Conversational Constraint Congruence:

Efficiency, Appropriateness, and Task-Oriented Goals

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Abstract

This research explores how social appropriateness and efficiency constrain tactical choice in the pursuit of conversational goals. Conversational Constraint Theory (CCT) argues that the task orientation of a goal affects the congruence (i.e., compatibility) of social appropriateness and efficiency: the more task-oriented the goal, the less congruent these two constraints. To test this claim, the social appropriateness and efficiency of 56 tactics are assessed for 49 goals. As expected, tactical appropriateness and efficiency are goal-dependent rather than inherent tactical features. The congruence between social appropriateness and efficiency ranges from compatible to independent to incompatible as a function of the task orientation of conversational goals. Contrary to politeness theory which suggests negative affect potential (potential threats to a cointeractant's positive face) and infringement (restriction of a cointeractant's autonomy) as two causes of a goal's task orientation, negative affect potential does not affect and infringement is only a weak predictor of the task orientation of a goal. However, negative affect potential, along with a goal's task orientation, influences the congruence of social appropriateness and efficiency. Conversational goals lacking task orientation and negative affect potential generate constraint congruence. When individuals pursue task-oriented goals whose achievement invites negative affect, social appropriateness and efficiency are incongruent.

Conversation is (at least largely) a planned, strategic, goal-directed activity, occurring primarily automatically (Berger, 1997; Dillard, 1990a, 1997; Greene, 1997; Kellermann, 1992; Waldron, 1997). As many conversational goals exist, so too exist many tactics social actors can choose from. Social actors make acceptable tactical choices in the achievement of such varied conversational goals as remediating embarrassment, comforting, offering accounts, giving criticism, complaining, seeking affinity, getting to know others, avoiding becoming known to others, testing the state of a relationship, engaging in conflict, making requests, seeking information, asking for favors, giving advice, gaining compliance, and resisting compliance gaining attempts (see, for review, Andersen & Guerrero, 1998; Cody & McLaughlin, 1990; Canary & Stafford, 1994; Cupach & Metts, 1990; Cupach & Spitzberg, 1994, 1998; Daly & Weimann, 1994; Dillard, 1990c; Goldsmith, 1999; Greene, 1997; Hocker & Wilmot, 1991; Kim, 1995; Kowalski, 1997; McCann & Higgins, 1988; McLaughlin, Cody, & Read, 1992; Schönbach, 1990; Seibold, Cantrill, & Meyers, 1994).

Research findings on *behavioral acceptability*, the focus of this research, highlight the importance of the constraints of <u>social appropriateness</u> (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Canary & Spitzberg, 1987, 1989; Price & Bouffard, 1974; Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984; Reardon, 1981), <u>*efficiency*</u> (Argyle, Furnham, & Graham, 1981; Carbonell, 1983; Grice, 1975; Isenberg, 1981; Kasher, 1982; Schlenker, 1980; Wilensky, 1983), <u>*or both*</u> (Berger, 1995, 1997; Kellermann, 1988; Kellermann & Park, 2000b; Kellermann, Reynolds, & Chen, 1991; Kellermann & Shea, 1996; Kemper & Thissen, 1981; Kim, 1994; Kim & Wilson, 1994; Seibold, Cantrill, & Meyers, 1994; Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988; Wilson 1997) in the achievement of a wide variety of conversational goals. Conversational models often represent participants as social actors satisfying overarching constraints as they pursue goals in encounters with others. Social actors have *outcome* goals that drive conversation and *process* concerns such as efficiency that shape it (Dillard, 1990a, 1997). Computers converse like people by generating natural language under pragmatic (interactional) constraints and relying on meta-planning principles such as efficiency

(Hovy, 1988, 1990). Competent communicators optimize appropriateness and effectiveness (Spitzberg, 1994; Spitzberg, & Cupach, 1984) and, in so doing, deviate from the "rational efficiency" of Grice's maxims out of concern for politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987). Requestors "pay heed" to such conversational constraints as clarity (efficiency), perceived imposition (infringement), consideration for the other's feelings (social appropriateness), risking disapproval of self, and effectiveness (Kim, 1993, 1994, 1995; Kim, Hunter, Miyahara, Horvath, Bresnahan, & Yoon, 1996; Kim, Shin, & Cai, 1998; Kim & Wilson, 1994). Conversational models, implicitly and explicitly, represent social actors as satisfying constraints as they converse with others.

This research examines the impact of goal characteristics on the relationship between efficiency and appropriateness as they constrain tactical choice. In accordance with the predictions of Conversational Constrain Theory, the following sections explain task orientation as a goal characteristic and the two conversational constraints.

Conversational Constraint Theory

Conversational Constraint Theory (CCT) explains the relationship between goals and constraints, while differentiating goals from constraints. Goals are states of affairs individuals seek to achieve, while constraints are ongoing expectations influencing how individuals achieve conversational goals. Constraints are guidelines rather than destinations, on-going concerns rather than passing objectives, and cross-goal considerations rather interaction-specific end states. Conversational Constraint Theory posits that social appropriateness and efficiency are primary and distinct constraints influencing tactical choice in accomplishing conversational goals (Kellermann, 1988, 1992, in press; Kellermann & Park, 2000, 2001; Kellermann et al., 1991; Kellermann & Shea, 1996). Social appropriateness behaviors are mannerly, courteous and respectful; socially inappropriate behaviors are uncivil, ill-mannered and rude. Efficiency is a concern for behavioral expediency. When achieving a goal, efficient behaviors are direct,

immediate and to the point, wasting neither time, energy, effort or steps; inefficient behaviors are roundabout, indirect and wasteful, consuming time, energy and effort.

Acceptability

Conversational Constraint theory focuses on behavioral acceptability of conversational tactics and represents social actors as satisfying overarching constraints. Unacceptable behavior occurs when individuals do not satisfy constraints. Conversational Constraint Theory separates social appropriateness (politeness and considerateness) from acceptability (following social expectations). The acceptability of a tactic depends on how suitable it is for a social actor to use in a given situation. A tactic is acceptable if the social actor perceives the tactic to be a socially legitimate way to achieve the goal(s) and people approves of using it in the situation. On the other hand, a tactic is unacceptable if the social actor perceives the tactic to be violating social norms in that situation and people disapprove of it in the situation. Impolite and/or inefficient tactics can be acceptable, while polite and/or efficient tactics can be unacceptable. Preferred levels of politeness and efficiency determine acceptability, not uniform mandates to be polite or be efficient. When the preferred level of social appropriateness is high, less polite behaviors are unacceptable. When the preferred level of efficiency is low, inefficient behaviors are acceptable. According to Conversational Constraint Theory, behaviors are acceptable to social actors for pursuing conversational goals if they satisfy preferred levels of efficiency and social appropriateness for particular conversational encounters.

Social Appropriateness and Efficiency of Tactics

The research literature typically depicts appropriateness and efficiency as *tactical* features that are relatively unvarying across the range of goals social actors seek to achieve. For example, Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory offers a politeness taxonomy built on the idea that bald on-record tactics are less polite than positive politeness tactics which are less polite than negative politeness tactics which are, in turn, less polite than off-record tactics regardless of whether persons are trying to comfort, acquire information, gain compliance or

simply seek affinity from others. The universality of face concerns generates the same rank-ordering of remark politeness across cultures and situations (Carrell & Konnecker, 1981; Hill, Ide, Ikuta, Kawasaki, & Ognino, 1986; Holtgraves & Yang, 1990; Walters, 1980). Similarly, the compliance gaining literature often sees tactics such as threats and promises as having fairly consistent and uniform levels of efficiency and appropriateness (or the lack thereof) independent of the social influence goal being pursued (cf., Bisanz & Rule, 1989; Burleson, Wilson, Waltman, Goering, Ely, & Whaley, 1988; Kellermann & Shea, 1996). Efficiency and appropriateness are treated as general features of tactics rather than as assessments hinging on the nature of the goal for which the tactics are deployed.

Fundamental to Conversational Constraint Theory is the notion that tactical appropriateness and efficiency depend on the activated goal. For example, turning one's back and walking away is a very efficient means of ending a conversational encounter (Kellermann et al., 1991), though probably a very inefficient means of seeking information or gaining compliance simply because the person would not be present to obtain that for which he or she initiates the interaction. In like manner, making a direct request may be a socially appropriate means of gaining compliance (Tracy, Craig, Smith, & Spisak, 1984; Kellermann & Shea, 1996), though is less appropriate for testing the state of one's relationship (Douglas, 1987; Baxter & Wilmot, 1984). Rather than a tactic necessarily being more appropriate or efficient than another tactic regardless of the activated goal, Conversational Constraint Theory suggests that tactical efficiency and appropriateness are goal-dependent.

Of course, multifunctional tactics exist; that is, certain tactics might be highly efficient or highly appropriate for a number of goals. For example, smiling is a highly appropriate tactic for seeking affinity, relaxing a target other so that information may be acquired and social influence (Bell & Daly, 1984; Kellermann & Berger, 1984; Mehrabian & Williams, 1969; Rosenfeld, 1966). Thanking others is efficient and approving of others is appropriate for obtaining information, getting advice, initiating relationships and obtaining favors (Kellermann, in press; Kellermann &

Berger, 1984). Rather than reflecting that a particular tactic is necessarily more or less appropriate or efficient than some other tactic, tactical arrays rank-ordered by appropriatateness or efficiency simply reflect the multifunctional status of a tactic across a specified set of goals. A tactic that is generally appropriate is simply one that is considered appropriate for the vast majority of goals in the set. Similarly, a tactic that is generally efficient is simply one that is considered efficient for the vast majority of goals in the set.

Tactics that are generally appropriate or efficient across a set of goals may easily be inappropriate or inefficient for the pursuit of particular goals, just as tactics that are generally inappropriate or inefficient for a set of goals may easily be appropriate or efficient for particular goals. For example, approving of others (a multifunctionallly appropriate tactic) is inappropriate for stopping an annoying habit, and thanking (a multifunctonally efficient tactic) is inefficient for ending a relationship (Kellermann, in press). What people perceive to be the "conventional" means of making a request varies as the nature of the situation changes. An appropriate and efficient means for making a request in one situation (e.g., asking permission when buying stamps at the post office) is not the preferred means for making that request in other situations (getting a drop card stamped in a departmental office) where the goal is much different, despite certain tactics being quite frequently used across situations in the making of requests while others are almost always avoided (Gibbs, 1985). While some tactics may have a wider domain of application than others, highly constrained behaviors might nonetheless be preferred in specific situations just as multifunctional behaviors might be dispreferred in particular situations.

Price and Bouffard (1974) investigated how the social appropriateness of behaviors are situationally constrained by selecting 15 different situations (e.g., job interview, church, date, etc.) and 15 behaviors (e.g., fight, shout, argue, laugh, talk, etc.) and examining the appropriateness of each of the behaviors in each of the situations. Some behaviors are multifunctional in that they are generally appropriate to do in the vast majority of the 15 situations: talking, laughing, and kissing are more cross-situationally appropriate than are

fighting, belching, shouting and arguing. However, appropriateness is not strictly a feature of the behavior absent consideration of the situation in which it is used. The situations affect the general appropriateness of the 15 behaviors. Relatively few behaviors are appropriate to perform during church while far more are appropriate to do on a date. Further, behaviors that are appropriate for one situation (e.g., laughing on a date) are very inappropriate for other situations (e.g., laughing in church). In other words, certain behaviors are more multifunctional than others, certain situations/goals limit the range of behavioral choices more than others, and behaviors that may be appropriate for one situation/goal may be inappropriate for other situations/goals.

