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Situational Urgency and Conversational Retreat

When Politeness and Efficiency Matter

Conversational Constraint Theory posits that preferred levels of efficiency and social appropriateness for particular conversational encounters fluctuate in response to situational, relational, and personal factors, and these fluctuations alter and determine which behaviors are acceptable tactics for achieving goals in these encounters. This research examines the situational factor of urgency, its influence on minimally preferred levels of efficiency and social appropriateness, and its influence on the acceptability of tactics for unilaterally withdrawing from conversations. A three phase research process finds that (a) efficiency and appropriateness assessments of conversational retreat tactics are goal dependent and within-goal variant, stable over time and across subpopulations; (b) situational urgency increases the preferred level for efficiency only; and (c) situational urgency alters tactical acceptability such that appropriate though less efficient tactics acceptable in nonurgent situations are unacceptable in urgent situations.

All conversations end; some endings are mutually desired, others unilaterally inspired.[2] Mutual leave taking progresses *verbally* through (a) pre- closings (e.g., "Well . . .," "Sooo . . .," "OK"), (b) justifications (i.e., excuses), (c) future continuation statements (e.g., "See you later"), (d) well wishing, and (e) good-byes (Albert & Kessler, 1978; Clark & French, 1981; Knapp, Hart, Friedrich, & Shulman, 1973; O'Leary & Gallois, 1985) and *nonverbally* through (a) breaking eye contact, (b) shifting weight, and (c) moving away from the other person (Kendon, 1976; Knapp et al., 1973; Lockard, Allen, Schiele, & Weimer, 1978). Unilateral withdrawal can have the appearance of mutually agreed-on endings but also evidences other (one-sided) options. People

COMMUNICATION RESEARCH, Vol. 28 No. 1, February 2001 3-47

retreat unilaterally from conversations using *verbal bids* such as (a) hints (e.g., preclosings, summaries, future continuations, and positive statements), (b) projections (i.e., ascribing excuses to the partner for parting, e.g., "I'll let *you* go"), (c) excuses, and (d) departure announcements (e.g., "I gotta go," "See you later"); *changing one's focus* onto (a) another subject or (b) another person; and *signaling* such as (a) rejection (e.g., saying "go away," turning one's back and walking away), (b) restlessness (e.g., fidgeting, weight shifting, breaking eye contact), and (c) nonresponsiveness (Kellermann, Reynolds, & Chen, 1991). The question of why people use hinting tactics on some occasions, departure announcement tactics on others, and nonresponsiveness tactics on yet others is unanswered. Each of these tactics effectively ends conversations at times (Kellermann et al., 1991), though people rely on different tactics at different times. This research explores people's choice of tactics for ending conversations. We review a theory of tactical choice and then apply it to conversational retreat to explain what makes different leave-taking tactics acceptable on different occasions.

Conversational Constraint Theory (CCT) and Tactical Choice

Conversational Constraint Theory (CCT), which focuses on acceptability of conversational tactics,[3] posits that social appropriateness and efficiency are primary and distinct constraints influencing tactical choice in accomplishing conversational goals (Berger & Kellermann, 1994; Kellermann, 1988, 1992, 2000; Kellermann et al., 1991; Kellermann & Kim, 1991; Kellermann & Shea, 1996). CCT defines *social appropriateness* as a concern for behavioral politeness.[4] When achieving a goal, socially appropriate tactics are mannerly, courteous, and respectful; socially inappropriate tactics are uncivil, ill-mannered, and rude. CCT defines efficiency as a concern for behavioral expediency. When achieving a goal, efficient tactics are direct, immediate, and to the point, not wasting time, energy, effort, or steps; inefficient tactics are roundabout, indirect, and wasteful, consuming time, energy, and effort. Social appropriateness and efficiency are considerations (i.e., constraints) underlying tactical choice for goal achievement.[5]

According to CCT, tactical choice varies because, for any goal, (a) tactics differ from each other in politeness and efficiency, (b) people's preferred levels of politeness and efficiency vary from conversation to conversation, and (c) changes in preferred levels of politeness and efficiency alter what is acceptable for particular conversational encounters. We explain, in turn, each of these principles of CCT.

Tactical Appropriateness and Efficiency

Fundamental to CCT is the notion that tactics differ from each other in appropriateness and efficiency and that these differences depend on the activated goal and the congruence of appropriateness and efficiency for that goal. First, CCT suggests that tactical efficiency and appropriateness are goal-dependent rather than universal face concerns or inherent message features (e.g., as in politeness theory, Brown & Levinson, 1987). For example, the politeness and efficiency of speech acts such as apologies, boasts, complaints, compliments, criticisms, hints, insults, jokes, promises, protests, requests, suggestions, threats, and warnings depend on which goals people pursue, such as trying to change others' minds, making them feel bad, obtaining information, comforting them, getting dates, stopping their annoying habits, enforcing obligations, and terminating relationships. However, no matter the goal, tactics differ in politeness and efficiency within the context of pursuing that goal (Kellermann, 2000; Kellermann & Kim, 1991; Kellermann, Kim, & Park, 2000; Kellermann & Shea, 1996; Kemper & Thissen, 1981; Price & Bouffard, 1974). Tactical appropriateness and efficiency are goal-dependent and within-goal variant.

Second, CCT envisions cross-goal variation in the congruence of appropriateness and efficiency—from compatible to independent to incompatible—rather than assuming incompatibility as is more commonplace (e.g., Argyle, Furnham, & Graham, 1981; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Kellermann & Shea, 1996; Turnbull, 1992). Social appropriateness and efficiency are incompatible—that is, polite tactics are inefficient, and efficient tactics are impolite—when pursuing very task-oriented goals that devalue (i.e., have negative affect potential) or control (i.e., restrict autonomy of) the other person, such as when seeking information, gaining compliance, trying to remain unknown in the face of an inquisitive other, and enforcing obligations (Berger & Kellermann, 1983, 1994; Cole, 1993; Kellermann & Kim, 1991; Kellermann & Shea, 1996). Appropriateness and efficiency are independent—polite tactics can be efficient or inefficient, and efficient tactics can be polite or impolite—when a goal's task orientation is moderate, such as in soliciting recommendations, validating ideas, and obtaining favors (Kellermann et al., 2000). Appropriateness and efficiency are compatible—efficient tactics are polite, and polite tactics are efficient—for such minimally task-oriented goals as being nice, having fun, comforting, seeking affinity, testing affinity, ingratiating, passing time, and being sociable (Douglas, 1987; Jones, 1964; Jones & Wortman, 1973; Kellermann et al., 2000). CCT proposes that a goal's task

orientation—the outcome of a goal's negative affect potential and autonomy restriction—determines the congruence (compatible to independent to incompatible) between appropriateness and efficiency, which affects the ability to enact polite and efficient behavior simultaneously. Tactics differ from each other in appropriateness and efficiency within goals, but these assessments are goal-dependent and range in congruence across goals.

Preferred Levels of Appropriateness and Efficiency

CCT suggests that people vary from conversation to conversation in their preferred levels of appropriateness and efficiency rather than uniformly preferring to be polite and efficient. At times, people outright prefer or are at least willing to tolerate great inefficiency (e.g., committee decision making, talking with a friend), whereas at other times, the demand for efficiency is great (e.g., disaster situations, shotgun weddings). Similarly, some situations (e.g., job interviews, meeting the president) seem to generate a strong demand for social appropriateness, whereas other situations (e.g., baseball games, talking with a friend) have lower thresholds for behavioral politeness. People do not uniformly desire to be polite and efficient.

CCT specifies situational, relational, and personal factors that alter preferred levels of appropriateness and efficiency for particular conversational encounters. For example, the theory posits that in public and formal situations (e.g., weddings, interviews, fancy restaurant dining), when conversing with people of higher status, or when the social actor is socially oriented, people's preferred level of social appropriateness increases. People's preferred level of efficiency increases in urgent situations, when conversing with people when relational concerns are low, or when the social actor is goal oriented. Situational (e.g., private, urgent, formal), relational (e.g., position, bond), and individual (e.g., goal- and social-orientation) factors elevate and depress actors' preferred levels of politeness and efficiency in particular encounters.

Tactical Acceptability

CCT argues that tactical use varies because changes in preferred levels of efficiency and politeness alter what is acceptable for particular conversational encounters. A tactic is judged acceptable if it fits or is suitable to use in a given situation—the social actor perceives that it is a socially legitimate way to achieve the goal(s) in that situation, that people approve of using it in the situation, and that people would say it is OK to use in the situation if they were asked (Kellermann & Shea, 1996). A tactic is deemed unacceptable if it is unsuitable for the situation in which it is used—the social actor perceives

that it violates social norms in that situation, that people disapprove of it in the situation, and/or that people might question, challenge, or call him or her on its use in that situation (Metts, 1994; Newell & Stutman, 1988, 1991; Schlenker, 1980). Acceptable tactics fit the conversational circumstance in which they are used, whereas unacceptable tactics do not (Kellermann & Shea, 1996). Acceptable tactics do not have to be the most suitable to use; they just have to be suitable enough. Unacceptable tactics do not have to be the least suitable to the circumstance; they just are not suitable enough. Tactics are either acceptable or unacceptable to use in particular conversational encounters.

According to CCT, behaviors are acceptable to social actors for pursuing conversational goals if they satisfy preferred levels of social appropriateness and efficiency for particular conversational encounters. When the preferred level of social appropriateness is low, less polite behaviors are acceptable. Ordering your spouse to help you is rude and, when done at a public function (preferred level of appropriateness is higher), likely unacceptable; though when it is done at home (preferred level of appropriateness is lower), it is more likely to be acceptable. When the preferred level of efficiency is high, inefficient behaviors are unacceptable. Hinting is an inefficient means of getting help and, when done at a beach party (preferred level of efficiency is lower), likely acceptable; though when it is done in an emergency situation (preferred level of efficiency is higher), it is likely unacceptable. Acceptable tactics may be polite or impolite and efficient or inefficient. Preferred levels of politeness and efficiency determine acceptability, not uniform mandates to be polite or efficient.

A tactic that is acceptable in one encounter may not be acceptable in other encounters. For example, a social actor may judge as acceptable turning his or her back and walking away from a verbally harassing panhandler, though that social actor may find doing so to his or her boss during a performance evaluation unacceptable. Tactical acceptability depends on the situational, relational, and personal factors operative during each conversational encounter rather than on some uniform ranking of the tactics themselves. This research explores the acceptability of conversational ending tactics in response to changes in preferred levels of appropriateness and efficiency brought on by changes in a situational factor, that of urgency.

Tactical Choice in Conversational Leave-Taking

When applied to leave-taking, CCT suggests that efficiency and appropriateness differentiate retreat tactics, that a situational factor such as urgency increases the preferred level of efficiency, and that inefficient tactics

unacceptable in urgent situations are acceptable in nonurgent situations. We argue for and then test each of these hypotheses.

Appropriateness and Efficiency of Leave-Taking Tactics

CCT suggests that leave-taking tactics are differentiable by social appropriateness and efficiency, a hypothesis consistent with the research literature. Although conventions and routines of mutual leave-takings are, almost by definition, thought to be socially appropriate ways of retreating from conversation (Wardhaugh, 1985), "subtle" cues for ending conversation are more polite than "direct" cues (Knapp et al., 1973), and endings can or cannot involve "mitigatory" and "consolidatory" tactics (Laver, 1981; Rintel & Pittam, 1997). Conversational retreat tactics vary in their social appropriateness and efficiency, and these variations are critical differences among these tactics (Kellermann et al., 1991).[6] Excuses, hints, and departure announcements are the most polite for retreating from conversations, whereas rejection and restlessness signals are least polite. Departure announcements, excuses, and rejection tactics are the most efficient for unilateral withdrawal, whereas nonresponsiveness and subject changes are least efficient. Efficiency and appropriateness are independent of each other (Kellermann et al., 1991).[7] Supplementary research strongly supports efficiency as one dimension differentiating retreat tactics and claims weak support for the other dimension's being social appropriateness because such labels as "positive/negative" and "affecting the positive face of the other" define the dimension (Reynolds, 1992). As CCT equates (via stipulation) social appropriateness and behavioral politeness, the labels "positive/negative" and "affecting the positive face of the other" strongly support, rather than question, social appropriateness defining the dimension. One (preliminary) purpose of this research is to provide a replication test of Kellermann et al.'s (1991) appropriateness and efficiency assessments of leave-taking tactics and of their report of an independent relationship between efficiency and appropriateness. This replication test permits an understanding of the stability of tactical assessments over time and across subpopulations.

