimate relationships, "no one has ever determined whether or not principles of exchange guide the

interactions of lovers, married couples, or parents and children" (p. 6, emphasis added). Walster, Walster, and Traupmann (1978) noted that "supposedly, equity is a general theory which applies to all human relations. Yet, the theory has never been tested in deeply intimate settings" (pp. 82-92).

Several theorists reject the notion that equity considerations play a role in intimate relationships. In general, such theorists advance the position that intimate relationships are special enough so that they are not "subject to the same market principles which guide such crass exchanges as those on Wall Street" (Traupmann, 1978, p. 13). Rubin (1973) argues, for example, "in close relationships one becomes decreasingly concerned with what he can get <u>from</u> the other person and increasingly concerned with what he can do <u>for</u> the other" (p. 87, emphasis his).

On the other hand, other theorists have advocated the role of equity principles in intimate relationships. Patterson (1971) believes that:

> there is an odd kind of equity which holds when people interact with each other. In effect, we get what we give, both in amount and in kind. Each of us seems to have his own bookkeeping system for love, and for pain. Over time, the books are balanced (p. 26).

From proposition three of equity theory (see page 14), intimate couples who are in an equitable relationship should feel less distress than should couples who find themselves in

an inequitable relationship. Some evidence suggests that individuals in equitable marriages are more content than those in inequitable ones. Berscheid, Walster, and Bohrnstedt (1973) conducted a correlational study which sampled 2,000 of 62,000 returned 109-item questionnaires asking how happy and satisfied individuals were in their present relationship and how certain they were that they would be with their partner ten years from that time. They concluded that "individuals who are matched with equally desirable partners are happier, more satisfied with their relationship, and more confident that it will last...than respondents who are mismatched" (p. 130).

In addition, Traupmann (1978) conducted extensive interviews with 124 couples regarding perceptions of equity in their marriage. She found that, compared to inequitable couples, equitable couples were (1) happier, more content, less angry, and less guilty, (2) more satisfied with their marriage, and (3) more likely to perceive their relationship as stable.

As with the other areas reviewed in this section, and consistent with proposition four of the theory, individuals in inequitable relationships feel distress and attempt to restore equity to the relationship. Walster, Traupmann, and Walster (1978) note that couples can restore actual equity in a number of ways. Generally, the deprived partner may demand more of the overbenefited partner; the overbenefited partner may be quite willing to agree to such demands. Some of these

ways are: diminishing physical appearance, engaging in conversation when one feels like talking and abstaining from it when one does not, refraining from reassuring the other partner that he or she is in love, and failing to make the partner's sex life fulfilling. The couple may, of course, restore psychological equity to the relationship by convincing themselves that the relationship is fair. Many couples, Walster and her associates argue,

> when confronted with the fact that the balance of their marriage has changed, find it easiest to restore psychological equity to their relationship and to convince themselves that these changes are not real changes, or that they are not really very important (1978, p. 184).

Finally, of course, the couple may "leave the field" and terminate their relationship.

Two other major studies concerned with equity and intimate relationships have been conducted. Walster, Traupmann, and Walster (1978) in investigating the role of equity in extramarital sexuality, hypothesized that: (1) a sexually deprived partner may demand extramarital freedom where the overbenefited partner may not, and thus, will utilize sex as a means to restore equity, (2) a deprived partner may find extramarital sex an inviting and low-risk proposition while an overbenefited partner would have grave reservations about such affairs, and (3) given that a deprived partner wants what he or she deserves, if a person feels deprived in a relationship with his or her marriage partner,

he or she is likely to seek an extramarital relationship to compensate. These writers conducted a survey study, and the results indicated support for all three hypotheses.

Walster, Walster, and Traupmann (1978) studied the relationship between equity and tendencies for premarital sex. Their hypotheses were that underbenefited men would demand that their partners go farther sexually and that underbenefited women would demand that their partners wait until they were ready for sex. The authors predicted that equity and sex would interact in making these relationships. The authors' hypotheses were not confirmed, in that equitable couples were found to be the most intimate. There is some evidence that equity principles operate in the selection of a partner for an intimate relationship. As Walster and her associates have argued, "the more equitable a romantic relationship is, the more likely it is to progress to marriage" (p. 165).

As of this writing, no studies are available which have directly investigated the role of equity in the process of selecting an intimate partner. Yet, certain research does point to equity principles in the selection of a mate.

Walster, Arnson, Abrahams, and Rottman (1966) tested the relationship between liking and physical attractiveness among college students at a dance whose partners were matched through a computer. The writers hypothesized that those students who were matched with a partner of equal physical

attractiveness would indicate a greater degree of liking for each other than would students whose dates were superior or inferior in attractiveness. The hypothesis was not confirmed, as all subjects expressed a liking for the most attractive dates. Similar results were found in a follow-up study by Berscheid, Dion, Walster, and Walster (1971). Importantly, Morse, Reis, and Gruzen (1973) found that as the interaction between couples increased, equity considerations became more important.

Other research in this area which has hinted that the operation of equity principles is important in the development of intimate relationships, whereby individuals seek partners with comparable assets, is in mental health (Murstein, 1967) and physical health (Spuhler, 1968). In addition, the research by Berscheid, Walster, and Bohrnstedt (1973) indicates that just as physical attractiveness can be used to attract a physically attractive mate, so can it be used to attract a mate with other attributes.

The reader should note that in no case has communication in general or conversation behavior in particular been examined in terms of its correspondence with equity principles. Such an omission is surprising, given the prominence of communication behavior in at least one intimate relation, married couples (c.f., Raush, Barry, Hertel, and Swain, 1974).

In short, research into equity in intimate relationships in general, and communication equity in particular, is not extensive, but what research there is indicates that

equity principles are operative in intimate relationships. Communication has been shown to play a central role within such relationships which indicates that the analysis of conversation within marital dyads should prove revealing. The literature on conversation is reviewed in the following section.

Studies in Communicative Interaction

Previous research into communicative interaction has utilized different systems by and assumptions under which the data have been analyzed. Three systems, which at a minimum, acknowledge both the content of communication and the interaction found therein as constructs are dealt with here. The emphasis here is on the assumptions and operationalization of these systems and not with research that has utilized them.

Interaction Process Analysis

A popular means for coding communicative interaction is the interaction process analysis developed by Bales (1950). Most of this research has been concerned with coding interaction in the small group setting (c.f., Lashbrook, 1975), although some attempt has been made to apply the Bales system to family interaction (Waxler and Mishler, 1965; Winter and Ferreira, 1967).

The Bales system is constructed of task and socio-emotional categories by which participants' turns or contributions are classified. A judge, then upon hearing a

contribution by a participant, finds a category suitable for the contribution. Three major problems have been found in the application of this analysis.

First, there is a general lack of reliability for assigning categories to contributions across coders. As Winter and Ferreira (1967) noted:

> Even with presumably adequate training of raters, neither we nor Waxler or Mishler [1965] have been able to achieve reassuring reliability levels. The major difficulty seems to be that the categories are multidimensional in meaning, and the raters are required to classify the items on the basis of higher order inferences (pp. 170-171).

An even larger problem was outlined by Kendon (1975), who persuasively argued that the assignment of behavior to a category in the Bales system is not an assessment of behavior, but rather, a judgment of the intent or effort behind the behavior. That is, when one marks a contribution as "harmonizing," the judgment is not made on the basis of whether the contribution actually functioned to produce harmony within the setting in which it was uttered. Instead, the judgment is made on the basis of the judge's estimation of what the speaker was trying to do with the contribution. This judgment represents an assessment of the speaker's intent. Talk, then, is not primary data in the Bales system.

Finally, because frequency counts of occurrences are made within categories, there cannot be an analysis of the patterns of communication. For example, when speaker A is coded as having ten turns in one category and six in another,

there is no information about how the turns occurred nor with what categories they are bounded at the time of their production. In short, any existing patterns are lost due to the fact that any analysis of the turns is completed after they are counted and lumped together into a corpus.

PROANA5

Developed by William B. Lashbrook in 1968, PROANA5 is a computer program which analyzes the interaction patterns in small groups. A network-type approach, the system requires five or six participants who must interact for thirty minutes. An analysis with results is conducted for each ten minute period.

As in the Bales system, trained observers chart the interaction of the participants. Unlike Bales, the interactions are not divided into content categories, but rather, are charted from initiator to recipient. The only content judgments which are made are between "patterned" and "non-patterned" interactions. A contribution is non-patterned if it is judged to be irrelevant to the conversation at hand, exceeds forty-five seconds in length, or if the speaker changes topics.

Unlike the Bales system, problems with obtaining a high degree of inter-rater reliability are minimal (Lashbrook, 1968). However, the problem of analyzing patterns of interaction remain. The frequency counts are broken down

by speaker, content is dichotomous, not multivariate, and the data are lumped into a corpus for each participant, which does not allow for the study of structural or content patterns. Here also, the talk is not the focus of analysis as primary data; flow of interaction is the primary interest. Further, due to the number of participants that are required, the system seems non-adaptable to the interaction of the marital dyad.

Relational Communication

One of the most popular, recent, and applicable means of assessing conversational interaction is through an analysis of relational communication. Relational communication is defined through those aspects of messages which define or redefine relationships (Millar and Rogers, 1976). The definition of "message" in this type of research has remained highly ambiguous. Relational communication studies have employed all of the following as message analytical units: "act," "turn," "statement," and "simple sentence" (Ellis, et. al., undated; Fisher, 1980; Lustig, 1980). This section deals with the following areas of relational communication: (1) underlying assumptions, (2) means of coding and measurement, and (3) an assessment of its applicability to this research.

Assumptions. The origins of relational communication are generally traced back to Bateson (1935, 1958, 1972)

(Parks, 1977; Fisher, 1980), who focused on the report and the command aspects of language. Report aspects of language are concerned with content; command aspects are concerned with relationships. The command or relational components of messages refer to the ways in which definitions of relationships are developed and maintained over time. They are viewed as abstractions from the report or command components because they are based on an interpretation of the report or content component. To Bateson, a symmetrical relationship occurs when assertions of dominance are matched with responses of dominance. A complementary relationship occurs when an assertion of dominance is matched with responses of acceptance or submission.

Generally, messages have been typified in one of two systems: individually-produced or jointly-produced. Those messages containing individually produced relational dimensions are of three types: (1) One-up - a message which asserts a relational definition by the source; (2) One-down - a message which accepts or acquieses to a relational definition as initiated by another, and (3) One-Across - a message which avoids acceptance or assertion of a relational definition.

Parks (1977) argues persuasively that relational definitions may not be simply recognized as the product of single individuals. Rather, such definitions "represent some joint quality or product of the ongoing communication among the participants" (p. 374). Such an analysis:

> requires a focus on the relationship between messages....The unit of analysis becomes the exchange or interact....The exchange as a whole, rather than single messages, constitutes the basic unit of analysis for relational communication (p. 374).

Parks argues that only by examining the relationships among message types can one reach a relational level of analysis. To achieve this goal, Parks established a typology of six kinds of messages. Each set has a message initiated by one person and a response message initiated by the other. The messages are as follows: (1) competitive symmetry - two one-up messages; (2) submissive symmetry - two one-down messages; (3) neutralized symmetry - two one-across messages; (4) complementarity - a combination of one-up and one-down messages; (5) transitory-dominant - neutral messages coupled with one-up messages, and (6) transitory-submissive - neutral messages coupled with one-down messages.

Measurement. Controversy exists regarding the applicability, reliability and validity of various means by which relational communication is measured and coded. The problem is of such severity that O'Donnell-Trujillo (1980) argues that "before scholars in this area of relational communication research can demonstrate the validity of their findings, those discrepancies must be resolved" (p. 15). Several of these coding systems are reviewed in turn.

Puck and Folger (1976) constructed a coding scheme restricted to requests and responses. They assume the act

of making a request implies an attempt to define a particular type of relationship. Fisher (1980) notes that because the categories in this system are different for requests and responses and because the system cannot be construed into symmetrical and complementary relationships, the system should not be relied upon.

Two of the systems which have frequently been employed are those of Rogers and Farace (1975) and Ellis, Fisher, Drecksel, Hoch, and Werbel (undated). Numerous similarities exist between the systems. Both systems: (1) have comparable control directions, (2) define complementary patterns as any one-up message (dominance) followed by one-down messages (submission), and symmetrical patterns as paired messages with the same control direction, and (3) view the coded act as a response to a previous message and as a stimulus for a subsequent message.

There are, however, critical differences between these two systems (c.f., Fisher, 1980; O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1980). Several of these differences are reported here. First, the Rogers-Farace system identifies three types of messages: one-up, one-down, and one-across. The Ellis, et. al., system allows for distinctions between one-up and one-down acts depending upon the intensity of the act. Second, the interpretation of the one-across category is different. The Rogers-Farace system views such an act as neutral; neither

an attempt to control another or submit to another's control. The Ellis, et. al., system suggests that this category is one of equivalence, an attempt to identify with another on a mutual basis. Third, the means by which messages that extend categories are differentiated is also different. The Rogers-Farace system codes all extensions as one-across messages. The Ellis, et. al., system breaks extensions down into "asserted ideational" and "elaborate" types. Finally, the control aspect of questions differs in these two systems. In the Rogers-Farace system, unless a question supports or extends a previous message, it is coded one-across. The Ellis, et. al., system breaks down questions into those which seek information or opinions, those which seek clarity, and those which change a topic or disconfirm a previous message.

Fisher (1980) notes the impact of these differences in operational definition by stating that "results obtained from using one of the systems cannot be compared with results obtained from using the other system" (p. 15). O'Donnell-Trujillo (1980) tested both systems on the same body of data. He found that the two systems differentially distributed control assignments. Further, in investigating the inter-scheme agreement between systems on an act-by-act basis, only 53 percent of the acts were coded identically.

Applicability. Shortcomings exist in relational communication research which preclude the application of

these systems to the present study. These shortcomings are deeper than problems in the ways in which relational communication constructs have been operationalized. Indeed, the assumptions which underly relational communication systems suggest that much difficulty would have been met if the research questions of interest here had been pursued by these systems.

First, like the two previously discussed systems, a researcher working with relational communication systems must judge the intent behind the talk. Ellis (1978) makes this clear in his definition of the control dimension of relational communication:

> Messages have been classified according to when an interactant asserts relational control (one-up) and seeks to dominate the definition of the relationship, or when a message accepts control from another (one-down) and relegates the individual to a submissive position in the relationship.... [one-across] signals an unwillingness to accept either relational definition (p. 185) (emphasis added).

In essence, given a piece of data, the investigator must categorize the talk on the basis of what the speaker intended or was trying to accomplish with the contribution. The problem here is that these systems claim to code behaviors, but instead, actually code assessments of intent and goal-states. Judgments of intent and internal motivations are not primary levels of analysis, but rather, are second-level abstractions from behaviors. By utilizing systems based on these judgments, one does not know the basis on which a

judgment is made. As a result, any validity check on the meaning that one wishes to attach to the behavior is difficult to apply in that one cannot go back to the behavior in order to validate the attached meaning.

Second, while relational communication studies have dealt with patterns of interaction between participants, the talk is not utilized as primary data. The basis of relational communication is not the type of talk, but rather, the type of category into which the talk has been transformed. Talk, then, is transformed into a number of a priori categories, the number of which depends upon the system. The analysis is not performed on the talk itself, but is performed on one level of abstraction removed from the primary data, the categories into which the talk has been classified. As has been noted, talk is considered primary data in the present research. An investigation of how the talk of husbands and wives in a joint presentation functions can reveal important things about the nature of their relationship. As such, any analysis which relies solely on second-level categories for data becomes insufficient in that the participants neither talk in nor are aware of the labels which investigators have placed upon their contributions.

Finally, how the talk functions within the data in relational communication research is unclear. While such research results in individual assessments such as "dominant"

and "submissive," these assessments are not made on the basis of how the talk functions, or is used, in the discourse. Only patterns of interaction, without reference to the function of the talk which constitutes the interaction, may be investigated through relational communication systems. A functional perspective investigates, apart from the intent behind the talk, the effect that one's particular contribution had in the conversation as judged by the talk of another which follows the contribution. The role that language plays in a couple's relationship may be more fully investigated through the analysis of talk as primary data.

The reader should note that in no studies utilizing these three systems reviewed up to this point has talk been used as the primary data. Each study has utilized constructs or categories which infer from the talk to derive their primary data.

Research in Conversational Analysis

Foundation. Following the tradition of ethnomethodology, this research begins with the understanding that the activity of talk is an ongoing construction of reality as well as a reflection of how the participants currently understand that reality. At a minimum, reality refers to the participants' understanding of their relationship and how their relationship relates to the situation (public or private) in which the talk occurs. Thus, the role of talk

is considered central in the construction and reflection of an intimate relationship.

The way each partner relates to the other through their talk is part of the reality of the relationship. Aside from the role of the participant, the role of the talk itself is central. "An utterance not only delivers some particular information, it also creates a world in which information itself can appear" (Mehan and Wood, 1975, p. 12). For instance, talk which is reflective of supportive behavior creates an environment in which supportive talk may occur. "The offering of a supportive utterance in a conversation stands not only as an instance of support, but helps to (re)define the relationship as a supportive one, creating room for itself and other supportive utterances" (Cooley and Albrecht, 1980, p. 2). Or, the introduction of critical talk by one participant defines the relationship as one in which such criticisms may occur. Utterances such as "hello" initiate an atmosphere in which greeting behavior becomes appropriate. Thus, space is created in which it is possible for another speaker to return the greeting. "A greeting creates 'room' for itself" (Mehan and Wood, 1975, p. 13). Finally, if one participant (a non-speaker) successfully interrupts a current speaker, not only does the non-speaker gain the floor and is, therefore, able to talk, but also, the reality of the relationship at that moment is defined as one in which interruptions may occur. If, however, such an

attempted interruption is unsuccessful, the reality of the relationship is defined differently. "In this manner, every interaction between the members of a relationship continually contributes to the definition of the relationship" (Cooley and Albrecht, 1980, p. 2).

Husbands and wives jointly produce a set of talk which reflects who they are and what their relationship is all about. Each participant in the conversation participates as a creator and a judge of what is being created. One participant talks, the other may take the floor to expand upon a point or disagree, together they may agree or disagree on the relevance, accuracy, or appropriateness of a contribution, complete the point, and initiate some other topic of importance to their lives for discussion. This joint production of talk created by marital partners reflects a reasonably stable relational system which has developed from day to day over the course of their relationship. This talk becomes, therefore, appropriate data for an examination of their relationship. In the creation of talk as an unrehearsed joint public presentation, marital partners reveal the content status of their relationship. How the couples structure their talk is a unique window by which one may assess the nature of their relationship. The kinds of topics they discuss indicate the history of their relationship and provide a context from which sense may be made of the structure of the talk.

Talk is context-sensitive. Talk only occurs within the realm of a social context and only through reference to that context can sense be made of it. Any contribution within a conversation which an investigator labels as "dominant" or "submissive" may be accurate only within the context of the conversation in which the contribution occurs. To remove such a contribution from its context is to change the role that the contribution plays as a part of the reality constructed by the interactants. As will be seen, the assignment of categories for the purpose of coding talk as data in this research is made on a functional and behavioral basis with total reference to the context in which the talk appears.

This research utilizes talk as primary data for analysis. Following a discussion of the background for such an approach, the theoretical basis for each of these analytic systems which are used is discussed in detail in this section. Three systems by which talk as primary data is analyzed in the present study are explored in detail in this section. These systems are labeled structural, functional, and topic-change. In overview, the structural analysis investigates surface-level talk with an emphasis on sequencing of turns which are allocated between the participants and the patterns of interruptions between the participants to gain a turn to talk. The functional analysis emphasizes the use of language within the structure. Questions are asked concerning how

each contribution or turn fits into the larger conversation of which the turns are components. How the language is used in a conversation apart from the intent of a speaker is the focus of study. The analysis of topic-change refers to what couples talk about in their joint presentation and focuses on a differentiation of the content within the conversation.

The emphasis of this analysis is necessarily focused on the interaction between the participants. Fisher and Hawes (1971) distinguish between interact and act as units of analysis. Noting that studies of acts have predominanted communication research, they advocate the adoption of interact, which consists of act plus response or act plus act, as an analytical unit. Schenkein (1978) emphasized that while "conversation is essentially an interactional activity...the interactional basis of many of the things people do is taken for granted typically and rarely given rigorous sociological formulation" (p. 3). Conversation, as viewed in this analysis, is not an act, but a complex matrix of acts, hierarchically and sequentially structured into interacts. Each act, however defined, that may comprise a unit of conversation is bounded on all sides by other acts with the exception of those acts which initiate or conclude a conversation.

Talk has been shown to be inherently structured. Much effort has been expended to determine the nature of such

structure as well as the rules by which it is patterned (c.f., Donohue, Hawes, and Mabee, 1981; Albrecht and Cooley, 1980; Nofsinger, 1975; Stech, 1975; Stech, 1979; Schenkein, 1978). While this research could begin with an analysis of either the inferred internal states and motivations leading to the judgments of the intent behind the contributions or with the substantive content of the contributions, it instead begins with an examination of the surface-level structure of the interaction.

The structure of talk may be examined on several different levels, such as grammatical, phonological, functional, or sequencing of speaker exchange. This research is largely concerned with structure in terms of the means by which speakers allocate turns to speak with one another. Such an effort is important because the patterns by which marital couples structure their conversations have been shown to be closely related to relational issues (Albrecht and Cooley, 1980). The structure of the talk both allows a researcher to examine the interaction with talk as primary data as well as a reflection of the relationship itself.

Utilizing data from five small group studies, Stech (1975) divided structure into two parts: distributional and sequential. Distributional structure refers to how often all categories into which contributions are coded occur with equal frequency. Sequential structure refers to the predictability of strings of acts. Stech found a

reasonable degree of distributional structure, allowing for some predictability, and argued that the highest levels of sequential structure were found between persons enacting clear-cut superior-subordinate roles. In a later study, Stech (1979) attempted to verify sixteen hypotheses concerning the probable locations of four talk acts (statements, questions, agreements, disagreements) in turns and sequences of interaction. All hypotheses were supported in the study, though some at marginal or low power levels. Stech concluded that "a fairly simple set of rules permits a rather complete means for assessing turns and sequences in three diverse social settings" (p. 169).

Albrecht and Cooley (1980) studied eighteen married couples who were measured on perceptions of role discrepancy in an effort to investigate the relationship between the structure of their communication and individual perceptions of their role. Utilizing constructs such as turns, interruptions, simultaneous speech, and supportive-unsupportive talk, Albrecht and Cooley found that couples with members of different levels of perceived role discrepancy differed in the nature of their interaction patterns during a spontaneous conversation. Further, they found that dominance patterns (control of the floor) differed between individuals with high and low perceptions of role discrepancy. High role discrepant individuals did not have an effect on their partner's interaction time. But low discrepant individuals

were found to have such an effect.

Finally, Nofsinger (1975) explored the means by which individuals gain control of the floor in order to talk. Utilizing a construct called the "demand ticket," defined as "those utterances which seem to refer to some unidentified statement (e.g., 'guess what' or 'yuh know something?'), and those which use a name or title as a summons (e.g., 'Jo Anne?' or 'Mommy?')" (p. 2), Nofsinger explored the rules which constitute the same. He extracted five such rules arguing that they are part of the model of "shared social knowledge which participants tacitly possess of what kinds of utterances count as which communicative acts under what circumstances" (p. 9).

Conversational analysis may take either sequential or hierarchical forms. Several studies reviewed in this section emphasize the sequential nature of communication interaction. Schenkein (1978) argued that the discovery of sequence in conversation is predominant:

> Since conversation proceeds as speakers arrange their participation through delicately orchestrated sequences of utterances, our studies are necessarily preoccupied with the sequential emergence of conversation; the orderliness of conversational sequences is quite spectacular, and these studies exhibit that orderliness in unprecedented detail (p. 3).

Sequential analyses, due to their inherent linear nature, are a necessary part of the study of conversation. However, an exclusive reliance on sequential models will not

capture the total picture of conversational interaction. While the sequential models can deal with linear interact (Fisher and Hawes, 1971), only the addition of hierarchical models can deal with "while" questions in conversational data, thus allowing for the analysis of patterns of interaction. For example, a sequential model, relying heavily on linear analysis, answers questions such as "what precedes and follows occurrences of X?" A linear model cannot deal with "while" questions such as "given X, what is concurrently happening with A, B, and C?" Hierarchical models structure the interaction of the participants in such a way that one may analyze conversational units as they occur simultaneously.

A study which focused on conversation in a therapeutic setting was conducted by Labov and Fanshel (1977). Their case study emphasized that "sequencing in conversation takes place between actions which may be far removed from the words as literally spoken, both in time and in degree of abstraction" (p. 6). To Labov and Fanshel, conversation is not exclusively sequential, but is ordered both vertically and horizontally. Their goal in conducting the research, in addition to explicating both these vertical and horizontal relationships, was to discover the rules operative in conversation. There are two types of rules in their system. Type I rules are primes for others and include rules such as those for requests and information. Type II rules tell participants what to do with the requests, and of course, are dependent upon the Type I

rules.

Labov and Fanshel posited three basic assumptions in their study: (1) that conversation is situated activity and an analysis of conversation must begin in the situation where it is found; (2) that the analysis of conversation has a high degree of text orientation and thus the analyst must account for the entirety of the data, and (3) certain types of speech events are distinguishable from other types of speech events. Specifically, their work centered upon the interaction within a therapeutic interview which they distinguished from other kinds of interviews. The analytical units employed in their system are the episode, a large, topically determined, thematically-cohesive unit, and the act, where sequencing in conversation takes place. While their study shows a tremendous amount of effort in terms of analyzing conversational data, exactly how one would apply and utilize their system is less than clear.