Affirming the importance of efficiency and social appropriateness as constraints on conversational behavior is possible without presuming tactics are inherently appropriate or inappropriate, or efficient or inefficient, independent of the goal for which the tactics are being used. One purpose of this research is to explore the *independence/dependence* of the appropriateness and efficiency of tactics for achieving different conversational goals by testing the perspectives of goal-independence (e.g., politeness theory, compliance gaining hypotheses, etc.) against Conversational Constraint Theory's perspective of goal-dependence of tactical assessments.

Relationship between Efficiency and Appropriateness

The second purpose of this research is to explore the *relationship* between efficiency and appropriateness as conversational constraints. Social appropriateness and efficiency are typically envisioned as competing constraints on behavior (Argyle et al., 1981; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Kellermann & Shea, 1996; Turnbull, 1992), posing a problem for social actors in the pursuit of their goals. For example, incongruence between efficiency and appropriateness underlies Brown and Levinson 's (1978, 1987) theory of politeness which assumes: (a) efficiency is a central organizing principle underlying all talk exchanges (based on Grice's maxims), (b) communicators should be efficient unless they have good reason not to be,

and (c) politeness provides one such "good reason" to deviate from the expectation of efficiency. In Brown and Levinson's words, efficient talk is impolite and "brusque" (p. 95) while polite talk is inefficient and "effortful" (p. 143), requiring "time, foresight, and effort" (p. 74). Politeness and efficiency are incompatible constraints: the more polite, the less efficient and the more efficient, the less polite (Turnbull, 1992).

Politeness theory's presumed incompatibility between the constraints of appropriateness and efficiency is not without empirical support. For example, social appropriateness and efficiency are negatively related when seeking information about others. Efficient ways of information seeking (e.g., interrogation) are relatively inappropriate while appropriate ways (e.g., relaxing partners so they might talk about themselves) are inefficient (Berger & Kellermann, 1983). For compliance gaining, efficient tactics (e.g., demands, threats) are seen as impolite, while polite tactics (e.g., hints) are seen as inefficient (Cole, 1993; Kellermann & Shea, 1996; Kemper & Thissen, 1981; Miller, Boster, Roloff, & Seibold, 1987; Roloff, 1976). Trying to remain unknown in the face of an inquisitive other also pits efficiency against appropriateness: the more efficiently people are evasive, the less socially appropriate is their behavior (Berger & Kellermann, 1989). Social appropriateness and efficiency can be incompatible constraints on conversational behavior.

Incompatibility, however, fails to characterize the relationship between efficiency and social appropriateness for other conversational goals. For the goal of retreating from a conversation, near-independence characterizes the relationship between efficiency and social appropriateness. People can appropriately terminate conversations in efficient or inefficient ways just as they can inappropriately do so in the same variety of ways (Kellermann et al., 1991; Kellermann & Park, 2001). For various affinity goals, social appropriateness and efficiency are compatible constraints. Efficient ways of finding out if other people like us (e.g., sustaining, approaching) tend to be socially appropriate (Douglas, 1987), just as efficient ways of ingratiating ourselves (e.g., opinion agreement, rendering of compliments) are socially

appropriate (Jones, 1964; Jones & Wortman, 1973). Assuming incompatibility between social appropriateness and efficiency is inconsistent with what we know about tactics for achieving certain conversational goals.

Rather than assuming incompatibility between social appropriateness and efficiency, Conversational Constraint Theory envisions their congruence with each other as ranging from compatible to independent to incompatible, as is shown in Figure 1. When social appropriateness and efficiency are competely compatible, that is, when efficient behavior is polite behavior, the constraints' congruence is 1.0 (i.e., the constraints are perfectly correlated). As is diagrammed in Figure 1(a), as efficiency initially diverges from social appropriateness, the perfect association of the constraints is reduced; what is efficient is still positively related to what is appropriate, though less so. As efficiency further diverges from appropriateness, the constraints become independent of each other, as is diagrammed in Figure 1(b). Loss of compatibility results first in constraint independence, that is, constraint congruence becomes 0 (much as a correlation coefficient moves from 1.0 to 0.0). As is diagrammed in Figure 1(c), as efficiency continues to diverge even further from appropriateness, the two constraints become incompatible with each other: efficient behavior is now inappropriate and appropriate behavior inefficient. Incompatibility yields incongruence, initially minor though ultimately completely (equivalent to a correlation moving from 0.0 to -1.0). Conversational Constraint Theory, via this representation, allows for the congruence of efficiency and appropriateness to vary from compatible to independent to incompatible in accordance with the research literature. A second purpose of this research is to test this principle of Conversational Constraint Theory as to whether a range of congruence occurs between social appropriateness and efficiency for a diverse set of conversational goals.

Task Orientation of Conversational Goals

In Conversational Constraint Theory, congruence between social appropriateness and efficiency depends on the goal being pursued, and so is responsive to intrinsic differences

Figure 1. Congruence of Efficiency and Appropriateness

(a)

(b)

(c)
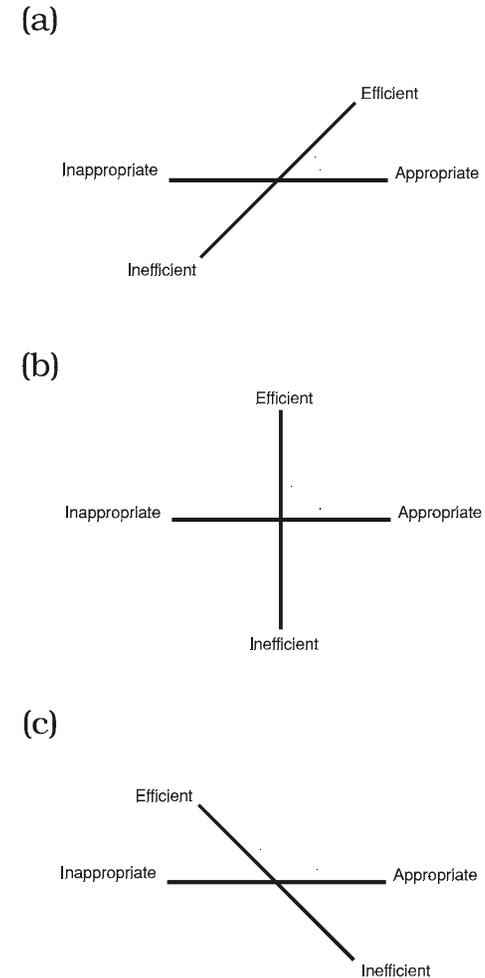
between goals people seek to achieve. Perhaps one of the most consistent and significant

differences isolated in analyses of goals and situations is the extent to which task goals and

task situations differ from social goals and social situations (e.g, Argyle, 1980; Argyle et al.,

1981; Foa, 1961; Wish & Kaplan, 1977). This distinction is a key feature in theory and research

on leadership (e.g., Blake & Mouton, 1968; Fiedler, 1964, 1978; Hersey & Blanchard, 1969;

House & Dressler, 1974), group interaction (see, e.g., Bales, 1950; Tuckman, 1965; Poole,

1983), communication goals (Clark, 1979; Clark & Delia, 1979; McCann & Higgins, 1988) and

work relationships (Farace, Monge, & Russell, 1977; Jablin & Krone, 1994; Katz & Kahn, 1978;

Steinfeld, 1986). Task goals and task situations differ from social goals and social situations.

Using the distinction "social or task" is probably a misnomer because interactive task

goals have both social and task components (Argyle et al., 1981). Typically task goals and

situations are treated as opposites of social goals and situations: a small group focuses on

interpersonal relationships or their task; a conversation occurs for instrumental or identity

reasons; a leader uses a task or a socio-emotional style. Interactions with computer-mediated

communication are categorized as either social or task (Sproull & Kiesler, 1986). People use

mass media for instrumental or entertainment reasons (Rubin, 1984, 1994). However, people

may use mass media for entertainment reasons (e.g., watching "Baywatch") while learning

important lessons (e..g, how to do mouth-to-mouth resuscitation). While computer-mediated

communication (CMC) is characterized to be better equipped for supporting intellective task

than social relationships (Tan, Wei, & Krishnamurthy, 1991), people using CMC find a way to

create friendly environment (Boshier, 1990) while working on a task. Task goals include task as

well as social aspects.

All conversational goals are social by their very nature (Wardhaugh, 1985). Thus,

conversational goals do not differ in the fact they are social. Conversational goals differ in the

degree to which these inherently social goals also carry a task component. Having fun with

friends is a social goal, but it can vary in terms of how much of a task it can be when the amount

of planning (e.g., preparing foods, games and places, etc.) matters. Compliance gaining or

interactive decision-making goals are not asocial; they are additionally task-oriented.

Relaxation, procrastination and escape goals are not social only, they are additionally non-task-

oriented (Steinfeld, 1986). The opposite a task-oriented social goal is a non-task-oriented social

goal.

Conversational Constraint Theory posits that *task-orientation* differentiates

conversational goals from each other. A goal's task and social orientation are distinct from each

other (Steinfeld, 1984, 1986). Task-orientation refers to the degree to which a goal overlays a

task component onto a social encounter. The more task-oriented a goal is, the more its

achievement is associated with various characteristics of tasks such as it being work, a job

and/or an undertaking; involving skill, structure and order; and benefiting from practice,

experience and/or training. For example, compliance gaining goals are differentiated based on

the degree to which the goals require face work (Kellermann, in press). As the demand for

more work and effort in the accomplishment of a goal increases, the goal becomes more task-

oriented.

Determinants of Task Orientation

Identifying task-orientation as the critical determinant of constraint congruence begs the

question of what determines task orientation. As is diagrammed in Figure 2, Conversational

Constraint Theory, relying on Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, suggests two

characteristics that increase the task orientation of conversational goals: autonomy

infringement and negative affect potential. Autonomy infringement is the degree to which

achievement of a goal imposes on conversational partners and/or limits their freedom of action.

Brown and Levinson refer to such restrictions of autonomy as threats to negative face and

consider incongruence between efficiency and appropriateness to arise to the degree negative

face is threatened. Typically, conversational goals such as enjoyment place few limitations on

others' freedom of action as no specific behaviors are required of conversational partners. Non-

Figure 2. **Determinants of Congruence of Efficiency and Appropriateness (Predicted)**
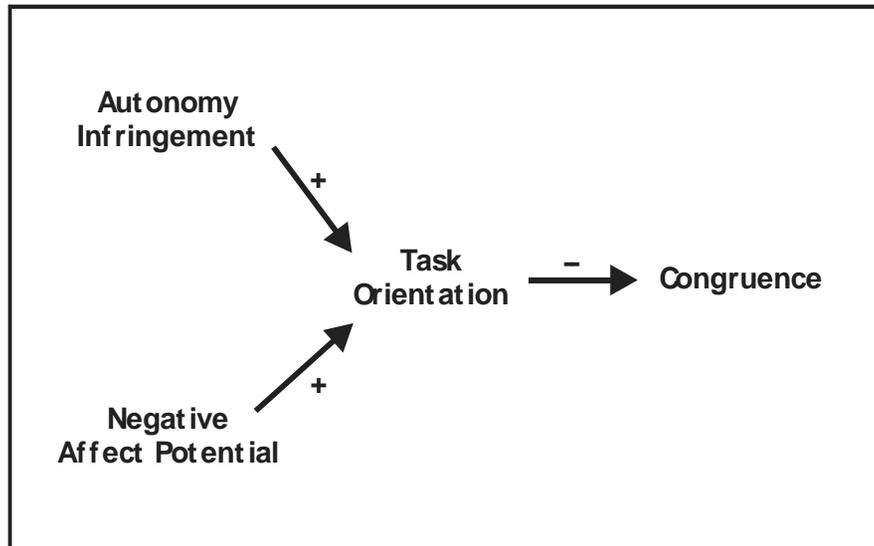
task-oriented situations are less formal than task-oriented ones (Wish, 1975). With less amount of formality required, social actors can spend less amount of efforts on preserving others' negative face. By contrast, achievement of information seeking and compliance gaining goals place automatic restrictions on others' independence (if indeed people are successful in soliciting the information or achieving the compliance). Among compliance gaining goals, giving advice infringes less on conversational partners than asking a favor or enforcing an unfulfilled obligation (Wilson, Aleman, & Leatham, 1998). Respecting others' autonomy and behaving in such a way to protect others' negative face require social skills and efforts from conversational partners. Thus, Conversational Constraint Theory argues that infringing on another's autonomy makes goal achievement increasingly like a task: the greater the infringement, the greater a goal's task orientation.