Situational Urgency and Preferred Levels of Efficiency and Appropriateness

A second purpose of this research is to test whether changes in a situational factor—situational urgency—influence preferred levels of social appropriateness and efficiency as CCT postulates. Theoretically, situational urgency increases the preferred level of efficiency and has no effect on the preferred

level of politeness. Empirically, situational urgency increases the preferred level of efficiency, though its effect on politeness is less certain.

Urgency and efficiency. Situational urgency, whether due to time pressure or seriousness, increases the preferred level of efficiency. Time pressure urgency, the focus of this research, orients individuals toward efficient behavior. For example, during negotiations, time pressure increases the rate of concessions, the frequency of settlements, and the speed of resolution (Carnevale & Conlon, 1988; Pruitt, 1981). In groups, time pressure encourages members to accept an autocratic leadership style, engage in more goal-oriented behaviors, and pressure group members to conform (Isenberg, 1981; Kruglanski & Webster, 1991). During busy times in convenience stores, cashiers and customers alike express irritation for inefficient behaviors such as check writing (rather than paying cash) and "needless" small talk that holds up the line (Rafaeli, 1989a, 1989b; Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988). During criminal emergencies, individuals evaluate others who provide direct (i.e., efficient) help more positively than those who offer indirect (i.e., inefficient) assistance (Kanekar & Miranda, 1990). Situational urgency influences individuals to focus their attention and direct their energy toward goal accomplishment and task completion (Korten, 1962). Situational urgency increases the preferred level of efficiency.

Urgency and politeness. Although situational urgency increases the preferred level of efficiency, its influence on politeness empirically is less certain. Some argue that in urgent or desperate situations, not only is conversational politeness unnecessary, but it may actually undermine the urgent nature of the message (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Urgent situations may excuse one's lack of politeness. People under time pressure expect themselves to be more task-oriented and less friendly (Isenberg, 1981). Group members who are pressed for time are less polite to members who express deviant opinions (Kruglanski & Webster, 1991). In urgent negotiation situations, "disputants may prefer that the mediator sacrifice warmth in order to convey the urgency of establishing an agreement" (Ross, Conlon, & Lind, 1990, p. 119). On the other hand, in nonurgent situations, acting pleasant is clearly important (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989, 1990, 1991; Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988). "During busy times, both clerks and customers tacitly agree that the expression of pleasant emotions is not essential. Conversely, both clerks and customers tacitly expect that pleasant emotions should be expressed during slow times" (Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988, p. 474). However, stressful situations exist in which pleasantness and friendliness are important. When customers are demanding (which could be perceived as a stressful or urgent situation), cashiers

express more positive emotion during their transactions (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1990). Stressful situations lead group members to keep interpersonal tensions low by acting friendly and cooperative (Lanzetta, 1955), and members who are pressed for time offer praise and are nice to those who conform (Kruglanski & Webster, 1991). The exact relationship between situational urgency and politeness is empirically uncertain.

CCT claims that situational urgency affects only efficiency and not politeness because these are two separate, and in this case independent, constraints on conversational behavior. One tentative resolution is to differentiate the preferred level for politeness and the actual politeness of individuals' behavior. CCT suggests that in sufficiently urgent situations, efficiency concerns are paramount, and politeness is desirable when it does not hamper efficiency. If being polite functions to undermine efficiency, then individuals may sacrifice politeness to achieve a goal in an efficient manner (Kellermann & Shea, 1995). CCT suggests that to the extent possible, individuals will opt to maintain politeness preferences and increase efficiency preferences in urgent situations.

Urgency and leave-taking. The conversational closing literature is mostly silent and so offers little evidence as to the influence of situational urgency on preferred levels of efficiency and/or appropriateness. In nonurgent situations, a preferred level of efficiency seems to exist, though politeness is of greater concern. Individuals prefer tactics that are not "too slow" (Levinson, 1983) but do not want to become "overly hasty" (Levinson, 1983). The politeness of conversational endings takes precedence over their efficiency (Levinson, 1983). Although efficient endings occur, they are events to explain rather than expect (Knapp et al., 1973; Rintel & Pittam, 1997). *A* concern, if not *the* concern, in closing a conversation is said to be politeness (Goffman, 1971; Knapp et al., 1973; Laver, 1981; Lockard et al., 1978; O'Leary & Gallois, 1985; Rintel & Pittam, 1997; Wardhaugh, 1985). Mutual leave-takings focus on ending conversations in socially appropriate ways (Kellermann et al., 1991; Wardhaugh, 1985), and the tactics individuals use are moderately appropriate (or more so) (Kellermann et al., 1991). Nonurgent leave-takings thus appear to invoke a moderate (or more) politeness preference and a lower efficiency preference.

Urgent leave-takings place efficiency pressures on participants (Clayman, 1989; Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1992; Knapp et al., 1973; O'Leary & Gallois, 1985). Knapp et al. (1973) paid participants to complete conversations quickly, and they reported a more abbreviated ending sequence than O'Leary and Gallois (1985), who used similar procedures without this time

demand. Despite the urgency difference, the appropriateness of the leave-takings in the two studies appears the same. In the limited conversational literature available, time pressure seems to increase the preferred level of efficiency but leaves the preferred level of politeness alone. Thus, a second purpose of this research is to determine the influence of situational urgency—specifically, time pressure—on preferred levels of efficiency and appropriateness for conversational leave-takings.

Situational Urgency and Tactical Acceptability

The third purpose of this research, and the one driving the others, is to explore whether changes in situational urgency alter the acceptability of tactics for withdrawing from conversations. CCT represents tactical acceptability in a "strategy space," with dimensions of efficiency and appropriateness intersecting at their minimally preferred levels for a particular conversational encounter. Figure 1 illustrates the strategy spaces for nonurgent and urgent conversational circumstances.[8] In Figure 1(a), a nonurgent circumstance, the minimally preferred level of efficiency is low, so the appropriateness dimension intersects efficiency at a low point; the minimally preferred level of appropriateness is moderate, so the efficiency dimension intersects appropriateness at a middle point. Acceptable tactics are those that satisfy the minimally preferred levels for both efficiency and appropriateness—those that are in the shaded area of Figure 1(a), which CCT refers to as the "preferred strategy space." In Figure 1(b), an urgent circumstance, the minimally preferred level of efficiency increases, so the appropriateness dimension now intersects at a higher (in this case, moderate) level of efficiency. Acceptable tactics in the urgent situation are also acceptable in the nonurgent situation, but not vice versa. The preferred strategy space in the urgent circumstance is smaller, as that conversation is more situationally constrained. Situational urgency reduces the acceptability of polite though inefficient ways of retreating from conversations. If, in opposition to CCT, situational urgency reduces the politeness preference along with an increase in the efficiency preference, then the preferred strategy space in urgent circumstances would also include less appropriate though efficient tactics, as Figure 1(c) diagrams. Past research suggests situational urgency increases the preferred level of efficiency and is unrelated to or decreases the preferred level of appropriateness. What remains to be determined is whether these changes in preferred levels result in retreat tactics being differentially acceptable in urgent versus nonurgent situations.

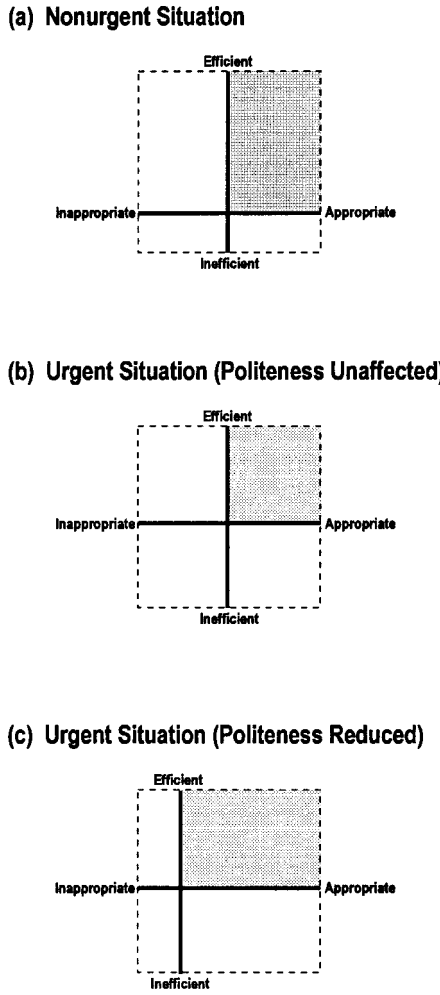

Figure 1. Strategy Acceptability Predictions

Research Process

Using a three-phase research design, this research tests tactical acceptability in urgent and nonurgent situations (Phase 3) and evaluates the reasoning of CCT with regard to why increases in situational urgency influence tactical acceptability (Phases 1 and 2). Phase 1 tests whether efficiency and appropriateness assessments of conversational retreat tactics are stable over time and subpopulations (i.e., examining within-goal variance in the context of

goal dependence). Phase 2 tests whether situational urgency increases the preferred level for efficiency only. Phase 3 tests whether situational urgency alters tactical acceptability such that appropriate though less efficient tactics acceptable in nonurgent situations are unacceptable in urgent situations.

Phase 1: Tactical Assessment Test

Phase 1 provides a replication test of the efficiency and appropriateness of Kellermann et al.'s (1991) 76 conversational retreat tactics and of the independence of these tactical characteristics. The replication relies on a different sample, separated by 4 years' time, filling out revised surveys.

Method

Participants

Rather than being night school students at San Jose State University and nonstudents on Stanford's campus in Kellermann et al.'s (1991) original sample (n = 65), this sample consists of University of California, Santa Barbara, undergraduates (n = 51). Unlike the original sample, current participants receive extra credit for completing the survey.

Survey Revisions

These surveys expand, alter, and clarify the definitions of social appropriateness and efficiency. The instructions in the appropriateness survey ask participants to make a judgment of politeness (rather than appropriateness as in the original survey) and alert participants to ignore tactical efficiency and effectiveness in making this judgment (unlike the original survey).[9] The efficiency survey clarifies efficiency as expediency (the clearest definition of efficiency to participants to date), and alerts participants not to judge efficiency on the grounds of effectiveness or politeness (unlike the original survey).[10]

Procedures

Two groups of participants judge either the efficiency (n = 26) or appropriateness (n = 25) of each of the 76 conversational retreat tactics from Kellermann et al. (1991). Participants assess each tactic within the context of its goal (i.e., "To end the conversation, I . . ").[11] (A listing of these tactics is

available in the results for Phase 3, in Table 3.) The surveys take 5 to 10 minutes to complete.

Results and Discussion

TACTICAL FOCUS

A replication test of the efficiency and appropriateness of Kellermann et al.'s (1991) 76 conversational retreat tactics, and of their independent congruence, requires tactics (and not individual participants) to be the unit of analysis; the replication is a test of tactical characteristics rather than individual differences. Data collected at the level of individual participants (which we do here) require transformation to obtain tactic-based estimates (which we need for hypothesis tests). One method of obtaining tactic-based estimates is averaging across individual estimates for each tactic. One indication of the validity of this averaging method is whether the distributions of individual estimates for each tactic's efficiency and appropriateness are lepto- kurtic (i.e., more converged than normal on the mean of a distribution, a smaller than expected variation). Leptokurtic distributions indicate that participants agree in their tactical assessments. Kellermann et al. (1991) reported that the distributions of individuals' assessments of each tactic's efficiency and social appropriateness were consistently leptokurtic. In our research, the standardized kurtosis estimates for each distribution of individuals' judgments of efficiency and social appropriateness for each of the 76 tactics also consistently reveal leptokurtic distributions. We conclude that averaging individual estimates is an acceptable means of transforming the data from the individual-based unit of data collection to a tactic-based unit for data analysis. Hypothesis tests employ mean tactical appropriateness and mean tactical efficiency ratings when assessing these tactical characteristics.