Two analytical systems which deal with the problems discussed in previous analyses of conversation have recently been combined with an analysis of topic-change between participants (Albrecht and Cooley, 1980; Cooley and Albrecht, 1980). Acknowledging the role of content in revealing the history and development of a couple's relationship, Cooley and Albrecht argue that such content provides a context for the structure and function of their talk. Only by reference to the context, they argue, can sense be made out of the structure and function of conversation. The theoretical

assumptions of each of these three systems: structural, functional, and topic-change, are discussed in turn in the following sections.

Structure of turn taking. The system for structural analysis employed by Albrecht and Cooley (1980) and Cooley and Albrecht (1980) was created by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1978). Such an analysis reveals the behavioral tactics by which language is used in turn-sequencing or speaker-alternation, which Sacks and his colleagues argue is patterned and describable by an ordered set of rules. Tactics here do not refer to intentional strategies which emanate from the predispositions of the speaker, but rather, to the flow of interaction between participants in terms of how they present themselves in their joint effort at producing talk.

An analysis of the structure of talk does not examine only rule-governed turn allocation, though using the Sacks, et. al., system places emphasis upon issues such as who speaks when, how long one speaks, and how one gives up the floor when his or her turn is over. While they are not part of the Sacks, et. al., system constructs, one may also analyze the patterns of interruptions, as well as the control of topics by the participants.

In this study an analysis of the structure of conversation achieves two goals. First, it provides units (in the Sacks, et. al., system the unit is a turn) within which the

functional and topic-change systems (to be described later) may be analyzed. Second, patterns of structure may be identified by the examination of regularities of occurrence of the system constructs.

Sacks and his colleagues define a speaker's turn as all the verbal material bounded by either silence or another speaker's talk. A turn is bounded by silence on one side, at least, if it is the initial or final turn in a conversation. A conversation, they argue, is a socially organized activity. The presence of turns, then, "suggests an economy, with turns for something being valued, and with means for allocating them affecting their relative distribution" (1978, p. 8).

Sacks, et. al., were interested in investigating the means by which conversation is adapted to or constrained by the turn-taking system operative within it. As a result, they deemphasized the application or consequences of turn-taking. Rather, their focus was on organization of turn-taking, change of speakers, variance in turn size and turn order, and the various techniques available for allocating turns.

Noting that conversation is always situated, and therefore, is found in some specific circumstances for its participants, they argued:

> Reasons begn to appear for taking seriously the possibility that a characterization of turn-taking organization for conversation could be developed that would have the important twin features of being context-free and also

> capable of extraordinary context sensitivity (p. 9).

A conversation includes certain ordered situationally-transcendent phenomena which should not require a specific reference to situations or context. Hence, the organization of turn-taking has the potential for general abstractness and context-specific particularization:

> Turn-taking seemed a basic form of organization in this sense of basic, that it would be invariant to parties such that whatever variations the parties brought to bear in the conversation would be accomodated without change in the system, and that it could be selectively and locally affected by such social aspects of context. Depiction of an organization for turn-taking should fit the facts of variability by virtue of a design that allowed it to be context-sensitive, but should be cast in a manner that requires no reference to any particular context, and nonetheless captures the most important general properties of conversation (p. 10).

The turn-taking system they advocate has two additional components: turn constructional units and turn relevance places. Turn constructional units (TCU's) are what turns are made of. TCU's may take one of several forms: sentential, clausal, phrasal, or lexical. Turns may be comprised of one or more TCU's and regularly alternate at points between TCU's (p. 12). These points of turn alternation are called turn relevance places (TRP's), which are places in conversation where turns may, but not necessarily will be, taken by another speaker (p. 13). Hence, a turn may well contain several potential, but unused, turn relevance places, places where turns may end.

In Sacks' (1978) turn-taking system, the following set of ordered rules operate. These rules are part of the knowledge concerning interaction shared by participants in a conversation. The rules, then, are characteristics of the system, rather than of the individuals. For any turn, at a turn relevance place, given a speaker A, and a non-speaker, B:

> (1) A selects B to speak, or,
> (2) B selects to take a turn, or,
> (3) neither (1) nor (2) occurs, so A selects to continue (p. 13).

These rules, and the ways that the rules are maintained, are used as a basis by which Sacks' turn-taking system is utilized to analyze natural conversation.

An important feature of the rules delineated by Sacks and his colleagues is the notion that the rules are both context-sensitive and context-free. Evidence that the rules are intended to be context-free is shown by the fact that the description of turn-taking does not provide for an exact specification of the ways in which turn allocations are accomplished. However, there is some evidence in their delineation of system features that does shed light on these rules-in-operation.

The first rule is invoked by asking questions, directly addressing another person, and through non-verbal cues. Should a speaker (A) not invoke any of these methods, he or she is assumed to have not selected the first rule, and

if the non-speaker (B) wishes to take a turn, the second rule comes into play. Generally, the second rule is invoked by (B) speaking before (A) does. That is, B is the first to speak at the turn relevance place or B invokes certain non-verbal cues. If (B) does not utilize the second rule, then the third rule becomes applicable. The reader should note, however, that (A) may extend a turn across turn relevance places where (B) might otherwise invoke the second rule. Included among the means for doing this are non-verbal behaviors which indicate the desire to continue talking after the TRP has occurred, intonation patterns, and filled pauses, such as "uh," and certain epimessages.

There is also evidence that these rules are highly sensitive to the particular relational and social context in which they operate. "Relational factors which have been negotiated by the participants govern what techniques will be used to invoke these three rules, how often they can be used, and perhaps even when" (Cooley and Albrecht, 1980, p. 6). Hence, the tactics and strategies by which participants behaviorally utilize these rules in maintaining and allocating turns will vary from relationship to relationship and from context to context within the boundaries of socially acceptable and defined norms.

In addition, the following assumptions are made concerning the operation of turns in the system: (1) turn size varies; (2) content for turns is not specified in

advance; (3) conversation can be continuous or discontinuous; (4) turns are highly organized in a series:

> turns regularly have a three-part structure: a part which addresses the relation of a turn to a prior, a part involved with what is occupying the turn, and a part which addresses the relation of the turn to a succeeding one. These parts regularly occur in that order, an obviously rational ordering for an organization that latches a turn to the turns on either side of it (p. 36),

and (5) repair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations.

Functions of talk. The functional system used in the Cooley and Albrecht (1980) and Albrecht and Cooley (1980) studies was designed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) for use in the study of classroom interaction. The study of function in discourse emphasizes a description of "how each participant's contribution fits into the joint creation of what is talked about" (Cooley and Albrecht, 1980, p. 3). Their functional approach utilizes a set of category labels which allow the investigator to describe how each contribution or turn made by a participant fits into the structure of the larger conversation of which the turns are components. Some turns function to elicit listener responses while other turns function expressly to inhibit them; other turns return the conversation to a subject which occurred at an earlier point in the conversation; still others are meta-communicative in that they talk about the talk that is occurring.[4]

The function of talk refers to the use of language

within the structure. Conversations, Sinclair and Coulthard argue, "are everyday examples of the fact that several participants can jointly produce coherent texts" (1975, p. 2). Each contribution to a conversation not only affects the turn-taking structure or the surface level of a conversation, but also, each contribution plays a functional role within the conversation.

Several points about the Sinclair and Coulthard functional system are in order. First, functions are not necessarily revealed by the grammatical structure of a contribution. For instance, a listener response may be elicited by grammatical forms other than a question, as the following illustration indicates:

(A) Your birthday is today. (said with level intonation)

(B) Yes, it is.

Or, a grammatical question may function as a command. For example,

(A) Isn't this the time for you to start on your homework?

(B) (goes and does homework)

Second, a critical methodological point in the analysis of functional talk in a conversation is the requirement that the analysis be conducted solely on the basis of how the language functions in the conversation regardless of how the speaker intends for the talk to function or what the speaker hopes to accomplish with the talk. This functional analysis

requires an answer to the question "in what way is each contribution used in the discourse?" "Use" is determined behaviorally by examining the response that a particular contribution evokes from a listener. For instance, in the first illustration above, A's contribution functions as an elicitation because it evokes an answer from speaker B. In the second illustration, A's contribution must be assigned to some command-like category, since it evokes a behavioral response, rather than information. Had speaker B responded "Yes, it is" or "No, I've got thirty minutes yet," the contribution would have to be assigned to a different category. The assignment of functions, then, is done behaviorally. Functions are determined not by a judgment of how the speaker intended a contribution to function, but rather, how the contribution was actually used by the participants in the discourse. In short, the Sinclair and Coulthard system of functional analysis is focused upon "the level of the function of a particular utterance, in a particular social situation and at a particular place in a sequence, as a specific contribution to a developing discourse" (1975, p. 13).

The Sinclair and Coulthard system was developed for a study of classroom interaction. Interestingly, in their search for the function of utterances within the structure of discourse, they noted that "conversation was perhaps the most sophisticated and least overtly rule-governed form of spoken discourse and therefore almost certainly not the best place to

begin" (p.4). Hence,

> We decided it would be more productive to begin again with a more simple type of spoken discourse, one which has much more overt structure, where one participant has acknowledged responsibility for the direction of the discourse, for deciding who shall speak when, and for introducing and ending topics (p. 6).

Sinclair and Coulthard outlined three problems inherent in the analysis of conversation that makes its study difficult for adapting to a functional system. First, they note that changes of topic in a conversation are unpredictable.

> Participants are of equal status and have equal rights to determine the topic. Thus, while one speaker can usually control the direction of the discourse as long as he is actually talking, a succeeding speaker who is bored, bemused, or has something only partly relevant that he wants to contribute, can change the topic completely (p. 4).

Second, they note that speakers frequently sidestep and argue with questions rather than answering them "thus introducing a digression or a complete change of direction.... Such participant equality introduces added complications with which we did not feel ready to deal" (p. 5). Third, participants often misunderstand each other due to ambiguity and frequently, "exploit the ambiguity and pretend to have misunderstood" (p. 5).

It is true that these three phenomena do frequently occur in conversation. Yet, they should not be considered problems for a functional analysis because: (1) Sinclair and Coulthard never indicate how a functional analysis will be

negatively affected given any of these problems. There is no specific indication how an analysis that is conducted functionally will be either inferior or inaccurate should these phenomena occur. Indeed, one may equally assume until it is demonstrated to be false that the system is robust in regard to problems in conversational analysis; (2) Much of what Sinclair and Coulthard label as problems are actually data that can be analyzed from their own functional system. For instance, a change of topic may be accomplished through or correlated with a variety of functional categories. That individuals sidestep or argue with questions rather than directly answer them is an excellent example of how the "response" functions differently in a variety of contexts; (3) The mere fact that speakers interpret and use language differently in different contexts is evidence that language is describable by function. Function is defined by the ways in which the contribution is jointly used by the participants and as there are differences in use, there are differences in functions, and (4) Rules in social interaction, of which conversation is a part, are rarely overt. Indeed, one does not know, given that speaker A is following rule X, what the repertoire of rules are from which rule X was selected. Yet, as Cooley and Albrecht (1980) suggest, the emphasis of the Sinclair and Coulthard system is on the function of a contribution "in the construction of the talk which the participants are producing....[Assuming that] members of these

conversations have an investment in participating...then the patterns of contributions which they exhibit can be used as data for inferences about how they see themselves in the event; that is to say, what their relationship is" (p. 10).

Topic-change. In addition to a structural and functional definition, each contribution has substance. That is, there is a content component to each contribution a participant makes to the discourse. According to Cooley and Albrecht (1980),

> Usually in a talk of any length the participants will talk about several things. We will call these passages, or content areas, topics. They are extraordinarily difficult to define in any rigorous way. Still, observers of a conversation are able to recognize the topics that are talked about and label most of them with some degree of reliability. This fact is demonstrated over and over in tests which examine comprehension of oral or written material, where there are questions which require the examinee to summarize or assign a title to written or orally presented material. Such questions test out intuitive abilities to recognize topics (pp. 10-11).

Indeed, the structures of talk have been shown to be directly related to the subject matter being talked about (Ervin-Tripp, 1964). In order to make full sense of the variation in structural and functional patterns, one must conduct an analysis of the topics which these patterns range over. In addition, the management of the content of a conversation is as much a matter of joint negotiation as is the management of floor time. Thus, it can be used to understand the relationship of the participants.

Controversy exists regarding exactly how topics are determined and differentiated. In their work on identifying spoken and written passages, Halliday and Hasan focus on the text as "any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole" (1973, p. 1). Texts, to Halliday and Hasan, are units of language-in-use which are neither grammatical units nor defined by size. Rather, a text is a semantic unit which possesses cohesion, which

> occurs where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. When this happens, a relation of cohesion is set up, and the two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed, are thereby at least potentially integrated into a text (p. 4).

A topic, then, to Halliday and Hasan, possesses cohesion. Where the interpretation of any item in the discourse requires making reference to some other item in the discourse, cohesion may be said to exist. One major characteristic, therefore, is:

> that the sequence of the sentences cannot be disturbed without destroying or radically altering the meaning. A text has meaning as a text, whereas a passage consisting of more than one text has no meaning as a whole; it is simply the sum of its parts. Within a text the meaning of each sentence depends on its environment, including its cohesive relations with other sentences. When we consider cohesion, therefore, we are investigating the linguistic means whereby a text is enabled to function as a single meaningful unit (pp. 28-30).

Problems with the Halliday and Hasan formulation of

cohesion are discussed by Cooley (1979). He notes that the degree of cohesion is different across long stretches of discourse. Variations in cohesion, he argues, coincide with portions of discourse which can be recognized as topics. A topic, as Cooley and Albrecht (1980) have defined it, is "a stretch of talk which has a greater degree of cohesion than that which exists between it and an adjacent stretch of talk" (p. 12). Topic change points are places in discourse where a speaker moves from one content area to another. A topic may be said to have changed, when, given two specified sets of contributions, there is a low degree of cohesion between the two sets and a high degree of cohesion within each set. In summary, topics are centered around subjects which are intuitively easy to recognize but hard to mark with any objective rigor. Cohesion, which coexists with topics, is a means of supplying this objective rigor. In order to recognize a topic then, cohesion may be examined if the topic cannot be identified intuitively.

Evidence exists to suggest that topic-change plays an important role in the analysis of conversation as well as being clearly tied to the structural and functional systems described earlier. Cooley and Albrecht (1980) note that one-half of the topic changes in their data were initiated by the speaker who ended the previous topic. Further, they found a strong interaction between turns and topics and noted that seemingly unrehearsed topics generated a larger number of interruptions.

They concluded that "from this insight...the notion of topic is essential to an understanding of turn-taking....These data strongly suggest that the construct of topic must be included in any theory of the analysis of conversation" (pp. 20-21).

Equity in Communication

Following equity theory, principles of communication equity propose that the quality and quantity of the talk a member contributes to conversations with another member are considered inputs to the relationship. As such, this talk may be evaluated against perceived conversational outcomes (for instance, how the other member responds to that talk ow whether or not goals are achieved). Communication equity, then, in this research, is seen as an extension and specification of the general theory of relational equity reviewed earlier.

Assuming that equity principles operate in intimate relationships, one behavioral input or contribution to a couple's relationship is the amount and kind of communication between the two participants. Indeed, communication has been shown to be a major determinant of a married couple's satisfaction with their relationship (c.f., Bagarozzi and Atilano, 1980). Notwithstanding this fact, exactly how perceptions of equity are correlated with behaviors from a conversation between participants in a marital dyad is not clear, since no one has investigated it.

The major assumption underlying the present research is that the structure, function, and content of a couple's talk provides a unique focus for viewing a couple's relationship. Talk, and not the participants who initiate the talk, is investigated here as a primary means by which statements may be made about the nature of a couple's relationship. One of the factors involved in such a relationship is the participants' perceptions of communication equity from a context-free and context-specific sense. As will be fully outlined in Chapter III, each participant was asked to react, a posteriori, to the context-specific talk in which he or she was a participant in a conversation with his or her marital partner. Further, each participant was asked to assess communication equity in their relationship from a general, context-free sense.

There are two different ways to investigate perceptions of equity in communication in long-term intimate relationships. The first is context-free, investigating the couples' perceptions of the equity in their general day-to-day communication behavior. The second is context-specific, in which their perceptions of equity in relation to a specific conversation is investigated. The context-free questions involve one's feelings about how each partner uses communication as an input and how he or she views the impact of that communication upon their relationship. Hence, issues such as one partner more frequently initiating or never being

able to initiate a conversation, feeling that most conversations are truncated or extraordinarily lengthy, or finding that certain topics are difficult to converse about because of a lack of knowledge or expertise in the subject matter, becomes important.

In contrast to the context-free view, the context-specific view of equity in communication looks directly at the members' feelings about a specific conversation. The specific view is situational and context-bound (Mishler, 1979). These perceptions are directed toward specific behaviors that operate in the conversation. Hence, feelings and reactions concerning issues such as how turns to speak were allocated, how and under what circumstances the participants engaged themselves in or disengaged themselves from arguments, whether one participant was frequently interrupted or unable to successfully interrupt the other, or how one participant changed a topic or sustained an existing topic, become important.

Ethnomethodologically speaking, investigating the context-free dimension of communication equity can be viewed as bringing to light the general reality within which the couples operate conversationally, and investigating the context-specific dimension can be viewed as unconvering the ongoing manner in which such a reality is constructed. Neither of these dimensions has yet been examined in any detail.

In summary, fundamental to this study is the notion that communication, as manifest in marital couples' conversation, is viewed as an input to the status of a couple's relationship. The emphasis of this study, however, is not upon the impact or outcome that communication has upon selected variables (such as marital satisfaction, role discrepancy, and role strain). Rather, the focus of this research is to descriptively investigate the conversational behaviors which are present given a particular level of context-free and context-specific communication equity in a couple's relationship, and to correlate those specific conversation behaviors with the couple's perceptions of equity.

Research Questions

That principles of relational equity, global communication equity, and specific communication behaviors identifiable within the context of a couple's conversation have never been concurrently investigated is an important omission to both the study of equity theory and communication in intimate relationships. Rather than assuming the existence of communication as a construct and determining the effects or consequences, this research seeks to determine the behaviors which are relevant to context-free and context-specific communication equity. This study, then, investigates the following seven questions:

(1) What are the patterns of structural and functional communication and topic change in the conversation between husbands and wives?

(2) Given a level of context-free communication equity, what are the patterns of structural communication appropriate to each level?

(3) Given a level of context-free communication equity, what are the patterns of functional communication appropriate to each level?

(4) Given a level of context-free communication equity, what are the patterns of topic change appropriate to each level?

(5) Given a level of context-specific communication equity, what are the patterns of structural communication appropriate to each level?

(6) Given a level of context-specific communication equity, what are the patterns of functional communication appropriate to each level?

(7) Given a level of context-specific communication equity, what are the patterns of topic change appropriate to each level?

CHAPTER III

METHOD AND DESIGN

This chapter deals with the design of the study and the methods by which the data were analyzed. The chapter contains a discussion of procedures and a detailed discussion of the analytic methodology.

Procedures

Subject Selection

Twelve married couples provided the sample for this study. They were selected on a volunteer basis to provide conversational and self-report data for these analyses. All of the couples were recruited through a flyer (Appendix A) which outlined the scope and nature of their potential participation in the study.

Twelve couples were established as a sample for this study for two reasons: (1) this number allowed for the possibility of equal groups of four couples each to be determined for the three levels of context-free and context-specific communication equity. Four couples were believed to be sufficient to provide an adequate number of language patterns to correspond with a particular level of communication'

equity and (2) given the overwhelming amount of data generated from eighteen couples in a previous study (Cooley and Albrecht, 1980), talk from twelve couples was believed to be sufficient to provide an adequate corpus of data. All twelve couples were caucasian. The means and ranges for the demographic data for these couples is provided in Table 1. A more detailed analysis is presented in Chapter IV.

Table 1

Means and Ranges for Demographic Data

	Mean	Range
Age	38.0	40
Years Married	13.8	41
Number of Children	1.6	3
Number of Previous Marriages	1.3	2

Consistent with the requirements specified by the Human Subjects Committee of the Office of Research Administration at the University of Oklahoma, all couples were assured that at no time would the raw data given on the self-report instruments or any part of their conversation be made known to anyone outside of the research project and that any parts of conversations selected for illustrations in this dissertation or future journal articles would have all proper names,

dates, or references which could possibly identify the couple changed or deleted. All the couples signed an Informed Consent Form prior to the administration of the study (see Appendix B).

Data Gathering Procedures

For each couple, data were gathered in two sessions. First, the writer visited them in their home in order to explain the study and answer any questions. If the couple agreed to participate, they were given the Informed Consent Form to sign and the initial instruments to complete. These instruments consisted of biographical data (Appendix C), relational equity questions (Appendix D), and an eighteen item instrument for context-free communication equity (Appendix E). The writer explained each of the instruments in detail and provided sample answers for questions on each instrument. The couples completed all instruments in the same room. They were separated as much as possible and were instructed not to discuss any of the items with each other. The writer stayed in the room to answer any questions or respond to any difficulties the couples had concerning the instruments. During this session an appointment for taping each couple at a future time was established. The initial session took approximately twenty to thirty minutes to complete.

At the second session, held approximately seven to

ten days later, the conversation data were recorded, the context-specific communication equity instrument (Appendix I) was administered, and the topic interview conducted. For eight of these couples, the second session took place in the home of the faculty director of this project. That home was selected because of its location, the pragmatic advantage of maintaining the recording equipment set up in a single location, and the relaxed atmosphere it provided (as opposed to a more formal setting such as a college classroom). The other four couples did not live in the Norman, Oklahoma area and so data were gathered from them at locations which were more convenient for them. Three couples were video-taped in the Department of Speech and Theatre at Midwestern State University, Wichita Falls, Texas. The lounge where the taping was conducted was arranged like the living room of the faculty director of the project. The remaining couple was video-taped in the living room of their home in Lawton, Oklahoma.

All couples were interviewed by the writer. The couples were given identical specific instructions prior to the beginning of the interview (see Appendix F). All couples were seated on a sofa facing a video camera. For those couples who were filmed in the home of the faculty director, the camera and video-tape recorder were fixed in the hallway door at the back of the room, with subjects facing the camera. In the other two settings, the camera and video-tape

recorder were fixed in the back of the room. A microphone was placed between the participants and connected to the video equipment. In addition, an audio-tape recording of each conversation was made and lavalier microphones were placed on each participant to assure a high-quality audio recording. An operator assisted the couples in placing the microphones on their clothing, and monitored the audio and video recording equipment during the recording of the conversation.

Each couple was asked to talk about five general questions regarding their marriage and marriage in general: (1) Together, describe your home; (2) How did you meet and decide to marry? (3) How do you talk to each other about what goes on during the day at work when you both get together at the end of the day? (4) What issues cause disagreement for you and how do you deal with those disagreements? and (5) What do you feel makes marriage and home life strong and what do you feel makes it difficult?[5] The couples were not aware that their conversation in response to question one would not be analyzed. That question was created by Krayer to serve as a warm-up question to give the couples time to become accustomed to the situation and to talking with each other in front of the interviewer and recording equipment. The discussion as a result of the first question was intended to last approximately five minutes. This question was audio, but not video tape

recorded.

Each of the remaining four questions was intended to generate between six and ten minutes of talk. They were utilized by Farace and Rogers (1976) in their original research with marital dyads in relational communication. The first, "how did you meet and decide to marry?" was a familiar question that both partners had probably discussed publicly numerous times. As such, the question was a good introductory one and provided a great deal of data. The remaining three questions were less likely to have been rehearsed. In this study, after having discussed two previous, relatively simple, questions, the couples found little difficulty generating the desired amount of talk for these three questions.

The subjects were instructed that the interviewer would in no way participate in the conversation and that the intent behind the study was for subjects to talk with each other and not to the interviewer. In instances where couples exhausted their discussion on a question prior to the desired time limit, the interviewer asked appropriate follow-up questions to generate additional data. Typical follow-up questions were: Question two ("Why don't you talk about the wedding?"), Question three ("Since you don't talk very much about work at home, what topics frequently recur?"), and Question four ("How are these general ideas about home and family life manifested in your own marriage?").

During the conversation, the interviewer took notes on the topics which were initiated by the participants for use in the individual interviews which followed the conversation. Occasionally, the interviewer reacted to a statement with a chuckle. The interviwer maintained frequent eye contact with the couple and used it to affect the flow of interaction. If one of the participants started to talk with the interviewer, the interviewer would break eye contact with the speaker and look directly at his or her partner. Often, the speaker returned to talking with his or her partner.

The role of the interviewer in this research was as a facilitator and active listener but not as an active verbal participant. The intent was for couples to talk with each other and not to the interviewer. The facilitator role, as opposed to a role requiring active verbal participation, was appropriate in that the interest here was not in that talk which occurs between the couple and the interviewer. However, not all talk generated by participants in this study was between the husband and wife. Some comments were directed to the interviewer. Some couples talked in the third person ("he/she") as opposed to second person ("you"). The data, while not meeting the intent behind its gathering was still valid because (1) the talk was a joint presentation which was produced between husbands and wives, (2) the interviewer did not contribute to the conversation, and (3) the differential

use of person does not affect the structural, functional, or topic change categories assigned to the data.

The behaviors used by the interviewer to act out the facilitator role were: (1) a failure to verbally respond or to question any of the contributions of the participants, (2) the use of eye contact as a means to perpetuate the conversation, and (3) the inclusion of probing or follow-up questions. These behaviors maximized the amount of talk generated by the participants as they interacted with each other, while at the same time, maintaining a public face for the conversation.