A second characteristic creating a task overlay on a social occasion is the extent to which achievement of a goal permits co-actors to generate inferences that they are disliked, devalued or rejected by the person pursuing the goal, that is, a goal's negative affect potential. Brown and Levinson (1987) refer to such outcomes as threats to others' positive face and argue that such threats also create incongruence between what is efficient and what is polite. Again consider the interpersonal motives of pleasure, relaxation and affection. The pursuit of these motives implies liking, valuation and acceptance of others. By contrast, pursuit of such motives as escape and exclusion either fail to generate such implications or generate opposite ones. The desire to terminate a conversation often leads conversational partners to believe they are being rejected (Albert & Kessler, 1978; Knapp, Hart, Friedrich, & Shulman, 1973) and might account for the degree of congruence (near independence) reported between efficiency and social appropriateness (Kellermann et al., 1991). Conversational Constraint Theory argues that the potential for inferences of negative affect makes goal achievement increasingly task-like: the greater the negative affect potential, the greater a goal's task orientation. Task orientation therefore results from goal achievement that limits coactors' freedom of action and/or permits

inferences of negative affect and, in turn, determines the congruence between the conversational constraints of efficiency and social appropriateness.

Task Orientation and Congruence of Two Constraints

Conversational Constraint Theory points to the task orientation of a goal as a determinant of the congruence between social appropriateness and efficiency for pursuit of that goal. Since the greater amount of task orientation indicates the more efforts and the greater care (e.g., higher concern for the inferences of negative effect) on conversation partners' choice of tactics, task orientation may be associated with the amount of pressure on the way conversational partners consider the relationship between social appropriateness and efficiency. Reflective of decreased congruence between social appropriateness and efficiency, introduction of a task orientation places greater restriction on behavior (Nascimento-Schulze, 1981) and alters the way people think about particular interactions (Argyle et al., 1981). In organizational communication context, task-orientation is associated with the amount of effort made to clarify goals and systematize work procedures to facilitate work performance (Johnston, 1974). Individuals make strategic efforts to ensure the success of their task. Task-orientation is related to the types of social support (e.g., emotional and instrumental) an individual seeks (Harlow & Cantor, 1995). Taken together, the increased task-orientation indicates greater pressure for task accomplishment, which results in greater constraints on an individual's tactical choice. In other words, for highly task-oriented goals, great tension exist between the two conversational constraints, indicating that socially appropriate tactics are not efficient. On the other hand, for non-task-oriented goals, the two constraints do not have any tension to the extent that efficient tactics are also considered to be socially appropriate.

As more and more of a task orientation is overlaid on a social occasion, the less congruent efficiency and appropriateness are with each other. Consider the interpersonal motives Rubin, Perse and Barbato (1988) identify of pleasure, relaxation, escape, affection, inclusion and control (and their associated goals). The different motives bespeak different

degrees of task-orientation, which induces variances in the congruence of social appropriateness and efficiency. The pleasure motive generates a social and non-task-oriented goal -- enjoying oneself (Argyle et al., 1981). The motive of affection overlays a minor task component onto the social situation by introducing goals of helping, caring, thanking and/or encouraging others (Rubin et al., 1988). These relatively minor task overlays should create some incongruence between social appropriateness and efficiency, though compatibility (at a reduced level) should still be in evidence; that is, social appropriateness and efficiency should be positively though not perfectly associated. The inclusion motive represents a need for companionship (Rubin et al., 1988) and overlays a more clearly defined task on the social situation, though one in which pleasure is still a main component. As a result, compatibility between efficiency and appropriateness is still expected, but to a lesser degree than that found for the motive of affection. Under the presumption that inclusion motives are closely related to the use of affinity seeking and testing strategies, Douglas's (1987) report of a moderate positive association between efficiency and appropriateness supports this reasoning. By contrast, the control motive is likely to spark conflict between the two constraints. Studies of information seeking (Berger & Kellermann, 1983), requesting (Kemper & Thissen, 1981) and compliance gaining (Cole, 1993) suggest that efficient and direct means are typically less appropriate due to the control exerted over others by such tactics. The more task-oriented a goal is, the greater incongruence between social appropriateness and efficiency. The third purpose of this research is to test whether increases in a goal's task-orientation lead to decreases in constraint congruence. The third purpose of this research is to test whether increases in a goal's task-orientation lead to decreases in constraint congruence.

Based on Conversational Constraint Theory, this research tests four claims concerning the role of efficiency and social appropriateness as constraints in conversational interactions: (1) tactical efficiency and appropriateness are goal-dependent, (2) the congruence between efficiency and appropriatness ranges from compatible to independent to incompatible for a

diverse set of conversational goals, (3) a goal's task orientation determines the congruence of efficiency and appropriateness, and (4) as a goal's autonomy infringement and negative affect potential increase, the goal's task orientation increases.

METHODS

To test these claims of Conversational Constraint Theory, participants receive one of 49 conversational goals and evaluate the goal's task orientation, infringement of autonomy and negative affect potential. Participants also assess the efficiency and social appropriateness of 56 communicative tactics in the context of pursuing their goal. These evaluations permit determination of the goal-dependence of tactical assessments, the range of constraint congruence, the differentiation of goals by their task-orientation, and the generative role of autonomy infringement and negative affect potential on task orientation.

Participants

Participants are undergraduate students from various communication courses at two Midwestern universities. Approximately 19-20 persons receive each one of the 49 conversational goals (N = 955). Extra credit is provided to approximately half the participants.

Goal Selection

Conversational Constraint Theory is goal-dependent and so requires use of a diverse set of conversational goals to test its claims. Unfortunately, relatively few taxonomies of conversational goals exist, those that do tend not to be particularly comprehensive, and a number of specific goals that are or have been the object of extensive study are often missing from the taxonomies. Consequently, a "goal list" is developed by merging goals across available taxonomies and adding goals studied in their own right and/or suggested in lists or in examples in the conversation or interaction literature.[1] While this merger makes no claim to being an exhaustive listing of conversational goals, it offers a reasonably broad framework for selecting a diverse set of goals for the present investigation.[2]

The goal merger relies on Bjerg's (1968) taxonomy of goals, as this taxonomy includes

and differentiate goals that vary in level of abstraction,[3] provides clear distinctions of types of goals,[4] and is the least biased in its orientation toward the types of goals people seek to achieve interactively.[5] During the process of merging these goals into one taxonomic set, we made decisions concerning the definition of a goal, levels of abstraction of goal categories, and the significance of various clusters of goal types to this investigation. We define goals, as do many others, as states of affairs individuals are trying to bring about (Argyle et al., 1981; Berger, 1997; Dillard, 1989, 1990a, 1997; Emmons, 1986; Gibbs, 1998; Read & Miller, 1989; Street & Cappella, 1985; Weir, 1984; Wilson & Putnam, 1990). Our initial merger includes goals from all levels of abstraction,[6] though the present investigation focuses on only those 49 goals at Bjerg's "social" level of abstraction (sessional and adaptive goals) as those goals are *conversational* goals and so of direct interest. Conversational goals are desired ends individuals are trying to obtain and pursue in their interactions with others (McCann & Higgins, 1988; Wilson & Putnam, 1990; Kellermann & Park, 2000a), and include both *discourse* goals (e.g., starting and ending conversations; introducing, developing and changing topics; grounding and repairing understanding) and *outcome* goals (e.g., comforting another, obtaining information, determining if other people like you, getting a date, terminating relationships). Research aliases for conversational discourse goals are contributory, discourse, local, mid-level and low-level goals (Benoit, 1990; Wilson & Putnam, 1990; Gibbs, 1998). Research aliases for conversational outcome goals are primary, outcome, consummate, interaction, regional, global, instrumental, relational, identity, and high-level goals (Dillard, l989, 1990a, 1990b, 1997; Benoit, 1990; Clark, 1979; Clark & Delia, 1979; Gibbs, 1998; Wilson & Putnam, 1990). Conversational goals, whether discourse or outcome, are desired end-states of affairs sought through interaction.[7] Table 1 lists the 49 conversational goals this investigation uses along with their definition.

Goal Assessment

As a set, we want the goals to be reflective of desired ends participants pursue in conversation, and we do find that the goals are familiar, beneficial, common and of moderate

TABLE 1.   CONVERSATIONAL GOALS AND THEIR DEFINITIONS

Goal Category	Subtype	Goal Provided Participants	Definition Provided Participants
RELATIONAL	Become acquainted*	Getting to know each other	to become acquainted
		Assessing what your partner is like	to figure out what type of person your partner is
		Have your partner become aware of you	to have your partner recognize and notice you
	Relationship*	Initiating a relationship	to begin an association with him/her
		Moving your relationship forward	to escalate your relationship with your partner, that is, to become closer
		Breaking off your relationship	to terminate (i.e., end) the relationship you have with your partner
	Test affinity*	Determining if your partner feels positively toward you	to figure out if your partner likes you
		Determining the state of your relationship with your partner	to find out where you stand with each other
	Pleasing*	Getting your partner to like you	to establish yourself in your partner's favorable regard
		Wanting to be sociable	to desire simply to be pleasant and congenial
	Impression*	Representing yourself as being intelligent	to have your partner believe you are knowledgeable and bright
		Representing yourself as being nice	to have your partner believe you are kind and pleasant
ACTIVITY	Convey information*	Obtaining information	to gain or acquire facts, knowledge, or other information
		Expressing an opinion you have	to indicate what you think or believe
		Sharing ideas	to exchange thoughts with each other
	Social reality*	Validating ideas you have formed	to check out and test ideas you aren't sure of
	Aid-advice*	Obtaining a favor	getting your partner to do a favor for you
		Providing assistance to your partner	to aid and be useful to your partner
		Soliciting recommendations about things you could do	to have your partner provide advice to you
		Providing guidance to your partner	to supply your partner with direction
	Compliance*	Getting a date	to get your partner to go out with you
		Getting your partner to stop an annoying habit	to alter this aspect of your partner's behavior
	Agreement*	Getting your partner to change his/her opinion	to convince your partner to change his/her mind
		Obtaining permission	to get your partner to allow you to do something
		Resolving conflict	to deal with differences you and your partner have with each other
	Response*	Resisting your partner's wishes	to refuse what your partner wants to do
		Accommodating and going along with your partner's wishes	to do what your partner wants you to do, even though you'd rather not
		Sidestepping and evading what your partner wants to know	to dodge and avoid his/her inquiries
	Doing job*	Getting a job done	to complete an assigned activity
		Making a decision	to jointly make up your minds by figuring out what you want to do
ACCOUNTING	Responsibility	Accounting for your actions	to let your partner know why you acted the way you did
		Holding your partner responsible for what happened	to attribute fault to your partner for what occurred
	Reproach	Counteracting embarrassment	to handle or repair an embarrassing situation
		Having your partner fulfill an obligation	to have your partner satisfy his/her responsibility
	Hurt-harm-damage	Disciplining your partner	to punish or penalize your partner
		Wanting your partner to feel bad	to have your partner suffer a bit and feel some pain
	Superiority	Gaining an advantage over your partner	to come out on top of your partner by the end of the conversation
		Humbling your partner	to let your partner know his/her place
INTERACTION	Surplus	Relieving your frustration	to let off steam
		Express emotions	to show what you're feeling
	Pity-consolation	Comforting your partner	to help your partner feel better
		Listening to your partner	to let your partner have someone to talk to
	Accessibility	Avoiding solitude	to need company so as avoid being alone
		Sharing time together	to provide an opportunity for you to be with one another
	Respite	Passing the time	the use up or fill in time you have on your hands
		Putting off what you are supposed to be doing	to procrastinate and distract yourself from things you should do
		Overcoming your boredom	to avoid continued tedium, disinterest, and dullness
	Teasing	Having fun	to have a good time
		Winding down and becoming relaxed	to loosen up, let your hair down, and kick your feet up