TACTICAL STABILITY

CCT expects tactical assessments of social appropriateness and efficiency to be goal dependent and within-goal variant but otherwise stable. As all tactics are conversational retreat tactics and participants assess tactical appropriateness and tactical efficiency within the context of this goal, goal dependence is not further at issue. As for within-goal variance, Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the appropriateness and efficiency of the 76 retreat tactics, plotting each tactic by its mean appropriateness and mean efficiency rating. (Note that in Figure 2, the tactic numbers are the same as those listed

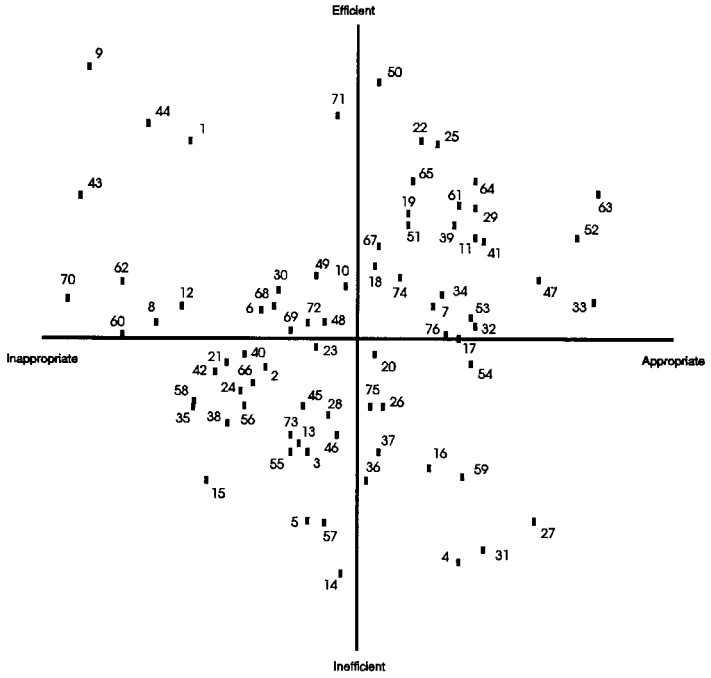

Figure 2. Conversational Retreat Tactics' Strategy Space

Note. 1 = rejection; 2 = restlessness signal; 3 = nonresponsiveness; 4 = nonresponsiveness; 5 = nonresponsiveness; 6 = restlessness signal; 7 = excuse; 8 = third party; 9 = rejection; 10 = excuse; 11 = excuse; 12 = rejection; 13 = restlessness signal; 14 = nonresponsiveness; 15 = nonresponsiveness; 16 = excuse; 17 = hint; 18 = projection; 19 = excuse; 20 = restlessness signal; 21 = rejection; 22 = departure announcement; 23 = restlessness signal; 24 = nonresponsiveness; 25 = departure announcement; 26 = restlessness signal; 27 = hint; 28 = restlessness signal; 29 = excuse; 30 = third party; 31 = nonresponsiveness; 32 = hint; 33 = hint; 34 = excuse; 35 = nonresponsiveness; 36 = topic change; 37 = topic change; 38 = restlessness signal; 39 = excuse; 40 = restlessness signal; 41 = hint; 42 = nonresponsiveness; 43 = rejection; 44 = rejection; 45 = restlessness signal; 46 = restlessness signal; 47 = hint; 48 = restlessness signal; 49 = restlessness signal; 50 = departure announcement; 51 = restlessness signal; 52 = hint; 53 = projection; 54 = hint; 55 = nonresponsiveness; 56 = topic change; 57 = nonresponsiveness; 58 = restlessness signal; 59 = hint; 60 = nonresponsiveness; 61 = excuse; 62 = rejection; 63 = excuse; 64 = excuse; 65 = excuse; 66 = nonresponsiveness; 67 = third party; 68 = third party; 69 = restlessness signal; 70 = rejection; 71 = departure announcement; 72 = restlessness signal; 73 = nonresponsiveness; 74 = restlessness signal; 75 = projection; 76 = projection.

in the Phase 3 results in Table 3.) These mean tactical assessments correlate strongly with the mean tactical assessments from Kellermann et al.'s (1991) original sample for both appropriateness, $r(75) = .88$, and efficiency, $r(75) = .94$. Tactic-by-tactic ANOVAs between Kellermann et al.'s original sample and the current sample's mean tactical assessments result in no significant differences in social appropriateness for 64 of the 76 tactics and no significant differences in efficiency for 63 of the 76 tactics. When differences exist

between Kellermann et al.'s original sample and the current sample's mean tactical assessments, all but 8 are within 1 scale point of each other on a 7-point rating scale.[12] On a univariate basis, tactical efficiency and appropriateness are stable over time and across the two samples.

On a bivariate basis, tactical efficiency and tactical appropriateness are stable over time and across the two samples. We use canonical correlation analysis to compare Kellermann et al.'s (1991) original sample and the current sample's mean tactical efficiency and social appropriateness assessments simultaneously (i.e., bivariately). We expect two canonical variates (one each for efficiency and appropriateness), and two are extracted, $R_1 = .94$, $\chi^2(4) = 269.70, p < .001; R_2 = .89, \chi^2(1) = 114.16, p < .001$. The original and current mean tactical efficiency and appropriateness assessments load separately and nearly perfectly on each other; efficiency defines the first factor, and social appropriateness defines the second factor; and the tactical assessments in one sample relate strongly to the tactical assessments in the other sample.[13] Within-goal variation in retreat tactic appropriateness and retreat tactic efficiency are individually and jointly stable over time, revised surveys, and samples.

Tactical efficiency and appropriateness are in an independent relationship with each other, the correlation between them being no different than zero for the current sample, $r(75) = .017$, *ns*, or when averaged with Kellermann et al.'s (1991) correlation: average combined correlation across the two studies, $r(75) = .12$, *ns*. These results suggest within-goal variability and goal-dependent stability in conversational retreat tactic evaluations and independent congruence of tactical appropriateness and efficiency. CCT's expectations for any set of tactics for a particular goal are upheld for conversational retreat tactics for the goal of terminating conversations.

Phase 2: Situational Urgency Test

Phase 1 finds that conversational retreat tactical efficiency and tactical appropriateness assessments are stable and within-goal variant. Phase 2 now tests, by proceeding in two stages, whether situational urgency increases the preferred level of efficiency only. Stage 2A develops instructions to alter perceptions of situational urgency. Using these instructions, Stage 2B examines the effects of situational urgency on preferred levels of efficiency and appropriateness. The same participants complete both stages.

Stage 2A: Altering Perceptions of Situational Urgency

Stage 2A creates and tests situational urgency instructions. The goal is to create *urgent* and *nonurgent* instructions to use first in Stage 2B to investigate preferred tactical appropriateness and tactical efficiency levels, and then in Phase 3 to investigate tactical acceptability.

METHOD

We randomly assign 96 undergraduate students given extra credit for their participation to either an urgent ($n = 41$) or nonurgent ($n = 45$) situation for unilaterally retreating from conversation. Participants receive questionnaires telling them, "This research looks at ways people try to 'get out of' conversations (i.e., retreat from and end them) in particular situations." Participants then read either the urgent or nonurgent situation instructions. We use time pressure to create a sense of urgency (Carnevale & Lawler, 1986; Landy, Rastegary, Thayer, & Colvin, 1991; Subramanian & Ganesan, 1982). Participants retreating under time pressure (urgent situation) read the following instructions: "In this situation, there's virtually no time in which to end conversations. Conversations must be terminated right away. There's very little time for you to retreat from conversations. You're pressed for time. The situation is urgent." Participants retreating without time pressure (nonurgent situation) read parallel and opposing instructions: "In this situation, there's lots of time in which to end conversations. Conversations needn't be terminated right away. There's plenty of time for you to retreat from conversations. You're not pressed for time. The situation isn't urgent." To ensure that these definitions of urgent and nonurgent situations (in the first four sentences of the urgent and nonurgent instructions) are consonant with our labels of these situations as urgent or nonurgent (in the last sentence of the instructions), half of the participants in each situation receive instructions without the last sentence.

Participants complete direct and indirect measures of situational urgency. As a direct measure, participants complete a 7-point semantic differential scale (which we embed among other semantic differential scales) on the *perceived urgency* (1 = *nonurgent*, 7 = *urgent*) of conversational retreat in their situation (urgent, nonurgent). As indirect measures of urgency, participants complete three 7-point arousal-related semantic differential scales (stressful/unstressful, pleasant/unpleasant, relaxed/anxiety-provoking) indicating the extent to which they find their urgent/nonurgent situation

physiologically and/or psychologically arousing.[14] A principal components factor analysis results in all three arousal items loading together on one *arousal* factor at .88 or higher (Cronbach's alpha = .90). We use *perceived urgency* (direct) and *arousal* (indirect) as measures of situational urgency.

Participants also complete measures of situation typicality, formality, and privacy as an additional check on the effectiveness of the urgent and nonurgent instructions. To make sure participants are equally capable of reporting on their preferences in both the urgent and nonurgent situations, they complete three typicality measures: two 7-point semantic differential scales on how common (or uncommon) and how realistic (or unrealistic) their assigned situation is and one 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) as to whether they have frequently been in urgent/nonurgent situations needing to end conversations. Because a principal components factor analysis results in all three typicality items loading together on one factor at .67 or higher (Cronbach's alpha = .62), we compute a *typicality* measure across the three items after adjusting the 5-point scale to a 7-point scale (*typicality* measure: $\mu = 12$, range = 3 to 21). Because situations are known to vary in their formality and privacy (Berger & Douglas, 1981; Berger & Perkins, 1978, 1979) and these situational features may influence efficiency and appropriateness preferences (Kellermann, 1988), we seek to ensure no strong coupling or confounding of these features with our experimental manipulation of situational urgency. Participants rate the *formality* and *privacy* of their assigned urgent or nonurgent situation on two 7-point semantic differential scales (informal/formal, private/public). Situational typicality, formality, and privacy offer information in addition to that of perceived urgency and arousal as to the effectiveness of the situational urgency instructions.

Results

Situational urgency instructions increase participants' perceptions of urgency and arousal without significantly affecting their judgments of situation typicality, formality, and privacy, as information in Table 1 indicates. As Table 1 details, participants perceive the nonurgent situation as considerably less urgent and arousing than the urgent situation; participants perceive both the nonurgent and urgent situation as typical ($M = 15.59$) and informal ($M = 3.24$); participants perceive the urgent situation as (just perceptibly) more private than the low-urgent situation. The nonurgent and urgent instructions are effective in generating differing perceptions of situational urgency.

Table 1
Average Situational Perceptions

Judgment	Nonurgent Situation Mean	Urgent Situation Mean	$F(1, 92)$	ω^2
Urgency	2.71	5.92	162.58***	.61
Arousal	9.73	17.30	100.31***	.49
Typicality	15.49	15.69	.15	
Formality	2.93	3.52	3.36	
Privacy	3.93	4.58	6.36*	.05
Factors				
Efficiency	25.62	39.27	82.48***	.46
Appropriateness	40.73	37.55	1.44	
Relative importance	–7.22	.84	40.92***	.30

Note. Arousal and typicality are three-item scales (range = 3 to 21, $\mu = 12$). Urgency, formality, and privacy are one-item scales (range = 1 to 7, $\mu = 4$). Efficiency and appropriateness are two-item scales (range = 2 to 50, $\mu = 26$). Relative importance is a two-item scale calculated by subtracting politeness from expediency (range = –24 to +24, $\mu = 0$).
* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

Stage 2B: Preferred Levels of Efficiency and Appropriateness

Given Stage 2A finds our instructions able to effectively manipulate situational urgency, Stage 2B now tests whether situational urgency increases participants' preferred level of efficiency while having no influence on their preferred level of appropriateness.