Following the taping, the husband and wife were separated, one remaining with the interviewer to complete the topic interview while the other adjourned to another room with the faculty director of this project to complete the context-specific communication equity instrument. The person remaining to complete the topic interview was told to leave the microphone on and was given the instructions in Appendix G.

In the topic interview, the individuals were asked four major questions regarding (1) the topics discussed in the taped conversation on which they considered themselves to be more expert, confident, or knowledgeable, (3) the topics discussed in the conversation which the subjects did not feel comfortable talking about, and (4) the degree to which subjects considered the taped conversation to be a typical, representative public conversation for them.

These questions allowed the researcher to assess the couples' feelings about the topics which they initiated as they dealt with each of the five questions. The information gathered in the topic-interview allowed for further understanding of the couple's behavior during the conversation and their relationship in general. Topics on which subjects felt expert or non-expert were believed to be behaviorally differentiated during the conversation in terms of the amount of talk that subjects would generate. Topics which subjects felt uncomfortable with were believed to generate less talk than those which subjects were comfortable with. These issues, however, were outside of the research questions for this project, and were not investigated here.

The participants then reversed these settings such that both partners completed both data collections. Each of the sessions lasted approximately ten minutes. The subject who left the room was given a seventeen-item instrument which tapped his or her perceptions of communication equity within the specific conversation which was recorded (see Appendix I). The seventeen items on this instrument generally corresponded with the items from the context-free equity instrument which the subjects completed in the initial session. The faculty director of this project gave subjects the instructions in Appendix H prior to the completion of the instrument. He also remained in the room to assist subjects in completing the instrument.

Transcription

The conversations were transcribed from the audio-tapes. Each transcribed line includes both the husband's and the wife's talk and is read as one line, as illustrated in the following examples. The conversation proceeds linearly through time, and the transcription, when read one line at a time, reflects this progression (see example 1). Pauses are noted by a string of consecutive dots (...) (see example 1, lines 1 and 3). Any overlap between the husband and the wife's talk indicates simultaneous speech (see example 2, line 1, where the husband begins talking before the wife is finished). Slashes indicate the end of a turn constructional unit (TCU), and a place where another speaker may take a turn, called a turn relevance place (TRP) (see examples 1 and 2).

The linear transcription with both speakers displayed in one line presents the talk in an ordered time sequence so that occurrences of turn taking (see example 1 below), simultaneous speech (see example 2), and pauses (see example 1), may be easily discerned.

Example 1

1. H /We met in June/...
   W /About the tenth./
2. H
   W /It was a cold day/and I was outside./

3. H

W /Bob was standing...on the corner./

4. H /I was cold too./

W /That's what happened./

The transcription was prepared double-spaced, with each turn constructional unit set apart by slash marks. From the transcription in example 1, the reader may easily tell that the two speakers never spoke simultaneously. That is, each participant's contribution immediately followed the other's. Conversely, example 2 illustrates simultaneous speech.

Example 2

1. H /not really./

W /We decided to have children early./

2. H /We talked./

W /Bob was ready/...I knew he wanted them./

Appendix J includes a portion of a transcribed conversation with turns and functions marked accordingly. The conversation is from data gathered in this project.

Analytical Methods

This section deals with the ways in which the data are analyzed in order to answer the research questions. Relational equity, communication equity, and the behavioral analysis of conversation are discussed in turn.

Relational Equity

The couples' perceptions of global equity in their relationship were assessed with the Walster, et. al., scales (Walster, Walster, and Berscheid, 1978; see Appendix D). In that instrument, each participant was asked to assess perceptions of his or her own contributions to and outcomes from the relationship on an eight-point Likert scale ranging from "extremely negative" to "extremely positive." In addition, each participant also made an assessment of his or her partner's contributions and outcomes. The four values from each respondent were placed in the appropriate formula to yield an index of "equitableness" from each respondent's point of view. The symbols for the formula may be interpreted as follows (see Table 2): the letter on the left side indicates who the scrutineer is. The letter in the center indicates whether inputs or outcomes are being assessed.

Table 2

Equity Formulae

Respondent's perception of:	Wives	Husbands
Own inputs	$W^{I}W$	$H^{I}H$
Partner's inputs	$W^{I}H$	$H^{I}W$
Own outcomes	$W^{O}W$	$H^{O}H$
Partner's Outcomes	$W^{O}H$	$H^{O}H$

The computational formulae for each person are as follows (Walster, Berscheid, and Walster, 1976):

$$\underline{\text{For husbands}}: \quad {}^{H}E_{H} = \frac{H^{O}H - H^{I}H}{(|H^{I}H|)^{k_H}} - \frac{H^{O}W - H^{I}W}{(|H^{I}W|)^{k_W}}$$

To gain the husband's perceptions of relational equity: (1) subtract the husband's perceptions of his wife's inputs from his perceptions of his outcomes ($H^{O}W - H^{I}W$). (2) Divide that figure by the absolute value of his perceptions of his wife's inputs raised to the proper sign $(|H^{I}W|)^{k_W}$. (3) Subtract the husband's perceptions of his own outcomes ($H^{O}H - H^{I}H$). (4) Divide that figure by the absolute value of his perceptions of his own inputs raised to the proper sign $(|H^{I}H|)^{k_H}$. (5) Subtract step 4 from step 2 and the equity figure is obtained. The reader should recall that the exponents k_H and k_W take on the value of +1 or -1, depending on the sign of H and W's inputs and H and W's gains (outcomes - inputs). k_H = sign ($H^{I}H$) x sign ($H^{O}H - H^{I}H$) and k_W = sign ($H^{I}W$) x sign ($H^{O}W - H^{I}W$).

$$\underline{\text{For wives}}: \quad {}^{W}E_{W} = \frac{W^{O}W - W^{I}W}{(|W^{I}W|)^{k_W}} - \frac{W^{O}H - W^{I}H}{(|W^{I}W|)^{k_H}}$$

The scores ${}^{H}E_{H}$ and ${}^{W}E_{W}$ are indices of the degree of relational equity as perceived by each of the participants in the relationship. There are two possibilities for perceived inequity. First, a negative value indicates the individual is underbenefited and perceives that he or she is

getting less than deserved from the relationship. Second, a positive value indicates the individual is overbenefited and perceives that he or she is getting more than deserved from the relationship. If the score is zero, the relationship is perceived by the participant as equitable.

Communication Equity

Perceptions of communication equity were assessed for two different aspects of equity in this study: context-free and context-specific. Each is dealt with in turn.

Context-free. A couple's perception of communication equity in their relationship as it was manifested on a day-to-day basis was assessed with the Krayer scales of Communication Context-Free Equity (see Appendix E). A pilot study was conducted in order to gain reliability data concerning the nature of the instrument and to eliminate items with poor reliability and consistency. 280 subjects were asked to judge their communication with the person with whom they believed they were the most intimate.

The pilot scales consisted of twenty items which measured two dimensions. Subjects were first asked the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with a statement concerning their perceptions of their communication with their partners on an eight-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." Then, subjects were asked to assess the equity of the item, indicating on

an eight-point Likert scale ranging from "extremely positive" to "extremely negative" how they felt about the phenomenon that was agreed or disagreed with in terms of how it impacts upon their relationship.

After the pilot scales were administered, factor analysis was conducted using a principal-components solution with an oblique rotation. Factor analysis is a statistical method of data reduction. Typically, factor analysis is conducted on questionnaires with many items in an effort to determine which items are highly related or cluster with one another and to determine the strength of each of the individual items in relationship to a hypothetical dimension, variable, or factor. The dimension or factor is named following a determination of the nature of the items which are related, or which constitute the factor. Factors which consist of more than one item are called common factors; those with only one item are unique factors.

Principal components was selected due to its ability to provide a determinant solution and its use of 1.0 in the diagonals as communality estimates. An oblique rotation was selected after an examination of the intercorrelation matrix (see Table 3) which indicated loadings of at least .30 on a large number of variables. Significance was obtained on 32 of these correlations.

Insert Table 3 about here

Table 3

Intercorrelation Matrix

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1																				
2	.34																			
3	.14	.20																		
4	.35	.31	.27																	
5	.15	.23	.21	.24																
6	.25	.21	.25	.31	.15															
7	.32	.31	.16	.27	.13	.34														
8	.37	.35	.13	.48	.14	.30	.46													
9	.35	.14	.06	.16	.13	.19	.18	.21												
10	.15	.14	.19	.11	.16	.18	.13	.15	.17											
11	.22	.17	.24	.22	.14	.21	.24	.29	.18	.28										
12	-.07	.19	.29	.19	.24	.11	.22	.12	.12	.15	.22									
13	.35	.14	.22	.26	.12	.31	.31	.40	.19	.27	.41	.16								
14	.28	.36	.06	.38	.17	.27	.46	.38	.11	.23	.24	.18	.37							
15	.20	.22	.19	.16	.20	.12	.22	.13	.05	.05	.30	.22	.19	.29						
16	.19	.07	.06	.18	.10	.03	.15	.03	.16	.28	.26	.08	.16	.12	.18					
17	.31	.30	.21	.34	.22	.18	.28	.37	.15	.20	.31	.14	.36	.33	.16	.24				
18	.05	.15	.15	.18	.19	.13	.16	.25	.16	.05	.06	.39	.17	.31	.09	.03	.25			
19	.14	.27	.09	.16	.30	.18	.22	.12	.14	.11	.08	.19	.18	.29	.28	.08	.24	.13		
20	.17	.19	.09	.10	.38	.08	.08	.11	.03	.08	.21	.06	.20	.23	.34	.10	.19	.19	.42	

The factor analysis (see Table 4) yielded five factors. The cutoff point for eigenvalues was 1.0. Because of the oblique solution, it was not possible to apply a purity index to the items. The criteria used to place items on a factor were as follows: (1) items which did not load at least .50 on any factor were eliminated, and (2) items which loaded .50 or more on more than one factor were eliminated. Of the twenty items, only two (11 and 15) failed to meet the criteria and were dropped from the instrument used in the final study.

Insert Table 4 about here

The analysis yielded four common factors and one unique factor. Factor one consisted of nine items (1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 17) and was labeled conversational interaction. This factor had an eigenvalue of 5.06. Factor two consisted of three items (5, 19, 20) and was labeled mutual satisfaction. Factor two had an eigenvalue of 1.62. Factor three consisted of three items (9, 10, 16), was labeled avoidance, and had an eigenvalue of 1.40. Factor four consisted of two items (12, 18) and was labeled conversation quantity with an eigenvalue of 1.32. Finally, factor five, a unique factor because it consisted only of question three, was labeled confidence, and had an eigenvalue of 1.05. The total model accounted for 52.3 percent of

the variance.

Table 4

Factor Analysis of Context-Free Equity

Item	Loading
Factor 1	
Conversational Interaction	
1. I frequently don't get "my say" in conversations with my partner.	.65
2. I initiate our conversations more often than my partner does.	.53
4. In conversations with my partner, I do most of the talking.	.63
6. In conversations with my partner, I change the subject more often than he/she does.	.54
7. I bring up more interesting things to talk about than my partner does.	.68
8. My partner dominates our conversations.	.78
13. My partner frequently interrupts me while I'm talking.	.55
14. I exert greater effort during our conversations than my partner does.	.65
17. My partner talks too much.	.51
Eigenvalue	5.06
Factor 2	
Mutual Satisfaction	
5. When conversations with my partner are over, I usually feel satisfied.	.65

19.	My partner and I feel the same way about our conversations with each other.	.71
20.	I enjoy the conversations I have with my partner more than I do with anyone else.	.80
	Eigenvalue	1.62

Factor 3

Avoidance Behavior

9.	When my partner and I are talking at the same time, I usually "give in" and stop talking.	.52
10.	When my partner brings up topics which I do not want to talk about, I usually interrupt him/her or attempt to change the subject.	.67
16.	There are some topics I don't feel comfortable talking about with my partner.	.74
	Eigenvalue	1.40

Factor 4

Conversation Quantity

12.	I wish my partner would talk with me more often.	.77
18.	I wish the conversations I have with my partner would last longer.	.79
	Eigenvalue	1.32

Factor 5

Confidence

3.	When conversations with my partner include topics which I feel less expert and confident on than my partner is, I usually talk less.	-.85

Eigenvalue 1.05

Cronbach's alpha for internal consistency was conducted for the twenty item scale before any items were eliminated. For the entire instrument, an alpha of .84 was obtained. Further, an alpha for each factor was obtained by inserting only those items which loaded on a common factor. Factor one, Conversational Interaction, had an alpha of .81. Factor two, Mutual Satisfaction, had an alpha of .64. Factor three, Avoidance, had an alpha of .43. Factor four, Conversation Quantity, had an alpha of .56. Factor five was a unique factor, and because only one item loaded on it, a reliability analysis could not be performed on it.

Context-specific. A couple's perception of communication equity in their relationship as it was manifested in a specific conversation was assessed with the Krayer scales of communication context-specific equity (see Appendix I). These perceptions were tied to the conversation they had just completed, hence, issues such as how participants felt about how the turns to speak were allocated, whether one participant was frequently interrupted or unable to successfully interrupt the other, or how one participant changed topics or sustained existing topics became important.

The seventeen items corresponded with items from the context-free communication instrument. In most cases, the

wording was identical except for the insertion of "in this conversation" into the items. Because of the similarity of these two instruments and because the context-specific instrument could not be piloted due to the fact that it referred to a specific conversation which the participants must have been engaged in prior to its administration, reliability figures from the context-free instrument must suffice and were generalized to this specific instrument.

In short, the goal of both the context-free and context-specific equity instruments was to gather subjects' perceptions about the communication in their relationship. The second step of the study was to discover the patterns operating in their conversation behavior. Finally, these patterns were related to the perceptions gathered from the two instruments.

Behavioral Analysis of Conversation

The operationalization of the three major systems of analysis whose theoretical assumptions were delineated in Chapter II are detailed in this section. In review, these systems are labeled structural, functional, and topic-change. For the structural analysis, the constructs proposed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1978) are used to investigate surface-level talk with an emphasis on sequencing of turns between the participants. In addition, the use of interruptions to gain a turn to talk and to control

the topic is examined. The functional analysis (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975) examines the use of language within the structure, focusing on the contributions offered by the participants and how they fit into the overall conversation. The analysis of topic change (Cooley and Albrecht, 1980) deals with what couples talked about in their joint presentation and focused on the distribution of the content between the participants. Topic control itself bears on communication equity. In addition, the topics which were discussed reveal things about the history and development of a couple's relationship as well as provide a context for an analysis of structure and function of their talk.

Each of these systems produces interesting data in its own right. The structural system provides for an examination of talk from the standpoint of how turns or contributions are sequenced or patterned. The functional system provides a greater depth of understanding of these behaviors by noting how these turns are utilized strategically. The topic-change system provides information about who controlled what topic as another indicator of the type of relationship these couples had.

While each of these systems provides unique data, they are also quite complementary in that the combination of the systems produces other interesting data. The structural system provides units of analysis that are labeled by

function and that are identified with a topic. The functional system identifies certain categories of talk by which topics are changed and turns are allocated. These categories which interact with topic changes provide insight into conversational strategies employed by speakers. In short, these three systems provide a complex set of interrelationships. Patterns of occurrences can be constructed for categories within each system as well as between the three systems.

Structural analysis. Each of the constructs of the Sacks, et. al., system which were utilized in this study is detailed below. In some cases, constructs which are not part of the Sacks, et. al., system but which are within consistent, logical extensions of it have been added in order to supply more detail and to better differentiate between constructs than that system allows. Examples for each of the original and added constructs follow their introduction.

(1) Turn - All talk by one speaker which is bounded by another speaker's talk on both sides except in instances where the turn initiates or completes the conversation, in which case the turn is bounded on one side by silence.

(2) Turn Constructional Unit (TCU) - A sentence, or anything transformable into a sentence, by the known rules of discourse.[6] A TCU or group of TCU's comprises a turn.

(3) Turn Relevance Place (TRP) - Places in conversation where turns may, but not necessarily will be, taken. TRP's

bound TCU's.

The basic unit of the structural turn-taking system is the turn which consists of one or more turn-constructional units. Each of these three constructs (turn, TCU, TRP) is illustrated below in Example 3.

Example 3

1. H /O.K./...Where did we first meet/...college/
   W
2. H
   W /in school/...I saw you with your sister/
3. H /Which sister?/
   W /Mary./

(Cooley and Albrecht, 1980)

In this example, both the husband and wife have two turns. The husband's first turn (line 1) consists of three TCU's (marked off by slashes) while his second turn (line 3) consists of only one. The wife's first turn (line 2) consists of two TCU's while her second (line 3) has only one. A turn relevance place (TRP) is indicated in Example 3 by each slash mark, signaling the potential end of a turn.

(4) Filler (F) - A sound, word, or group of words that do not represent a sentence, and therefore, do not qualify as a turn constructional unit. In addition to this generic category, there are two special types of fillers:

(4a) Repetition (R) - Sounds, words, or groups of words that do not qualify as a TCU

that are exactly repeated immediately after their utterance.

(4b) False Start (FS) - Sounds, words, or groups of words that do not qualify as a TCU due to the speaker's break and commencement of a thought in another way.

These two special types of fillers (F) are illustrated in Example 4. The repetition (R), "ahh," (line 1) is spoken by the husband while the false start (FS), "it," (line 2) is spoken by the wife:

Example 4

1. H /Where we went.../ahh...ahh...I saw one in
   W
2. H Denver./
   W /It....They looked at us funny./

In line 1 of Example 4, had "ahh" only been uttered once, the category would have been the generic "filler" and not a repetition. Fillers were often used in these data as turn maintenance strategies to avoid giving up the floor to another speaker.

(5) Interruption (I) - An attempt by a non-speaker to obtain a turn while another speaker is in the midst of a turn. Interruptions occur when one participant begins speaking while another has the floor or is in the midst of a TCU. An interruption attempt must occur at a place other than a TRP and may be successful (if the original speaker

relinquishes the turn) or unsuccessful (if the original speaker continues speaking). This conceptualization of interruption is not like the one formulated by Cooley and Albrecht (1980), who allowed the construct to be applied to attempts to gain the floor at TRP's as well as at non-TRP's. Interruptions in this study are <u>not</u> limited to occurrences of simultaneous speech, but they can occur at internal pauses as well, as long as the pause is not at a TRP.

Interruptions are violations of the turn-allocation techniques formulated by Sacks and his colleagues and are attempts by the non-speaker to gain the floor at a place other than a TRP. If the interruption is successful, the speaker who has had the floor will cease talking, as Example 5 illustrates:

Example 5

H /Well we talked/...danced/and

W /<u>What is the question</u>?/

In some cases, the interrupted speaker regains the floor at the first possible opportunity (usually at a TRP) and continues with the original topic. If the interruption is unsuccessful, the interrupting speaker stops talking and allows the interrupted speaker to continue, as Example 6, an unsuccessful attempt to interrupt on the part of the husband, illustrates:

Example 6

1. H

   W /Well, I guess you finally got me to sit

2. H Well, I probably

   W down/and be able to talk about things where

3. H

   W I couldn't when we were first married./

(Cooley and Albrecht, 1980)

(6) Break (B) - An attempt by a non-speaker to obtain a turn while another person is in the midst of a turn and it is obvious from the data that the speaker did not intend to give up the floor. Unlike an interruption, a break occurs at a TRP only. A break is actually a case where a non-speaker follows Rule 2 (he or she selects to take a turn at a TRP) in order to gain the floor.

However, breaks are different from all other occurrences of Rule 2 in that the original speaker does not, from the data, wish to give up the floor. The data will indicate this lack of intention by either showing that the original speaker returns to his or her topic following the break. Breaks, therefore, impact upon the control of a topic and upon the maintenance of floor time in a way that all other occurrences of Rule 2 do not. All breaks, by definition, are successful.

Example 7

1. H /She told me to count them/
   W /I was scared/
2. H /So, I counted them./
   W

Example 8

1. H /Sex is important./
   W /In any relationship./
2. H /Sex is central./
   W

This analysis utilized these constructs to study patterns of turn-taking structure. The concept of pattern is explored in a later section of this chapter. In addition, the structural turn-taking system of Sacks and his colleagues provided an umbrella of analytical units under which patterns of language functions and topic changes were studied.

Functional analysis. Twenty-two acts or categories are explicated in the original Sinclair and Coulthard system. Because their system was designed specifically to study classroom interaction, only sixteen of these categories are applicable to spontaneous conversation (Cooley and Albrecht, 1980). Each TCU in these data was assigned to one of these sixteen categories.

A brief description and an example of each of the sixteen Sinclair and Coulthard categories follows. In those examples which consist of more than one TCU, the underlined

TCU exemplifies the category being defined.

(1) Marker - an utterance designed to begin or end discourse:

Example 9

/Let's get started with our session./

(2) Starter - introductory language which directs attention or thought toward an area, increasing the likelihood that the next speaker's initial TCU will be on that area:

Example 10

/You're worried about pleasing them,/are you feeling guilty about this?/

(Dauphinais, 1981)

(3) Elicitation - requests a verbal response:

Example 11

Co: /You keep telling me how your parents would feel./Tell me how you would feel./

Cl: /That's a hard question to answer./

(Dauphinais, 1981)

(4) Directive - requests a non-verbal response such as a movement:

Example 12

/Joe,/come on in,/have a seat./

(Dauphinais, 1981)

(5) Informative - a statement whose sole function is to supply information, yielding a response of attention,

understanding or information:

Example 13

Cl: /Well,/I wouldn't mind being a doctor,/it's just so hard for me,/I just don't think I'm capable of doing it./

Co: /I think this is really a situation where you have to consider what your own feelings are/ because you're the one who's going to put out the work./

(Dauphinais, 1981)

(6) Clue - provides additional information which helps a respondent to answer an elicitation:

Example 14

Cl: /I don't remember./

Co: /If you recall at our last session you were speaking about your mother./

(7) Acknowledge - a response which indicates a speaker's initiation has been heard and understood:

Example 15

Cl: /I guess you know quite a few people around here./

Co: /Yes/I know several families./How about yours?/

(8) Reply - a linguistic response appropriate to an elicitation:

Example 16

H /Where is the paper tonight?/

W /In the chair./

(9) Accept - indicates the response given by another speaker was appropriate:

Example 17

C1: /I think I've answered the question./

Co: /Yes./

(10) Evaluate - a response which comments on the quality of the reply, informative, or elicitation:

Example 18

Co: /Where did you first meet your wife?/

C1: /That's an excellent question./

(11) Meta-statement - provides an indication of the structure, purpose, or direction of the discourse or interchange:

Example 19

Co: /I want to probe more deeply into your feelings at this session./

(12) Loop - returns the discourse to some previous point:

Example 20

C1: /Let me expand upon my comment from a few moments ago./

(13) Bid - signals the desire to contribute to the discourse:

Example 21

Co: /I'm going to talk next./

(14) Nomination - calls on another person or gives them permission to talk:

Example 22

Co: /I want to add one more thing./

Cl: /Go ahead./

(15) Prompt - signals that a response is required:

Example 23

Co: /Let's go in that direction.../Ask a question.../

(16) Comment - exemplifies, expands, justifies, and provides additional information:

Example 24

/I only asked that question to help and not to embarass you./

Functions of TCU's were examined within their context. To determine how a TCU functioned in a portion of discourse, the research looked at those TCU's which bounded the TCU under examination. The focus was on the behavior that was observed from the data. Intent was not considered in the assignment of functions. The question asked when making these assignments was not "what did the husband mean when he said ...," but rather, "how did the wife respond when the husband said...." With this behavioral base, the data were analyzed functionally without judging the intent or motivation behind

any of the TCU's.

Further, because attention was focused on the TCU's which bounded the TCU of interest, it is appropriate to discuss the assumptions regarding the following or response TCU at this time. Response was in most cases immediate and usually could not be distributed. Consistent with the behavioral base argued throughout, the assignment of a function to a TCU was made on the basis of how the TCU was used in the context in which it was seated. This assignment was based on a determination of what the receiver did with the TCU after its introduction into the discourse. As such, the analysis focused specifically on the TCU's which surrounded a TCU of interest. With few exceptions, it was not possible to suggest that a particular response TCU was directed toward any TCU other than that which preceded it. Such an attempt, which is here labeled distributing, can only be made by ascribing intent to the mind of a speaker. Example 25, a segment from a counselor-client dyad illustrates this point:

Example 25

Co: /Your parents' wishes are important to you,/ yet you're uncertain about becoming a doctor./

Cl: /<u>Yeah</u>,/I have a lot of doubts about becoming a doctor./I feel sort of guilty about telling my parents,/letting them down./ I

really have to be a doctor./

(Dauphinais, 1981)

When the client responds with "yeah" in the first TCU of the turn, the understanding is that it is in response to the second TCU of the counselor's turn and not in the first TCU of that turn. This conclusion is supported by the content of the client's second TCU. Any other would require inference and the assignment of intent to the speaker.

The Sinclair-Coulthard category of loop is a problem here and will serve to illustrate this assumption further. As defined by the system, a loop returns the talk to a previous place or topic in the conversation. Example 26 (in the final TCU of the counselor's turn) illustrates a TCU which functions as a loop in that the speaker notes his return to a previous place. This example does not clash with behavioral requirements and does not require any judgment of intent:

Example 26

Co: /Sometimes the problem even involved my parents,/that made it even harder to talk./ You said before you just can't let your parents down./

(Dauphinais, 1981)

But, the following example cannot be a loop behaviorally, in that one does not know from the data if the speaker is returning to a previous data point or not:

Example 27

Co: /I feel like your parents would really like to see you happy;/they know that being a doctor is a very needed profession and they know you can do it and they probably feel that would make you happy./<u>But let us look at some of the things that are important to you</u>./I believe we need to look at what is in us./

(Dauphinais, 1981)

In those data, the subject matter of "what is important to you" is not new. Yet, to say that the function of the TCU is to return the talk to a previous point in the interaction cannot be judged solely on the basis of behavioral data and thus requires inference. The assignment of "loop" to this TCU could only be made if the client then begins to speak about what is important to him.