Note: Goals without stars by their name are part of Bjerg's (1968) original category scheme. Goals with stars (*) by their name are suggested and/or analyzed in the literature.

importance. First, the 49 conversational goals are not difficult to achieve. Participants report (on a 5-point scale, 1 = low, 5 = high) they generally know how to achieve their goal, $M = 3.89$, $SD = .77$, range = 3.44 - 4.30, regardless of the one they receive, $F(48, 902) = 1.16$, *ns.* Second, the goals differ in how beneficial they are to achieve, how frequently they occur, and their priority relative to other goals typically pursued in conversations (each measured on a 5-point scale, 1 = low, 5 = high). While the goals vary in how beneficial their achievement is to the person pursuing them, $F(48, 905) = 2.28$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .11$, even the least beneficial goal is rated above the midpoint of the scale (min = 3.44, max = 4.71) and the goals as a set are highly beneficial to pursue, $M = 4.19$, $SD = .73$.[8] The most beneficial goals to pursue tend to be those that occur most frequently, $r(953) = .31$, $p < .001$. As a set, the goals are considered common ones in conversation, $M = 3.29$, $SD = 1.02$, min = 2.17, max = 4.14, despite some variation in their frequency of use, $F(48, 906) = 4.01$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .18$,[9] and are of moderate priority relative to other goals typically pursued in conversation, $M = 3.33$, $SD = 1.01$, min = 2.50, max = 3.82, though their priority varies somewhat, $F(48, 903) = 3.12$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .14$.[10] As a set, the goals seem to be reflective of a range of goals that persons consider important, that they commonly activate, and that they have self-interest in pursuing in conversations with others.

Goal Measurement

On 5-point Likert scales, 24 items measure task orientation of the goal to be achieved, the extent to which goal achievement infringes on a cointeractant's autonomy, and the extent to which goal achievement permits inferences of disapproval, rejection and devaluation (negative affect potential). Table 2 lists the items in each scale. The task orientation scale measures whether goal achievement includes a task component with 8 items tapping various characteristics of tasks (i.e., goal achievement being like work or a job). The restriction of autonomy scale measures whether goal achievement limits the range of cointeractants' behavior (i.e., whether goal achievement interferes with or controls the other person). The

TABLE 2.   MEASUREMENT OF TASK ORIENTATION, INFRINGMENT, AND DEVALUATION

Task Orientation (alpha=.72, M=24, SD=4.29, theoretic min=7, theoretic max=35)

1.   For the kind of goal I have, people possess a wide variety of skill levels.*
2.   Based on my experiences, I tend to think of my goal as a task to be achieved.
3.   My goal is unrelated to the idea of work. (R)
4.   My goal doesn't really have much of a task component to it. (R)
5.   When it comes to accomplishing my goal, it might be useful to have more formal practice,
            experience, and/or training.
6.   As I think about fulfilling my goal, thoughts about productivity, efficiency, and/or accuracy
            tend to arise.
7.   While fulfilling my goal may take effort, most people probably wouldn't call it work. (R)
8.   To a large degree, doing things in a structured and orderly way clashes with how I think
            about my goal. (R)

Restriction of Autonomy (alpha=.73, M=19, SD=4.44, theoretic min=7, theoretic max=35)

1.   For the most part, I can accomplish my goal without interfering in what my partner does or
            wants to do. (R)
2.   My partner can pretty much do what he/she wants and I will still be able to achieve my goal. (R)
3.   My partner would feel obliged to go along with or accommodate me if I attain my goal.*
4.   Attaining my goal restricts what my partner can do (i.e., what actions he/she can take).
5.   For me to achieve my goal, I don't really need much control over my partner's actions. (R)
6.   My partner doesn't have to do anything in particular for me to reach my goal. (R)
7.   Reaching my goal tends to deprive my partner of the freedom to do what he/she wants.
8.   Achieving my goal limits the options and/or actions my partner has.

Negative Affect Potential (alpha=.87, M=19.82, SD=5.99, theoretic min=8, theoretic max=40)

1.   I am confident my partner won't feel rebuffed or cold-shouldered by me if I fulfill my goal. (R)
2.   I worry that my partner might think I disapprove of him/her if I try to attain my goal.
3.   Reaching my goal wouldn't lead my partner to think I have a bad opinion of him/her. (R)
4.   Achieving my goal could mean my partner might think I don't care for him/her.
5.   In the process of accomplishing my goal, I don't have to worry about the possibility of my
            partner feeling disliked by me. (R)
6.   Achieving my goal could lead my partner to feel rejected by me.
7.   I'm pretty sure my partner won't feel slighted or ignored if I accomplish my goal. (R)
8.   In attaining my goal, my partner might believe I think negatively of him/her.

Notes: Items with a * after them are removed from the final version of the scale. Items with an R after them
are recoded prior to computing scale scores.

negative affect potential scale measures threats to others' positive face; that is, whether goal achievement results in implications of dislike, rejection or devaluation of cointeractants (e.g., coldshouldering, disapproving, rebuffing, etc.).[11] These 24 items -- along with 4 others tapping each goals' priority, benefit, frequency of use and difficulty in achievement -- are interlaced to compose a 28 item survey. As can be seen in Table 2, two items, one on the task orientation scale and one on the restriction of autonomy scale, are unreliable and not used in the final versions of those scales. Confirmatory factor analyses indicate that all three scales are unidimensional,and, as described in Table 2, are reliable measures of task orientation, negative affect potential and restriction of autonomy.

Tactic Selection

The expectation that efficiency and appropriateness are not features of tactics *per se*, but rather are dependent on goals being pursued, requires a diverse set of conversational tactics for adequate and generalizable tests. Due to problems currently inherent in categorizing nonverbal tactics, this investigation focuses on verbal tactics. Speech acts are verbal actions that describe activities interlocutors undertake to achieve goals; they are action-oriented, goal-directed and have a counterpart in the form of a verb (Allen, 1983; Allen & Guy, 1974; Anscombre, Letoublon, & Pierrot, 1987; Ballmer & Brennenstuhl, 1981; Barker & Barker, 1963; Carbonell, 1978; Clarke, 1983; Dore, 1977; McDonald, 1983; Reiss, 1985). Verbal tactics useful for goal achievement in everyday conversation are that subset of speech acts that fall within the category of vernacular performative verbs (Fraser, 1974, 1975).[12]

Many taxonomies of speech acts exist that differ, among other things, in their comprehensiveness and classification principles (Bach & Harnish, 1987; Clarke, 1983).[13] Selected verbal tactics cover the range of categories in 12 well-known taxonomic systems through stratified sampling from Wierzbicka's (1987) speech act dictionary. Wierzbicka's speech act dictionary is a 37-category taxonomic scheme that, when sampled, is capable of generating verbal tactics falling into the various categories of each of the other 12 classification

systems.[14] As the focus is only on verbal tactics (i.e., speech acts that are vernacular

performatives), only those speech acts meeting this requirement are used in sampling.[15] A list

of the fifty-six speech acts used as verbal tactics in this research is provided later as part of

Table 4.

Procedure

Participants each receive a survey booklet. The first page of this booklet informs

participants that the focus of the research is on conversational goals, specifically, how people

think about them and the various ways they have for achieving them. Participants are told to

think of themselves as being in a conversation with another person (called the "partner") and to

see the purpose of their conversation with their partner to achieve a particular goal. At this

point, the survey booklet includes the label and definition of one of the 49 goals used in this

research (see Table 1), and participants are told this goal is their purpose for having the

conversation with their partner. Participants are also told three sections exist in the survey

booklet with separate instructions at the start of each section.

Section 1 contains the 28-item survey measuring task orientation, restriction of

autonomy and negative affect potential (and other goal-relevant items) on 5-point Likert scales.

Section 2 instructs participants to rate the social appropriateness of the 56 verbal tactics for

achieving their conversational goal on 7 point scales, ranging from not at all appropriate to very

appropriate. Socially appropriate tactics are defined as tactics that, if used to accomplish a

goal, are proper, fitting, polite and courteous; while socially inappropriate tactics are uncivil,

unmannerly, rude and impolite. Participants are told to rate the tactics only in terms of their

social appropriateness for achieving their specific goal (presuming the tactic is actually

performed) regardless of participants' personal preferences, frequency of use and/or

effectiveness for goal achievement. Section 3 mirrors Section 2 to obtain efficiency ratings of

the tactics for goal achievement. Participants are told efficient tactics are those that have the

possibility (if they are successful) of achieving their goal virtually immediately without

expenditure of much time or effort; that they are direct and don't waste resources; and that the

more time, energy, effort or steps required in using a tactic, the less efficient that tactic is for

achieving the goal. Participants are told to focus their ratings solely on how efficient each tactic

is for achieving their goal (presuming the tactic is actually performed) regardless of participants'

personal usage or their sense of tactical politeness.[16] Before proceeding to Section 1,

participants receive a reminder to place themselves in an actual conversation for the purpose of

achieving their assigned goal. Participants find the rating task relatively easy, taking an average

of approximately 15 minutes to complete the survey.[17]

Estimates of Goal Characteristics

Goals (and not individual participants) are the proper unit of analysis for tests involving

task orientation, negative affect potential, autonomy restriction and constraint congruence.

Each is a goal-based feature, not a feature of individual participants. Data collected at the level

of individual participants requires transformation to obtain goal-based estimates. One method

of obtaining goal-based estimates, and the one used here, is by averaging individual estimates

for each goal across individuals assessing that goal. One indication of the validity of this

averaging method is if the distributions of individual estimates for the various goal

characteristics are leptokurtic (more converged than normal on the mean of a distribution; a

smaller than expected variation). Leptokurtic distributions indicate participants agree in their

assessments about goal features. In this investigation, the distribution of each goal

characteristic obtained by averaging individual point estimates is leptokurtic. Little variance

exists in participants' point estimates as to the nature of their goal in terms of its

task-orientation, negative affect potential or autonomy restriction. Individuals also agree on the

efficiency and appropriateness of tactics for each goal. Goal congruence, measured by

correlating individual's ratings of tactical efficiency and appropriateness across the 56 tactics,

also yields leptokurtic distributions of individual estimates for each goal. Therefore, we

conclude that averaging individual estimates is an appropriate means of transforming the data

from the individual unit of data collection to a group unit for analysis. Hypothesis tests employ

these goal-level estimates.