METHOD

The 96 participants in the first stage also participate in the second stage. After assessing the urgency, arousal, typicality, informality, and privacy of their nonurgent or urgent situation, participants complete the remainder of the survey that asks for participants' preferred levels of efficiency and appropriateness for their assigned situation.

We use multiple measures for determining participants' minimally preferred levels of appropriateness and efficiency. First, participants complete 5-point Likert-type scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) as to whether (a) they are usually friendly and polite in such situations (we refer to this item as *friendly*) and (b) they are usually direct and to the point in such situations (*directness*).

Second, participants compare the importance of appropriateness and efficiency by making one choice among four alternatives as to whether acting expediently or politely is more important in their situation (i.e., it is more

important for people to act expediently than to act politely, it is more important for people to act politely than to act expediently, it is equally important for people to act expediently and politely, and it is not important to act expediently or politely) (*forced-choice comparison*).

Finally, participants place two marks along a 25-point continuum scale to identify their minimum preferred level of expediency (defined as "being efficient, not squandering time, avoiding unnecessary steps," *expediency*) and their minimum preferred level of politeness (defined as "nice, pleasant, socially appropriate," *politeness*) when retreating from conversations in such situations. Examples instruct participants to place these two marks to reflect not only the absolute minimum level of felt preference for politeness and expediency but also the relative importance of politeness and expediency to each other. Examples demonstrate the placement of two marks (one for expediency, one for politeness) that reflect (a) equally important politeness and expediency preferences, (b) politeness being more important than expediency, and (c) expediency being more important than politeness. We calculate a measure of relative importance by subtracting politeness from expediency. When relative importance is less than zero, politeness is more important than expediency; when equal to zero, politeness and expediency are of equal importance; and, when greater than zero, expediency is more important than politeness. Participants thus complete three types of measures: the friendly and directness Likert-type scales, the importance forced-choice comparison, and the expediency and politeness marking (from which we calculate relative importance).

A factor analysis using principal components with varimax rotation of the friendly, politeness, directness, and expediency measures yields a two-factor solution. Expediency and directness load together to form a general *efficiency* factor, lowest loading = .78, $r(92) = .52$, and politeness and friendliness load on a general *social appropriateness* factor, lowest loading = .77, $r(92) = .55$. Therefore, we rescale friendly and directness to 25-point scales and calculate efficiency and social appropriateness scores for each participant, $\mu = 26$, range = 2 to 50 for each.

Results

CCT expects that situational urgency increases the preferred level of efficiency and does not influence the preferred level of social appropriateness. This hypothesis receives support both for absolute preferred levels of appropriateness and efficiency and for comparative levels.

With respect to absolute preferences, as Table 1 details, participants in the urgent situation prefer a higher level of *efficiency* than do participants in the nonurgent situation, though they maintain a moderate (or more) preferred level of *appropriateness* (M = 39.04, lower bound 95% confidence interval = 24.05). In the urgent situation, participants' preferred level of *efficiency* is the same as that of *appropriateness*, $t(100) = 1.20$, *ns*. Situational urgency influences only efficiency by increasing its preferred level to the moderate (or more) preferred level of appropriateness.

With respect to comparative levels, situational urgency alters the comparative importance of appropriateness and efficiency according to both the forced-choice comparison and the relative importance measures. The *forced-choice comparison* of importance reflects the overall importance of acting politely and the increased and equal importance of acting expediently in the urgent situation. Collapsed across urgent and nonurgent situations, when participants choose one of four alternatives as to the importance of acting expediently or politely, 1 participant (1%) reports that neither is important, 6 participants (6.3%) report that acting expediently is more important than acting politely (n = 2 in nonurgent situation; n = 4 in urgent situation), and 89 participants (92.7%) find acting politely equally important to or more important than acting expediently. Urgent and nonurgent participants find acting politely important. However, participants report that acting politely is more important than acting expediently in the nonurgent situation, adjusted $z_{res} = 4.1$, whereas they report that acting politely and acting expediently are equally important in the urgent situation, adjusted $z_{res} = 3.7$, $\chi^2(3) = 18.21$, $p < .001$.[15] Our calculation of the *relative importance* of participants' minimally preferred levels of expediency and politeness yields similar results. As Table 1 details, politeness is relatively more important than expediency in the nonurgent situation, $t(44) = -7.63$, $p < .001$, whereas expediency and politeness are equally important in the urgent situation, $t(50) = 1.02$, *ns*. Situational urgency increases participants' minimally preferred level of expediency to match their preferred moderate level of politeness.

Discussion

Consistent with the conversational ending literature, nonurgent closings have a moderate minimum preferred level of politeness and a lower minimum preferred level of efficiency. Conversational retreat in time-pressured situations maintains this moderate minimum preferred level of politeness and increases the minimum preferred level of efficiency from lower to

moderate. As CCT predicts, situational urgency increases the preferred level of efficiency and has no effect on the preferred level of politeness.

Phase 3: Acceptability Study

Given stable and within-goal-variant tactical assessments of efficiency and appropriateness (Phase 1) and an increase in only the preferred level of efficiency in response to situational urgency (Phase 2), Phase 3 tests whether inefficient and appropriate retreat tactics acceptable in nonurgent situations are unacceptable in urgent situations. Participants in urgent and nonurgent situations decide if each of Kellermann et al.'s (1991) 76 conversational retreat tactics are acceptable or unacceptable to use for unilaterally inspired leave-taking.

Method

Participants

Participants are 94 undergraduate students unique from those in Phases 1 and 2, receiving extra credit for their participation.

Procedure

When participants arrive at the research laboratory, we randomly assign them to read either the urgent (n = 48) or nonurgent (n = 46) situation instructions (Phase 2, Stage 2A). Participants are told not to presume any particular reason for ending conversations (e.g., an emergency, wanting or needing to do other things, disinterest, boredom, wanting to be alone, disliking the partner) that for whatever reason they are to end.

The instructions ask participants to distinguish acceptable tactics for ending conversations from those that are unacceptable. The instructions define acceptable tactics as tactics that are OK to use in their situation (i.e., that correspond with the time available); the tactics do not have to be great things to do—they just have to be OK ways to end conversations in their urgent/nonurgent situation. Unacceptable tactics fail to recognize and/or do not correspond properly to the time available to end conversations in their situation; they are things participants might discourage others from doing and/or criticize others for using to terminate conversations in such situations; they do not have to be bad things to do—they just are not suitable in their type of situation. The instructions tell participants to classify tactics that fall on the

borderline between what is acceptable and what is unacceptable as best they can into one of those two categories.

Research assistants demonstrate the judgment and classification task they then ask participants to do (and which the instructions also describe). Alone in individual rooms, participants decide whether each of the 76 tactics (on slips of paper in a different random order for each participant) is an acceptable or unacceptable way to end conversations in urgent/nonurgent situations. Participants sort tactics into *acceptable* and *unacceptable* piles while stating explanations for their decisions aloud (which we audiotape). When participants finish, the research assistant thanks them for their participation and places the tactics in each pile into envelopes labeled by the participant's identification number, the situation (urgent or nonurgent), and the pile's definition (acceptable or unacceptable tactics).

Content Coding

To code and analyze participants' explanations for judging tactics as acceptable or unacceptable for unilaterally withdrawing from conversation in urgent and nonurgent situations, we transcribe the explanations, group the explanations by tactic across participants, sort the explanations within tactic by acceptability, and separate the explanations within tactic by urgency of situation. A research assistant (blind to the hypotheses of the research) codes each explanation as evidencing (or not) reasons of politeness, efficiency, and/or other reasons. Each explanation can receive multiple codes. Evidence of efficiency is the use of the words or phrases *abrupt*, *brief*, *concise*, *hurry*, *impatient*, *fast*, *as soon as possible*, *quick*, *rush*, *speed*, *straightforward*, *direct*, *to the point*, *efficient*, *beating around the bush*, *roundabout*, *rambling*, *effort*, *inefficient*, *long*, *takes a while*, *takes a long time*, *takes forever*, *takes too long*, *takes time*, *waste of time*, *takes too much time*, *too hasty*, and *too slow*. Evidence of politeness is use of the words or phrases *considerate*, *courteous*, *decent*, *gentle*, *kind*, *manner*, *nice*, *polite*, *respect*, *appreciate*, *tactful*, *humane*, *bother*, *condescending manner*, *disrespectful*, *harsh*, *hurt*, *inappropriate*, *inconsiderate*, *insulting*, *jerk*, *mean*, *negative*, *obnoxious*, *offensive*, *pushy*, *rude*, *unkind*, and *take personally*. The research assistant makes a table of reasons participants use in their explanations other than politeness and efficiency, organizing the reasons by key words and ideas. The research assistant and one of the researchers agree 99% of the time in reason coding across all judgments taken simultaneously for a sample of 200 explanations. Politeness and efficiency reasons are 88% of the total reasons participants provide in their explanations.

Though relatively infrequent, seven other types of reasons occur (12% of all reasons given): consensus/conformity reasons (e.g., people talk like that, others do that, that happens all the time), image management reasons (e.g., that projects the wrong image, makes you look stupid, shows lack of intelligence, others will think you are weird), honesty/deception reasons (e.g., it's honest/dishonest, it's misleading, you are just lying, you won't get caught, they are not going to know), fairness reasons (e.g., it's unfair to the other person, that's not giving the other person a chance, it's gonna put the person in a weird position), feelings reasons (e.g., other person would get annoyed or frustrated, person might feel bad, it is funny, they might think you are mad or angry at them), interest/attention reasons (e.g., they might think you are uninterested in them, it sounds like you are not enjoying the conversation, the person will think you don't want to listen), and understanding reasons (e.g., they won't mind, they'll understand). Some of these other reasons may be politeness or efficiency driven, but participants do not report them in such a way as to permit those inferences.

Results and Discussion

CCT predicts that acceptable tactics in nonurgent situations are primarily polite (according to the literature and Phase 2 results, moderately polite or higher), whereas those in urgent situations are both polite and efficient (according to Phase 2 results, equally and minimally moderately for each). We first analyze tactical acceptability and then participants' reasons for their acceptability judgments.

Tactic Acceptability

Our goal is to identify acceptable tactics and then determine if they are located in the preferred strategy spaces for urgent and nonurgent situations as predicted by CCT (see Figure 1). To test whether situational urgency generates the predicted preferred strategy spaces, we conduct three types of analyses. First, we conduct cluster analyses to identify groups of acceptable tactics in the urgent and nonurgent situations (i.e., the tactics comprising participants' actual preferred strategy spaces). Second, we use chi-square analyses to identify which tactics are changing in their acceptability between the urgent and nonurgent situations. Specifically, we want to know whether efficient tactics become more acceptable and inefficient tactics less acceptable, with polite and impolite tactics evidencing no changes in acceptability. Third, we use regression analyses to test whether tactical appropriateness and efficiency (or both) account for judgments of tactical acceptability. With

Table 2
Mean Tactical Acceptability Cluster Differences

Situation	Cluster *M*				*F*	ω^2
	No. 1	No. 2	No. 3	No. 4		
Nonurgent situation						
Acceptability	.10	.35	.58	.80	340.79***	.93
Politeness	2.17	3.22	4.01	4.85	43.22***	.62
Efficiency	4.26	3.53	3.82	4.38	1.82	
Urgent situation						
Acceptability	.21	.58	.91		472.69***	.93
Politeness	3.20	4.23	4.89		36.86***	.36
Efficiency	3.42	4.31	5.06		25.22***	.31

Note. For the nonurgent situation, *F* tests have 3 and 72 degrees of freedom. For the urgent situation, *F* tests have 2 and 73 degrees of freedom. Based on student Newman-Keuls tests, all clusters differ from each other whenever significant differences occur.
*** $p < .001$.

these analyses, we are able to determine specifically which kinds of tactics are becoming acceptable and unacceptable as situational urgency increases.