One interesting exception to the rule that functions were assigned to each TCU was found in the case of bids. Bids signal the desire to contribute to the discourse. Cooley and Albrecht (1980) decided that bids make a functional contribution to the discourse whether they were a TCU or not. As a result, in their data and in the data generated for this project, bids were assigned in any case in which a speaker attempts to contribute. In most cases, false starts and fillers were assigned the functional role of a bid.

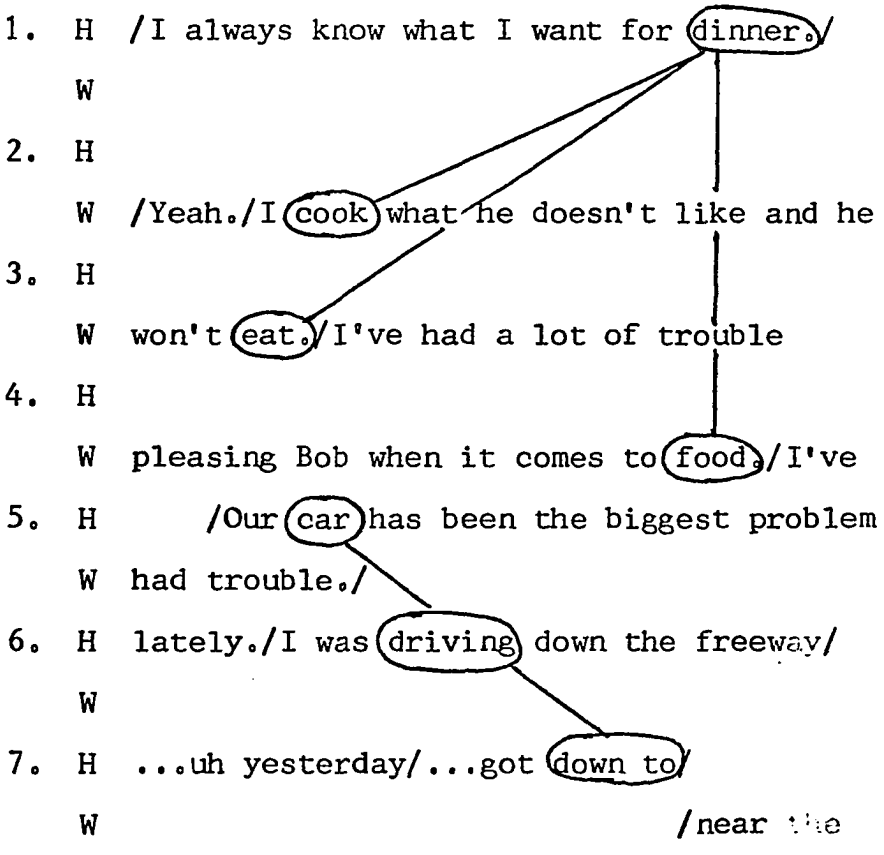
An analysis of conversation which is conducted from this functional framework allows for the analysis of language as primary data and for the analysis of patterns of interaction. As has been shown, intent and effort, not function, is the focus of analysis in other systems of analyzing talk. Patterns of communication are lost in several of these analytical systems due to the fact that conversational turns are analyzed after they are counted and lumped together into a corpus. Even where patterns of interaction have been examined, for instance, in relational communication studies, language is not examined as primary data and the function of the components of discourse is ignored.

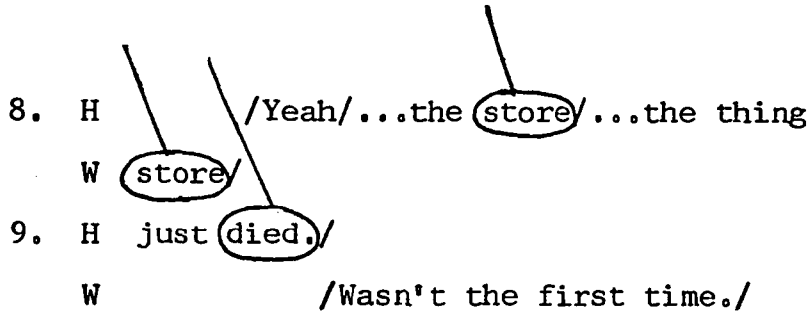
Topic-change. Each contribution a participant makes is necessarily composed of some content. This content provides a context from which sense may be made of the structural and functional patterns of talk and from which insight may be gained into the couple's relationship.

A topic is defined as a speaker's talk about a single content area. Conversational discourse is likely to include several topics, each with its particular content area. Further, each topic possesses a degree of internal cohesion which is greater than the cohesion which exists between topics. Cohesion exists, the reader will remember (see Chapter II), where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent upon the interpretation of another element. Most frequently, this other element has already

occurred. When a new topic is introduced, reference to an earlier set of contributions is not needed to gain an understanding of the content of the discourse which follows. Usually, topics are intuitively recognizable. The process utilized in this research was to mark off all intuitively recognizable topics, then to analyze cohesion when necessary to deal with the difficult or ambiguous ones. An analysis of cohesion, which coexists with topics, is available to supply objective rigor when necessary (Cooley and Albrecht, 1980).

Example 28





In the above example, the underlined TCU indicates a topic change point. The first topic is cooking; the second topic is the car. It should be noted that the two topics are intuitively recognizable, yet at the same time, represent a break in cohesion. There is greater internal cohesion within topics than between topics, as the circled words indicate.

Patterns of topic-change may be useful in identifying factors concerning the nature of talk in the relationship. The questions asked are: (1) who regularly initiated topic-changes? (2) with what functions were topic-changes usually correlated? (3) did more topics change within or between turns? Question one is an example of topic-change analysis standing on its own. Question two is an example of a relation between the topic-change system and the functional system. Question three is an example of the relation between the structural system and the topic-change system.

Reliability. Inter-rater reliability analyses for the three systems utilized in this study were performed in the following manner: the total number of transcribed pages of data was 352. Ten percent, or 35 pages, were selected through

the use of the random numbers table for inclusion in these analyses. All couples had at least one page of their transcript included in the analyses. Each of the 35 pages were analyzed for structural and functional system assignments.

Two independent coders were given instructions for these three systems and were asked to mark off the points of topic-change, turn constructional units (TCU's), and to assign functions to each of the TCU's. The results of the reliability analysis are presented in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter reports the results obtained from the data analysis. It is subdivided into five areas: subjects, instruments and reliability, a general characterization of conversational data, context-free equity research questions, and context-specific equity research questions.

Subjects

Demographic Data

Table 5 summarizes the demographic information for the twelve couples in this study. Subjects ranged in age from 27 to 67, with a mean age for all subjects of 38.0 years, (husbands, 38.9 years; wives, 36.1 years). All subjects had completed high school and just over one-half of them had completed an undergraduate degree or were working on advanced degrees. As expected, the mean age of subjects who had never completed college was higher than the mean age of subjects who were working on advanced or graduate degrees (44.2 to 35.0).

The couples' length of marriage ranged from one year to 42 years with a mean length of 13.8 years. Only

Table 5

Demographic Results for Couples

Couple	Spouse	Age	Education in Years	Years Married	Occupational Group	Relational Equity
1	H	35	16+	15	WC	+4.33
	W	35	12+	15	HW	+6.03
2	H	42	16+	8	WC	0.00
	W	40	12+	8	WC	-0.33
3	H	27	16+	4	WC	0.00
	W	30	16+	4	WC	-0.50
4	H	27	12	10	BC	+1.00
	W	27	12	10	WC	+3.03
5	H	55	12	36	BC	-1.00
	W	55	12	36	WC	+0.50
6	H	44	12+	1	WC	0.00
	W	27	16+	1	WC	-0.33
7	H	32	16+	10	WC	0.00
	W	34	12	10	WC	-10.00
8	H	29	16+	8	WC	0.00
	W	30	16+	8	WC	0.00
9	H	35	16+	4	WC	+0.50
	W	31	16	4	WC	0.00
10	H	67	12	42	BC	0.00
	W	67	12+	42	HW	+0.50
11	H	36	16	15	WC	0.00
	W	36	12+	15	HW	0.00
12	H	38	16+	13	WC	-4.00
	W	34	16	13	WC	-3.67

[a] WC refers to white-collar workers; BC refers to blue-collar workers; HW refers to home-worker.

three husbands (couples 4, 5, and 10) were blue-collar workers. All but three wives (couples 1, 10, and 11) were employed outside the home. All remaining subjects were white-collar workers. Eighteen of the twenty-four participants were in their first marriage. Only one subject was in a third marriage. Four of the participants had no children, five had one child, eleven had two, and four had three.

The Walster, Walster, and Berscheid relational equity scales were added to these analyses in order to gain more information concerning subjects. These scales revealed an interesting array of scores with a range from +10.36 to -10.00 (sum of H + W score, see the right hand columns of Table 5). A positive score indicates that the relationship was perceived as equitable by the participant, and a negative score indicates a perceived inequitable relationship.

Communication Equity

Couples were divided into three cells (high, medium, and low) according to their members' scores on the context-free and context-specific communication equity instruments. Table 6 demonstrates the couples' placement according to context-free communication equity while Table 7 does the same for context-specific communication equity. Each table is divided into two different arrays: husband-defined (meaning the couple was placed into a cell on the basis of

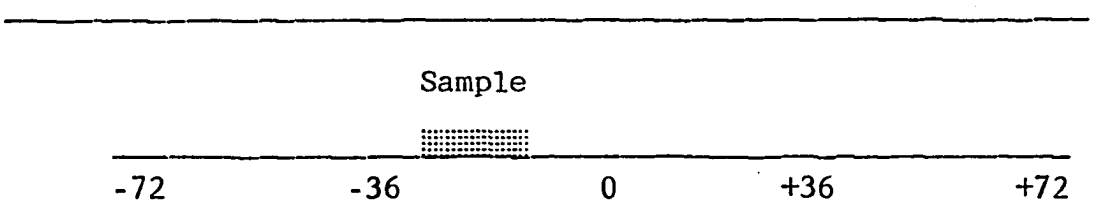
the husband's score only) and wife-defined (meaning the couple was placed into a cell on the basis of the wife's score only).

Insert Tables 6 and 7 about here

The scores for the context-free cells ranged from -30 to -11 (19) with a mean of -19.25. The context-free instrument, with 18 items, has a potential range of -72 to +72, with the negative end of the scale representing perceived inequitable communication and the positive end of the scale representing perceived equitable communication. Diagram 1 illustrates that the sample falls entirely in the inequitable area, ranging from moderately inequitable to very slightly inequitable.

Diagram 1

Context-Free Equity Range



The scores for the context-specific cells ranged from -28 to -4 (24) with a mean of -12.58. The context-specific instrument, with 17 items, ranged from -68 to +68, with negative and positive values representing perceived

Table 6

Context-Free Cells

Husband-defined			Wife-defined		
	Couple	Score		Couple	Score
H	2	-30	H	7	-30
	9	-24		1	-29
	1	-23		6	-23
	6	-22		2	-22
				12	-22
M	8	-21	M	3	-21
	3	-18		10	-21
	5	-16		11	-19
	4	-15		8	-19
L	11	-14	L	9	-12
	7	-12		4	-12
	10	-12		5	-11
	12	-11			

Table 7

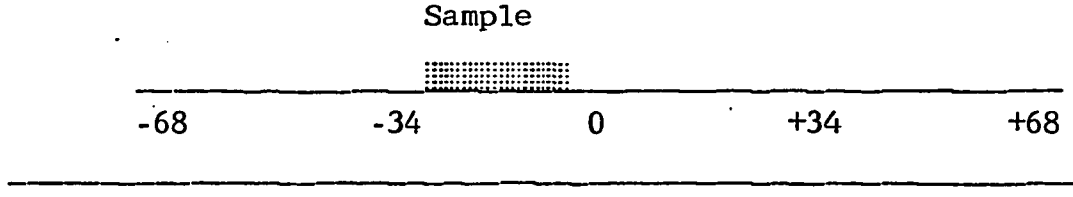
Context-Specific Cells

Husband-defined			Wife-defined		
	Couple	Score		Couple	Score
H	6	-19	H	7	-28
	5	-16		6	-18
	10	-16		10	-16
	2	-15		5	-15
M	8	-13	M	1	-14
	1	-12		4	-13
	4	-12		12	-12
	11	-12		11	- 9
L	9	-11	L	3	- 8
	3	-10		2	- 8
	12	- 9		9	- 6
	7	- 7		8	- 4

equity, as before. As illustrated in Diagram 2, the sample falls in the inequitable area and is compact within that region.

Diagram 2

Context-Specific Equity Range



An examination of Tables 6 and 7 reveals the following concerning couples which maintained the same position when context-free and context-specific cells are compared within arrays: in the husband-defined array, couple 6 was in the most inequitable cell (high) in both context-free and context-specific formulations, couples 8 and 4 were in the middle cell for both, and couple 7 was in the least inequitable cell (low) for both. In the wife-defined array, couples 6 and 7 were in the most inequitable cell (high) for both formulations, couple 11 was in the middle cell for both, while couple 9 was in the least inequitable cell (low) for both.

Instruments and Reliability

Due to the small sample size utilized in the study (N = 24), a factor analysis was not performed for the

context-free and context-specific communication equity instruments. Internal consistency measures were obtained for both instruments, with a resulting Cronbach alpha of .65 for context-free communication equity and of .66 for context-specific communication equity.

One interesting difference between the pilot data for context-free communication equity (see Chapter III, p. 98) and the data generated from these twelve couples on the same instrument concerns the range of values obtained. In this study, the range was 19, varying from -30 to -11. In the pilot study, where the instrument consisted of twenty items, a range of 101 was found, varying from -21 to +80. Only 11.6 percent of all the subjects from the pilot data were placed in the inequitable region. This contrasts sharply with these data, where all subjects fell in that region.

Statistically, the relationship between the context-free and context-specific instruments was significant ($r = .42$; $p < .05$). Yet, an item-by-item correlation failed to show a great deal of significant correspondence. Of the 16 items that closely correspond in wording between the two instruments, only three pairs achieved statistical significance. These were items 9 and 9 ($r = .33$, $p < .05$); items 13 and 12 ($r = .36$, $p < .05$) and items 17 and 14 ($r = .37$, $p < .05$).

Reliability analyses for the assignment of structure,

function, and topic-change points to the conversational data were conducted by comparing two independent coders' analyses with the writer's analyses (as discussed in Chapter III). Ten percent of the data were used for topic-change points, while five percent of the data were used for structural and functional assignments. First-order reliability figures indicate that all three coders agreed, while second-order reliability figures indicate that two of the three coders agreed. For structure, a first-order coefficient of .81 was obtained, a second-order coefficient of .18 was obtained, giving a combined total of .99. For the assignment of functions, a first-order coefficient of .73 was obtained, a second-order coefficient of .23 was found, yielding a total of .96. For topic-change, which had a limited reliability sample of only 28 occurrences, and for which figures were derived only if one of the three coders believed there was a topic-change point at a particular place in the data, a first-order coefficient of .25 was obtained. Because the analysis was conducted only on those places where at least one coder believed there was a topic-change point, a second-order coefficient of .75 was obtained, and thus, the two coefficients total to one.

General Characterization of Conversational Data

This section provides a general characterization of the corpus of conversational data apart from its breakdown by equity cells. Turns, turn-constructional units (TCU's),

interruptions, breaks, and topic-changes will be dealt with in order. Where appropriate, these results are divided according to husbands and wives. Table 8 summarizes these data.

Insert Table 8 about here

Turns

In these data, a total of 2,376 turns were taken. Of these, 1,191 (or just slightly over 50 percent) were taken by husbands. 1,185 turns were taken by wives.

Turn-Constructional Units

The twelve couples generated 7,377 turn constructional units (TCU's). 4,333 were produced by husbands (58 percent). The remaining 42 percent, 3,044 TCU's, were produced by wives.

Interruptions

Instances of interruptions were numerous in the conversation data obtained from these twelve couples. Interruptions were attempted 496 times. Of these, 244 (49 percent) were attempted by husbands while 252 (51 percent) were attempted by wives. Husbands were slightly more successful (175/244; 72 percent) than wives (174/252; 69 percent).

Table 8

Couple Analysis of General Data

Couple	TCU	Turns	Interruptions Suc	Unsuc	Breaks	Topic Changes	Sampled Words*	Sampled Words* / TCU
1 H	383	118	12	4	1	12	772	8.30
W	219	118	14	2	3	19	265	5.19
2 H	369	62	7	4	1	18	617	8.22
W	220	67	14	1	1	10	521	7.89
3 H	471	153	11	10	5	16	748	6.56
W	247	148	29	4	7	21	476	8.35
4 H	489	73	16	0	2	12	1032	10.01
W	125	76	11	3	2	11	180	5.62
5 H	211	45	6	1	0	5	446	7.07
W	169	45	3	2	0	9	361	7.84
6 H	322	70	16	9	2	15	562	7.49
W	261	64	15	5	6	16	485	9.70
7 H	435	205	11	1	11	8	984	8.33
W	338	196	28	11	4	8	461	5.83
8 H	278	65	11	1	3	9	294	6.39
W	404	75	10	7	7	14	685	7.13
9 H	396	145	24	18	5	14	626	7.72
W	270	146	18	21	6	10	341	5.59
10 H	181	56	20	6	0	7	353	7.20
W	130	55	7	9	2	9	311	8.88
11 H	509	128	21	8	12	14	826	7.12
W	342	126	20	8	8	14	478	8.85
12 H	289	71	8	6	2	12	638	7.97
W	319	69	5	5	4	13	439	6.96
Total H	4533	1191	175	69	44	142	---	----
Total W	3044	1185	174	78	50	154	---	----
TOTAL	7377	2376	349	146	94	296	---	----

*Words and TCU's for each participant were totalled from every fourth page of the transcribed data; from these figures an estimation of the words per TCU could be made for each participant.

Breaks

There were not a large number of breaks in these conversations. Only 94 breaks were found in the corpus. Of these, 44 (46 percent) were initiated by husbands, while 50 (54 percent) were initiated by wives. All breaks were, by definition, successful.

Topic-Changes

In these data, 296 topic-change points were identified. Of these, 142 were changed by husbands (48 percent) while 154 were changed by wives (52 percent).

Patterns

Research question one deals with the patterns that existed in the conversation data from the structural analysis, functional analysis, and topic-change analysis apart from their array by equity cells. Each of these analytical systems is dealt with in turn.

Structural. In these data, husbands took both more turns and more complex turns than wives did. Complexity refers to the number of times within a turn that a non-speaker could take the floor from a current speaker. As these chances increase, complexity of the turn increases. As Table 9 indicates, when a word count is added to the analysis, apparently husbands also took longer turns. Length of turns is defined solely by number of words.

Table 9

Average Turn Length

Speaker	TCU's/Turn	Sampled Words/TCU	Estimated Words/Turn
H	3.63	7.79	28.28
W	3.56	7.25	25.81

Husbands interrupted less frequently than wives (244 to 252), but were more successful than their spouses (72 percent for husbands with 175 successful interruptions, and 69 percent for wives with 174 successful interruptions) (see Table 10). When a break analysis is combined with interruptions, the data indicate that husbands were more successful at obtaining the floor than were wives when the speaker did not wish to give up the floor.

Table 10

Interruptions and Breaks

Speaker	Attempted Interrupts	Successful Interrupts	Breaks	Interrupt/Break Success Rate
H	244	175	44	.82
W	252	174	50	.77

Rule 1 and Rule 2 occurrences as a means of obtaining

the floor to talk also differed between husbands and wives (see Table 11). Rule 1 refers to those instances where a current speaker selected the other speaker to take the floor. Functionally, Rule 1 occurrences are accomplished through nominations, elicitations, and prompts. Conversely, Rule 2 occurrences are those where a non-speaker takes the floor at an appropriate point (a turn relevance place or TRP). Rule 2 occurrences are computed, then, by subtracting Rule 1 occurrences and attempted interruptions from the total number of turns taken. The data illustrated in Table 11 reveal that wives took turns through their husbands invoking of Rule 1 more often than the converse. Husbands, however, self-selected, and took turns through Rule 2 options more frequently than did their wives. The reader should note that the addition of the two rule figures does not equal the total number of turns taken because the total number of turns includes interruption attempts which were counted as turns in these analyses.

Table 11

Rule 1 and Rule 2 Occurrences

Speaker	Turns	Rule 1	Rule 1/Turns	Rule 2	Rule 2/ Turns
H	1191	150	.13	797	.67
W	1185	212	.18	722	.61

Functional. Two major types of functional patterns are of interest: (1) the typical functional patterns for interrupting and breaking (i.e., taking the floor from a current speaker who does not wish to give it up) and (2) the functions which typically begin and end turns.[7]

INTERRUPTING AND BREAKING

Minute differences are reflected in Table 12 regarding patterns of successful interruptions, unsuccessful interruptions, and breaks. The data indicate that both husbands and wives utilized informatives as the most successful means to interrupt the current speaker. Bids were the functions on which both husbands and wives were most successfully interrupted, and thus, relinquished the floor to the non-speaker. Further, husbands used acknowledges, accepts, or evaluates most often in unsuccessful attempts; wives used informatives along with acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates in the same way. For both husbands and wives, an informative was the best function with which to keep the floor during an interruption attempt, rendering such an effort unsuccessful. Both husbands and wives used acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates as the most popular means by which they accomplished breaks. Breaks most often were preceded by another speaker's informative in these dat

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Insert Table 12 about here

Table 12

Interrupting and Breaking by Function

(data in percentages)

Interrupting/ Breaking With	H*	W**	Interrupting/ Breaking From	H**	W*
Successful Interruptions					
Informative	.05	.05	Informative	.02	.02
Reply	.01	.008	Reply	.01	.008
Bids	.01	.01	Bids	.04	.05
Acknowledges/ Accepts/ Evaluates	.03	.01	Acknowledges/ Accepts/ Evaluates	.02	.02
Unsuccessful Interruptions					
Informative	.02	.02	Informative	.04	.03
Reply	.001	.00	Reply	.003	.002
Bids	.003	.01	Bids	.004	.00
Acknowledges/ Accepts/ Evaluates	.03	.02	Acknowledges/ Accepts/ Evaluates	.002	.002
Breaks					
Informative	.008	.002	Informative	.01	.02
Reply	.001	.004	Reply	.00	.001
Bids	.005	.006	Bids	.00	.00
Acknowledges/ Accepts/ Evaluates	.02	.02	Acknowledges/ Accepts/ Evaluates	.003	.00

* - based on 1191 turns
** - based on 1185 turns

TURN EXCHANGE

Patterns are quite similar for husbands and wives from these data concerning functions on which turns were exchanged. Both husbands and wives used informatives as the most common means to take the floor and as the function on which the floor was lost the most (see Table 13). The reader should note that figures in Table 13 only reflect instances of Rule 1 and non-break Rule 2 behavior. These, then, are instances of a current speaker selecting the other to take a turn or instances of a non-speaker taking a turn at a transition-relevance place. Further, the figures do not total to 100 percent because not all functions associated with turn-exchange are included here.

Table 13

Turn-Exchange

Taken With	H*	W**	Taken From	H**	W*
Informative	.26	.31	Informative	.31	.37
Reply	.13	.15	Reply	.05	.07
Bids	.09	.07	Bids	.03	.01
Acknowledges/ Accepts/ Evaluates	.23	.18	Acknowledges/ Accepts/ Evaluates	.08	.10

* - based on 1191 turns
** - based on 1185 turns

Topic-change. Of the 296 topic changes in these data, 142 were initiated by husbands (48 percent) and 154 were initiated by wives (52 percent). Topic-change can be analyzed by both the place in which it occurs (between or within turns) and the function with which the topic is changed. The interest in the function here is limited to those topics which were changed while turns changed.

TURN EXCHANGE AND TOPICS

Of the 296 topic-changes in these data, 102 (34 percent of all topic-changes) were initiated at turn-change points. Husbands initiated 39 of the changes (38 percent) during turn exchange and wives initiated 63 such changes (62 percent).

FUNCTION AND TOPICS

The data in Table 14 reveal that both husbands and wives used informatives as the most common function with which they changed a topic. The reader should recall that figures in Table 14 reflect only those topic-changes that occurred simultaneously with turn-exchange. That is, the initial TCU with which a speaker takes a turn must have changed the topic in order for such an occurrence to be charted in Table 14.

Insert Table 14 about here

Table 14

Topics and Functions

Changed With	Husband*	Wife**
Informative	.69	.73
Reply	.08	.06
Bid	.18	.13
Acknowledge/Accept/Evaluate	.05	.08

* - based on 39 topic-changes
** - based on 63 topic-changes

Context-Free Equity

Three research questions in this study dealt with the relationship between the conversational patterns (structural, functional, and topic-change) discussed in the preceding section and levels of context-free communication equity. For each system, the patterns are arrayed according to husband-defined scores and wife-defined scores (see Table 15). Following a general discussion of how these data were dealt with, each of these three systems is analyzed in turn.

Insert Table 15 about here

Table 15

Context-Free Arrays

Cell	Husband-Defined	Wife-Defined
High	2	7
	9	1
	1	6
	6	2
		12
Medium	8	3
	3	10
	5	11
	4	8
Low	11	9
	7	4
	10	5
	12	

Analysis

An examination of the patterns from these analyses revealed that approximately one-third of the patterns did not run in an expected direction: that is, the high cells did not have the highest or lowest figures. In the other two-thirds of the patterns, the middle cell had the highest or lowest value of the phenomenon under analysis.