RESULTS

Tactical Assessment and Goal Dependence

Conversational Constraint Theory posits that tactical appropriateness and efficiency are

not features of tactics per se, but rather are dependent on the goal for which the tactics are

used. A goal (49 goals, between subjects) x tactic (56 verbal acts, within subjects) interaction is

expected for assessments of both tactical appropriateness and tactical efficiency. Because

certain tactics may be more cross-functionally appropriate and/or efficient than others for this

set of goals, and because certain goals may yield a wider latitude of tactical appropriateness

and efficiency to be used in achieving them, main effects are also anticipated across the 49

goals and across the 56 tactics.[18]

Social appropriateness. Conversational Constraint Theory posits that tactical

appropriateness depends on (1) the goal being achieved, (2) the tactic being used, and (3) the

interactive use of a particular tactic to achieve a particular goal. The data support these

theoretical suppositions. First, some goals limit the appropriateness of the tactical set more

than others, $F(48, 877) = 1.74$, $p < .002$, $\eta^2 = .07$. As is discernable from Table 3 and revealed

by Student Neuman-Keuls tests, the overall appropriateness of the set of 56 tactics is lowest for

the goal of getting a date (goal a) and is highest for the goals of resolving conflict (goal xx) and

providing guidance to a partner (goal ww). Despite this variation, all 49 goals limit tactical

appropriateness. The tactics, as a set, are moderately appropriate for use almost regardless of

the goal being achieved: the mean appropriateness ratings for the set of tactics are at

moderate levels (4 on a 1 - 7 scale) for every one of the 49 goals. While some goals place

greater limits on the social appropriateness of a given set of tactics than others, every goal in

this research places at least moderate limits on tactical appropriateness.

Second, the 56 tactics differ significantly in their mean level of appropriateness across

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TABLE 3.   GOAL LIMITS FOR SOCIAL APPROPRIATENESS AND EFFICIENCY ON SET OF TACTICS

GOAL	Appropriateness	Efficiency	GOAL	Appropriateness	Efficiency
a) Get a date	4.07	3.82	z) Initiate relationship	4.46	4.32
b) Get partner to like you	4.15	4.03	aa) Solicit recommendations	4.47	4.26
c) Stop partner's annoying habit	4.18	4.03	bb) Pass the time	4.47	4.30
d) Obtain a favor	4.19	4.04	cc) Move your relationship forward	4.47	4.24
e) Have fun	4.21	4.07	dd) Provide assistance to your partner	4.49	4.17
f) Represent self as nice	4.21	3.88	ee) Get a job done	4.49	4.19
g) Avoid solitude	4.23	4.09	ff) Gain an advantage over partner	4.49	4.36
h) Have partner become aware of you	4.26	4.16	gg) Humble partner	4.50	4.33
i) Break off relationship	4.27	4.03	hh) Counteract embarrassment	4.51	4.02
j) Evade what partner wants to know	4.32	4.13	ii) Validate your ideas	4.52	4.50
k) Represent self as intelligent	4.34	4.23	jj) Accommodate partner's wishes	4.53	4.33
l) Change partner's mind	4.34	4.27	kk) Express your emotions	4.54	4.29
m) Account for your actions	4.35	4.33	ll) Relieve your frustration	4.54	4.28
n) Become relaxed	4.36	3.86	mm) Make a decision	4.56	4.33
o) Procrastinate	4.37	4.36	nn) Obtain information	4.56	4.34
p) Comfort partner	4.37	4.15	oo) Have partner fulfill an obligation	4.61	4.54
q) Discipline partner	4.38	4.14	pp) Get to know each other	4.62	4.43
r) Want partner to feel bad	4.39	4.05	qq) Obtain permission	4.63	4.40
s) Share time together	4.40	4.23	rr) Express an opinion you have	4.64	4.40
t) Be sociable	4.41	4.18	ss) Hold partner responsible	4.65	4.38
u) Assess what partner is like	4.43	4.22	tt) Determine if partner is positive about you	4.65	4.43
v) Share ideas	4.44	4.37	uu) Overcome boredom	4.66	4.62
w) Resist partner's wishes	4.45	4.26	ww) Provide guidance to partner	4.71	4.60
x) Determine state of relationship	4.45	4.21	xx) Resolve conflict	4.75	4.29
y) Listen to partner	4.46	4.23			
			Mean	*4.44*	*4.24*
			SD	*(.36)*	*(.18)*

Notes: The goal labels are shortened (see Table 1 for full goal labels and definitions). The goals are in order of appropriateness means only.

TABLE 4. TACTICAL LIMITS ON SOCIAL APPROPRIATENESS AND EFFICIENCY ON SET OF GOALS

TACTIC	Appropriateness	Efficiency	TACTIC	Appropriateness	Efficiency
threaten	1.72	2.43	permit	4.78	4.53
insult	1.74	2.08	promise	4.79	4.63
ridicule	1.84	2.11	joke	4.96	4.15
blame	2.05	2.29	report	4.98	4.71
attack	2.17	2.61	assert	5.12	5.08
accuse	2.35	2.72	request	5.18	4.93
boast	2.48	2.49	question	5.26	4.84
forbid	2.58	2.67	remark	5.28	4.82
prohibit	2.72	2.86	justify	5.29	5.04
order	2.75	3.30	point out	5.34	5.11
demand	2.78	3.15	advise	5.46	5.14
complain	3.01	2.79	apologize	5.51	4.93
reprimand	3.03	3.05	summarize	5.53	5.12
criticize	3.12	3.01	comment	5.55	5.08
plead	3.34	3.18	suggest	5.56	5.16
protest	3.50	3.32	confirm	5.57	5.18
insist	3.55	3.86	offer	5.65	5.26
argue	3.64	3.29	forgive	5.71	5.07
warn	4.11	3.90	inform	5.77	5.55
vow	4.26	4.14	assure	5.79	5.41
claim	4.31	4.32	approve	5.87	5.51
disagree	4.41	3.83	give	5.88	5.41
challenge	4.52	4.52	praise	5.88	5.43
excuse	4.62	4.05	ask	5.98	5.44
hint	4.69	3.98	explain	5.98	5.47
confess	4.71	4.35	acknowledge	6.04	5.52
tell	4.72	4.69	compliment	6.19	5.70
disclose	4.75	4.53	thank	6.33	5.76
			Mean	*4.44*	*4.24*
			SD	*(.36)*	*(.18)*

Notes: The tactics are in order of appropriateness means only.

the set of 49 goals, $F(55, 48235) = 1153.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .57$. As is discernible from Table 4, certain tactics are more cross-functionally appropriate to use than others. Repeated contrasts reveal that verbal tactics that are generally inappropriate to use for this set of goals include threaten, insult, ridicule, blame and attack. Tactics more cross-functionally appropriate to use for this set of goals are thank, compliment, acknowledge, explain, ask, praise, give, approve, assure, inform, forgive, offer, confirm, suggest, comment, summarize, apologize, advise, point out, justify, remark, question, request and assert. The tactics being used and the goals being achieved each constrain assessments of social appropriateness.

Tactical appropriateness also depends on the joint influence of a particular tactic being used to achieve a particular goal. The same tactic is not equally appropriate to use for each of the 49 goals, $F(2640, 48235) = 1.44$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Table 5 provides a summary of the goals for which each tactic is most and least appropriately deployed.[19] Perusal of Table 5 offers a number of insights. First, generally inappropriate tactics for a wide variety of goals are often appropriate for one or more particular goals. For example, while threatening another person is generally not an appropriate thing to do (see Table 4), it is moderately appropriate to do if you want your partner to feel bad (see Table 5). Similarly, making a demand is typically not an appropriate tactic (see Table 4), though is moderately appropriate when used to obtain permission and to make your partner feel bad (see Table 5). Thus, even tactics that are inappropriate at most times are appropriate at certain times.

A second insight from perusal of Table 5 is that generally appropriate tactics for a wide variety of goals are considerably less appropriate for one or more particular goals. For example, when you want your partner to feel bad, tactics that are usually highly appropriate to use for a wide range of goals (thank, compliment, explain, praise, give, assure, offer, comment and apologize, see Table 4) are no longer appropriate (see Table 5). Consequently, the mean level of tactical appropriateness (as reported in Table 4) reflects the multifunctional status of a