Clusters of acceptable tactics. Our first goal is to identify the group of tactics participants judge most acceptable in the urgent and nonurgent situations. We conduct hierarchical cluster analyses using the method of average linkage between groups separately for the nonurgent and urgent situations, as we expect that clusters of acceptable tactics differ based on situational urgency. The cluster analyses group tactics according to participants' judgments of their acceptability. We compare the clusters of variously acceptable tactics to see whether the tactics within them differ in efficiency and appropriateness as CCT predicts, using the tactics' mean appropriateness and mean efficiency ratings from our Phase 1 research (e.g., see Figure 2 for the visual representation of these mean tactical appropriateness and efficiency ratings). In the nonurgent situation, we expect the tactical acceptability clusters to differ primarily in politeness, reflecting the importance of acting politely rather than expediently in nonurgent situations. In the urgent situation, we expect the tactical acceptability clusters to differ both in politeness and efficiency, reflecting the importance of acting both politely and expediently in urgent situations. Table 2 reports the acceptability, politeness, and efficiency of tactics in the tactical acceptability clusters for both the nonurgent and urgent situation.

In the nonurgent situation, "jumps" and "flattenings" (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984) in fusion coefficients (.271, .162, .142, .111, .090, .045, . . .) in the cluster analysis results point to the existence of four clusters that differ from each other in tactical acceptability (see Table 2). CCT expects that these

nonurgent situation tactical acceptability clusters differ in tactical politeness though not in tactical efficiency. As Table 2 details, the four acceptability clusters in the nonurgent situation differ from each other in tactical politeness, though they evidence no differences in tactical efficiency ($M = 4.04$). The most acceptable tactic cluster (No. 4 in Table 2) is the most tactically polite, and the least acceptable tactic cluster (No. 1 in Table 2) is the least tactically polite in the nonurgent situation. The lower bound of the 95% confidence interval for the mean appropriateness of the most acceptable tactical cluster is 4.50, indicating that the minimum preferred appropriateness level is moderate and, upon testing, greater than that of efficiency, $t(99) = 3.08, p < .005$.

Figure 3 superimposes the clustering of the tactics by their acceptability in the nonurgent situation onto the conversational retreat strategy space in Figure 2 (from Phase 1) which differentiates tactics by their appropriateness and efficiency. A circle surrounds tactics in the same tactical acceptability cluster. The larger the box locating a tactic's position, the more acceptable participants judge use of the tactic. Thus, the right-hand-most circle in Figure 3 identifies the most acceptable tactic cluster (Cluster No. 4 in Table 2), and the left-hand-most circle identifies the least acceptable tactic cluster (No. 1 in Table 2) in the nonurgent situation. The ability to superimpose participants' tactical acceptability groupings for the nonurgent situation onto the appropriateness- and efficiency-specified conversational retreat strategy space from Figure 2 represents correspondence between that which participants directly judge acceptable and that which CCT expects to be acceptable, based indirectly on efficiency and appropriateness levels. In other words, the superimposition suggests that efficiency and appropriateness relate to tactical acceptability. As is visually detectable from Figure 3 and consistent with the cluster-based comparisons in Table 2, as individual tactics in the nonurgent situation become less acceptable (i.e., smaller and smaller boxes in Figure 3), the tactics become less polite, $r(75) = .84, p < .001$, though neither more nor less efficient, $r(75) = -.01$, *ns*. Some socially appropriate tactics of low efficiency are in the most acceptable tactic cluster (e.g., Tactics Nos. 16, 59, and 27 in Figure 3), though they are not the least efficient tactics for retreating from conversations (e.g., compare to Tactics Nos. 4, 31, and 14 in Figure 3). A minimum preferred level of efficiency exists, though it is quite low. Three tactics deviate significantly between participants' judged acceptability and CCT's appropriateness- and efficiency-based expectations of acceptability: participants judge Tactics Nos. 2, 6 and 69 among the most acceptable tactics, but the preferred strategy space positions them between participants' second and third most acceptable tactic clusters. These "deviant" tactics represent lack of correspondence between participants' judged tactical acceptability and CCT's expectations of tactical acceptability.

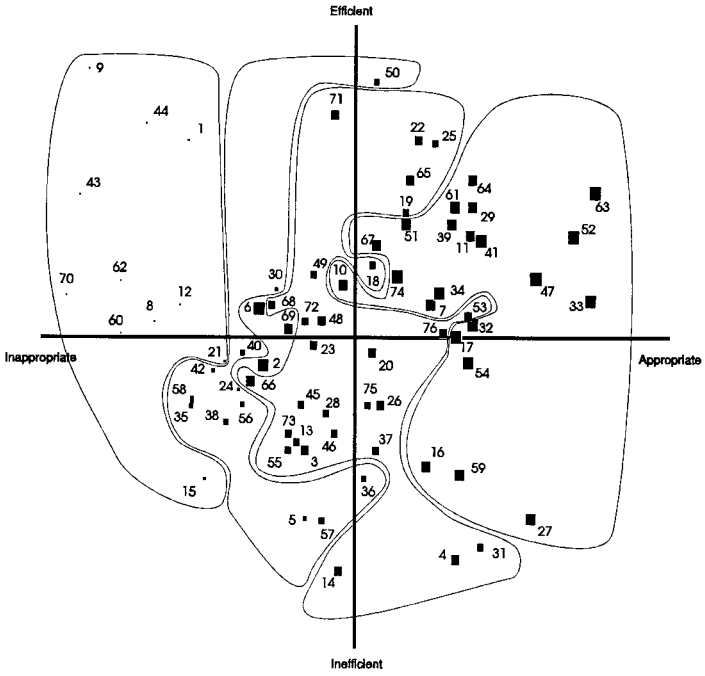

Figure 3. Conversational Retreat Tactics' Acceptability: Nonurgent Situations
Note. 1 = rejection; 2 = restlessness signal; 3 = nonresponsiveness; 4 = nonresponsiveness; 5 = nonresponsiveness; 6 = restlessness signal; 7 = excuse; 8 = third party; 9 = rejection; 10 = excuse; 11 = excuse; 12 = rejection; 13 = restlessness signal; 14 = nonresponsiveness; 15 = nonresponsiveness; 16 = excuse; 17 = hint; 18 = projection; 19 = excuse; 20 = restlessness signal; 21 = rejection; 22 = departure announcement; 23 = restlessness signal; 24 = nonresponsiveness; 25 = departure announcement; 26 = restlessness signal; 27 = hint; 28 = restlessness signal; 29 = excuse; 30 = third party; 31 = nonresponsiveness; 32 = hint; 33 = hint; 34 = excuse; 35 = nonresponsiveness; 36 = topic change; 37 = topic change; 38 = restlessness signal; 39 = excuse; 40 = restlessness signal; 41 = hint; 42 = nonresponsiveness; 43 = rejection; 44 = rejection; 45 = restlessness signal; 46 = restlessness signal; 47 = hint; 48 = restlessness signal; 49 = restlessness signal; 50 = departure announcement; 51 = restlessness signal; 52 = hint; 53 = projection; 54 = hint; 55 = nonresponsiveness; 56 = topic change; 57 = nonresponsiveness; 58 = restlessness signal; 59 = hint; 60 = nonresponsiveness; 61 = excuse; 62 = rejection; 63 = excuse; 64 = excuse; 65 = excuse; 66 = nonresponsiveness; 67 = third party; 68 = third party; 69 = restlessness signal; 70 = rejection; 71 = departure announcement; 72 = restlessness signal; 73 = nonresponsiveness; 74 = restlessness signal; 75 = projection; 76 = projection.

Despite these deviant tactics, the visual and statistical evidence shows that acceptable tactics in the nonurgent situation are minimally moderately polite and range in efficiency with the least efficient tactics not among the most acceptable in accord with the predictions of CCT.

In the urgent situation, "jumps" and "flattenings" (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984) in fusion coefficients (.320, .099, .035, .031, . . .) point to three clusters of differing tactical acceptability (see Table 2). CCT expects

that these urgent situation tactical acceptability clusters will differ in both tactical politeness and tactical efficiency. As Table 2 details, the three acceptability clusters in the urgent situation differ from each other in tactical politeness as well as tactical efficiency. The most acceptable cluster (No. 3 in Table 2) is the most tactically polite and the most tactically efficient, whereas the least acceptable cluster (No. 1 in Table 2) is the least tactically polite and least tactically efficient in the urgent situation. For the most acceptable tactic cluster, the lower bound of the 95% confidence interval for tactical efficiency is 4.79, and for tactical appropriateness, it is 4.56 (moderate, and nearly identical to the 4.50 in the nonurgent situation). The minimum preferred level of tactical appropriateness is equal to that of tactical efficiency in the urgent situation, $t(36) = .84$, *ns*. Acceptable tactics have minimum moderate (and equal) preferred levels of tactical efficiency and tactical appropriateness.

In Figure 4, we superimpose the acceptability-clustered tactics for the urgent situation onto the same appropriateness- and efficiency-defined conversational retreat strategy space in Figure 2 (in the same manner as we did with the clusters from the nonurgent situation). As before, the larger the box locating a tactic's position, the more acceptable participants judge use of the tactic. The fact that we can superimpose these acceptability-based clusters on a strategy space defined by efficiency and appropriateness suggests that tactical efficiency and tactical appropriateness relate to conversational retreat tactical acceptability in the urgent situation. The most acceptable tactic cluster (No. 3 in Table 2) is both tactically efficient and tactically polite (see Figure 4); the next most acceptable tactic cluster (No. 2 in Table 2) is both less tactically efficient and less tactically polite (see Figure 4); and the least acceptable tactic cluster (No. 1 in Table 2) is either tactically inefficient, tactically impolite, or both (see Figure 4). As is visually detectable in Figure 4 and consistent with cluster-based comparisons in Table 2, as individual tactics become less acceptable (i.e., smaller and smaller boxes in Figure 4), they become both less polite, $r(75) = .72, p < .001$, and less efficient, $r(75) = .54, p < .001$. Socially appropriate tactics of lower efficiency acceptable in the nonurgent situation are unacceptable in the urgent situation (e.g., Tactics Nos. 54, 16, 59, and 27). Tactic No. 6 is a deviant tactic in that participants judge it as one of the most acceptable tactics, but CCT locates it in the strategy space between the second and third most acceptable clusters. Despite this one tactic's deviancy, the visual and statistical evidence shows that acceptable tactics in the urgent situation are minimally moderately polite and minimally moderately efficient, in accord with the predictions of CCT. The cluster analyses support the preferred strategy spaces CCT predicts ([see Figure 1, Graphs 1(a) and 1(b)]).