Equity theory does not provide a suitable explanation for this anomaly. There is no theoretical reason why participants who are in cells other than high or low inequitable should have the highest or lowest values for these behavioral patterns. There is, however, an explanation which emanates

from an examination of the distribution of communication equity scores here. The scores had such a narrow range that there were minimal differences among the three levels. As such, the distribution in both context-free and context-specific formulations was very tight and any comparisons which could have been made would have been difficult to interpret.

The writer, then, was faced with two possibilities. One possibility was to examine only those patterns which ran in an expected direction across the three cells. No theoretic rationale existed for this choice, as equity theory suggests a difference between high, medium, and low participants that should run in a linear direction. The other possibility, chosen because of its congruity with the theory, was to examine expected, theoretically-consistent, patterns wherever possible (called Type I patterns), but for those patterns which did not adhere to the expected direction, to only analyze the difference between the high and low cells. This decision was both theoretically consistent with equity propositions and also was an attempt to create sufficient differences from a limited distribution to conduct meaningful analyses. In essence, by examining the difference between these two cells only, the middle cell, which could not be explained theoretically, was dropped from the analyses. These patterns are labeled Type II.

Two kinds of patterns, then, existed in these data.

Type I patterns are those which ran in a theoretically-consistent direction. In these patterns, the high cells had the highest or lowest figures. All three cells were analyzed. Type II patterns did not run in the expected direction, and only the high and low cells were analyzed. The middle cell was not a part of these patterns. Type II patterns, then, are weaker data. They do not meet a stringent linear requirement of directionality across all three equity levels. Yet, the data derived from the patterns was still testable in that the difference between the high and low cells could be analyzed. There were 113 Type I patterns (33 percent) and 219 Type II patterns (67 percent) in these analyses.

Each of these patterns was tested for statistical significance. To provide uniformity, despite the type of pattern under analysis, only the high and low cells were tested statistically. As such, comparisons could then be made among all patterns. The test selected was the z-test for proportions, which takes percentages or ratios from nominal level data and provides a significance level for two groups, in this case, the high and low cells in each pattern. This test was selected because in several cases, the cell structure was not composed of equal number of participants. All behaviors, then, must have been changed from discrete, frequency-type data to percentages or ratios. In all cases, the denominator used to derive these figures came from the

total number of behaviors under examination in the specific cell. In this chapter, z values and alpha values are provided for those patterns which were found to be significantly different between the high and low cells.[8] For those instances where a cell with no occurrences was analyzed against a cell with some occurrences, the formula for the z-test would not suffice. These patterns are labeled separately in each table. They are assumed to be significantly different between the high and low cells.

In all cases in this chapter where a reference to a table is made, a parenthetical notation is provided to assist the reader in locating the data under discussion. The first figure refers to the appropriate row, the remaining figures (after the colon) to the appropriate columns. Thus, (1:1,3) directs the reader's attention to row 1, columns 1 and 3. For those readers who wish to review summaries of these results, as opposed to reading each presentation of data, a summary of the context-free section is found on page 162, a summary of the context-specific section is found on page 183, and a summary of all results is found at the beginning of Chapter V.

Structure

Of the 18 structural patterns which emanated from these data, six were Type I patterns and twelve were Type II patterns. The following areas are dealt with: TCU ratio, turn length, interruption and break rate of success, Rule 1

usage, and Rule 2 usage. The figures for each of these patterns is summarized in Table 16.

Insert Table 16 about here

TCU ratio. The examination of the ratio of husbands' TCU's to wives' TCU's reveals that while low inequitable husbands had more TCU's than high inequity husbands (1: 1, 3), high inequitable wives had more TCU's than low inequitable wives (6: 4, 6). The wives' TCU ratio was significant ($z = 3.96$, $p < .01$). The figures in the chart are proportions and as they approach one, the TCU's are more equal between the participants.

Turn length. Sex interactions were found in both arrays for turn length. In the husband-defined array, turn length for husbands was lowest in the low inequity cell (2: 3), while their wives had a higher turn length in the low cell (2: 6). The converse was true in the wife-defined array: wives' turn length was lowest in the low inequity cell (7: 6), while their husbands' was highest in the low inequity cell (7: 3).

Interruptions and breaks. A sex interaction was found between husbands and wives concerning their rate of success at interrupting and breaking in the husband-defined array. Husbands' success rate was highest in the low

Table 16

Context-Free Equity Structural Patterns[ab]

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Husband			Wife		
Item	H	M	L	H	M	L
	Husband-defined					
1 TCU Ratio	.66	.65	.80			
2 Turn Length	29.5	32.3	23.5	17.4	19.8	19.3
3 Int/Break Success Rate	.66	.82	.82	.72	.81	.70
4 Rule 1	.154	.133	.095**	.225	.159	.161**
5 Rule 2	.607	.699	.700**	.559	.639	.630*
	Wife-defined					
6 TCU Ratio				.75	.78	.51**
7 Turn Length	27.5	24.3	34.4	18.8	23.0	13.4
8 Int/Break Success Rate	.77	.77	.73	.79	.76	.60*
9 Rule 1	.174	.092	.114**	.204	.118	.235
10 Rule 2	.739	.689	.638**	.610	.648	.546**

[a]Type I patterns are underlined

[b]X^2 (Chi-square) analysis was used to test turn length

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

inequity cell (3: 3), while their wives' success rate was lowest in the low inequity cell (3: 6). In the wife-defined array, both wives and husbands had less success in the low cell (8: 3, 6). The wives' figure was significantly different ($z = 2.00$, $p < .05$).

Rule 1 usage. Fewer turns were taken by Rule 1 in the husband-defined array for both husbands and wives in the husbands' low inequity cell (4: 3, 6). Both were significant (husbands: $z = -3.83$, $p < .01$; wives: $z = 10.66$, $p < .01$). In the wife-defined array, while wives took more turns by Rule 1 in the low cell (9: 6), their husbands took more in the high cell (9: 1). The husbands' pattern was significant ($z = 3.81$; $p < .01$).

Rule 2 usage. In the husband-defined array, more turns by Rule 2 were taken in the husbands' low inequity cell for both husbands and wives (5: 3, 6) (husbands: $z = -3.18$, $p < .01$); wives: $z = -2.20$, $p < .05$). An opposite pattern was found in the wife-defined array: in the wives' low inequity cell, both husbands and wives used Rule 2 less to gain the floor (10: 3, 6) (husbands: $z = 2.72$, $p < .01$); wives: $z = 3.63$, $p < .01$).

Function

Research question three deals with the functional patterns which correspond with context-free equity levels. As in the first section of this chapter, two questions are dealt with here: (1) what are the typical patterns for each

array of data for interrupting and breaking and (2) with what functions do turns typically begin and end?

Interrupting and breaking. The functional analysis of interrupts and breaks is described in two ways. First, functions with which speakers typically interrupt and break (that is, to gain the floor) are detailed. Second, functions from which interruptions and breaks are taken (that is, on which the floor is lost) are detailed.

GAINING THE FLOOR

Ten Type I patterns and thirty-eight Type II patterns were found in these analyses. Successful interruptions, unsuccessful interruptions, and breaks are dealt with in turn.

Successful Interruptions

In the husband and wife-defined arrays, illustrated in Table 17, all participants took the floor successfully with informatives more in the husbands' and wives' low cells (1: 3, 6, 9, 12) than in the high cells. None of these patterns were significant. All participants also used fewer replies for successful interruptions in the lower inequity cell (2: 3, 6, 9, 12). Here, the husbands in the husband-defined array ($z = 3.13$, $p < .01$) and wives in the wife-defined array ($z = 3.13$, $p < .05$) were significant.

Insert Table 17 about here

Table 17

Context-Free Equity and Function[ab]

(Gaining the Floor)

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
		Husband-defined						Wife-defined					
	Function	Husband			Wife			Wife			Husband		
		H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
	Successful Interruptions												
1	Informative	.44	.30	.51	.34	.49	.40	.37	.44	.50	.44	.38	.52
2	Reply	.17	.16	.03**	.10	.02	.05	.13	.02	.03*	.15	.05	.07
3	Bid	.10	.05	.10	.18	.04	.15	.14	.05	.22	.11	.06	.09
4	Ack/Acc/Ev	.14	.18	.32**	.15	.17	.08	.09	.15	.18	.12	.40	.13
	Unsuccessful Interruptions												
5	Informative	.26	.00	.32	.34	.25	.33	.54	.14	.27**	.24	.16	.32
6	Reply	.03	.00	.00[+]	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.04	.00	.00[+]
7	Bid	.17	.00	.27	.07	.06	.39**	.17	.39	.08	.28	.12	.00[+]
8	Ack/Acc/Ev	.31	1.00	.41	.34	.56	.27	.25	.46	.31	.40	.68	.26
	Breaks												
9	Informative	.11	.50	.00[+]	.00	.06	.06[+]	.00	.08	.00	.00	.25	.14[+]
10	Reply	.00	.00	.00	.13	.06	.17	.17	.08	.13	.00	.00	.00
11	Bid	.56	.00	.00	.13	.06	.11	.00	.08	.25[+]	.12	.00	.29**
12	Ack/Acc/Ev	.33	.00	.80**	.56	.13	.50	.56	.25	.50	.76	.50	.00[+]

[a]Type I patterns are underlined

[b]Figures represent frequencies of occurrence over the total occurrences for successful interruptions, unsuccessful interruptions, and breaks.

*$p < .05$

**$p < .01$

[+]z-Value impossible to calculate; significance in proportions assumed.

For husbands in the husband-defined array, the use of bids to successfully interrupt was the same across the high and low cells (3: 1, 3), while their wives used fewer bids in the low cell (3: 6). Low-cell wives in the wife-defined array used more bids (3: 9) while their husbands used fewer of them (3: 12). Concerning acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates, in the husband-defined array, husbands took the floor more with these functions in the low inequity cell (4: 3) ($z = -2.65$, $p < .05$), while their wives used less of them (4: 6), indicating a sex interaction. In the wife-defined array, both wives and husbands used more of these functions in the low cell (4: 9, 12).

Unsuccessful Interruptions

In the husband-defined array, a sex interaction was found between husbands and wives. Husbands used more informatives in unsuccessful interruption attempts (5: 3), while their wives used fewer of them (5: 6), in the husbands' low inequity cell. A sex interaction was also discovered in the wife-defined array. Wives used fewer informatives in the low cell (5: 9) ($z = 3.00$, $p < .05$), while their husbands used more (5: 12).

Concerning replies, wives had no occurrences in either array for unsuccessful interruptions. Husbands used fewer of them in both arrays in the low cell (6: 3, 12).

More bids were used by husbands and wives in the low cell (7: 3, 6) than in the high cell in the husband-defined array. The wives' difference was significant ($z = -4.72$, $p < .01$). In the wife-defined array, both participants used fewer bids with which to unsuccessfully interrupt in the low cell (7: 9, 12). A sex interaction was found in both arrays on unsuccessful interruptions for acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates. Husbands and wives used more of these functions to unsuccessfully interrupt in the low inequity cell than did their spouses (8: 3, 6, 9, 12).

Breaks

In the husband-defined array, husbands in the high inequity cell used more informatives to break in on the other speaker than did husbands in the low inequity cell (9: 1). Their wives, however, used fewer informatives for breaking, creating a sex interaction (9: 4). In the wife-defined array, there was no difference between wives (9: 9), while their husbands used more informatives (9: 12).

Husbands did not use replies with which to break in either array of data. Wives in the husband-defined array used more replies to break in the low cell (10: 6). Wives in the wife-defined array, in the low inequity cell, used fewer replies to break in on their husbands (10: 9). Bids were used less frequently by lower inequity husbands and wives in the husband-defined array (11: 3, 6). Conversely, in the wife-defined array, wives and husbands used more bids

to break in the wives' low inequity cell (11: 9, 12) (wives: $z = -2.65$, $p < .01$). Concerning acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates, husbands in the husband-defined array ($z = -4.42$, $p < .01$) broke more with these functions in the low inequity cell (12: 3). Their wives used fewer of these functions in the low cell, creating a sex interaction (12: 6). In the wife-defined array, both husbands and wives in the low inequity cells used less acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates than did those in high inequity cells (12: 9, 12).

LOSING THE FLOOR

As with functions associated with speakers gaining the floor when a current speaker did not intend to relinquish it, a number of patterns were apparent when functions by which current speakers were interrupted or broken in on were analyzed. Again, successful interruptions, unsuccessful interruptions, and breaks are dealt with in that order. Nineteen Type I patterns and twenty-nine Type II patterns were found here.

Successful Interruptions

In the husband-defined array in Table 18, a sex interaction was found concerning the use of informatives as an interrupting function. Husbands in the low cell were interrupted less on informatives (1: 3) while the wives were interrupted more (1: 6). In the wife-defined array, both husbands and wives were interrupted less on informatives in

the lower cells (1: 9, 12). In the husband-defined array, both husbands and wives spoke with fewer replies when successfully interrupted in the lower cells (2: 3, 6). There were no occurrences by wives in the wife-defined array, but husbands in the low cell were successfully interrupted more on replies than were husbands in the high cell (2: 12).

All participants were successfully interrupted more on bids in the lower cells when compared with the higher cells (3: 3, 6, 9, 12). Wives in the husband-defined array ($z = -4.72$, $p < .01$) and husbands in the wife-defined array ($z = -4.43$, $p < .01$) were significantly different across cells. Finally, in the husband-defined array, in the husbands' low inequity cell, husbands were interrupted less on acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates, while their wives were interrupted more, producing a sex interaction (4: 3, 6).

Insert Table 18 about here

Unsuccessful Interruptions

Both husbands and wives in the husband-defined array retained the floor more in the face of an interruption attempt with informatives if they were in the lower cells (5: 3, 6). The wives' difference across cells was significant ($z = -3.83$, $p < .01$). In the wife-defined array, wives in the low cell kept the floor less with informatives

Table 18

Context-Free Equity and Function[ab]

(Losing the Floor)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Husband-defined						Wife-defined					
	Husband			Wife			Wife			Husband		
	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
Successful Interruptions												
1 Informative	.18	.13	.15	.22	.20	.24	.29	.21	.28	.20	.06	.13
2 Reply	.03	.00	.00+	.02	.00	.01	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.03*
3 Bid	.44	.51	.57	.20	.27	.63**	.36	.49	.43	.24	.56	.66**
4 Ack/Acc/Ev	.02	.04	.00*	.00	.00	.01*	.00	.02	.00*	.01	.00	.06
Unsuccessful Interruptions												
5 Informative	.56	.94	.76	.49	.83	.95**	.68	.96	.32**	.08	.86	.38**
6 Reply	.07	.00	.06	.03	.08	.00*	.00	.00	.05*	.00	.00	.04*
7 Bid	.10	.00	.06	.00	.00	.05*	.04	.04	.00*	.00	.11	.12*
8 Ack/Acc/Ev	.00	.00	.00	.40	.00	.00*	.08	.00	.11	.00	.00	.00
Breaks												
9 Informative	.13	.06	.33**	.44	.60	.68*	.76	.50	.43**	.50	.42	.88**
10 Reply	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.04*	.00	.05	.00	.00	.00	.00
11 Bid	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.12	.05	.00*	.22	.00	.00*
12 Ack/Acc/Ev	.00	.13	.00	.00	.00	.00	.12	.05	.00*	.22	.08	.00*

[a] Type I patterns are underlined.

[b] Figures represent frequencies of occurrence over the total occurrences for successful interruptions, unsuccessful interruptions, and breaks within each cell.

*$p < .05$

**$p < .01$

+z-value impossible to calculate; significance in proportions assumed.

than did wives in the high cell (5: 9) ($z = 3.60$, $p < .01$). The opposite was true for their husbands (5: 12) ($z = -4.42$, $p < .01$). Replies were used as floor maintenance devices in the husband-defined array for both husbands and wives less in the low cells (6: 3, 6). In the wife-defined array, both husbands and wives held the floor more with replies in the low inequitable cells (6: 9, 12).

A sex interaction was found between husbands and wives for both arrays when bids were analyzed as functions which lost the floor during interruption attempts. Husbands in the husband-defined array (7: 3) and wives in the wife-defined array (7: 9) had fewer bids in the low cells. Their spouses had more in the low cells (7: 6, 12). No acknowledges, accepts, or evaluates were used by husbands in these conversations during unsuccessful interruption attempts. In the husband-defined array, wives in the low cell used fewer of these functions (8: 6); in the wife-defined array, wives in the low cell used more of these functions (8: 9).

Breaks

Husbands and wives both significantly were broken in on more frequently while speaking with an informative in the low cell (9: 3, 6) (husbands: $z = -2.95$, $p < .01$; wives: $z = -2.27$, $p < .05$). A sex interaction was found between husbands and wives in the wife-defined array. Wives in the low cell were broken

in on less while speaking with an informative (9: 9) ($z = 3.03$, $p < .01$), while husbands were broken in on more often (9: 12) ($z = -3.23$, $p < .01$).

The only pattern which emerged from these analyses concerning replies was found in the husband-defined array. Wives used more replies in the low cell (10: 6). In the wife-defined array, fewer bids were associated with floor loss due to breaks for husbands and wives in the low cell (11: 9, 12). The same pattern was true for acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates (12: 9, 12).

Beginning and ending turns. Generic analyses (see Table 13) revealed that informatives were both the most popular functions with which a non-speaker took a turn from a current speaker and the most popular function on which a turn was lost. Only Rule 1 occurrences were analyzed here. Thirteen Type I and nineteen Type II patterns occurred.

Table 19 indicates that, in the husband-defined array, husbands gained turns with informatives less frequently in the low cell (1: 3). Wives, however, used informatives more frequently for this purpose if they were low-inequitable (1: 6). In the wife-defined array, both husbands and wives in the low cell used fewer informatives to take the floor than did those in the high cell (1: 9, 12). Concerning replies, in the husband-defined array, both husbands and wives used less of this function in the low cells (2: 3, 6).

A sex interaction was found in the wife-defined array, where wives used more replies to initiate a turn in the low cell (2: 9) while their husbands used fewer replies (2: 12).

Insert Table 19 about here

Fewer bids began husbands' turns in the low cell in the husband-defined array, while their wives' pattern remained level (3: 3, 6). Both husbands and wives in the wife-defined array began turns less often with bids in the low cell (3: 9, 12). Finally, in the husband-defined array, husbands began more turns with acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates in the low cell (4: 3). The same was true for husbands in the wife-defined array (4: 12). Wives had level patterns in both arrays (4: 6, 9).

Concerning ending turns (see Table 20), a sex interaction was found in the husband-defined array. Husbands lost more turns while speaking with informatives in the low cell while their wives did the same in the high cell (1: 3, 6). Both husbands and wives used fewer informatives at the end of turns in the low cell than in the high cell in the wife-defined array (1: 9, 12). For all participants, more turns were lost on replies in the husbands' or wives' low inequity cell (2: 3, 6, 9, 12). Husbands lost more turns on bids in the low cell (3: 3); their wives' pattern was level (3: 6). In the wife-defined array, both husbands and wives used fewer bids in the low cell (3: 9, 12). Finally, husbands

Table 19

Context-Free Equity Beginning Turns[abc]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Function	Husband-defined						Wife-defined					
	Husband			Wife			Wife			Husband		
	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
1 Informative	.29	.22	.27	.22	.32	.37	.31	.39	.22	.27	.28	.25
2 Reply	.13	.17	.10	.19	.13	.13	.17	.11	.19	.14	.12	.12
3 Bid	.09	.10	.08	.09	.07	.09	.09	.08	.04	.08	.10	.07
4 Ack/Acc/Ev	.19	.30	.23	.20	.37	.20	.16	.20	.16	.21	.27	.23

[a] Type I patterns are underlined

[b] Figures represent frequencies of occurrence over the total number of turn changes within each cell.

[c] No significance was reached for any of these patterns.

and wives increased their use of acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates in the high cell (4: 3, 6). The husbands' pattern was significant ($z = 2.12$, $p < .05$). In the wife-defined array, wives had a level pattern (4: 9); their husbands ended turns less frequently on acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates in the low cell (4: 12).

Insert Table 20 about here

Topic-change

Research question four asks "given a level of context-free communication equity, what are the patterns of topic-change?" As with the generic analyses, the interest here is limited to those topics which were changed while turns changed.

Turn-exchange and topics. Table 21 reveals that in these data, with one exception, all respondents used turn-change points to initiate or change fewer topics in low-inequity cells. None of the patterns were significant in either array. One of the patterns was Type I and three were Type II.

Insert Table 21 about here

Topics and functions. Seven Type I and nine Type II patterns existed in these data. When informatives were

Table 20

Context-Free Equity Ending Turns[ab]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Function	Husband-defined						Wife-defined					
	Husband			Wife			Wife			Husband		
	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
1 Informative	.31	.30	.33	.36	.39	.34	.46	.42	.30	.33	.36	.24
2 Reply	.04	.07	.07	.06	.07	.09	.06	.04	.10	.04	.05	.07
3 Bid	.04	.04	.02	.02	.02	.02	.03	.02	.02	.04	.04	.01
4 Ack/Acc/Ev	.08	.08	.19*	.10	.06	.11	.07	.12	.07	.11	.19	.07

[a] Type I patterns are underlined.

[b] Figures represent frequencies of occurrences of the total number of turn changes within each cell.

* $p < .05$

Table 21

Context-Free Topic Change and Turn Exchange[ab]

Husband-defined						Wife-defined					
Husband			Wife			Wife			Husband		
H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
.15	.13	.09	.14	.16	.10	.13	.14	.11	.12	.11	.12

[a]Type I patterns are underlined.

[b]Figures represent frequencies of occurrences over the total number of turns taken within each cell.

analyzed as a function on which a topic was changed (see Table 22), the husbands' pattern in the husband-defined array remained level between the high and low cells (1: 1, 3). Wives in the husband-defined array changed more topics with informatives in the low cell (1: 6). A sex interaction was discovered in the wife-defined array. Low inequitable wives changed fewer topics with informatives (1: 9); their husbands changed more topics in the same level cell (1: 12).

Concerning replies, sex interactions were found in both arrays. Low inequitable husbands changed more topics with replies than did high inequitable husbands (2: 1, 3) while their wives changed fewer (2: 6). High inequitable wives changed more topics with replies than did wives in the low cell (2: 9); conversely, their husbands changed more topics with replies in the low cell (2: 12).

In the husband-defined array, husbands changed topics with bids more frequently in the low cell (3: 3). Their wives' pattern was level (3: 6). In the wives' low cell, fewer bids were used with which to change topics (3: 9). Their husbands used more bids in the low cell, creating a sex interaction (3: 12). Finally, husbands used more acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates with which to change topics in the low cell (4: 3); their wives did the opposite (4: 6). In the wife-defined array, wives used more acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates in the low cell (4: 9) ($z = -2.84$, $p < .01$). Their husbands' pattern was level (4: 12).

Insert Table 22 about here

Summary

In summary, a number of patterns are apparent for both husbands and wives. In the context-free data, when comparisons are made between the high and low cells, the speakers in the high cells: (1) took longer turns, (2) used

Table 22

Context-Free Topic Change and Function[ab]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Function	Husband-defined						Wife-defined					
	Husband			Wife			Wife			Husband		
	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
1 Informative	.17	.26	.17	.27	.29	.39	.33	.31	.27	.17	.22	.19
2 Reply	.00	.02	.02+	.04	.02	.02	.05	.00	.03	.00	.04	.03+
3 Bid	.03	.05	.07	.07	.02	.07	.06	.05	.03	.03	.07	.06
4 Ack/Acc/Ev	.00	.14	.02+	.09	.00	.00+	.02	.00	.13**	.00	.04	.00

[a] Type I patterns are underlined

[b] Figures represent frequencies of occurrence over the total number of topic-changes within each cell

** $p < .01$

+ z-value impossible to calculate; significance for these patterns assumed

fewer informatives with which to successfully interrupt, (3) used more replies with which to successfully interrupt, (4) used fewer acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates with which to successfully interrupt, (5) used fewer acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates with which to unsuccessfully interrupt, (6) lost the floor more when interrupted by their spouses while speaking with an informative, (7) lost the floor more when interrupted by their spouses while speaking with a bid, (8) kept the floor more when an interruption attempt was made by their spouses while speaking with a bid, (9) began more turns with informatives, (10) began more turns with bids, (11) ended more turns with replies, (12) ended more turns with bids, (13) changed more topics at topic-change points, and (14) changed fewer topics with acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates.

Context-Specific Equity

As with the context-free section, three research questions (5, 6, and 7) are addressed here. Structural, functional, and topic-change patterns are discussed in turn. Couples were arrayed as indicated in Table 23.

Insert Table 23 about here

Table 23

Context-Specific Array

	Husband-defined Couple	Wife-defined Couple
High	6	7
	5	6
	10	10
	2	5
Medium	8	1
	1	4
	4	12
	11	11
Low	9	3
	3	2
	12	9
	7	8

Structure

The fifth research question deals with the relationship between structural patterns and levels of context-specific equity. The general patterns of TCU ratio, turn length, interruption and break rate of success, Rule 1 usage, and Rule 2 usage are discussed.

In the structural analysis, of the eighteen patterns which emanated from the data, five were Type I patterns and thirteen were Type II patterns. The figures for each of these patterns is summarized in Table 24.