TABLE 5.   TACTICAL APPROPRIATENESS AND INAPPROPRIATENESS FOR SPECIFIC GOALS

Tactic	Goals for which Most Appropriate	Goals for which Least Appropriate
accuse	make feel bad (3.3), change mind (3.11), hold responsible (3.05)	get date (1.70), have fun (1.70), stop habit (1.83), get liking (1.85), assist (1.89), represent as intelligent (1.90)
acknowledge	assist (6.50), accommodate (6.44), obtain information (6.40), comfort (6.40), test liking (6.63),	end relationship (5.50), evade (5.55), obtain permission (5.60), counter embarrassment (5.60), humble (5.62), stop habit (5.67), change mind (5.68), account for actions (5.70)
advise	comfort (6.35)	get date (4.25), gain awareness (4.50), obtain favor (4.90), have fun (4.90), avoid solitude (4.95), get liking (4.95)
apologize	end relationship (6.44), resolve conflict (6.26), express emotions (6.25), test liking (6.21)	change mind (4.32), have fun (4.50), assist (4.65), get date (4.80), make feel bad (4.90)
approve	accommodate (6.61)	stop habit (4.56)
argue	resolve conflict (4.89), make feel bad (4.60)	relax (2.85), have fun (2.55), stop habit (2.50), get date (2.45), get liking (2.15)
ask	overcome boredom (6.55), guide (6.53), obtain permission (6.50)	end relationship (5.00)
assert	obtain permission (5.90), test liking (5.84)	avoid solitude (4.55)
assure	comfort (6.35)	make feel bad (5.00)
attack	account for actions (3.15), make feel bad (2.95)	stop habit (1.33)
blame	make feel bad (2.95)	represent as nice (1.50)
boast	validate ideas (3.29)	forward relationship (1.82), initiate relationship (1.89), obtain information (1.95), express emotions (2.00)
challenge	get job done (5.28), guide (5.16), express opinion (5.16), humble (5.10), solicit recommendations (5.10)	get liking (3.20)
claim	express opinion (4.95)	stop habit (3.83), get liking (3.90), share ideas (3.95)
comment	express opinion (6.21), guide (6.16), get to know (6.10)	make feel bad (4.90), represent as nice (5.00), assess partner (5.00), share ideas (5.05), account for actions (5.05), end relationship (5.06), get liking (5.15)
complain	obtain permission (3.85), resolve conflict (3.74), overcome boredom (3.65)	represent as nice (2.14), listen (2.20), obtain favor (2.25)
confess	resolve conflict (5.74)	have fun (3.95), get date (4.05)
confirm	validate ideas (6.29), express opinion (6.11), fulfill obligation (6.10)	stop habit (4.83), evade (4.90)
compliment	accommodate (6.78), fulfill obligation (6.60), make decision (6.57), get to know (6.57), comfort (6.55), resolve conflict (6.53), guide (6.53), test relational state (6.50), validate ideas (6.47), overcome boredom (6.45), obtain information (6.45), humble (6.43), pass time (6.42), relax (6.40)	make feel bad (4.85)
criticize	counter embarrassment (3.85), be sociable (3.70), resist wishes (3.67), gain advantage (3.65)	get date (1.90), stop habit (2.06), obtain favor (2.25), get liking (2.30), represent as nice (2.36)
demand	make feel bad (3.55), obtain permission (3.55)	get date (1.35)
disagree	forward relationship (5.41), express opinion (5.21), validate ideas (5.12), resolve conflict (5.11), guide (5.05), overcome boredom (4.95), pass time (4.95), express emotions (4.90), counter embarrassment (4.90), account for actions (4.90)	have fun (3.35), represent as nice (3.36), obtain favor (3.55)
disclose	express opinion (5.53), resolve conflict (5.53)	evade (3.55)
excuse	obtain permission (5.30), express opinion (5.11), initiate relationship (5.11), share ideas (5.11)	represent as intelligent (3.11)
explain	assist (6.65), resolve conflict (6.58)	make feel bad (5.20), get date (5.25)
forbid	overcome boredom (3.30), evade (3.25), make feel bad (3.20)	get liking (1.90), represent as nice (1.93), pass time (1.95)
forgive	resolve conflict (6.58)	account for actions (4.75), get date (4.85), obtain favor (4.85), change mind (4.95)
give	resolve conflict (6.42)	make feel bad (4.85)
hint	fulfill obligation (5.35)	evade (4.05)
inform	assist (6.50), guide (6.37), overcome boredom (6.25), obtain information (6.20), make decision (6.19), express opinion (6.16), get to know (6.14)	evade (4.75), account for actions (5.05)
insist	obtain information (4.30), guide (4.26), get to know (4.24), make feel bad (4.15)	get date (2.80), get liking (2.90), comfort (2.90)
insult	make feel bad (3.00)	represent as intelligent (1.25), get liking (1.30), obtain favor (1.30)
joke	have fun (5.95)	hold responsible (4.00), end relationship (4.06)
justify	assist (5.79), fulfill obligation (5.75)	have fun (4.30)
offer	assist (6.40), initiate relationship (6.16)	make feel bad (4.95)
order	make feel bad (3.75), relieve frustration (3.71), test liking (3.58), guide (3.53), counter embarrassment (3.45), gain advantage (3.45), hold responsible (3.37), make decision (3.24), get job done (3.28)	comfort (1.65)
permit	assist (5.55), overcome boredom (5.40)	get date (3.65), evade (3.90)
plead	obtain permission (4.35)	represent as nice (2.71), pass time (2.74), gain awareness (2.80), get liking (2.80), get date (2.85), assess partner (2.86)
point out	guide (6.00), express opinion (6.00), comfort (6.00), overcome boredom (5.95)	forward relationship (4.59), get date (4.65), avoid solitude (4.65)
praise	represent as nice (6.57), accommodate (6.44)	make feel bad (4.75)
prohibit	hold responsible (3.58), make decision (3.48), evade (3.40)	get liking (1.85)
promise	get to know (5.48), represent as nice (5.36), test liking (5.32), overcome boredom (5.30)	make feel bad (3.85)
protest	relieve frustration (4.41), counter embarrassment (4.30), hold responsible (4.21)	get liking (2.40), get date (2.65), accommodate (2.83), avoid solitude (2.85), comfort (2.85), represent as nice (2.86)
question	assist (5.95), resolve conflict (5.89)	get job done (4.61), avoid solitude (4.60), obtain favor (4.40)
remark	assist (5.95), get to know (5.90), resolve conflict (5.89)	end relationship (4.61), obtain favor (4.70), avoid solitude (4.70), get job done (4.89), assess partner (4.90)
report	resolve conflict (5.68), relieve frustration (5.53)	end relationship (4.11)
reprimand	express emotions (3.80)	get liking (1.90)
request	obtain information (5.80), obtain permission (5.75)	comfort (4.35)
ridicule	have fun (2.75), make feel bad (2.70), evade (2.55), relieve frustration (2.35), be sociable (2.35)	comfort (1.35), get liking (1.35), obtain favor (1.35), overcome boredom (1.40), represent as nice (1.43), get liking (1.45)
suggest	express opinion (6.32), guide (6.16)	evade (4.85), avoid solitude (4.90)
summarize	express opinion (6.16), guide (6.11), gain advantage (6.10), listen (6.10), express emotions (6.05)	have fun (4.70), avoid solitude (4.90)
tell	express opinion (5.42), get to know (5.29), obtain permission (5.15), procrastinate (5.15)	avoid solitude (4.20), account for actions (4.20), make feel bad (4.25)
thank	all goals but one (5.84-6.79)	make feel bad (4.95)
threaten	make feel bad (2.95)	comfort (1.05), get liking (1.15), humble (1.24)
vow	represent as nice (4.71), relieve frustration (4.71), overcome boredom (4.70)	gain awareness (3.40), relax (3.65), validate ideas (3.65), assist (3.70), account for actions (3.75), be sociable (3.75)
warn	fulfill obligation (5.35)	procrastinate (3.15), gain advantage (3.25), get date (3.26)

Notes: The goal labels are shortened (see Table 1 for full goal labels and definitions). The mean is provided for tactical appropriateness for each goal.

tactic across the set of goals rather than being an inherent feature of a tactic regardless of the goal for which it might be used. Tactical appropriateness is goal-dependent.

A third insight from Table 5 focuses on critical events in understanding interpersonal relationships. For example, interesting results for conceptions of relational management involve the verbal tactics of disagreeing and apologizing. In Table 5, disagreeing is quite appropriate for moving a relationship forward while simultaneously being inappropriate for obtaining favors, having fun and representing oneself as being nice. Apologizing is particularly appropriate for breaking off a relationship and resolving conflict though it is significantly less appropriate for getting a date or having fun. Both disagreement and apologizing have important relational implications. These types of findings may identify the means by which persons verbally enact relational transition points (see, Baxter & Bullis, 1986).

In sum, tactics have general appropriateness levels across various goals, though relatively inappropriate tactics for most goals can be appropriate for others just as relatively appropriate tactics for most goals can be inappropriate for others. Tactical appropriateness is goal-dependent.

Efficiency. As with social appropriateness, (a) the goals differ in the limit they place on the efficiency of the set of 56 tactics, $F(48, 872) = 1.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .09$, (b) some tactics are more cross-functionally efficient (or inefficient) than others, $F(55, 47960) = 537.51$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .38$, and (c) tactical efficiency is goal-dependent, $F(2640, 47960) = 1.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .09$.

Table 3 lists the efficiency of the set of tactics taken as a whole for each of the 49 goals. Student Neuman-Keuls tests reveal that goals that place more limits on tactical efficiency include getting a date (goal a), winding down and becoming relaxed (goal n) and representing yourself as being nice (goal f). These goals limit the efficiency of the set of 56 tactics more so than such goals as overcoming your boredom (goal uu), providing guidance to your partner (goal ww), having your partner fulfill an obligation (goal oo) and validating ideas you have

formed (goal ii), which place fewer limits on the efficiency of tactics in the set.

As with social appropriateness, tactics vary in their efficiency when used to achieve different goals. As can be seen from Table 4 and revealed by repeated contrasts, such verbal tactics as insult, ridicule, blame, threaten and boast are among the least efficient tactics for the set of 49 goals. [20] Tactics generally efficient for this set of goals include thank, compliment, inform, acknowledge, approve, explain, ask, praise, give and assure. In general, tactics vary more in their appropriateness (range: 1.72 - 6.33) than they do in their efficiency (range: 2.08 - 5.76). In other words, unlike appropriateness, no tactic is generally, and extremely, inefficient or efficient across the set of the 49 goals.

Similar to the findings for social appropriateness, assessments of tactical efficiency are influenced by which tactic is used for which goal. The same tactic is not equally efficient for each of the 49 goals. Table 6 provides a summary of the goals for which each tactic is most and least efficiently deployed.[21] Perusal of Table 6 offers a number of insights. First, tactics that are generally inefficient for a wide variety of goals are often efficient for one or more particular goals. For example, engaging in an attack is generally not an efficient thing to do (see Table 4), though it is moderately efficient for relieving your frustration and wanting your partner to feel bad (see Table 6). The verbal tactic of prohibit is moderately efficient for validating ideas you have formed and having your partner fulfill an obligation (see Table 6) though generally an inefficient way of achieving the variety of goals in the set (see Table 4). Thus, even tactics inefficient at most times are efficient at some times.

Second, tactics that are generally efficient for a wide variety of goals are often less efficient for one or more particular goals. For example, thanking, complimenting and acknowledging a partner are generally efficient tactics for a variety of goals (see Table 4), though these tactics' efficiency drops markedly when used for goals of breaking off a relationship or wanting a partner to feel bad (see Table 6). Consequently, the mean level of tactical efficiency (as reported in Table 4) reflects the multifunctional status of a tactic across the