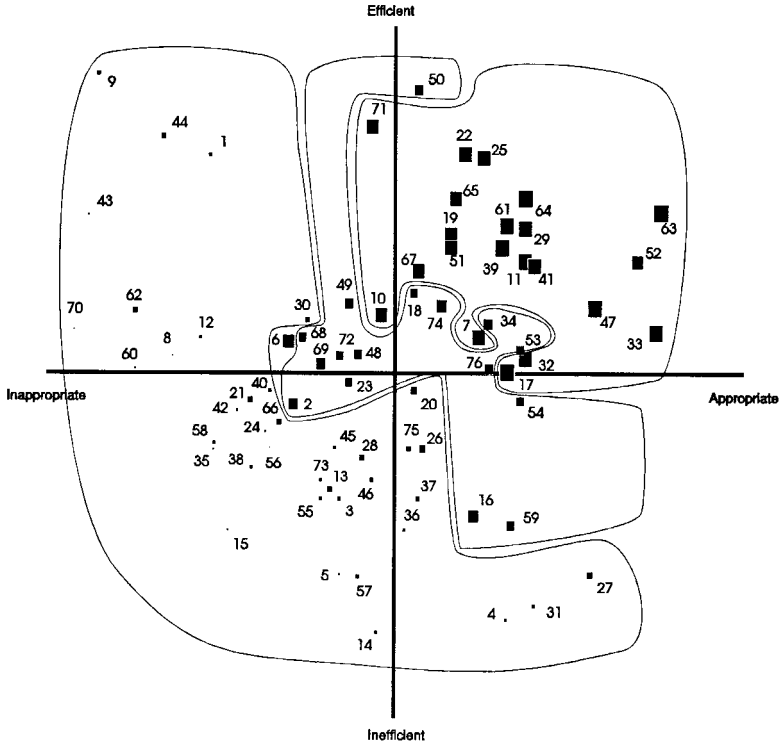

Figure 4. Conversational Retreat Tactics' Acceptability: Urgent Situations
Note. 1 = rejection; 2 = restlessness signal; 3 = nonresponsiveness; 4 = nonresponsiveness; 5 = nonresponsiveness; 6 = restlessness signal; 7 = excuse; 8 = third party; 9 = rejection; 10 = excuse; 11 = excuse; 12 = rejection; 13 = restlessness signal; 14 = nonresponsiveness; 15 = nonresponsiveness; 16 = excuse; 17 = hint; 18 = projection; 19 = excuse; 20 = restlessness signal; 21 = rejection; 22 = departure announcement; 23 = restlessness signal; 24 = nonresponsiveness; 25 = departure announcement; 26 = restlessness signal; 27 = hint; 28 = restlessness signal; 29 = excuse; 30 = third party; 31 = nonresponsiveness; 32 = hint; 33 = hint; 34 = excuse; 35 = nonresponsiveness; 36 = topic change; 37 = topic change; 38 = restlessness signal; 39 = excuse; 40 = restlessness signal; 41 = hint; 42 = nonresponsiveness; 43 = rejection; 44 = rejection; 45 = restlessness signal; 46 = restlessness signal; 47 = hint; 48 = restlessness signal; 49 = restlessness signal; 50 = departure announcement; 51 = restlessness signal; 52 = hint; 53 = projection; 54 = hint; 55 = nonresponsiveness; 56 = topic change; 57 = nonresponsiveness; 58 = restlessness signal; 59 = hint; 60 = nonresponsiveness; 61 = excuse; 62 = rejection; 63 = excuse; 64 = excuse; 65 = excuse; 66 = nonresponsiveness; 67 = third party; 68 = third party; 69 = restlessness signal; 70 = rejection; 71 = departure announcement; 72 = restlessness signal; 73 = nonresponsiveness; 74 = restlessness signal; 75 = projection; 76 = projection.

Chi-square of individual tactics. We use chi-square analyses to identify which tactics change in their acceptability between the urgent and nonurgent situations. Comparison of the acceptability of individual tactics reveals that 36 of the 76 retreat tactics differ in their acceptability between the urgent and nonurgent situations. Table 3 lists each of the retreat tactics,

(text continues on p. 33)

Table 3
Individual Tactic Acceptability

No.	Tactic	Nonurgent Situation (%)	Urgent Situation (%)	χ^2
1.	To end the conversation, I said, "Would you please leave me alone?"	15	23	1.10
2.	To end the conversation, I grabbed my books.	81	66	2.67
3.	To end the conversation, I began to talk to the person with monosyllable-type answers like "yeah," "no doubt," "uh-huh," etc.	64	28	12.37***
4.	To end the conversation, I just listened.	66	21	19.08***
5.	To end the conversation, I just sat there and said nothing.	32	13	4.97*
6.	To end the conversation, I packed up my things.	83	77	.59
7.	To end the conversation, I said that it was late.	77	89	2.71
8.	To end the conversation, I made little comments to people next to me while the person talked.	13	9	.45
9.	To end the conversation, I walked away.	6	26	6.43*
10.	To end the conversation, I tried to make it seem as if I was in a hurry.	70	83	2.14
11.	To end the conversation, I said, "Someone is waiting for me."	72	94	7.53**
12.	To end the conversation, I shoved my face into a book.	13	19	.71
13.	To end the conversation, I fidgeted.	51	34	2.79
14.	To end the conversation, I just agreed with whatever the person was saying.	60	21	14.31***
15.	To end the conversation, I gave no response to the statement that was made.	23	11	2.71
16.	To end the conversation, I asked if the person knew what time it was.	70	70	.00
17.	To end the conversation, I told them I would get back to them.	87	98	3.86*
18.	To end the conversation, I projected my need to end it onto the other person. I said, "You probably have to go now."	51	51	.00
19.	To end the conversation, I told the person that I was busy.	51	87	14.41***
20.	To end the conversation, I started to move a little farther away from the person.	62	45	2.74
21.	To end the conversation, my tone of voice became "curt" (i.e., short, blunt, and abrupt).	19	34	2.67
22.	To end the conversation, I said, "I have to go now."	60	89	10.97***

Table 3 Continued

No.	Tactic	Nonurgent Situation (%)	Urgent Situation (%)	χ^2
23.	To end the conversation, I tried to show I was preoccupied about something else.	60	51	.69
24.	To end the conversation, I tried very hard to give uninterested answers.	23	13	1.80
25.	To end the conversation, I flat out explained that I was busy.	51	89	16.48***
26.	To end the conversation, I broke eye contact with the person.	62	43	3.45
27.	To end the conversation, I said, "I understand what you've been trying to say."	74	38	12.50***
28.	To end the conversation, I started to act kind of restless.	51	36	2.12
29.	To end the conversation, I made up some kind of story like "I have an appointment with someone else," or "My next class is almost started."	72	91	5.82*
30.	To end the conversation, I started talking to another person about how tired I was (sort of loud to let the person talking to me hear).	30	32	.05
31.	To end the conversation, I let the other person talk the whole time.	51	23	7.69**
32.	To end the conversation, I said, "Why don't you just give me a call later?"	85	89	.38
33.	To end the conversation, I said, "I wish I had more time to talk."	81	96	5.04*
34.	To end the conversation, I started to mention all the things I had to do that evening.	81	62	4.21*
35.	To end the conversation, I acted uninterested.	34	13	5.93*
36.	To end the conversation, I asked the person some simple questions that were not related to the subject the person was talking about.	43	19	6.03*
37.	To end the conversation, I tried to switch to another topic.	57	30	7.31**
38.	To end the conversation, I gazed at objects at a distance from us.	40	21	4.04*
39.	To end the conversation, I said I was late for something else.	74	98	10.80***
40.	To end the conversation, I looked around me.	40	23	3.13
41.	To end the conversation, I tried to use some conversation enders such as "Well, . . . take care . . . ."	83	89	.80

(continued)

Table 3 Continued

No.	Tactic	Nonurgent Situation (%)	Urgent Situation (%)	χ^2
42.	To end the conversation, I responded very shallowly.	30	15	3.00
43.	To end the conversation, I turned my back.	2	13	3.86*
44.	To end the conversation, I said 'bye in an abrupt way.	13	32	4.97*
45.	To end the conversation, I started shifting my weight back and forth from leg to leg.	53	23	8.82**
46.	To end the conversation, I tried to make myself look tired.	55	28	7.41**
47.	To end the conversation, I told them that I would like to talk to them again some other time.	91	98	1.90
48.	To end the conversation, I acted busy.	62	55	.39
49.	To end the conversation, I made obvious gestures of looking at my watch.	53	62	.70
50.	To end the conversation, I said, "Good-bye."	43	60	2.72
51.	To end the conversation, I stood up to signal that I wanted to go.	74	85	1.65
52.	To end the conversation, I said, "It really is nice talking with you."	87	77	1.80
53.	To end the conversation, I told them that I should let them go because I knew they probably had better things to do.	60	55	.17
54.	To end the conversation, I said "Well" and "OK."	81	55	7.05**
55.	To end the conversation, I answered with an appropriate mumble as necessary, rather than actively engaging in the conversation.	51	21	9.03**
56.	To end the conversation, I said, "Could we talk about something else?"	37	6	12.87***
57.	To end the conversation, I tried not to keep up with it by just agreeing with whatever the other person said.	45	26	3.78
58.	To end the conversation, I started yawning.	34	21	1.91
59.	To end the conversation, I made a comment to summarize it, such as "They just don't build them like they used to."	77	55	4.74*
60.	To end the conversation, I didn't pay attention to the person.	11	13	.10
61.	To end the conversation, I noticed the time out loud like "Oh, my gosh, it's already 7 o'clock," etc.	79	94	4.37*
62.	To end the conversation, I cut the person off when the person was talking.	13	32	4.97*

Table 3 Continued

No.	Tactic	Nonurgent Situation (%)	Urgent Situation (%)	χ^2
63.	To end the conversation, I said, in a polite way, that I had to do something.	87	100	6.41*
64.	To end the conversation, I said I had to go somewhere.	72	98	12.09***
65.	To end the conversation, I made up some phony reasons why I must go.	64	85	5.60*
66.	To end the conversation, I gave little response.	68	34	10.90***
67.	To end the conversation, I had another person tell me, loud enough for the person talking with me to hear, that I needed to get going.	72	83	1.53
68.	To end the conversation, I signaled someone else to try to get me out of the conversation.	53	55	.04
69.	To end the conversation, I interrupted with a sudden glance at the clock.	70	66	.20
70.	To end the conversation, I made harsh comments to make the person feel guilty, upset, or angry.	4	4	.00
71.	To end the conversation, I said, "See you later."	62	83	5.32*
72.	To end the conversation, I shifted my attention back to what I was doing.	53	51	.04
73.	To end the conversation, I used unusually long pauses.	53	21	10.24**
74.	To end the conversation, I pulled my car keys out of my pocket.	87	72	3.23
75.	To end the conversation, I said, "You sound tired."	49	32	2.83
76.	To end the conversation, I said, "I'm tired."	60	60	.00

Note. Percentages refer to the percentage of participants judging the tactic acceptable in the nonurgent and urgent situations. All chi-square tests have 1 degree of freedom.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

the percentage of participants finding them acceptable in the nonurgent and urgent situations, and a chi-square test of the difference in these acceptability judgments between situations. As Table 3 details, in the urgent situation (compared with the nonurgent situation), the acceptability of 17 tactics increases and 19 tactics decreases. Figure 5 provides a visual representation of these changes in individual tactic acceptability (again using the conversational retreat strategy space from Figure 2). Figure 5 depicts whether a tactic's acceptability increases (↑), decreases (↓), or remains the same (=) in the urgent (vs. the nonurgent) situation. The groups of tactics that increase, remain the same, or decrease in tactical acceptability in the more urgent

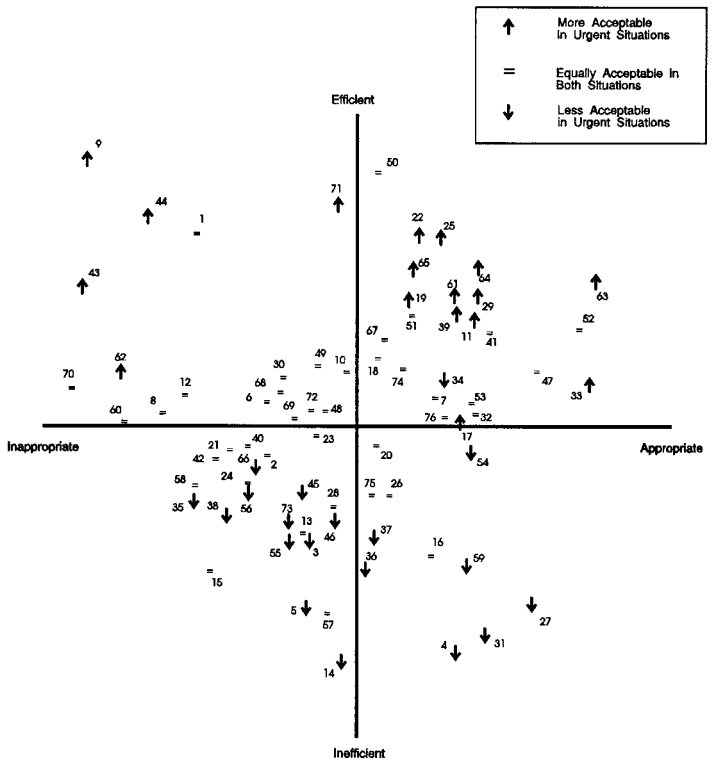

Figure 5. Conversational Retreat Tactics: Changes in Acceptability in Urgent (vs. nonurgent) Situations