Insert Table 24 about here

Table 24

Context-Specific Equity Structural Patterns[ab]

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Husband			Wife		
Item	H	M	L	H	M	L
Husband-defined						
1 TCU Ratio	.72	.65	.73			
2 Turn Length	34.8	34.3	21.2**	28.9	18.4	14.0**
3 Int/Break Success Rate	.72	.86	.71	.74	.79	.71
4 Rule 1	.156	.125	.113**	.225	.141	.199
5 Rule 2	.535	.684	.709**	.532	.688	.584*
Wife-defined						
6 TCU Ratio				.78	.60	.75
7 Turn Length	14.8	35.7	25.7**	20.1	17.2	18.9
8 Int/Break Success Rate	.81	.80	.67	.77	.79	.73
9 Rule 1	.130	.147	.120	.230	.133	.185*
10 Rule 2	.648	.779	.677	.547	.704	.575

[a]Type I patterns are underlined

[b]X^2 (Chi-square) was used to test turn length

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

TCU ratio. The proportional figures of husbands to wives' TCU's run in opposite directions between the two arrays in these data. In the husband-defined array, low inequitable husbands had more TCU's proportionally to their wives' compared to husbands in the high cell (1: 1, 3). In the wife-defined array, low inequitable wives had fewer TCU's proportionally to their husbands compared to wives in the high cell (6: 4, 6). Neither pattern was statistically significant.

Turn length. In the husband-defined array, low inequitable husbands and wives had shorter turns than their counterparts in the high cells (2: 1, 3, 4, 6). In the wife-defined array, low inequitable wives also took shorter turns than high inequitable wives, while their husbands took longer turns (7: 1, 3, 4, 6) ($X^2 = 5.16$; $p < .05$).

Interruptions and breaks. All four patterns showed a lower success rate for interrupting and breaking in the low cells (3: 3, 6; 8: 3, 6). None of the four patterns approached statistical significance.

Rule 1 usage. All four patterns indicated that fewer turns were taken by Rule 1 in the low cell (4: 3, 6; 9: 3, 6). Husbands in the husband-defined array ($z = 3.20$, $p < .01$) and wives in the wife-defined array ($z = 2.24$, $p < .05$) reached significant levels between the high and low cells.

Rule 2 usage. All four patterns showed that more

turns were taken by Rule 2 in the husbands' and wives' low cells (5: 3, 6; 10: 3, 6). Husbands in the husband-defined array reached significance ($z = -6.36$, $p < .01$).

Function

Research question six deals with the functional patterns which correspond with context-specific equity levels. As in the context-free area, this section deals with two issues: (1) functional patterns for interrupting and breaking and (2) functional patterns for beginning and ending turns.

Interrupting and breaking. This section is divided into two parts. First, functions with which speakers typically interrupt and break (that is, to gain the floor) are detailed. Second, functions from which interruptions or breaks are taken (that is, functions on which the floor is lost) are detailed.

GAINING THE FLOOR

Thirteen Type I patterns and thirty-five Type II patterns were found from these analyses. Successful interruptions, unsuccessful interruptions, and breaks are dealt with in turn. Table 25 summarizes these results.

Insert Table 25 about here

Table 25

Context-Specific Equity and Function[ab]

(Gaining the Floor)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Husband-defined									Wife-defined		
Function	Husband			Wife			Wife			Husband		
	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
Successful Interruptions												
1 Informative	.47	.35	.41	.31	.35	.36	.40	.36	.44	.52	.39	.43
2 Reply	.14	.12	.02**	.10	.02	.06	.09	.00	.04	.08	.14	.06
3 Bid	.06	.06	.11	.10	.04	.19	.21	.04	.11	.09	.07	.08
4 Ack/Acc/Ev	.02	.43	.11*	.13	.18	.09	.11	.12	.01**	.11	.39	.19
Unsuccessful Interruptions												
5 Informative	.30	.23	.25	.24	.30	.25	.30	.33	.30	.22	.28	.27
6 Reply	.05	.00	.03	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.06	.00	.06
7 Bid	.15	.00	.03**	.35	.10	.20*	.30	.17	.15*	.61	.06	.05**
8 Ack/Acc/Ev	.15	.69	.58**	.29	.40	.39	.26	.33	.39	.22	.67	.55**
Breaks												
9 Informative	.00	.28	.22+	.00	.00	.10+	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.64+
10 Reply	.00	.00	.09+	.00	.05	.19+	.25	.06	.05**	.00	.00	.14+
11 Bid	.33	.06	.09**	.11	.20	.09	.08	.18	.10	.15	.06	.14
12 Ack/Acc/Ev	.33	.50	.39	.22	.50	.29	.50	.53	.33	.77	.65	.07**

[a]Type I patterns are underlined.

[b]Figures represent frequencies of occurrences over the total occurrences for successful interruptions, unsuccessful interruptions, and breaks within each cell.

*$p < .05$

**$p < .01$

+z-Value impossible to calculate; significance in proportions assumed.

Successful Interruptions

For informatives, sex interactions were found in both arrays. In the husband-defined array, the husbands in the low cell used fewer informatives with which to successfully interrupt the other speaker (1: 3). Their wives used more in the low cell (1: 6). Conversely, in the wife-defined low inequity cell, wives used more informatives to successfully gain the floor through an interruption (1: 9); their husbands used fewer informatives (1: 2). In both arrays, all participants in the low cells used fewer replies to successfully interrupt than did participants in the high cells (2: 3, 6, 9, 12). Husbands in the husband-defined array had a significant difference between the high and low cells ($z = 3.00$, $p < .01$).

For both husbands and wives, in the husband-defined array, low inequitable speakers used more bids to successfully interrupt (3: 3, 6). The opposite was true for husbands and wives in the wife-defined array (3: 9, 12). Two sex interactions were also found when acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates were analyzed. In the husband-defined array, husbands in the low cell used more of these functions to successfully interrupt than did husbands in the high cell (4: 1, 3) ($z = -2.50$, $p < .05$); wives were the opposite (4: 4, 6). In the wife-defined array, low inequitable wives used fewer of these functions to successfully interrupt (4: 9) ($z = 2.89$, $p < .01$), while low inequitable husbands used more (4: 12).

Unsuccessful Interruptions

In the husband-defined array, husbands used fewer informatives when unsuccessful at interrupting in the low cell (5: 3). Their wives used more (5: 6). No pattern emerged for wives in the wife-defined array, but their husbands tried more informatives to unsuccessfully take the floor in the low cell (5: 12). The only non-level pattern which emerged for replies was found in the husband-defined array, where fewer replies were associated with unsuccessful interruption attempts for husbands in the low cell (6: 3).

Both husbands and wives used significantly fewer bids in the low cell in the husband-defined array (7: 3, 6) (husbands: $z = 2.83$, $p < .01$; wives: $z = 2.02$, $p < .05$). The same was true in the wife-defined array (7: 9, 12) (wives: $z = 2.24$, $p < .05$; husbands: $z = 7.25$, $p < .01$). Finally, all four patterns demonstrated that more acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates were used as functions with which to successfully interrupt for both husbands and wives in both arrays in the low cells (8: 3, 6, 9, 12). Husbands' patterns in both arrays were significant ($z = -5.03$, $p < .01$; $z = -3.76$, $p < .01$).

Breaks

With the exception of the level pattern for wives in the wife-defined array, all speakers used more informatives with which to break in the low cells (9: 3, 6, 12). Sex interactions were discovered when replies were examined. In

the husband-defined array, more replies were used by husbands to break in on another speaker in the low cell (10: 3); their wives' pattern ran in the same direction (10: 6). In the wife-defined array, wives in the low cell used fewer replies to break (10: 9) ($z = 3.65$, $p < .01$). Husbands used more replies in the low cell (10: 12).

Both husbands ($z = 3.70$, $p < .01$) and wives used fewer bids for breaks in the low cell of the husband-defined array (11: 3, 6). In the wife-defined array, wives used more bids in the low cell (11: 9); their husbands used fewer (11: 12). Finally, husbands and wives used more acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates with which to break in the husband-defined array in the low cell (12: 3, 6). In the wife-defined array, both husbands and wives in the low cells used fewer of these functions for breaks than did participants in the high cells (12: 9, 12).

LOSING THE FLOOR

As with functions associated with speakers gaining the floor when a current speaker did not intend to relinquish it, a number of patterns were apparent when functions by which current speakers were interrupted or broken in on were analyzed. Again, successful interruptions, unsuccessful interruptions, and breaks are dealt with in order. Fifteen Type I patterns and thirty-three Type II patterns were found in these analyses. Table 26 summarizes these results.

Table 26

Context-Specific Equity and Function[ab]

(Losing the Floor)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Husband-defined						Wife-defined					
Function	Husband			Wife			Wife			Husband		
	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
Successful Interruptions												
1 Informative	.13	.18	.13	.12	.35	.02**	.10	.35	.17	.13	.14	.20
2 Reply	.10	.00	.01**	.06	.02	.00*	.00	.02	.02	.30	.00	.01**
3 Bid	.13	.35	.51**	.45	.40	.45	.46	.47	.15**	.36	.38	.17**
4 Ack/Acc/Ev	.03	.00	.00*	.00	.02	.00	.00	.02	.00	.02	.02	.00
Unsuccessful Interruptions												
5 Informative	.82	.50	.59	.60	.62	.64	.94	.78	.27**	.67	.67	.58
6 Reply	.11	.00	.02*	.05	.00	.06	.06	.00	.06	.11	.00	.03*
7 Bid	.00	.00	.07*	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.03	.05	.09
8 Ack/Acc/Ev	.00	.00	.00	.05	.08	.06	.00	.00	.06*	.00	.00	.09*
Breaks												
9 Informative	.11	.70	.43**	.67	.61	.52	.31	.59	.58**	.17	.71	.33*
10 Reply	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.06	.00	.00	.00	.00
11 Bid	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
12 Ack/Acc/Ev	.00	.05	.05*	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.10*

[a]Type I patterns are underlined.

[b]Figures represent frequencies of occurrence over the total occurrences for successful interruptions, unsuccessful interruptions, and breaks within each cell.

*$p < .05$

**$p < .01$

+z-value impossible to calculate; significance in proportions assumed.

Successful Interruptions

No pattern emerged for husbands in the husband-defined array concerning the loss of the floor while speaking with an informative (1: 3); however, their wives lost the floor less often with informatives in the low cell (1: 6) ($z = 2.67$, $p < .01$). Both husbands and wives in the wife-defined array who were in the low inequitable cells lost the floor more on informatives than did those in the high inequitable cells (1: 9, 12). In the husband-defined array, both husbands ($z = 2.71$, $p < .01$) and wives were successfully interrupted less on replies in the low cell (2: 3, 6). A sex interaction was apparent in the wife-defined array; wives in the low cell were successfully interrupted more on replies (2: 9); whereas husbands in the high cell were successfully interrupted more with the same function (2: 10) ($z = 3.23$, $p < .01$).

Husbands lost the floor on bids more frequently in the low cell (3: 3) ($z = -4.75$, $p < .01$). Both husbands and wives were successfully interrupted less frequently on bids in the low cell in the wife-defined array (3: 9, 12) (husbands: $z = 2.61$, $p < .01$; wives: $z = 3.97$, $p < .01$). Husbands in the high cells lost the floor more frequently with acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates in both arrays than did husbands in the low cells (4: 3, 12). No patterns emerged for wives on these functions.

Unsuccessful Interruptions

All four patterns indicate that informatives maintained the floor in the face of interruption attempts less frequently for husbands and wives in the low cells (5: 3, 6, 9, 12). Wives in the wife-defined array ($z = 6.09$, $p < .01$) had a significant difference between the high and low cells. In the husband-defined array, husbands held the floor more frequently with replies in the high cell (6: 1) ($z = 2.50$, $p < .05$) while their wives held the floor more frequently with replies in the low cell (6: 6). No pattern emerged for wives in the wife-defined array, but their husbands kept their turns more frequently with replies in the high cell (6: 9) ($z = 2.14$, $p < .05$).

Similarly, concerning bids, no pattern emerged for wives in either array. In both arrays, husbands kept the floor more with bids in the low cells (7: 3, 12). For acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates, wives in the husband-defined array kept the floor more frequently with these functions in the low cell (8: 6). The same pattern is true for husbands and wives in the wife-defined array (8: 9, 12).

Breaks

Husbands in the husband-defined array were broken in on while speaking with an informative significantly more frequently in the low cell than in the high cell (9: 3) ($z = -4.35$, $p < .01$). The opposite was true for wives (9: 6).

Both husbands ($z = -2.86$, $p < .01$) and wives in the wife-defined array ($z = -2.26$, $p < .05$) lost the floor with informatives to breaks more frequently in the low cells (9: 9, 12). No patterns emerged at all for replies or bids. Similarly, in both arrays, no patterns for wives using acknowledges, accepts, or evaluates emerged, while husbands in the low cell were broken in on more frequently when using these functions (12: 3, 12).

Beginning and ending turns. Generic analyses, presented in Table 13, revealed that informatives were the most popular function with which a non-speaker took a turn from a current speaker as well as the most popular function on which a turn was lost. These analyses were restricted to Rule 1 occurrences. Twelve of these patterns were Type I and twenty were Type II.

Insert Table 27 about here

To begin turns, Table 27 indicates that husbands and wives in the husband-defined array and wives in the wife-defined array used fewer informatives with which to begin a turn in the low cells (1: 3, 6, 9). No pattern emerged for husbands in the wife-defined array on informatives. Replies began more turns for high inequitable husbands (2: 1) and low inequitable wives (2: 6) in the husband-defined array and for wives in the wife-defined array (2: 9). In three cases,

Table 27

Context-Specific Equity Beginning Turns[ab]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Function	Husband-defined						Wife-defined					
	Husband			Wife			Wife			Husband		
	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
1 Informative	.25	.25	.17	.22	.25	.19	.28	.27	.25	.24	.21	.24
2 Reply	.13	.15	.11	.17	.13	.18	.19	.09	.17	.12	.15	.12
3 Bid	.11	.11	.07	.13	.09	.04*	.09	.05	.07	.08	.10	.08
4 Ack/Acc/Ev	.12	.28	.25*	.17	.26	.09	.15	.25	.14	.20	.26	.26

[a] Type I patterns are underlined.

[b] Figures represent frequencies of occurrence over the total number of turn changes within each cell.

* $p < .05$

bids began fewer turns in the low cells (3: 3, 6, 9). One of the patterns, wives in the husband-defined array, achieved statistical significance ($z = 2.18$, $p \leq .05$).

Finally, in the husband-defined array, husbands in the low cell used significantly more acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates than did husbands in the high cell (4: 3) ($z = -2.14$, $p \leq .05$). Their wives used fewer of these functions in the low cell (4: 6). In the wife-defined array, wives used fewer of these functions to iniatiate turns in the low cell (4: 9), while their husbands used more of them to begin turns (4: 12).

Concerning ending turns (see Table 28), both husbands and wives in the husband-defined array used fewer informatives to conclude a turn in the low cell (1: 3, 6). In the wife-defined array, low-inequitable wives used more informatives to end turns (1: 9) while husbands in the low cell used fewer of them (1: 12). More replies ended turns for husbands in the high cell and wives in the low cell in the husband-defined array (2: 1, 6). In the wife-defined array, wives in the low cell ended fewer turns with replies (2: 9). Bids were used more by high-cell husbands and low-cell wives in the husband-defined array (3: 1, 6); more bids ended turns for high-cell wives and low-cell husbands in the wife-defined array (3: 7, 12). In the husband-defined array, more acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates ended turns for husbands in the low cell (4: 3); the opposite was true

for their wives (4: 6). An identical sex-interaction was found in the wife-defined array: more of these functions ended turns for low-inequitable wives (4: 9), but not for their husbands (4: 12).

Insert Table 28 about here

Topic-change

Research question seven investigated the patterns of topic-change which were related to the levels of context-specific communication equity. The interest in this section is restricted only to those topics which were changed while turns changed. Twelve of the patterns were Type I; eight were Type II.

Turn exchange and topics. Table 29 reveals that in these data, in the husband-defined array, the number of topic-changes at turn-change points which were initiated by husbands and wives were lower in the low cell. The opposite was true for the wife-defined array. None of these patterns achieved statistical significance.

Insert Table 29 about here

Topics and functions. In the husband-defined array (see Table 30), both husbands and wives changed more topics

Table 28

Context-Specific Equity Ending Turns[abc]

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Function		Husband-defined						Wife-defined					
		Husband			Wife			Wife			Husband		
		H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
1	Informative	.36	.34	.22	.36	.34	.33	.35	.36	.39	.34	.35	.26
2	Reply	.06	.06	.04	.06	.05	.07	.09	.06	.07	.05	.06	.05
3	Bid	.05	.02	.03	.009	.013	.014	.013	.013	.007	.03	.03	.03
4	Ack/Acc/Ev	.06	.16	.08	.06	.15	.05	.05	.17	.08	.09	.11	.05

[a] Type I patterns are underlined.

[b] Figures represent frequencies of occurrence over the total number of turn changes within each cell.

[c] No significance was reached for any of these patterns.

Table 29

Topic-Change and Turn Exchange[ab]

Context-Specific Equity

Husband-defined						Wife-defined					
Husband			Wife			Husband			Wife		
H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
.19	.12	.09	.19	.15	.09	.12	.15	.13	.06	.13	.13

[a]Type I patterns are underlined

[b]Figures represent frequencies of occurrences over the total number of turns taken within each cell.

with informatives in the low cell (1: 3, 6). A sex interaction pattern was revealed in the wife-defined array where low-inequitable wives changed fewer topics with informatives and low-inequitable husbands changed more (1: 9, 12). Two sex interactions were found for replies in these data: in the husband-defined array, the number of replies husbands used to change topics was lower in the low cell (2: 3). The opposite was true for their wives (2: 6). Conversely, in the wife-defined array, wives used more replies in the low cell (2: 9), while their husbands used fewer of them (2: 12).

Insert Table 30 about here

All four patterns for bids revealed that the frequency of their use for topic-changes was lowest in the low cell for

Table 30

Context-Specific Topic-Change and Function[ab]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Function	Husband-defined						Wife-defined					
	Husband			Wife			Wife			Husband		
	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
1 Informative	.16	.14	.17	.27	.36	.36	.34	.48	.25	.14	.16	.18
2 Reply	.05	.02	.00	.00	.02	.02+	.00	.04	.04+	.04	.00	.02
3 Bid	.11	.03	.00+	.07	.02	.02	.09	.04	.02*	.04	.05	.02
4 Ack/Acc/Ev	.02	.02	.02+	.07	.00	.04	.03	.00	.07	.00	.02	.02+

[a] Type I patterns are underlined.

[b] Figures represent frequencies of occurrence over the total number of topic-changes within each cell.

* $p \leq .05$

+ z-value impossible to calculate; significance in proportions assumed.

both husbands and wives (3: 3, 6, 9, 12). One of the patterns, wives in the wife-defined array, was significant ($z = 2.11$, $p < .05$). In the husband-defined array, wives changed more topics with acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates in the high cell (4: 6). Both husbands and wives, in the wife-defined array, used more of these functions to change topics in the low cell (4: 9, 12).

Summary

In the context-specific data, when comparisons are made between the high and low cells, the speakers in the high cells: (1) took longer turns, (2) were more successful at interrupting and breaking, (3) took more turns with Rule 1, (4) took fewer turns with Rule 2, (5) used more replies with which to successfully interrupt, (6) used more bids with which to make unsuccessful interruptions, (7) used fewer acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates with which to make unsuccessful interruptions, (8) kept the floor more when an interruption attempt was made by their spouse while speaking with an informative, (9) lost the floor more to their spouse on a break while speaking with an informative, (10) began more turns on informatives, (11) began more turns on replies, (12) began more turns on bids, (13) ended more turns on replies, (14) ended more turns on bids, (15) ended fewer turns on acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates, and (16) changed more topics on bids.

Typicality of Conversation

Chapter II stressed the notion that the conversations studied here were public conversations between intimates. An "aside" question investigated here was the degree to which couples who participated in this study perceived the filmed conversation as representative or typical. Following the topic interview, an interviewer ascertained the degree of typicality as perceived by the participants.

Table 31 reveals that a majority (75 percent) of the participants perceived the conversation as either highly typical or fairly typical. In four cases (couples 3, 4, 6, and 7) the couples were split between the highly representative and non-representative responses. Or to look at the results by couples, five couples out of twelve agreed that their conversation was representative (and four that it was highly representative), but in no case did any couple report that it was not representative.

Table 31

Perceived Typicality of Conversation

Highly Typical		Fairly Typical	Not Typical
1H	1W	2W	2H
3W	4W	5H	3H
5W	6H	8H	4H
7H	10H	8W	6W
10W	11H	9H	7W
11W	12H		9W
12W			
.54		.21	.25

This chapter has reviewed the results from the data analyses from the structural, functional, and topic-change systems for husband and wife-defined arrays in context-free and context-specific equity. How these patterns are interpreted according to equity theory and intimate conversation is discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this chapter is to explain, interpret, and discuss the results presented in Chapter IV. Following a summary of the results, the chapter attempts to go beyond the original research questions and assess the explanatory power of equity theory for conversational behavior between intimates. The assessment is made through three questions: (1) How well does equity theory explain husbands' and wives' conversation behavior? (2) What are the limitations inherent in this research? (3) What issues from this study need clarification and explanation in the light of previous research and what are their implications for future research?

Summary

This section reviews the research questions related to equity theory. For high inequitable speakers in the context-free arrays, fourteen patterns were found to be consistent between husbands and wives. All comparisons here are made between the high and low cells.

Research question two asks: "Given a level of context-free communication equity, what are the patterns of structural

communication appropriate to each level?"[8] Only one pattern was found to be consistent under this question. Speakers in the high cells took longer turns than speakers in the low cells.

Research question three asks:"Given a level of context-free communication equity, what are the patterns of functional communication appropriate to each level?" Eleven patterns emerged as consistent between husbands and wives under this question. Speakers in the high cell: (1) used fewer informatives with which to successfully interrupt, (2) used more replies with which to successfully interrupt, (3) used fewer acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates with which to successfully interrupt, (4) used fewer acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates to unsuccessfully interrupt, (5) lost the floor more when interrupted by their spouses while speaking with an informative, (6) lost the floor more when interrupted by their spouses while speaking with a bid, (7) kept the floor more when an interruption attempt was made by their spouses while speaking with a bid, (8) began more turns with informatives, (9) began more turns with bids, (10) ended more turns with replies, and (11) ended more turns with bids.

Research question four asks:"Given a level of context-free communication equity, what are the patterns of topic-change appropriate to each level?" Two patterns emerged as consistent from these analyses. Speakers in the high cell changed more topics at topic-change points than did

speakers in the low cell. They also changed fewer topics with acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates than did low cell speakers.

For high inequitable speakers in the context-specific arrays, sixteen patterns were found to be consistent between husbands and wives. All comparisons here are made between the high and low cells.

Research question five asks: "Given a level of context-specific communication equity, what are the patterns of structural communication appropriate to each level?" Four patterns emerged as consistent under this question. Speakers in the high cell: (1) took longer turns, (2) were more successful at interrupting and breaking, (3) took more turns with Rule 1, and (4) took less turns with Rule 2.

Research question six asks: "Given a level of context-specific communication equity, what are the patterns of functional communication appropriate to each level?" Eleven patterns emerged under this question. Speakers in the high cell: (1) used more replies with which to successfully interrupt, (2) used more bids with which to make unsuccessful interruption attempts, (3) used fewer acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates with which to make unsuccessful interruption attempts, (4) kept the floor more when an interruption attempt was made by their spouse while speaking with an informative, (5) lost the floor more to their spouse on a break while speaking with an informative, (6) began more

turns on informatives, (7) began more turns on replies, (8) began more turns on bids, (9) ended more turns on replies, (10) ended more turns on bids, and (11) ended fewer turns on acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates.

Research question seven asks: "Given a level of context-specific communication equity, what are the patterns of topic-change appropriate to each level?" Only one pattern emerged as consistent between husbands and wives. Speakers in the high cell changed more topics on bids than did speakers in the low cell.

When the context-free and context-specific summaries above are combined, seven patterns emerge as consistent across arrays and between spouses. These seven patterns indicate that, regardless of sex, high inequitable speakers: (1) took longer turns, (2) used more replies with which to successfully interrupt, (3) used fewer acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates with which to unsuccessfully interrupt, (4) began more turns with informatives, (5) began more turns with bids, (6) ended more turns with replies, and (7) ended more turns with bids.

Marital Communication and Equity

The conversational data gathered in this research was investigated and categorized according to three systems (structural, functional, and topic-change) and then arrayed according to the definitions of self-report communication equity data (context-free and context-specific).

The underlying theme for all seven research questions is simply "are there patterns of public conversational behavior which correspond with participants' perceptions of context-free and context-specific communication equity?" Necessarily, then, the question becomes "how well can the array of couples according to communication equity be explained by conversational behaviors?" That is, are the differences in behaviors across these cells related with differences in equity perceptions? If so, equity becomes a feasible means by which conversational behaviors may be accounted for. If not, another search must be directed for a different set of constructs constituting a theory with which to explain these behavioral patterns.

In this section, results from the structural, functional, and topic-change analyses are discussed in turn. Under each analysis, two issues are dealt with: (1) do the patterns correspond with expectations from equity theory and (2) is there correspondence for these patterns between context-free and context-specific formulations? Finally, statements about the applicability of equity theory to public conversation between intimates are made. Throughout this section, respondent refers to the person whose equity score defined the array of scores. Spouse refers to the respondent's husband or wife.[9]

Structure

Concerning TCU ratio between husbands and wives (see

Table 32), equity theory suggests that high inequitable respondents should attempt to restore equity by speaking with more TCU's than their partner in an effort to hold the floor longer. These data show that two of the four patterns, both of which were in the wife-defined array, met these expectations. Similarly, more inequitable participants should take longer turns. In all four cases, the respondent's behavior met the theoretical assumptions, as turn length decreased as inequity decreased. Their spouses' behavior showed an <u>increase</u> in turn length in three of these four cases, indicating a definite disparity between the participants.