TABLE 6.   TACTICAL EFFICIENCY AND INEFFICIENCY FOR SPECIFIC GOALS

Tactic	Goals for which Most Efficient	Goals for which Least Efficient
accuse	hold responsible (3.95), make feel bad (3.90)	get date (1.55), get liking (1.65), test relational state (1.70)
acknowledge	accommodate (6.28), represent as intelligent (6.25)	make feel bad (4.20), end relationship (4.67), relieve frustration (4.69), be sociable (4.80), share time (4.81)
advise	fulfill obligation (6.05), guide(5.84)	get date (4.15), make feel bad (4.20)
apologize	resolve conflict (6.42), express emotions (5.80), validate ideas (5.71), get to know (5.67), initiate relationship (5.58), guide (5.56), counter embarrassment (5.50), avoid solitude (5.45), assess partner (5.38), test liking (5.37)	make feel bad (3.30), change mind (3.89), gain advantage(3.90)
approve	accommodate (6.89), represent as nice (6.43), initiate relationship (6.42),	make feel bad (3.80)
argue	make feel bad (4.65), forward relationship (4.29), overcome boredom (4.20)	represent as nice (1.71), get liking (1.75), stop habit (2.00)
ask	obtain favor (6.20), test liking (6.16), obtain permission (6.00), initiate relationship (6.00), get date (6.00)	end relationship (4.33)
assert	overcome boredom (5.90), procrastinate (5.85)	avoid solitude (4.20), get liking (4.35)
assure	represent as nice (6.14)	make feel bad (4.20), end relationship (4.67), discipline partner (4.89), share time (4.90)
attack	make feel bad (4.20), relieve frustration (3.65)	stop habit (1.44)
blame	make feel bad (3.94), relieve frustration (3.65), hold responsible (3.26)	resolve conflict (1.47)
boast	make feel bad (3.80)	resolve conflict (1.63) forward relationship (1.76), end relationship (1.78), assist (1.80), fulfill obligation (.185)
challenge	hold responsible (5.68), guide (5.58), fulfill obligation (5.35), gain advantage (5.35), make feel bad (5.35), procrastinate (5.30)	represent as nice (3.00), get date (3.45), get liking (3.45)
claim	gain advantage (4.90), fulfill obligation (4.85), obtain permission (4.85), test liking (4.84), accommodate (4.83)	relax (3.35)
complain	make feel bad (3.80), end relationship (3.50), relieve frustration (3.47)	get liking (1.85), get date (1.90)
compliment	get date (6.60), represent as nice (6.57), get liking (6.50)	make feel bad (3.40), end relationship (4.44), hold responsible (4.74), relieve frustration (4.82), change mind (5.05)
confess	resolve conflict (5.53), test relational state (5.20), share ideas (5.11)	assist (3.40), represent as nice (3.50)
comment	assist (5.80)	obtain favor (4.55), end relationship (4.56), relieve frustration (4.59), forward relationship (4.59), procrastinate (4.60), relax (4.60), share time (4.62), represent as nice (4.64),
confirm	accommodate (6.17)	make feel bad (4.15), stop habit (4.17), get date (4.20), evade (4.32), procrastinate (4.50)
criticize	make feel bad (4.35)	get date (1.80), relax (2.05), test relational state (2.05), get liking (2.15)
demand	end relationship (4.22), make feel bad (4.20)	get date (1.80)
disagree	make feel bad (5.00), forward relationship (4.82)	get date (2.50), accommodate (2.61)
disclose	share ideas (5.11), accommodate (5.06), express opinion (5.05)	evade (3.30), relieve frustration (3.59)
excuse	resolve conflict (4.95)	make feel bad (3.30), end relationship (3.39), share time (3.43), listen (3.45), get date (3.50), obtain information (3.50)
explain	test relational state (6.25), fulfill obligation (6.15), make decision (6.10), accommodate (6.00), assist (6.00)	make feel bad (4.05)
forbid	make decision (3.38), humble (3.33), make feel bad (3.30), validate ideas (3.29)	represent as nice (1.50), test relational state (1.60)
forgive	resolve conflict (6.37), get liking (6.20), get to know (6.10), test relational state (6.10), validate ideas (6.06)	make feel bad (3.85), end relationship (4.06), procrastinate (4.10), change mind (4.21), gain advantage (4.25), relieve frustration (4.29), relax (4.30), obtain information (4.35), obtain favor (4.40), hold responsible (4.47)
give	resolve conflict (6.42), initiate relationship (6.32), test relational state (6.30), get liking (6.20), accommodate (6.17)	make feel bad (3.55), end relationship (4.33), hold responsible (4.58), change mind (4.68)
hint	obtain permission (5.30)	comfort (3.10)
inform	share ideas (6.16)	make feel bad (4.85), evade (4.90), counter embarrassment (4.95)
insist	obtain information (5.15), make feel bad (4.85)	get liking (2.70), get date (2.85)
insult	make feel bad (3.70), procrastinate (3.05), humble (3.00), end relationship (2.94)	represent as nice (1.29), resolve conflict (1.42), stop habit (1.44)
joke	have fun (6.00)	hold responsible (3.05), resolve conflict (3.21), make decision (3.29)
justify	accommodate (5.61), assist (5.60)	stop habit (4.50), get liking (4.55)
offer	overcome boredom (6.05), relax (5.90), initiate relationship (5.84), accommodate (5.78), get to know (5.76), account for actions (5.70)	make feel bad (4.10)
order	procrastinate (4.20)	get date (2.10), have fun (2.20), represent as nice (2.29)
permit	express opinion (5.37), represent as intelligent (5.10)	make feel bad (3.70), end relationship (3.89)
plead	obtain permission (4.50), fulfill obligation (4.05)	assist (2.25)
point out	fulfill obligation (6.00)	make feel bad (4.40), initiate relationship (4.47), avoid solitude (4.50), be sociable (4.50)
praise	get liking (6.40), represent as nice (6.36), test relational state (6.20), accommodate (6.17), guide (6.11)	make feel bad (3.50), end relationship (4.00)
prohibit	validate ideas (4.00), humble (3.81), make feel bad (3.60), fulfill obligation (3.55)	represent as nice (1.71), test relational state (1.85)
promise	obtain permission (5.35), accommodate (5.33)	make feel bad (3.45)
protest	make feel bad (4.05), relieve frustration (4.24), gain advantage (4.15), procrastinate (4.10), change mind (4.05)	represent as nice (2.07), accommodate (2.17), relax (2.30), get date (2.45)
question	hold responsible (5.74), test relational state (5.60)	end relationship (3.39), get date (4.00), obtain favor (4.05)
remark	gain advantage(5.80), overcome boredom (5.60), test relational state (5.45)	represent as nice (4.14), get date (4.15)
report	fulfill obligation (5.40), solicit recommendations (5.33), guide (5.32), humble (5.29)	get date (3.55)
reprimand	humble (4.05), make feel bad (3.90), obtain information (3.85)	represent as nice (1.64), have fun (2.05), get date (2.05)
request	overcome boredom (5.55), test relational state (5.55)	relax (3.80), represent as nice (4.00)
ridicule	make feel bad (3.55), humble (3.00)	represent as nice (1.43), accommodate (1.44), test relational state (1.45)
suggest	fulfill obligation (6.05), resolve conflict (5.84)	make feel bad (4.30), represent as nice (4.50), counter embarrassment (4.55), end relationship 4.56)
summarize	fulfill obligation (6.20)	get date (4.15)
tell	accommodate (5.67)	resist wishes (3.76), make feel bad (3.95)
thank	fulfill obligation (6.55)	make feel bad (3.90), end relationship (4.60)
threaten	procrastinate (3.70), make feel bad (3.40), share time (3.05), discipline (3.00)	represent as nice (1.29), resolve conflict (1.53)
vow	fulfill obligation (4.75), overcome boredom (4.75)	assist (3.15)
warn	fulfill obligation (5.00)	get date (2.58)

Notes: The goal labels are shortened (see Table 1 for full goal labels and definitions). The mean is provided for tactic efficiency for each goal.

set of goals rather than being an inherent feature of a tactic regardless of the goal for which it might be used. Tactical efficiency is goal-dependent.

Perusal of Table 6 also offers conceptual insights into the nature of speech acts. For example, consider the speech acts of requesting and claiming. Requesting is a very efficient means of determining the state of a relationship and overcoming boredom, but is far less efficient for representing oneself as being nice, and winding down and becoming relaxed (see Table 6). Claiming is similarly efficient for determining the state of a relationship and inefficient for winding down and becoming relaxed. Not only might such results be suggestive of similarities between requesting and claiming as speech activities, but they also speak to the notion that relational testing is most likely not something one does to relax. The key point here, as before, is that efficiency and appropriateness are not features of tactics independent of the goals the tactics serve, but instead are dependent on which tactic is used for which purpose in a particular conversation.

Task Orientation, Causes and Effects

Conversational Constraint Theory argues that the goals people pursue in conversation differ in their task orientation. The average task orientation across the set of 49 goals is slightly above the theoretic mean of the scale ($M = 24.22$, $\mu = 22$). To determine if these goals differ from each other in terms of their task orientation, a hierarchical cluster analysis is performed using the method of average linkage between groups with perceived task orientation serving as the basis for cluster formation. Examination of the agglomeration coefficients for "jumps" and "flattenings" (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984) suggests that a 15-cluster solution best fits the data, and that task orientation differs significantly across the 15 goal clusters, $F(14, 34) = 1138.12$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .99$. Table 7 lists the goals by cluster along with each cluster's center for task orientation. The most purely social goal (i.e., having fun) is the least task-oriented. Affinity seeking, comforting, passing the time, wanting to be sociable and procrastinating are

TABLE 7.   GOAL CLUSTERS BASED ON TASK ORIENTAITON DIFFERENCES

| Goal Clusters	Task Orientation Cluster Centers	Goal Clusters	Task Orientation Cluster Centers
Have partner fulfill obligation	27.10	Hold partner responsible	24.03
		Gain an advantage over partner	
Provide guidance to partner	26.56	Overcome your boredom	
Make a decision		Relieve your frustration	
Resolve conflict			
Obtain information		Have partner become aware of you	23.67
		Discipline partner	
Provide assistance to partner	25.84		
Express your emotions		Represent self as nice	23.09
Change partner's opinion		Initiate relationship	
		Want partner to feel bad	
Accommodate partner's wishes	25.42	Share time together	
Listen to partner		Become relaxed	
Assess what your partner is like		Avoid solitude	
Get a job done		Break off relationship	
Account for your actions			
		Procrastinate	22.69
Represent self as intelligent	25.06	Be sociable	
Share ideas		Pass the time	
Determine state of your relationship		Obtain a favor	
Evade what partner wants to know			
Express an opinion you have		Stop partner's annoying habit	22.11
Determine if partner feels positive about you			
Counteract embarrassment		Get partner to like you	21.77
		Comfort partner	
Resist partner's wishes	24.75		
Move your relationship forward		Get a date	20.60
Get to know each other			
		Have fun	19.37
Humble partner	24.36		
Validate your ideas			
Obtain permission			
Solicit recommendations			

Notes: The higher the number, the more task-oriented the goals. These goals differ in their task-orientation: the cluster centers significantly differ from each other, F(14,34) = 1138.12, p <.001. On a 7 to 35 scale, the mean task orientation is 24.22, slightly above the theoretic mean of the scale.

also among the least task-oriented goals. Goals that have a greater task orientation include having your partner fulfill an obligation, providing guidance, making decisions, resolving conflict and obtaining information. Task orientation differentiates goals people pursue in conversations with others.

Given that task orientation can differentiate conversational goals, it is then reasonable to ask whether task orientation generates incongruence between appropriateness and efficiency, and whether autonomy infringement and negative affect potential influence perceptions of task orientation (see Figure 2). For the set of 49 goals, as task orientation of a goal increases, the congruence between efficiency and appropriateness decreases, $r = -.47$, $p < .001$. The congruence between efficiency and appropriateness ranges from nearly compatible (+.77) to independent (.03) to nearly incompatible (-.69) across the set of 49 goals. Efficiency and social appropriateness are _compatible_ for goals such as being nice (+.77), having fun (+.65), comforting (+.61), affinity seeking (+.75), passing time (+.55) and being sociable (+.57); _independent_ constraints for goals such as soliticiting recommendations (+.10), validating ideas (+.03), obtaining favors (-.09), wanting partners to feel bad (-.12) and humbling partners (-.15); and _incompatible_ for such goals as fulfilling obligations (-.69), obtaining information (-.60), getting jobs done (-.63) and evading what a partner wants to know (-.58). Conversational constraints range in their congruence, determined in part by task orientation.

Goal achievement resulting in infringement of a cointeractant's autonomy is positively associated with perceptions that a goal is task-oriented, $r = .25$, $p < .05$, and, as predicted by Conversational Constraint Theory, infringement has no direct association with the congruence between social appropriateness and efficiency, *semipartial r* $= -.11$, *ns.* By contrast, and in opposition to the prediction of Conversational Constraint Theory, a goal carrying potential for negative affect is unrelated to task orientation, $r = .02$, *ns,* while being strongly related to the congruence between efficiency and appropriateness, $r = -.60$, $p < .001$. These results suggest that the model diagrammed in Figure 2 needs revision in that negative affect potential and task

Figure 3. Determinants of Congruence of Efficiency and Appropriateness (Obtained)
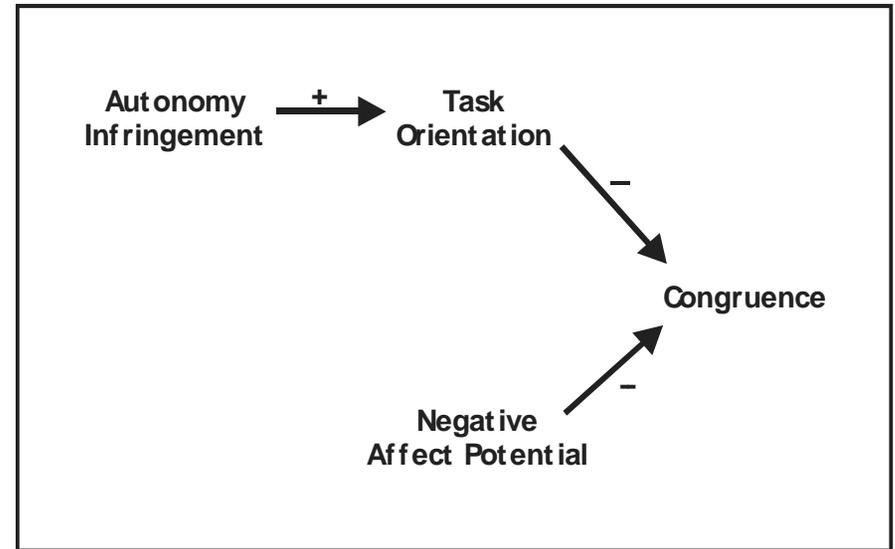
orientation are independent determinants of congruence between efficiency and appropriateness (rather than being thought of as causally dependent). Figure 3 provides a revised representation of the model of constraint compatibility based on the results of the correlational tests between devaluation, infringement, task orientation and congruence. This revised model fits the data well. Task orientation and devaluation account for 59% of the variation in congruence between efficiency and appropriateness, $R^2 = .59$, $F(2,46) = 25.64$, $p < .001$.