Note. 1 = rejection; 2 = restlessness signal; 3 = nonresponsiveness; 4 = nonresponsiveness; 5 = nonresponsiveness; 6 = restlessness signal; 7 = excuse; 8 = third party; 9 = rejection; 10 = excuse; 11 = excuse; 12 = rejection; 13 = restlessness signal; 14 = nonresponsiveness; 15 = nonresponsiveness; 16 = excuse; 17 = hint; 18 = projection; 19 = excuse; 20 = restlessness signal; 21 = rejection; 22 = departure announcement; 23 = restlessness signal; 24 = nonresponsiveness; 25 = departure announcement; 26 = restlessness signal; 27 = hint; 28 = restlessness signal; 29 = excuse; 30 = third party; 31 = nonresponsiveness; 32 = hint; 33 = hint; 34 = excuse; 35 = nonresponsiveness; 36 = topic change; 37 = topic change; 38 = restlessness signal; 39 = excuse; 40 = restlessness signal; 41 = hint; 42 = nonresponsiveness; 43 = rejection; 44 = rejection; 45 = restlessness signal; 46 = restlessness signal; 47 = hint; 48 = restlessness signal; 49 = restlessness signal; 50 = departure announcement; 51 = restlessness signal; 52 = hint; 53 = projection; 54 = hint; 55 = nonresponsiveness; 56 = topic change; 57 = nonresponsiveness; 58 = restlessness signal; 59 = hint; 60 = nonresponsiveness; 61 = excuse; 62 = rejection; 63 = excuse; 64 = excuse; 65 = excuse; 66 = nonresponsiveness; 67 = third party; 68 = third party; 69 = restlessness signal; 70 = rejection; 71 = departure announcement; 72 = restlessness signal; 73 = nonresponsiveness; 74 = restlessness signal; 75 = projection; 76 = projection.

situation differ from each other in tactical efficiency but not in tactical politeness, efficiency $M = 4.04, F(2, 73) = 34.68, p < .001, \omega^2 = .47$; appropriateness M = 3.86, F(2, 73) = 1.21, *ns*. Tactics increasing in acceptability in the urgent (compared with the nonurgent) situation are quite efficient (M = 5.34);

equally acceptable tactics are moderately efficient (M = 4.02); and tactics decreasing in acceptability are inefficient (M = 2.92). Of particular note are Tactics Nos. 9 (walking away), 44 (saying 'bye in an abrupt way), and 43 (turning my back): These tactics are very efficient and quite unacceptable overall, though their acceptability increases in the urgent situation. Tactics that are inappropriate and efficient are more acceptable in the more urgent situation (even though they remain unacceptable overall). Situational urgency increases the acceptability of efficient tactics, decreases the acceptability of inefficient tactics, and does not influence the acceptability of polite or impolite tactics.

Regression of acceptability prediction. CCT posits that tactical appropriateness is the primary predictor of tactical acceptability in the nonurgent situation, whereas both tactical appropriateness and tactical efficiency are predictors of tactical acceptability in the urgent situation. When we regress participants' tactical acceptability judgments in the nonurgent situation on the mean tactical efficiency and mean tactical appropriateness estimates from our Phase 1 research, tactical efficiency and tactical appropriateness account for 70% of the variance in tactical acceptability, adjusted R^2 = .70, $F(2, 73) = 89.89, p < .001$. As CCT expects, separate tests of the importance of tactical efficiency and tactical appropriateness reveal that in the nonurgent situation, tactical appropriateness by itself accounts for tactical acceptability, appropriateness $\beta = .84, t(73) = 13.41, p < .001$; efficiency $\beta = -.03, t(73) = -.42$, *ns*, appropriateness/efficiency correlation, $r(75) = .02$, *ns*. Tactical politeness accounts for more than two thirds of the variance in (and tactical efficiency does not relate to) tactical acceptability in the nonurgent situation. In the urgent situation, when we regress tactical acceptability judgments onto the same noncorrelated tactical efficiency and tactical appropriateness estimates, tactical efficiency and tactical appropriateness account for almost 80% of the variance in tactical acceptability, adjusted R^2 = .78, $F(2, 73) = 136.51, p < .001$. As CCT expects, tests of the importance of each constraint reveal that in the urgent situation, both tactical efficiency and tactical politeness independently predict tactical acceptability, efficiency $\beta = .53$, $t(73) = 9.80, p < .001$; appropriateness $\beta = .71, t(73) = 13.14, p < .001$. Social appropriateness and efficiency can predict tactical acceptability, and situational urgency increases the minimum preferred level of efficiency for judging tactics acceptable.

Summary. Tactical acceptability in the nonurgent situation is primarily politeness driven, with participants having a minimum preferred moderate level of tactical appropriateness and a lower preferred level of tactical

Table 4
Reasons for Judgments of Tactical Acceptability

Situation	Efficiency	Politeness	χ^2	Other	No Reason
Overall	2,573	2,072		644	2,331
Nonurgent situation	975	1,220	14.98***	363	1,200
Urgent situation	1,598	852	46.82***	281	1,131
Comparison			202.82***		
Acceptable tactics					
Nonurgent situation	660	511		172	766
Urgent situation	814	310		131	686
Comparison			2.27		
Unacceptable tactics					
Nonurgent situation	315	709		191	434
Urgent situation	784	542		150	445
Comparison			186.71***		
Increasingly acceptable	446	543		171	476
Decreasingly acceptable	767	360		134	607
Comparison			113.52***		

Note. All chi-square tests have 1 degree of freedom and compare only efficiency and politeness reasons.
*** $p < .001$.

efficiency. Tactical acceptability in the urgent situation is driven by both efficiency and politeness, with participants having minimum preferred moderate levels for both tactical appropriateness and tactical efficiency. Differences in tactical acceptability between the urgent and nonurgent situations reflect more efficient tactics being more acceptable in the more urgent situation. Tactical acceptability is predictable from minimum preferred levels of tactical efficiency and tactical appropriateness.

Reasons for Acceptability

The content coding of participants' reasons for judging tactics acceptable or unacceptable in urgent and nonurgent situations offers a qualitative test of CCT. Table 4 reports the distribution of reasons participants offer as a function of situational urgency and tactical acceptability, along with reports of chi-square tests of differences. First, as Table 4 records, the vast majority of reasons participants offer (n = 5,289) for judging tactics acceptable or unacceptable relate to politeness (39%) and efficiency (49%), providing support for the reasoning of CCT as to the importance of these two constraints in conversational interactions (see row 1 in Table 4).

Second, in direct support of the reasoning of CCT, in the nonurgent situation, participants provide a larger number of appropriateness than efficiency

reasons for their acceptability judgments (see row 2 in Table 4), whereas in the urgent situation, more efficiency than appropriateness reasons are provided for acceptability judgments (see row 3 in Table 4). The critical concern for each situation—politeness for nonurgent and efficiency for urgent—differentially influences participants' reasoning about tactical acceptability.

Third, participants articulate these different reasons for their decisions when judging tactics unacceptable but not when judging them acceptable. When comparing the reasons for acceptable tactics between the nonurgent and urgent situations, no significant differences arise between efficiency and appropriateness reasons (see third group of rows in Table 4). However, when comparing reasons for unacceptable tactics between the nonurgent and urgent situations, in the urgent situation, participants deem tactics unacceptable because of efficiency, whereas in the nonurgent situation they deem tactics unacceptable because of politeness (see fourth group of rows in Table 4). Participants offer more efficiency reasons for tactics that decrease in acceptability in the urgent (vs. nonurgent) situation than for those that increase in acceptability (see final group of rows in Table 4). Participants articulate their differential use of efficiency and politeness to judge tactical acceptability when they find tactics unacceptable to use in their particular situation.

The reasons individuals offer for their assessments of tactical acceptability fit nicely with the assumptions, principles, and predictions of CCT: politeness and efficiency are important concerns, situational urgency influences the relative importance of those concerns, and these concerns are most noticeable when minimum preferred levels are not met.

Summary

Tactical efficiency and tactical appropriateness determine which tactics are acceptable and unacceptable in urgent and nonurgent situations. Inefficient yet socially appropriate tactics acceptable to use to withdraw unilaterally from conversation in the nonurgent situation are not acceptable to use in the urgent situation. However, even in the nonurgent situation, completely inefficient retreat tactics are not acceptable. Tactical politeness is more important than tactical efficiency in the nonurgent situation for determining tactical acceptability, whereas tactical politeness and tactical efficiency are equally important for tactical acceptability in the urgent situation. People reason about tactical unacceptability based on which constraint unacceptable tactics violate—tactical appropriateness in the nonurgent situation and both tactical appropriateness and tactical efficiency in the urgent situation. Situational urgency influences tactical acceptability as CCT posits.

Discussion and Conclusion

Conversational retreat tactics differ in their efficiency and social appropriateness, and the preferred levels of these conversational constraints determine which tactics are acceptable and which unacceptable in particular conversational encounters. When retreating from conversations, situational urgency increases the preferred level of efficiency while maintaining a moderately preferred level of appropriateness. Tactics that meet and/or exceed these minimally preferred levels are judged acceptable. The Phase 1 research demonstrates that tactical efficiency and appropriateness are goal dependent and within goal variant and stable over time and across subpopulations for the goal of unilaterally inspired conversational endings. The Phase 2 research demonstrates that situational urgency increases the minimally preferred level of efficiency up to the moderate one of politeness. The Phase 3 research demonstrates that situational urgency influences tactical acceptability and that tactical efficiency and tactical appropriateness can strongly predict which tactics are deemed acceptable and unacceptable in urgent and nonurgent situations. CCT receives strong support from the stringent tests of assumptions, principles, and predictions.

An important finding from this research is the strong ability to predict tactical acceptability. Other than theoretical ones, no particular reasons exist as to why preferred strategy spaces defined by preferred levels for efficiency and appropriateness should correspond with judgments of tactical acceptability in nonurgent and urgent situations. This research suggests that acceptability depends on more than politeness; it also depends on efficiency. The ability to overlay an acceptability-based cluster solution onto tactics plotted by their efficiency and appropriateness (for which tactical efficiency and tactical appropriateness account for 70% to 80% of the variance in tactical acceptability) combined with the politeness and efficiency reasons that participants report underlie their acceptability judgments points to the importance of both efficiency and appropriateness for determining what is acceptable for retreating from conversations. Tactical acceptability is neither purely politeness nor purely efficiency; it depends on the preferred levels of both in particular conversations.

This research suggests that tactical efficiency, appropriateness, and acceptability are social judgments that participants widely share and on which they strongly agree, at least for conversational retreat (i.e., witness the leptokurtic distributions, variance accounted for, etc.). Nonetheless, judgments of tactical efficiency, tactical appropriateness, and tactical acceptability are individually made and so potentially variable. First, if cointeractants

judge the efficiency or appropriateness of specific retreat tactics sufficiently differently, what one person finds acceptable, another may find unacceptable, even if both persons have identical minimally preferred levels of efficiency and politeness. CCT posits that more socially-oriented individuals are more politeness driven, and more goal-oriented individuals are more efficiency driven. As such, less socially-oriented and goal-oriented persons may differ in their politeness and efficiency assessments of tactics from those otherwise inclined.