Insert Table 32 about here

The most dramatic conversational phenomena which can occur are instances where current speakers do not wish to relinquish the floor to another speaker, but yet, lose their turn. In review, there are two categories for such behaviors: <u>interruptions</u>, which occur at non-transition relevance places, and <u>breaks</u>, which occur at turn relevance places. All breaks, by definition, are successful. Interruption attempts may be either successful or unsuccessful, depending upon whether the current speaker stops talking.

Equity theory suggests that high inequitable participants should attempt to restore equity to their conversations

Table 32

Communication Equity and Structure[ab]

Item	Context-Free				Context-Specific			
	Husband-defined		Wife-defined		Husband-defined		Wife-defined	
	Husbands	Wives	Wives	Husbands	Husbands	Wives	Wives	Husbands
TCU ratio	I		D**		I		D	
Turn length	D	I	D	I	D**	D**	D	I**
Int/Break Success Rate	I	D	D*	D	D	D	D	D
Rule 1	D**	D**	I	D**	D**	D	D*	D
Rule 2	I**	I*	D**	D**	I**	I*	I	I

[a]Type I patterns are underlined

[b]Increases (I) and decreases (D) as inequity decreases; level patterns = (L)

*$p < .05$

**$p < .01$

by successfully taking the floor away from a current speaker more than would low inequitable participants. These analyses revealed three of four cases which met these assumptions. In all cases, the spouses took the floor away from respondents less as inequity decreased. This indicates that for respondents who feel less inequity, the conversations are more stable and require less need to take the floor away from another speaker.

Table 32 indicates that in three cases, high inequitable respondents had more turns given to them (Rule 1 application) by their spouses than did low inequitable respondents. While Rule 1 usage appears to be an interesting phenomenon for conversational analysis, there is nothing inherent in equity theory which suggests respondent or spouse behavior for Rule 1 usage. The figures do <u>not</u> reflect a ratio of turns given by Rule 1 application between speakers. As such, an analysis of taking turns by Rule 1 does not appear to be a significant variable explainable by equity theory. Rule 2, however, deals specifically with non-speakers taking turns at rule-governed places. Equity theory suggests that high inequitable speakers do take less advantage of these opportunities, and therefore, should increase the number of turns they take by Rule 2 as their level of inequity decreases. The data indicate that in three of the four respondents cases, this assumption was met. As with Rule 1 analyses, without ratio information of turns taken <u>between</u> the participants, the

spouse's behavior is not interpretable.

In summary, for respondents, the conversation data from these structural analyses met the assumptions of equity theory in twelve of the sixteen cases. Or, in other words, equity theory explanations accounted for 75 percent of these patterns. The real test of communication equity for its explanatory power in these data, however, comes through an examination of its ability to maintain the same direction for these patterns regardless of whether the patterns are in the context-free formulation or the context-specific formulation. For respondents in the husband-defined arrays, patterns were identical in four of the five cases (see Table 32, compare columns 1 and 5). The spouses' patterns were the same in three of the four instances (compare columns 2 and 6). In the wife-defined array, respondents' patterns were the same in three of the five cases (columns 3 and 7) while spouse behavioral patterns remained the same in three of four instances (columns 4 and 8). Because these structural patterns, 75 percent of which are explained by assumptions from equity theory, hold in a minimum of 60 percent and a maximum of 80 percent of all cases, this writer concludes that communication equity for the structural system is, indeed, a powerful means by which conversational behaviors may be accounted for in marital dyads.

Function

In this project, the functions associated with each

speaker's contributions have been investigated as a means by which the strategies with which speakers accomplish structural tasks and change topics may be brought to light. Implicit in this investigation is the understanding that functions have differing impact upon a conversation. Therefore, equity theory would suggest that the functions would be differentially used in achieving conversational ends. Following this line of reasoning, strategies for gaining and losing the floor when a current speaker did not wish to relinquish it are discussed, followed by strategies for turn exchange.

Gaining the floor. The purpose of examining these four functional classes for achieving conversational strategies by speakers of differing levels of equity is achieved by weighting each function concerning its overall politeness, directness, or bluntness on the conversation of which it is a part. The assignment of a contribution to one of these categories is behaviorally based. Whether a speaker intended to be polite, direct, or blunt with a contribution is irrelevant. The impact of the contribution upon the conversation in which it occurs is the criterion by which an assignment is made.

When taking the floor away from another speaker who does not wish to relinquish it, functions may be ordered from blunt to polite as follows: (1) informatives are the most blunt and direct, as they contribute material to the conversation which has not previously been introduced;

(2) acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates serve to confirm deny, or criticize a prior contribution, and as such, are reasonably direct but not necessarily impolite; (3) replies are content bound functions which must follow an elicitation, are reasonably direct, but are also expected functions, and thus, are polite, while (4) bids are signals than a non-speaker wishes to contribute to the discourse, are content-free, indirect, and polite. How these weighted functions vary according to successful interruptions, unsuccessful interruptions, and breaks becomes the topic of interest here in order to conceptualize conversational strategies by speakers of differing equity levels.

The patterns which emerged in these analyses (see Table 33) indicated that speakers become more blunt as the respondents level of inequity decreased. For informatives and acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates, six of eight respondents increased their use of these patterns to successfully interrupt the other while their spouses did the same in four cases. For replies and bids, five of eight respondents used fewer replies and bids with which to successfully interrupt while their spouses followed suit in seven of eight instances.

Insert Table 33 about here

On interruption attempts which were unsuccessful, six

Table 33

Communication Equity and Function[ab]

(Gaining Floor)

Function	Context-Free				Context-Specific			
	Husband-defined		Wife-defined		Husband-defined		Wife-defined	
	Husbands	Wives	Wives	Husbands	Husbands	Wives	Wives	Husbands
Successful Interruptions								
Informative	I	I	I	I	D	I	I	D
Reply	D**	D	D*	D	D**	D	D	D
Bid	L	D	I	D	I	I	D	D
Ack/Acc/Ev	I**	D	I	I	I*	D	D**	I
Unsuccessful Interruptions								
Informative	I	D	D**	I	D	I	L	I
Reply	D+			D+	D			L
Bid	I	I**	D	D+	D**	D*	D*	D**
Ack/Acc/Ev	I	D	I	D	I**	I	I	I**
Breaks								
Informative	D+	I+		I+	I+	I+		I+
Reply		I	D		D+	I+	D**	I+
Bid	D	D	I+	I**	D**	D	I	D
Ack/Acc/Ev	I**	D	D	D+	I	I	D	D**

[a]Type I patterns are underlined.

[b]Increases (I) and decreases (D) as inequity decreases; level patterns = (L)

*p < .05

**p < .01

+z-value impossible to calculate; significance on proportions assumed.

of eight instances saw respondents increasing their use of blunt contributions (informatives; acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates) while their spouses did the same in five cases. Five of eight respondents decreased their use of polite functions (replies and bids) as their inequity level decreased. Four of the eight spouses responded identically.

For breaks, three patterns of increasingly blunt functions and three patterns of decreasingly blunt functions were found. Five spouses increased their use of them. Five patterns were found by respondents for polite functions which decreased as their level of inequity decreased. Three patterns were similar by their spouses.

In short, in attempting to take the floor from speakers who did not want to relinquish it, a reference to Table 34 is insightful. This table reveals that as respondents' levels of inequity decreased, their employment of polite functions to take the floor away from a current speaker decreased, and their employment of the more direct or blunt functions increased.

Insert Table 34 about here

For gaining the floor, equity was moderately successful at explaining conversational patterns (see Table 33). For respondents, in the husband-defined arrays, only six of twelve pattern directions agreed between context-free and

Table 34

Functional Patterns for Gaining the Floor[ab]

Patterns	Blunt	Polite
Successful Interruptions	I	D
Unsuccessful Interruptions	I	D
Breaks	L	D

[a]Increases (I) and decreases (D) as inequity decreases; level patterns = (L).

[b]Only respondents are placed here.

context-specific formulations. While for their spouses, seven of twelve patterns agreed. In the wife-defined arrays, for respondents, eight of the twelve patterns were in agreement concerning direction between the two formulations. For spouses, seven of the twelve directions were in agreement.

Losing the floor. The same weightings for functions in losing the floor apply as were delineated earlier for gaining it (see Table 35). When successfully interrupted, in five cases, respondents lost the floor on the blunt functions less often as their level of inequity decreased. Spouses performed identically in five cases. Respondents lost the floor on polite functions more often as their inequity level decreased. Five patterns revealed their

spouses were successfully interrupted less often on polite functions.

Insert Table 35 about here

Respondents kept the floor less often (four cases) on blunt functions as they were unsuccessfully interrupted as their inequity level decreased. Their spouses kept the floor more on blunt functions. Respondents were split between increasing and decreasing polite functions as their level of inequity decreased. Their spouses increased their use of polite functions in five cases.

Finally, respondents were speaking with blunt functions more when broken in on as their level of inequity decreased (four of eight cases). Their spouses also had the same number of occurrences. Respondents only had one pattern for polite functions which was a decrease as their level of inequity decreased. Their spouses split between an increasing and decreasing use of polite functions.

In summary, Table 36 characterizes these two classes of functions which speakers employed in light of losing their turn. This table reveals that as participants' levels of inequity decreased, they were both interrupted less and retained the floor less while speaking with blunt functions. When broken in on, participants used more blunt functions as their inequity level decreased.

Table 35

Communication Equity and Function[ab]

(Losing Floor)

Function	Context-Free				Context-Specific			
	Husband-defined		Wife-defined		Husband-defined		Wife-defined	
	Husband	Wives	Wives	Husbands	Husbands	Wives	Wives	Husbands
Successful Interruptions								
Informative	D	I	D	D	L	D**	I	I
Reply	D+	D		I+	D**	D+	I	D**
Bid	I	I**	I	I**	I**	D	D**	D**
Ack/Acc/Ev	D+	I+		I	D+			D
Unsuccessful Interruptions								
Informative	I	I**	D**	I**	D	D	D**	D
Reply	D	D+	I+	I+	D*	I	L	D*
Bid	D	I+	D+	I+	I+			I
Ack/Acc/Ev		D+	I			I	I+	I+
Breaks								
Informative	I**	I*	D**	I**	I**	D	I**	I*
Reply		I+						
Bid			D+	D+				
Ack/Acc/Ev			D+	D+	I+			I+

[a]Type I patterns are underlined

[b]Increases (I) and decreases(D) as inequity decreases; Level of patterns = (L)

*p < .05

**p < .01

+z-value impossible to calculate; significance on proportions assumed.

Table 36

Functional Patterns for Losing the Floor[ab]

Patterns	Blunt	Polite
Successful Interruptions	D	I
Unsuccessful Interruptions	D	L
Breaks	I	D

[a]Increases (I) and decreases (D) as inequity decreases; level patterns = (L)

[b]Only respondents are placed here

The success of equity theory at explaining conversational patterns associated with losing the floor was very weak (see Table 34). For respondents, in the husband-defined arrays, five of the eight patterns were in the same direction in both the context-free and context-specific formulations, while for their spouses, only one of six patterns remained the same. In the wife-defined arrays, respondents' patterns ran in the same direction in two of six patterns while their spouses were identical in three of nine.

Beginning and ending turns. The weighting of functions for turn exchange must be altered slightly from that used for interrupting and breaking. Here, the continuum runs from

obligated (informatives; acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates) to unobligated (bids and replies). Informatives are the most obligatory and are those content-bound functions which another speaker is obligated to listen to because of their introduction of new material into the conversation. Similarly, acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates are obligatory because they are inherently linked to the prior speakers' turn and must be listened to because of their effect on how the other speaker will contribute to discourse. Conversely, bids are not content-bound and may be talked through by another speaker without much loss in terms of understanding the conversation or affecting the next contribution. Replies are the least obligatory function in that, while they are always preceded by elicitations, they do not always answer questions. While a participant using a reply may feel obligated to answer, correct, or clarify a prior contribution by another, the other participant may also talk through the reply without great conversational loss. This is particularly true in those conversations where one speaker is likely to be able to predict another speaker's answer.

These data (see Table 37) reveal that, for initiating turns, respondents decreased their use of obligated functions in five of eight cases as their inequity level decreased. For the informative function, all four respondents showed this decrease. Their wives showed an even split between increasing and decreasing. In seven of eight cases,

respondents' use of unobligated functions decreased while their level of inequity decreased. Their spouses decreased in four patterns.

Insert Table 37 about here

Concerning functions at the end of turns (see Table 38), five respondent patterns showed an increase in obligated functions as the level of inequity decreased, while their spouses decreased in seven of eight patterns. Six of the eight patterns for respondents in unobligated functions showed a decrease in use as their inequity level decreased, while their spouses showed an increase in their use.

Insert Table 38 about here

Table 39 summarizes the functional strategies used in turn exchange by speakers of varying equity levels. The table reveals that to begin turns, as speakers' inequity levels decreased, they decreased their use of obligated and unobligated functions, while increasing their use of obligated turns to end them.

Insert Table 39 about here

When comparing the direction of patterns for the

Table 37

Functions for Initiating Turns[ab]

Function	Context-Free				Context-Specific			
	Husband-defined		Wife-defined		Husband-defined		Wife-defined	
	Husbands	Wives	Wives	Husbands	Husbands	Wives	Wives	Husbands
Informative	D	I	D	D	D	D	D	L
Reply	D	D	I	D	D	I	D	L
Bid	D	L	D	D	D	D*	D	L
Ack/Acc/Ev	I	L	L	I	I*	D	D	I

[a]Type I patterns are underlined

[b]Increases (I) and decreases (D) as inequity decreases; level in patterns = (L)

*$p < .05$

Table 38

Functions for Ending Turns[ab]

Function	Context-Free				Context-Specific			
	Husband-defined		Wife-defined		Husband-defined		Wife-defined	
	Husbands	Wives	Wives	Husbands	Husbands	Wives	Wives	Husbands
Informative	I	D	D	D	D	D	I	D
Reply	I	I	I	I	D	I	D	L
Bid	D	L	D	D	D	I	D	I
Ack/Acc/Ev	I*	I	L	D	I	D	I	D

[a]Type I patterns are underlined.

[b]Increases (I) and decreases (D) as inequity decreases; level in patterns = (L).

* $p < .05$

Table 39

Functional Patterns for Beginning and Ending Turns[ab]

Patterns	Obligated	Unobligated
Beginning turns	D	D
Ending turns	I	D

[a]Increases (I) and decreases (D) as inequity decreases

[b]Only respondents are placed here

husband and wife-defined arrays across context-free and context-specific formulations in order to assess the explanatory power of equity theory for turn exchange, in the husband defined array (see Table 37), respondents were the same in all four cases while their spouses were different in all four cases. In the wife-defined array, respondents' patterns ran in the same direction in two of the four cases while their spouses' ran in the same direction only once in four patterns. For losing the floor (see Table 38), in the husband-defined array, respondents' and spouses' patterns remained the same in two of four cases. In the wife-defined array, respondents were the same in only one of four cases while their spouses were the same in two of four. Concerning functions in terms of beginning and ending turns, equity theory was better at

explaining respondent behavior (9/16; 56 percent) than their spouses' (5/16; 31 percent).

Topic-Change

Equity theory suggests that more inequitable respondents should attempt to restore equity by increasing the number of topics that are initiated during a conversation (see Table 40). Only one respondents' pattern and one of

Table 40

Communication Equity Topic Change and Turn Exchange[ab]

Context-Free				Context-Specific			
Husband-defined		Wife-defined		Husband-defined		Wife-defined	
Husband	Wife	Wife	Husband	Husband	Wife	Wife	Husband
D	D	D	L	D	D	I	I

[a]Type I patterns are underlined

[b]Increases (I) and decreases (D) as equity decreases; level in patterns = (L)

their spouses' patterns did not run in that direction, suggesting that initiation of topic is a highly important dimension

for equity theory when applied to public conversations, and thus, is a powerful explainer of these behaviors. When comparing these patterns within arrays across context-free and context-specific formulations, perfect correspondence was found for respondents (one of one) and spouses (one of one) in the husband-defined arrays and no correspondence was found for either respondents (zero to one) or spouses (zero to one) in the wife-defined arrays.

The most interesting item from the addition of a functional analysis (see Table 41) was that high inequitable wives used increasingly more informatives, replies, and bids on which to change topics. The test of the topic-change analysis by function revealed that respondents' patterns did not run in the same direction at all in the husband-defined array when comparing context-free and context-specific equity. In the wife-defined array, three of the four respondent patterns ran in the same direction. For spouses, in the husband-defined array, two of the four patterns ran in the same direction. In the wife-defined array, for spouses, only one out of three patterns between context-free and context-specific equity was the same for both arrays.

Insert Table 41 about here

What, then, is the explanatory power of equity theory in relation to these public conversation behaviors? Table

Table 41

Communication Equity Topic Change and Function[ab]

Function	Context-Free				Context-Specific			
	Husband-defined		Wife-defined		Husband-defined		Wife-defined	
	Husbands	Wives	Wives	Husbands	Husbands	Wives	Wives	Husbands
Informative	L	I	D	I	I	I	D	I
Reply	I+	D	D	I+	D+	I+	I+	D
Bid	I	L	D	I	D+	I	D*	D
Ack/Acc/Ev	I+	D+	I**		L	D	I	I+

[a]Type I patterns are underlined.

[b]Increases (I) and decreases (D) as inequity decreases; level in patterns = (L)

*p < .05

**p < .01

+z-value impossible to calculate; significance in proportions assumed

42 reveals that for both the structural and topic-change systems, 75 percent of all patterns ran in directions consistent with equity theory assumptions. When the directions of patterns from both husband and wife-defined arrays were compared across context-free and context-specific communication equity formulations (see Table 43), for respondents in the husband-defined array, patterns ran in the same direction in 58 percent of the cases. Comparing these three system, the turn-initiation

Table 42

Patterns Consistent with Equity Theory[a]

System	Total Patterns	Theory Consistent	Percent
Structural	16	12	.75
Topic-Change	4	3	.75

[a]Only respondents are included here.

(100 percent), topic-initiation (100 percent) and structural systems (80 percent) were explained best. In the wife-defined array, respondents' patterns were identical in 47 percent of the cases. The topic-initiation system was the best explained (75 percent). For spouses, 51 percent of all patterns were identical in the husband-defined array, with structure (75 percent) and topic-initiation (100 percent) explained best, while in the wife-defined array, 46 percent of all patterns were identical, with the structural system explained best (75 percent).

Insert Table 43 about here

In summary, these figures indicate that equity is, at a minimum, moderately capable of explaining these conversational behaviors. As expected, respondents' behaviors seem to be more accountable than their spouses' behaviors. For respondents, equity theory appears to explain structure, turn-initiation, and topic-initiation most powerfully. For spouses, equity theory explains structure and topic-initiation most powerfully. For the functional analyses, gaining the floor was generally better explained than losing the floor for both respondents and spouses, indicating that losing the floor may not be a conversational behavior salient to equity theory.

This study has demonstrated that there are definitive

Table 43

Patterns Consistent Across Equity Formulations

Analysis	Husband-defined Total	Husband-defined Consistent	Husband-defined Percent	Wife-defined Total	Wife-defined Consistent	Wife-defined Percent
Respondents						
Structural	5	4	.80	5	3	.60
Gaining Floor Functions	12	6	.50	12	8	.67
Losing Floor Functions	8	5	.63	6	1	.17
Turn-Initiation Functions	4	4	1.00	4	0	.00
Turn-Ending Functions	4	2	.50	4	2	.50
Topic Initiation	1	1	1.00	1	0	.00
Topic Initiation Functions	4	0	.00	4	2	.75
Spouses						
Structural	4	3	.75	4	3	.75
Gaining Floor Functions	12	7	.58	12	7	.58
Losing Floor Functions	6	2	.33	9	3	.33
Turn-Initiation Functions	4	2	.50	4	1	.25
Turn-Ending Functions	4	1	.25	4	2	.50
Topic Initiation	1	1	1.00	1	0	.00
Topic Initiation Functions	4	2	.50	3	1	.33

conversational patterns which are appropriate to various levels of perceived communication equity in a context-free and a context-specific sense. That equity can account for many of these conversational behaviors is clear. Whether equity, however, is the best way to explain and array conversational behaviors is still in doubt. As will be discussed in the following section, couples who are truly diverse in their levels of perceived communication equity should be examined for conversational behaviors. A full range of equity perceptions and the analysis of their conversational behaviors is needed before any final judgment of the applicability of equity may be made here. Logically, however, it appears that if a compact set of scores can show differences in conversational behaviors, a diversified set of scores should show even more dramatic differences. This notion is discussed further in the next section of this chapter.

Limitations

There were several methodological problems in this study that limit the usefulness of its findings. These problems should be corrected for future studies in this area.

(1) The range of equity scores in this study lacked variation. One major difference noted in Chapter IV between the pilot and the actual study of context-free equity was that the pilot data included a full range of scores on equity from equitable to inequitable, while all of the data from the

this study fell in the inequitable area, and in a very limited range (19). The context-specific range was only slightly higher (24) and these scores in these data also fell entirely in the inequitable area.

The impact that such a small range of scores has upon conclusions drawn from this research is immense. Both for the context-free and context-specific ranges, the scores did not approach a truly high inequitable area. At best, for both formulations, the scores fell into an "almost equitable" (close to zero) to "moderately inequitable" (halfway to the maximum negative value) area. Why equity in the initial section of this chapter was not found to have even more explanatory power concerning conversation behaviors may, in part, be due to the fact that there was not a <u>great</u> deal of difference in these data between the participants in the high and low cells. Theoretically, because the participants' <u>perceptions</u> of their communication did not vary widely in terms of equity, then their behaviors should not have been expected to vary a great deal either. Suggestions for means to rectify this in future research in this area will be made later in this chapter.

(2) The sample lacked homogeneity on individual characteristics and randomness. The couples selected for this study were from a population that was restricted only to caucasians who were not undergraduates in college. As was seen in Chapter IV, the sample was quite diverse with regard

to other variables such as age, education, etc. While the purpose of this research was to describe conversational behaviors which correspond with certain levels of equity, and not to determine experimentally in any causal sense that equity made a difference in these conversational behaviors, the study would have been better controlled if a truly homogeneous sample, with minimal variance on variables other than equity had been used. In this way, the differences between behaviors may be directly related to communication equity and the extraction of these other variables from equity would not be necessary.

Further, couples in this study were not randomly selected. This was due to two major reasons: (1) the desire to limit the sample to caucasian couples who were not undergraduate college students and (2) the time problems caused by the necessity to locate couples once an effort failed to obtain couples from a therapy center from which a homogeneous sample had been promised. In order to obtain twelve couples for the study, a flyer prepared for the purpose was distributed to numerous potential participants. Because subjects, then, were self-selected, it may be assumed that couples representing some aspects of the larger population were not included within the sample.

(3) A factor analysis was not obtained for the context-specific communication equity instrument nor was a factor analysis repeated for the context-free communication

equity instrument in the actual study. The sample size was too small in this study to permit either of these analyses. Because the context-specific instrument referred to perceptions of actual conversation behavior, the instrument was not pre-tested over large numbers of subjects preceding its introduction into this study. The items on the context-specific instrument are highly similar in wording to those on the context-free instrument, and thus, it is argued that the reliability for these items on the context-free instrument may be carried over to the context-specific instrument.

While the pilot study produced a factor structure for the context-free instrument, no such structure was ever produced for the context-specific instrument. Further, because the factor analysis was not performed on the context-free data in the actual study, no information is available concerning the stability of the factor structure for that instrument.

Issues in Research and Implications

Issues

In the light of previous research into conversation, marital dyads, and equity theory, several issues have surfaced here that bear clarification or explanation. These issues are dealt with in turn.

(1) Subjects' scores in the inequitable area. Why were the scores on the context-free instrument so compact in

the actual study, yet so diverse in the pilot research? One powerful explanation for this discrepancy comes through an examination of the kinds of subjects that responded to the instruments. The pilot data were largely contributed by first-semester college freshmen who were asked to focus upon the person with whom they felt that they were the most intimate. While no count was made, it is hypothesized that very few of the pilot subjects referred to a spouse in completing the instruments, while there is great assurance that subjects in the actual study referred only to their spouse.

The context-free communication equity instrument measured one's day to day communication with an intimate partner. It is further hypothesized here that the contact between the subjects' referents in the pilot and actual study was both quantitatively and qualitatively different. In most cases, due to mere proximity, husbands and wives talk more frequently than do best friends, boy and girl friends, or parents and children. Qualitatively, the talk between husbands and wives is more complex than that between other intimates, yet highly defined, because it deals with subjects which affect both partners. The topics they discuss are important to the maintenance of the relationship. In short, because the relationships between marital partners are more specific, better-defined, and better developed, the range of scores on such an instrument, when subjects consider a

common referent-type, is likely to be more compact than those which emanate from subjects who contemplate a variety of referent-types. Granting this, it remains likely that a normal distribution of couples covering the full range of equity would have occurred if a large enough sample had been taken.

(2) The discrepancy between placement of couples in context-free and context-specific equity cells. Chapter IV pointed out that there were several couples who fell in non-corresponding cells between the context-free and context-specific formulations. In eight of twelve cases, couples were not in the same cell in the two formulations. Apparently, then, context-free communication equity and context-specific communication equity do not necessarily measure the same perceptions. Further, despite the overall significance between the two instruments, very little correspondence was found between items which were nearly identically worded when the scales were correlated.

These phenomena may be accounted for by the notion that subjects, when responding to the context-free scales, more than likely envisioned conversations with their partners that were intimate in nature as opposed to public. Conversely, when responding to the context-specific items, subjects only considered the public conversation in which they had just engaged. As a result, it may be argued that subjects who responded to these two instruments were using two unrelated

and noncorrelated referents as the basis for their answers.

Despite the lack of correspondence, equity theory remains a powerful way to explain conversation behaviors. The reader should recall that the unit of analysis in terms of specifying directions for patterns here was a cell and not a couple. As a result, regardless of where a couple was found within these arrays, equity theory was found to be reasonably powerful when applied to a pattern of conversation behavior in terms of maintaining a consistent direction (increase or decrease) for the cells in which couples were arrayed. Further, the data demonstrate that the theory can handle the same conversation behaviors from two different formulations. One reason, however, that there was not more correspondence between the two instruments was that there was more variance within the context-specific instrument than there was within the context-free instrument.

What bearing, then, does such a discrepancy have upon a measure of typicality or representativeness of the conversation data? Comparing scores on these two instruments is not a valid means of investigating this question. A simple correlation between context-free and context-specific instruments is necessarily weak as one (context-free) measures private conversation while the other (context-specific) measures public conversation. The reader should recall that the interest here was not to investigate intimate conversation between intimates, but rather, to discover the patterns operative in

public conversation between intimates. The only way, then, to measure typicality of these data was to ask subjects "was the conversation in which you have engaged similar to the kinds of public conversations you would hold with each other in the presence of other persons?" These results were presented in Chapter IV, which revealed strong support for the representativeness of the data.

(3) Informatives as a turn-initiating function. The results in Chapter IV revealed that speakers in these data used more informatives with which to begin their turns than any other function. Informatives are a content-bound function, and as such, usually include material which has not been previously introduced into the discourse. The frequency with which they appeared here at the beginning of turns was not predicted, given the three-part structure of turns defined by Sacks and his colleagues, which suggests that the first part of a turn includes a referent to a prior, or in other words, a link between the beginning of a turn and its previous speaker's turn. Most turns, then, following Sacks, et. al., should begin with non-content bound functions such as replies, evaluates, accepts, acknowledges, or bids. Yet, a good number of the turns in these data began with informatives, which served to introduce new material into the discourse.

This phenomenon may be explained in the following manner: because the conversations in these data were public

in nature, with an interviewer and recording equipment as an integral part of its context, speakers felt obligated to provide a great deal of background and filler information in order that the listener could understand and follow the dialogue. This information would not have been necessary if the conversation had been private. For example, a couple privately describing "how they met and decided to marry" need only include the sketchiest of details in order that the other speaker knows and understands the material. Yet, when the couple discusses the same question in front of a naive listener, the speakers provide much of this type of material in order for the listener to make sense out of the conversation. Interestingly, couples mark this type of conversation, public in nature, with many instances of understanding. Functions such as acknowledges and accepts to confirm another speaker's contribution and evaluates to criticize it were frequent in these data.

(4) The lack of strong correspondence between relational equity and communication equity. Although such a correspondence was not a central part of this study, the results presented in Chapter IV revealed that there was a general lack of correspondence between couples in the relational equity distribution and couples in the communication equity cells. A strong relation would find couples low in relational equity to be high in inequitable communication. Further, couples high in relational equity should be in the

low inequitable distribution. This correspondence was not supported in this study.

What can account for these phenomena? Theoretically, the role that communication equity plays in determining a couple's relational equity is not clear. That talk is central to the success of such relationships is clear; whether talk, however, is paramount when compared with other inputs has yet to be determined for intimate relationships. It may be assumed that the presence of communication as an input is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for the continuation of an intimate relationship. The exact role that communication equity plays in the way that marital partners calculate the overall equity in their relationship has never been determined. In this sample, however, given the weak correspondence between couples from these instruments, these couples obviously find talk to be not as important to their relationship as some other relational variables.

Directions for Future Research

This study has found numerous behavioral patterns which correspond with certain levels of context-free and context-specific communication equity. Reasonably powerful theoretical support from equity theory was found as an explanation for the extracted patterns. However, several questions remain to be answered from this research that should be addressed in future studies.

(1) Conversation behaviors should be studied from cells which are truly heterogeneous with regard to communication equity. A sociological, truly random sample of married couples should be gathered with sufficient size such that couples who are highly inequitable, slightly inequitable, slightly equitable, and highly equitable are represented. This full range of communication equity will allow researchers to determine what differences there are in conversation behaviors across an entire spectrum of equity perceptions.

(2) Causal designs should follow solid descriptive research. Once that conversation behaviors have been described across a full range on a continuum of perceptions of communication equity, efforts should be made to assess the differential effects from communication equity on the conversation behaviors. Working from a tightly-controlled homogeneous sample, where researchers may be assured that equity is the difference-causing variable, and not age, sex, or other variables, predictions should be made concerning how conversation behaviors are differentially due to various equity levels.

(3) How the function and structure of conversation differs between intimates as well as how topic changes are accomplished should be studied in couples from other races. This research has only examined caucasian couples. With growing interest in cross-cultural communication, and with the apparent applicability of these systems to conversation

generically, the exploration of differences between couples of various ethnic origins may prove to be fruitful.

(4) The importance of communication equity in the determination of a couple's relational equity should be investigated. Rather than assume that equity of talk is an important input singularly, effort should be made to determine the relative importance that talk has when compared with other inputs that couples contemplate as part of determining relational equity.

(5) Non-verbal behaviors should be mapped on the conversation behaviors and differentiated according to communication equity levels. In essence, a description of non-verbal behaviors would provide a fourth system by which conversational data may be analyzed. Questions such as "what patterns of non-verbal behavior regularly appear when low-inequitable speakers lose the floor on an informative?" would be appropriate.

(6) The application of higher-level functional analyses may be insightful. This research has focused upon the lowest level of the Sinclair-Coulthard system: acts. How their higher level systems would interact with these data may prove revealing.

Summary

This study has related communication behaviors found in a public conversation between husbands and wives to their perceptions of communication equity. Communication equity

perceptions were gathered in two ways: context-free and context-specific. Couples were arrayed according to husbands' and wives' perceptions and then divided into three cells (high, medium, and low) for both equity formulations. Conversation data were gathered from four questions, on which the participants jointly produced talk. The conversations were analyzed according to three systems: structural, functional, and topic-change. Behavioral patterns using constructs from each of the systems were related back to the participants' equity perceptions. High and low equity cells were analyzed for differences in these behavioral patterns. The data were best accounted for by equity theory in the structural system, turn-initiation, and topic-initiation.

Notes

[1] The emphasis of this research is on the assessment of perceptions of equity in a relationship by the participants who operate within the relationship. Some theoretical stances, however, allow for the perceptions of equity in a relationship to be made by observers who are outside of the relationship. As Walster, Walster, and Berscheid (1978) state, "an equitable relationship exists if a person scrutinizing the relationship concludes that all participants are receiving equal relative gains from the relationship" (p. 11). Hence, any person may be a scrutineer in terms of perceiving the equity operative in a relationship. They argue (1976):

> In any society there will be a consensus as to what consitutes an equitable relationship. However, the preceding formulation makes it clear that ultimately, equity is in the eye of the beholder. An individual's perception of how equitable a relationship is will depend on his assessment of the value and relevance of the various participants' inputs and outcomes. Participants themselves, even after prolonged negotiation with one another, will not always agree completely as to the value and relevance of the various participant's outcomes....If participants do calculate inputs and outcomes differently--and it is likely that they will--it is inevitable that participants will differ in their perceptions of whether or not a given relationship is

> equitable. Moreover, 'objective' outside observers are likely to evaluate the equitableness of a relationship quite differently than do participants (pp. 4-5).

Therefore, despite the idea that perceptions of equity in a relationship may be made by a person outside of the relationship or by a person inside the relationship, only the perceptions made by husbands and wives of their own relationships are of interest here.

[2] In this research, relational equity, as measured by the Walster, et. al., scales, is utilized simply as a means to investigate additional information about a couple's relationship.

[3] A number of studies in business relationships have only partially supported or have not supported equity theory propositions (c.f., Anderson and Shelly, 1970; Gergen, Morse, and Bode, 1974; Heslin and Blake, 1969; Hinton, 1972; Valenzi and Andrews, 1971; Weick, 1964). Essentially, these studies claim that variables other than overpayment, equity, or underpayment (such as self-esteem, job security, or more stringent production standards set for overpaid subjects) operate to produce the equity results found in many previous studies.

[4] The difference between the use of the word "function" here and in other research is that in this study the language is viewed as the beginning point and inferences about its

user are made only after the language has been examined. In other formulations (Tough, 1977; Moerk, 1977), the research begins with the intent or goal-state of the speaker and the language is assigned a function as a second step.

[5] These questions were originally used in a study conducted at Michigan State University by R.V. Farace and L. Edna Rogers, April-June, 1976, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Contract 1-R01-MH24646-1A1.

[6] It should be noted that turn, turn constructional unit, and turn relevance place are not rigorously defined by Sacks, et. al. These definitions are variants of those which appear in Cooley and Albrecht (1980). Any of the following are examples of words which are transformable into a sentence, thus meeting the requirements for a TCU:

/Yes./

/Where did you see her?/In the store?/

/When did you wake up?/ /Three./

The following are words which are not transformable into a sentence:

/But when I was ten I left/and uh...

/Frankly speaking...No/I mean something else./

[7] The reader may wonder why functional analyses in this chapter are restricted to only four classes of functions, one of which actually includes three categories. Simply put, these functions account for the vast majority (83.9 percent)

of the total functions in these data. Theoretically, their selection is justified in that these functions are those which link turns between speakers at exchange points. Sacks, et. al., (1978) argued that turns had a three-part structure, the first of which related the new turn to a prior one. Acknowledges, accepts, and evaluates are tied weakly to content and comment on a prior function. Replies respond to a prior elicitation and are tied strongly to the content of the previous turn. Bids are attempts by one speaker to gain the floor, and at the speaker's option, may tie it to the content of a prior turn. Informatives are content-bound functions in that they provide new information to the discourse. Like a bid, the speaker is free to use an informative to tie to the prior content but is not obligated to do so. They do not necessarily relate a new turn to a prior one, but their inclusion here is justified due to the prominence with which informatives appear as functions in these data. As such, informatives do not necessarily follow the Sacks, et. al., requirements for turns, and become interesting functions for analysis in their own right.

[8] Readers should recall that question one did not deal with equity.

[9] Because the cells in the four arrays in these analyses combined several participants, it was not possible to determine whether the participants in the high inequitable cells in these cases were underbenefited or overbenefited. If underbenefited, the inequity comes about as a result of too few occurrences of the phenomenon under investigation; if overbenefited, the inequity comes about as a result of too many occurrences. Throughout this chapter, the writer assumes participants in high inequitable cells are underbenefited.

Further, the reader should recall that communication equity is an extension of relational equity. One important assumption which underlies the research questions in this study is that if differential conversational patterns were apparent once arranged according to communication equity arrays, there is rationale for investigating equity theory as an explanation for the couples' behavior. The patterns explicated in Chapter IV, arrayed according to equity theory, developed such that an investigation of the theory's explanatory power was both necessary and feasible. The writer believed that insufficient literature linking equity and conversation existed, thus prohibiting the formulation of a priori hypotheses. Consequently, research questions

were used as alternatives. The test of equity for explanatory power here still does not formulate hypotheses, but rather, checks the assumptions of the theory, where possible, against the results. The specifications of exact hypotheses is still beyond the scope and interest of this study.

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Appendix A

Flyer

HELP! HELP! HELP!

I need your help in completing my doctoral dissertation here in the Department of Communication of the University of Oklahoma. The dissertation involves the analysis of talk in a public conversation between husbands and wives. Time is running short, and I do not have access to very many couples at this time. If you would be willing to help, here is the procedure--

a. One night, at your convenience, I will come over to your house, explain the project in detail and ask you to complete several questionnaires (the questionnaires are not lengthy and include some biographical information as well as some attitude-type questions);

b. Approximately 1 to 2 weeks later, you and your spouse will come over to the home of the faculty director of this project, where:

   1. you and your spouse will carry on a public conversation concerning four general questions (this conversation will last approximately 30-40 minutes);

   2. you and your spouse will complete one additional questionnaire and answer questions about the conversation which you will have just completed (the entire process should take just slightly over one hour).

In order that I may analyze these conversations, they will be both audio and video-tape recorded. Let me assure you of two things regarding the confidentiality of these tapes: (1) only the faculty director of this project and myself will view and analyze these tapes, and (2) if any part of the conversation is excerpted for use in my dissertation (as an example to illustrate a point), any proper names that could possibly identify you as a couple will be changed,

deleted, or obliterated. Further, at the conclusion of this project, these tapes will be destroyed. These requirements were proposed by me and approved by the Human Subjects Review Board of the University of Oklahoma.

I need your help badly. About the only thing I can give you for your participation is a good cup of coffee or two, but perhaps the knowledge that you have helped in the understanding of communication between married partners will be gratifying.

If you would be willing to help, or have any questions, please contact me as quickly as possible. The best way to get me is to leave a message at 325-3111, Mondays through Fridays, 8:00 - 12:00, 1:00 - 5:00, with the Department of Communication secretary. If I am not in, I will return your call immediately upon receiving the message. Also, you can reach me at home early in the morning (before 8:00 a.m.) or late at night (after 10:00 p.m.). The time constraints I am under for this project require that I give up some sleep--so, feel free to call. The home number is 364-2634.

Thank you for considering helping me in this project. Please contact me quickly if you are willing to do so.

Sincerely,

Karl J. Krayer
Department of Communication - University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73019
(405) 364-2634 (home)
325-3111 (work)

Appendix B

University of Oklahoma

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: "Communication Equity and Conversation in Marital Dyads: A Structural, Functional, and Topic-Change Analysis of Public Conversation"

Principal Investigator: Karl J. Krayer, Department of Communication

This is to certify that I, _____, hereby agree to participate as a volunteer in a specific investigation as part of an authorized research program of the University of Oklahoma under the supervision of Dr. Ralph E. Cooley as investigated by Karl J. Krayer.

The purpose of this research is to extend the knowledge and application of equity theory in intimate relationships by examining communication equity in marital dyads. Communication equity will be described behaviorally through an analysis of public conversations between husbands and wives talking about their marriage with each other, and perceptually through an analysis of self-report questionnaires, asking subjects about the nature of their communication in their relationship.

I understand that, by participating in this project, I may be subjected to the social risk of talking about my past experiences and the status of my current marriage publicly. The conversations will be recorded both on video and audiotape.

I understand that I am free to participate in any procedure or to refuse to answer any question at any time without prejudice to me. I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and to withdraw from the research at any time without prejudice to me.

I understand that by agreeing to participate in this research

and signing this form I do not waive any of my legal rights.

I understand that the research investigators named above will answer any of my quesions relating to the research procedures at any time.

_____ _____

Date Signature

Appendix C

Biographical Information

In this portion of the project, there are three basic questionnaires for you to complete. The first questionnaire gathers biographical information about you and your marriage, the second questionnaire gathers information about your perception of your marriage, while the third questionnaire asks about the communication that takes place in your marriage.

Please be assured that your answers are held in the strictest confidence and that no one other than the principal investigator (Karl J. Krayer) and faculty director of this project (Ralph E. Cooley) will have access to them. All results from these questionnaires that appear in published form will not include any references to your name where any identification by any reader could be made.

Name _____

Age _____

Number of years in current marriage _____

Number of children _____ Ages _____

Last educational grade completed _____

Occupation _____

Have you been previously married? _____

How many times? _____

Appendix D

Relational Equity

1. How would you describe your <u>contributions</u> to your relationship?

   CONTRIBUTIONS are personal characteristics and behaviors that people put into their relationship. These personal characteristics and behaviors may be POSITIVE, such as good looks, understanding, or love. They may also be NEGATIVE, like being too critical, not helping with household chores, or being moody.

   Extremely Negative Very Negative Moderately Negative

   Slightly Negative Slightly Positive Moderately Positive

   Very Positive Extremely Positive

2. How would you describe your partner's <u>contributions</u> to your relationship?

   Extremely Negative Very Negative Moderately Negative

   Slightly Negative Slightly Positive Moderately Positive

   Very Positive Extremely Positive

3. How would you describe your <u>outcomes</u> from your relationship?

   OUTCOMES refer to how much or what things people get out of their relationship. These may be POSITIVE such as a lot of appreciation, getting to sleep late in the morning, or being able to do things that one could not do alone. They may also be NEGATIVE, such as having to be alone too much, having less money to spend than if you were not in the relationship, or headaches.

   Extremely Negative Very Negative Moderately Negative

   Slightly Negative Slightly Positive Moderately Positive

Very Positive Extremely Positive

4. How would you describe your partner's <u>outcomes</u> from your relationship?

Extremely Negative Very Negative Moderately Negative

Slightly Negative Slightly Positive Moderately Positive

Very Positive Extremely Positive

Appendix E

Context-Free Communication Equity Scales

The following scales refer to your conversations with your spouse. For each question, you will be asked how strongly you agree or disagree with the item. You will then be asked to indicate your feeling concerning the statement.

> AGREEMENT: VDA - very definitely agree; DA - definitely agree; A - agree; SLA - slightly agree; SLD - slightly disagree; D - disagree; DD - definitely disagree; VDD - very definitely disagree
>
> FEELINGS: EN - extremely negative; VN - very negative; N - negative; SLN - slightly negative; SLP - slightly positive; P - positive; VP - very positive; EP - extremely positive

1. I frequently don't get "my say" in conversations with my partner.
2. I initiate our conversations more often than my partner does.
3. When conversations with my partner include topics which I feel less expert and confident on than my partner is, I usually talk less.
4. In conversations with my partner, I do most of the talking.
5. When conversations with my partner are over, I usually feel satisfied.
6. In conversations with my partner, I change the subject more often than he/she does.
7. I bring up more interesting things to talk about than my partner does.
8. My partner dominates our conversations.
9. When my partner and I are talking at the same time, I usually "give in" and stop talking.

10. When my partner brings up topics about which I do not want to talk about, I usually interrupt him/her or attempt to change the subject.

11. Topics which are uncomfortable to me frequently occur in conversations with my partner.

12. I wish my partner would talk with me more often.

13. My partner frequently interrupts me while I am talking.

14. I exert greater effort during our conversations than my partner does.

15. My partner would rather talk with me than with any other person.

16. There are some topics I don't feel comfortable talking about with my partner.

17. My partner talks too much.

18. I wish the conversations I have with my partner would last longer.

19. My partner and I feel the same way about our conversations with each other.

20. I enjoy the conversations I have with my partner more than I do with anyone else.

Appendix F

Instructions for the Interview

You are about to conduct a conversation with each other concerning five general questions about marriage in general and your own marriage in particular. The first question is intended to last approximately five minutes; the remaining four questions should last from about eight to ten minutes. Let me emphasize that this conversation is intended to be between the two of you and not with me. I will only provide the questions for the two of you to talk about and will in no other way attempt to interact with you in this conversation. When the time limit for each question has been met, I will introduce a new question. During this conversation, I will be taking notes in order that I may ask you certain questions about this conversation later. Because of this, and because this conversation is intended to be between the two of you, my contributions in this conversation will be limited only to the asking of questions.

Do you smoke? Can I get you an ash tray?

Would you like something to drink?

Relax and let's begin.

Appendix G

Instructions for the Topic Interview

(following the interview)

The second phase of this session requires that the two of you be separated. One of you will fill in a questionnaire in an adjoining room while the other will answer questions concerning the conversation you just completed with me. When we are finished, the two of you will reverse positions until both of you have completed the two parts of this phase of the session.

(couples separate)

During this conversation, as part of answering these questions, there were several topics discussed such as (name several that are on the list that the interviewer made during the conversation). I would like to ask you some questions about the topics that you discussed and how you felt about them during the conversation which you just completed. Remember that I am interested only in the topics and your reactions to them with regards to this conversation specifically.

Appendix H

Instructions for the Questionnaire

This questionnaire has seventeen items which tap your reactions to the conversation which you just completed. Each of the items has two parts. For example, look at question number two, "I talked first in most of the questions discussed during this conversation." I would first like for you to react to this statement from very definitely agree to very definitely disagree using the key at the top of the first page. Second, I would like for you to tell me how you feel about your reaction to the statement with regards to the conversation which you just completed. For example, you might "agree" that you talked first in most of the questions discussed here, and feel that the fact that you did talk first was good for this conversation. You would then circle "positive" for example. However, you might not like the idea of having to initiate conversation on most of the questions discussed here. You may, for example, have enjoyed the conversation more if your partner had initiated some of the talk under more of the questions. You might then circle "negative" for example. The key to the second part of the question is also at the top of the first page. For each item, then, there are two sets of answers. The important thing to remember is that these questions refer only to the conversation which you have just completed and not to conversations in general. I will be glad to answer any questions concerning any problems you might have with any of the specific items.

Appendix I

Context-Specific Communication Equity Scales

The following questions refer to the conversation which you have just completed. Each question has two major parts. First, you will be asked the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement. Second, you will be asked to react to your agreement or disagreement with the statement concerning your feelings about this conversation.

Key:

VDA - very definitely agree
DA - definitely agree
A - agree
SLA - slightly agree
SLD - slightly disagree
D - disagree
DD - definitely disagree
VDD - very definitely disagree

EN - extremely negative
VN - very negative
N - negative
SLN - slightly negative
SLP - slightly positive
P - positive
VP - very positive
EP - extremely positive

1. I got my say in this conversation with my partner.

2. I talked first in most of the questions discussed during this conversation.

3. On the topics in this conversation of which I am less expert and confident than my partner, I talked less.

4. I did most of the talking during this conversation.

5. I feel satisfied with the conversation which has just ended.

6. I changed more topics during this conversation than my partner did.

7. The topics I initiated during this conversation were more interesting than the topics which my partner initiated.

8. My partner dominated this conversation.

9. On those occasions during this conversation where my partner and I were both talking at the same time, I stopped talking.

10. On those topics which my partner initiated in this conversation that I was not expert or competent in, or did not want to talk about, I interrupted him or her or attempted to change the subject.

11. There were several topics in this conversation which I was uncomfortable talking about.

12. My partner frequently interrupted me during this conversation.

13. I exerted greater effort during this conversation than my partner did.

14. My partner talked too much during this conversation.

15. This conversation did not last long enough.

16. My partner and I feel the same way about this conversation.

17. I enjoyed having this conversation with my partner more than I would have enjoyed the same conversation with anyone else.

Appendix J

Sample Transcription

Keys to Functional Markings:

Marker (M); Starter (S); Elicitation (E); Directive (D); Informative (I); Clue (C); Acknowledge (A); Reply (R Accept (Acc); Evaluate (EV); Meta-statement (MS); Loop (L); Bid (B); Nomination (N); Prompt (P); Comment (Co)

H

RE
W /Well, I think you've changed also,/you're willing to...

BREAK
A
H /Yeah./

FP I
W uh see that other people have feelings too./ /Cause

RE
H /It wasn't that I didn't care./I was

E
W you just didn't care./

I
H ...I was regimented in a military environment where what

UNSUCCESSFUL INTERRUPTION
B I
W /Well, these people thought you didn't care./

H the right thing to do was to have a stern face and to be

W

```
                                                  I
H able to give and take orders/and that all works toward

W

                                        I             I
H ...uh...subordinating/...showing feelings./I think./

W

H
                TOPIC-CHANGE
                      I                                  E
W /I can't stand people who have self-control./That drives me

                              BREAK
          B                     RE
H       /Well, self control is great if you control the right
               UNSUCCESSFUL INTERRUPTION
                             I
W crazy./       /That's what you have/

H things./

            A                  I                     I
W        /Yeah,/but everything is controlled,/nothing is

                                   A    A         Acc
H                                /Oh./Yeah,/I understand what

                  I
W free./How you feel and think./

                      I                   I      I
H you mean./I don't let my hair down/and yeah,/I do./I do

W

           I
H much more than I used to./

                                                I
W                            /Or you just come home and say I
```

```
                                                        EV
H                                                /I've said that./

                          I
W missed you./You would never do that./

                     A                                  A
H               /Oh, yeah./                        /Right/(laugh)

          EV                          I
W /You have not./          /Now its on tape./

                          I                                I
H /Probably not...before five years ago./But since then I

W

                  E
H have./You don't remember?/

                                RE                I
W                              /No,/and I think I would remember

H

                               FS            I
W something like that./I there's...just little things/and I

H

        I                          I                  I
W know you now so/...I realize you did miss me/..maybe./

                                                /What about my call
H

                          I
W (laugh)/But I can't pin it down yet./
```

```
       E
H from Chicago/when I went to
                              SUCCESSFUL INTERRUPTION
                                        RE                I
W                                 /That was nice/and I asked you


H

                                                I              A
W why are you doing this, Tom?/What's happening?/Right?/I

                              SUCCESSFUL INTERRUPTION
                                        E
H      /I was even feeling bad about not being together on

        I
W was shocked./


H our anniversary./

                        B                RE
W                  /Well, you weren't here last year/and didn't

                        B                          I
H                  /Well, I don't know what the circumstances

W bother calling./


                                                   MS
H were then./                    /The other thing was...what

                       MS
W          /I think we're off./


                              B
H weakens a marriage?/I think
                                        SUCCESSFUL INTERRUPTION
                                   B                MS
W                                /Oh, we didn't even get into
```

A B
H . /Yeah,/and I...I think that basically if we were to

W that./

H say that the inability to sit down and talk things out./

W

TOPIC-CHANGE
E
H /Remember the rule we established one time that if we got

W

H angry at each other, we wouldn't go to sleep?/ /We'd

RE
W /Yeah./

I I
H even lay in bed and lay awake./Both of us very stubborn./

W

B R I
H But...you know no one...no one would break first or say

W

I
H anything but we also followed that rule/and wouldn't fall

W

B FS
H asleep/so finally, some somebody'd get to it/...I never went

W