Second, as cointeractants diverge in their understanding of the urgency of a situation, their minimally preferred levels of efficiency diverge, and individuals might easily judge partners unacceptably inefficient. Our results suggest that for conversational retreat, less urgently situated individuals find both efficient and inefficient tactics acceptable, whereas urgently situated individuals find inefficient tactics unacceptable. However, if urgently situated individuals simultaneously loosen their expected level of politeness through frustration, not knowing tactics that meet both constraints and/or pursuing goals where the constraints are incompatible, their less urgently situated partners might judge them unacceptably rude. Some of the reasons participants use in this research to judge tactical acceptability seem tuned to these nuances. The image, feelings, and interest/attention reasons participants use to judge tactical acceptability cast coactors as not knowing or understanding the urgent nature of the participants' situation, whereas the consensus/conformity and understanding reasons point to coactors' seemingly being aware (and accepting) of participants' time pressures. In addition to CCT's self-determined preferences for efficiency and appropriateness (and hence tactical acceptability), social actors may consider others' expectations and preferences.[16] Social actors may consider, along with other situational, relational, and personal factors, mirroring others' politeness and efficiency as well as responding to others' expectations of them as actors. Specifically, a mirroring or reciprocation principle might state the following: The higher social actors believe partners' own minimum preferred levels of politeness and/or efficiency are, the higher social actors' minimum preferred levels of politeness and/or efficiency are; and the lower social actors believe partners' own minimum preferred levels of politeness and/or efficiency are, the lower social actors' minimum preferred levels of politeness and/or efficiency are. An expectation-fulfillment principle might state the following: The more social actors believe partners expect them (as actors) to be polite and/or efficient, the higher social actors' preferred levels of politeness and/or efficiency are; the less social actors believe partners expect them (as actors) to be polite and/or efficient, the lower social actors' preferred levels of politeness and/or efficiency are. These other-oriented principles, which we call interactive

factors, do not imply that individuals will match or meet partners' preferences and expectations for acting politely or efficiently, only that knowledge of partners' preferences and expectations influences social actors' preferred levels of appropriateness and efficiency along with other situational, relational, and individual factors. Other situational (urgency, formality, privacy), relational (bond, position), or individual (social orientation, goal orientation) factors might augment or offset these reciprocation and expectation-fulfillment interactive factors. Interactive factors, along with situational, relational, and individual factors, simultaneously influence individuals' desires to be polite and efficient. CCT approaches tactical spaces individually, permits judgments to be shared socially and vary individually, and now, with the addition of these other-oriented principles, might account for perspective-taking and interactional interdependencies on minimally preferred politeness and efficiency levels.

Unlike much research that presumes that social appropriateness and efficiency are incompatible with each other (e.g., politeness theory), this research replicates that for the goal of unilaterally ending a conversation, efficiency and appropriateness are independent of each other. While not proving that the congruence of efficiency and appropriateness can range from being compatible to independent to incompatible, the independence of these two constraints for the goal of conversational retreat at least supports CCT's position. We need to examine other goals for whether social appropriateness and efficiency really are at odds with each other so that we might consider more fully the core principle of politeness theory—that a reason for deviating from being Gricean efficient is politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Politeness and efficiency occurring when ending conversations is without explanation within the confines of politeness theory, as what is polite is not incompatible with what is efficient. CCT provides an explanation, arguing that efficiency and politeness result from situational (e.g., private, urgent, formal), relational (position, bond), personal (e.g., goal orientation and social orientation), and now interactive (e.g., reciprocation, expectation fulfillment) factors that elevate and depress social actors' preferred levels of politeness and efficiency in particular encounters. CCT accounts for polite, impolite, efficient, and in- efficient behavior whether or not appropriateness and efficiency are incompatible, independent, or compatible constraints. Politeness is not a reason to deviate from Gricean efficiency; rather, situational, relational, individual, and interactive factors determine preferred levels of politeness and efficiency.

Although this research is strongly supportive of CCT, its focus is limited to only one aspect (time pressure) of one situational factor (urgency) for one

conversational goal (conversational retreat) for one subject population (college students). Examining the influence of other situational (privacy, formality, etc.), relational (position, intimacy, etc.), personal (goal orientation, social orientation, etc.), and interactive (others' expectations of other and actor) factors on minimum preferred efficiency and appropriateness levels and on tactical acceptability for other conversational goals is necessary before we can realistically place faith in the theory. Similarly, no research is without measurement, procedural, and participant limitations, so continued replication using multimethod approaches is also necessary.

Notes

1. We thank the two reviewers of this article for their extensive and extremely helpful comments that significantly improved this final version. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Kathy Kellermann, Department of Communication, University of California at Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, CA 93106-4020; e-mail: kellerma@alishaw.ucsb.edu.

2. The research on conversational closings focuses primarily on mutually negotiated, rather than unilaterally initiated, endings. We have located 56 articles on conversational endings. Please contact the first author for a list of these articles.

3. Conversational Constraint Theory (CCT) uses tactical acceptability to account for tactical choice. As the theory's principles of tactical choice are not of issue to this research, we review only that part of the theory dealing with tactical acceptability.

4. Although many definitions of social appropriateness exist, CCT stipulates the definition to be that of politeness. Many definitions of social appropriateness confound politeness and acceptability. For example, Burleson et al. (1988) equate social appropriateness with politeness, considerateness, and the following of social expectations. CCT distinguishes that which is appropriate (polite, considerate) from that which is acceptable (follows social expectations). Politeness is not used as the name of the constraint because of its strong association with Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, which is at odds with fundamental assumptions of CCT.

5. CCT distinguishes constraints such as efficiency and appropriateness from goals such as compliance gaining and conversational retreat. Specifically: (a) People achieve goals and satisfy constraints; they do not arrive at constraints and abide by goals. (Thus, people fail to reach goals and violate constraints; they do not accomplish constraints and breach goals.) (b) Goals are achieved at particular moments in time, whereas constraints are satisfied only continuously. (c) Goals are impermanent, whereas constraints are persistent; goals come and go, whereas constraints are cross-goal considerations. Goals are ends individuals secure, whereas constraints are expectations to which individuals pay heed.

6. Multidimensional scaling recovers a third dimension differentiating retreat tactics, though it accounts for relatively little variance and is difficult to define (Kellermann, Reynolds, & Chen 1991). Though a verbal/nonverbal distinction is able to characterize this dimension (Reynolds, 1992), this distinction's strong secondary loading on efficiency leads to its rejection as an adequate characterization of the third dimension. Statisticians recommend ignoring a third dimension and using only the first two dimensions when, as here, the third dimension accounts for little variance and

remains uniquely uninterpretable (Kruskal & Wish, 1978; Shepard, 1962a, 1962b, 1974).

7. Kellermann et al. (1991) claim that efficiency and appropriateness are "near independent" of each other, $r(74) = .227, p < .024$, though they fail to adjust the correlation for sample size and use a one-tailed rather than what should be a two-tailed test of significance (no hypothesis on what the relationship should be, possibility that it can range from –1 to +1). The adjusted test, adjusted $r(74) = .197, p > .05$ (one-tailed), $p > .10$ (two-tailed), indicates independence whether one-tailed or two-tailed. Thus, independence best characterizes the congruence between appropriateness and efficiency for leave-taking tactics.

8. When drawing the strategy space, CCT uses the angle between efficiency and appropriateness to represent geometrically their congruence for specific goals. Figure 1 represents the independence of appropriateness and efficiency for the goal of conversational retreat by maintaining a 90° angle between the constraints. Theoretically, the angle between the constraints can range from 0° (complete compatibility) to 90° (independence) to 180° (complete incompatibility), a reflection of the correlation coefficient between efficiency and appropriateness ranging from +1.0 (perfectly positively correlated) to 0.0 (uncorrelated) to –1.0 (perfectly negatively correlated).

9. The current appropriateness survey, asking for a judgment of politeness, defines the judgment as follows:

> A polite tactic is socially appropriate; it is pleasant, proper, considerate, and mannerly. In other words, polite tactics are nice. By contrast, an impolite tactic is socially inappropriate; it is discourteous, ill-mannered, uncivil and/or nasty. That is, an impolite tactic is rude.
>
> You will notice that some of the tactics people use are fast and immediate ways to end conversations while others take more time, energy, and/or effort. Ignore how expedient each tactic is. That is, do not base your judgment of politeness on a tactic's expediency; rather, base your judgment of politeness only on how polite the tactic is for terminating conversations (regardless of whether it takes time, energy, or effort).
>
> Also, ignore whether a tactic successfully ended the conversation in which it was used. Focus only on whether a tactic is a polite way to try to end a conversation. In other words, do not base your judgment of politeness on a tactic's effectiveness; rather base your judgment of politeness only on how nice the tactic is for trying to terminate conversations (regardless of its successfulness).

10. The current efficiency survey defines efficiency as follows:

> An efficient tactic is immediate and to the point; it does not waste time, energy, effort or steps in ending a conversation. In other words, an efficient tactic is expedient. By contrast, an inefficient tactic takes time, energy, and/or effort to terminate a conversation; it is indirect and roundabout. That is, an inefficient tactic is wasteful.
>
> You will notice that some of the tactics people use are nice while others are nasty. Ignore how polite each tactic is. That is, do not base your judgment of efficiency on a tactic's politeness; rather, base your judgment of efficiency on how expedient the tactic is for terminating conversations (regardless of whether or not it is polite).
>
> Also, ignore whether a tactic successfully ended the conversation in which it was used. Focus only on whether a tactic is an expedient way to try to end a conversation. In other words, do not base your judgment of efficiency on a tactic's effectiveness; rather base your judgment of efficiency only on how expedient the tactic is for trying to terminate conversations (regardless of its successfulness).

11. Failure to specify additional context permits individuals randomly to consider their own context, thus increasing variance in assessments of social appropriateness and efficiency. If high agreement occurs, this variance is insufficient to demand inclusion of these other contextual variables to better estimate efficiency and appropriateness (Hunter, 1988). This position does not imply that individuals do not differ in their assessments, only that the major factors creating variation in assessments of tactical appropriateness and tactical efficiency are the goal and the tactics (Burleson & Wilson, 1988).

12. One-way ANOVAs reveal that participants in the present research judge 6 tactics as less appropriate (Nos. 2, 7, 22, 56, 66, 69), 6 tactics as more appropriate (Nos. 27, 31, 48, 52, 53, 75), 12 tactics as less efficient (Nos. 7, 17, 22, 27, 29, 32, 39, 49, 55, 58, 67, 73) and 1 tactic as more efficient (No. 52) than do participants in Kellermann et al.'s (1991) study. Participants nonetheless judge these differently assessed tactics quite similarly: The average discrepancy of these most discrepant tactics is only .96 on a 7-point rating scale, and the different samples account, on average, for only a small amount of variance in assessments, average $\omega^2 = .09$. Binomial probability tests indicate that fewer tactics differ in appropriateness, $b(76, .05) < .001$, and in efficiency, $b(76, .05) < .001$, than is expected by chance alone. Interested readers can obtain a table of tactic-by-tactic results from the first author.

13. Kellermann et al.'s (1991) original tactical efficiency and tactical social appropriateness assessments account for the current sample's tactical assessments, social appropriateness $R^2 = .79, F(2, 73) = 140.26, p < .001$, efficiency $R^2 = .88, F(2, 73) = 274.44$, $p < .001$; the current sample's tactical assessments account for Kellermann et al.'s sample tactical assessments, social appropriateness $R^2 = .79$, $F(2, 73) = 143.79$, $p < .001$, efficiency $R^2 = .88$, $F(2, 73) = 275.40$, $p < .001$.

14. Time pressure increases psychological stress, anxiety, and physiological arousal (Heaton & Kruglanski, 1991; Svenson, Edland, & Slovic, 1990). Stress, anxiety, and arousal are unpleasant experiences for most people most of the time (Endler & Edwards, 1982).

15. We report adjusted standardized residuals (z_{res}) to identify particular combinations of comparative importance and urgency (i.e., cells) that deviate significantly in observed and expected frequencies (i.e., contribute significantly to the significant chi-square). As these are standardized residuals (i.e., z scores), their significance is readily interpretable (using values of ± 1.96 for $p < .05$, ± 2.58 for $p < .01$, etc.).

16. Participants also articulate honesty/deception and fairness reasons when judging tactical acceptability. As others (Berger, 1988; Cody & McLaughlin, 1985; Hample & Dallinger, 1990) note and CCT incorporates, individuals may find tactics objectionable (i.e., reject tactics) for moral or ethical reasons even though the tactics are efficient and appropriate.

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