The findings of this research indicate that tactical efficiency and tactical appropriateness are goal-dependent. Some tactics are more multifunctionally appropriate and efficient than others, goals differ in the limitations they place on the efficiency and appropriateness of tactics when taken as a set, and individual tactics are not equally appropriate to use for each of the 49 goals. The findings of this research also indicate that the congruence between efficiency and appropriatness ranges from compatible to independent to incompatible for a diverse set of conversational goals and that a goal's task orientation and its negative affect potential determine the congruence of efficiency and appropriateness.

DISCUSSION

This research points to the critical importance of goals in understanding conversational behavior. Tactical efficiency and appropriateness are goal-dependent. Constraint congruence is goal-dependent. Goals differ in task orientation. Goals' task orientation and negative affect potential matter to constraint congruence. Conversational constraints are understood in context with conversational goals.

Conversational research, while goal-directed, seems goal inattentive, focusing more on identifying tactics and strategies and understanding their situational and relational uses than on defining goals and characterizing their similarities and differences (see, e.g., Cody & McLaughlin, 1985; Miller, Cody, & McLaughlin, 1994). Strategy repertoires exist for goals of gaining compliance, providing comfort, remediating embarrassment, embarrassing others,

engaging in conflict, giving criticism, complaining, accounting, seeking information, getting to know others, avoiding becoming known to others, seeking affinity, testing affinity, managing discovered deception, maintaining relationships, ending conversations and many others (Alberts, 1988; Argyle et al., 1981; Baxter & Wilmot, 1984; Bell & Daly, 1984; Berger & Kellermann, 1983, 1989; Burleson, 1994; Canary & Spitzberg, 1989; Canary & Stafford, 1994; Cody & McLaughlin, 1985; Daly & Kreiser, 1994; Dillard, 1990c; Douglas, 1987; Kellermann & Cole, 1994; Kellermann et al., 1991; Kowalski & Erickson, 1997; Messman & Canary, 1998; Metts, 1994; Metts & Cupach, 1989; Sharkey, 1997; Sillars & Wilmot, 1994; Tracy, 1989). The focus is on the strategies and their uses rather than on differences intrinsic to the nature of the goals themselves.

Conversational goals remain undifferentiated and uncharacterized. For example, what kind of goal is comforting? information seeking? affinity testing? conversational retreat? What characterizes these goals? What makes these goals similar to and different from each other? While an infinite number of characteristics might differentiate conversational goals from each other, not all of these characteristics are necessarily pragmatically important and/or theoretically meaningful. To have theoretic and pragmatic significance, differences between conversational goals must relate systematically to differences in conversational behavior. In one of the few other studies characterizing conversational goals, negative affect potential and autonomy infringement differentiate the 3 goals of giving advice, asking favors and enforcing an unfulfilled obligation (Wilson et al., 1998). In the present research, a goal's autonomy infringement provides no additional basis for goal differentiation above and beyond task-orientation, and a goal's task-orientation and negative affect potential differentiate 49 goals from each other in ways that are important to conversational behavior (i.e., altering tactical assessments and influencing constraint congruence). The intensive study of situational, relational and individual factors in behavior used to pursue conversational goals now needs to be complemented by intensive study of the *nature* of conversational goals themselves.[22] Task-orientation, negative

affect potential and, possibly, autonomy infringement are characteristics showing promise in differentiating conversational goals in pragmatically useful and theoretically meaningful ways.

At the same time, goals historically treated as being of a given type might usefully be reconsidered. In the research literature, goals sometimes are implicitly understood as being "alike," referred to by their category, and research findings about individual goals within the category treated as true for all goals in the category. For example, the category of compliance gaining goals includes such goals as giving advice, gaining assistance, sharing an activity, changing opinions, changing a relationship, enforcing an obligation, obtaining a favor and obtaining permission (Dillard, 1997; Kellermann, in press). Examples of each of these goals are included in this research. Rather than being alike, these goals span the range of the set of 49 goals in terms of their task orientation and their constraint on tactical appropriateness and efficiency. Goals within a category that differ among themselves in ways that are important to characterizing conversational goals bring into question the utility and validity of the goal category itself. "Rather than discuss compliance-seeking as if it were a single, homogeneous social sphere, it would be valuable to distinguish, for example, between gaining asistance and giving, two different influence goals" (Dillard, 1997, p. 64).

Conversational goals are important because critical conversational events – in this research, tactical assessment and constraint congruence -- are goal-dependent. First consider the goal-dependence of tactical efficiency and appropriateness. This research finds that efficiency and appropriateness are not features that adhere to tactics *per se*, but rather are assessments of particular tactics as they are used in the pursuit of particular goals. Assessments of tactical efficiency and appropriateness depend simultaneously on a tactic and a goal. For example, in our research joking is a very appropriate way to have fun, but is not considered polite when breaking off a relationship; and insisting is an efficient way to obtain information but is inefficient for getting a date (see Tables 5 and 6). Despite goal-dependency, participants and researchers often make goal-unspecified empirical and theoretical

assessments of politeness for verbal utterances, speech acts, strategies and tactics. For example, the politeness of requesting, informing, advising, agreeing, apologizing and promising is frequently assessed independent of a goal(s) (Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987; Heilman, 1974; Kellermann & Shea, 1996; Kim et al., 1996; Kim & Wilson, 1994; Levinson, 1983; May, 1989; Wardhaugh, 1985), just as strategy assessments collapsed across a few non-representative compliance gaining situations are treated as evidence of inherent strategy appropriateness (see, e.g., Burleson et al., 1988; Rule et al, 1985). The issue is what meaning to place on ratings of the politeness and efficiency of particular verbal acts (e.g., requests, hints, commands, threats, promises) absent specification of a goal or set of goals these acts are accomplishing. Some of the discrepancies in the politeness literature (Baxter, 1984; Craig, Tracy, & Spisak, 1986; Lim, 1989; Lim & Bowers, 1991) might be a function of a different goal or set of goals implicitly being used to evaluate the politeness of particular tactics. Similarly, inconsistencies in ratings of compliance gaining strategies may reflect shifting combinations of the multiplicity of social influence and compliance gaining goals such as giving advice, gaining assistance, sharing an activity, changing an opinion, and changing a relationship (Dillard, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1997; Dillard et al., 1989; Kellermann, in press). Our findings reveal that tactics judged most or least appropriate or efficient for one compliance gaining goal are not judged similarly for others (see Tables 5 and 6). The point to be made here is that consistency of findings is not expected as the specific compliance gaining goal (or any other goal for that matter) changes; that when the goal is left implicit, inconsistencies in research findings are likely to arise; and that analyses of tactical appropriateness and/or efficiency absent consideration of the goal(s) for which tactics are used are likely to lead to outcomes (e.g., strategy schemes, conclusions) that are difficult to replicate or use effectively.

Certainly, some tactics are appropriate and/or efficient for achievement of many goals, in our case 49 diverse goals. In this research, tactics that are the most multifunctionally appropriate and/or efficient are those people generally consider "positive" (e.g., thanking,

complimenting, acknowledging, praising; see Table 4). Because these tactics are acceptably appropriate and efficient for a wide range of goals, it is interesting to consider how these acts are understood by coactors, observers and overhearers. People understand the actions of others by inferring their intentions and goals (Berger, 1997; Foss & Bower, 1986; Miller et al., 1994). When tactics acceptably serve many different goals, knowing the exact meaning (purpose) of the act when it is encountered may be difficult. Douglas (1987) notes the ambiguity involved in tactics considered socially appropriate for finding out if others like us. One potential reason these tactics are ambiguous is that because they can be used for so many different purposes, it is difficult to know which goal they are being used to achieve in any given instance. We may come to distrust any number of verbal tactics (e.g., compliments, acknowledgements, praise, thanks, etc.) precisely because their multifunctional status makes their meaning difficult to determine. Tactical assessments are goal-dependent, goal-independent assessments may account for conflicting research findings, and the goal of positive multifunctional tactics may be sufficiently ambiguous to other people as to make them less effective for goal achievement.

Just as with tactical assessments of efficiency and appropriateness, the congruence of efficiency and appropriateness is goal-dependent. Although many theories, implicitly or explicitly, envision social appropriateness and efficiency as competing constraints on tactical choice, the findings of this research provide broad-based support that social appropriateness and efficiency constraints vary in compatibility as a function of a particular goal being pursued. Congruence between social appropriateness and efficiency for the set of 49 goals examined in this research spans nearly the entire possible range, supporting the independence and compatability of these constraints reported in the literature for goals of conversational retreat, ingratiation and affinity testing, and the incompatibiity reported for goals of information seeking and compliance gaining. Politeness Theory's assumption that politeness is a reason to deviate from the rational efficiency of Grice's maxims is true, though only when politeness and efficiency are incompatible constraints. Politeness and efficiency occuring when ending conversations,

getting others to like us or determining if others like us is without explanation within the confines of Politeness Theory as what is polite is not incompatible with what is efficient for those goals. Conversational Constraint Theory provides an explanation, arguing that efficiency and politeness result from situational (e.g., private, urgent, formal), relational (position, bond) and individual (e.g., goal- and social-orientation) factors that elevate and depress social actors' preferred level of politeness in particular encounters (Kellermann, 1988; Kellermann & Park, 2000a, 2000b; Kellermann & Shea, 1995). For example, situational urgency increases social actors' preference to end conversations efficiently while maintaining the moderate politeness they also prefer in nonurgent situations (Kellermann & Park, 2001). Conversational Constraint Theory accounts for polite, impolite, efficient and inefficient behavior whether appropriateness and efficiency are compatible, independent or incompatible constraints. Politeness is not a reason to deviate from Gricean efficiency; rather, preferred levels of politeness and efficiency are determined by situational, relational and individual factors.

Conversational Constraint Theory also explains why the congruence of efficiency and appropriateness varies. As this research supports, goals vary in their task orientation, and the more task-oriented the goal, the less the congruence between social appropriateness and efficiency when pursuing that goal. This research also suggests that another determinant of congruence between social appropriateness and efficiency is the degree to which achievement of a goal permits inferences of devaluation, dislike or rejection. Rather than devaluation's influence on constraint congruence being mediated by a goal's task orientation (as hypothesized), negative affect potential directly decreases the congruence between efficiency and appropriateness. Figure 3 diagrams this revision in Conversational Constraint Theory to incorporate both task orientation and negative affect potential as determinants of constraint congruence.

Infringing on a cointeractant's autonomy suggests why certain goals might be more task oriented than others: the more goal achievement restricts what conversational partners can

consequently do, the more task-oriented the goal is perceived to be. Infringement is a relatively weak predictor of task orientation, however, and Conversational Constraint Theory might usefully grow through further consideration of what makes goals more and less task-oriented.

One limitation of the present research is the pursuit of a single goal in representations of conversational interactions. Most interactions involve the simultaneous pursuit of a number of goals. Discourse goals by definition co-occur with outcome goals (Samp & Solomon, 1998), and outcome goals themselves frequently co-occur (Berger, 1997; Craig, 1986; Dillard, 1997; Emmons, 1997; Hample & Dallinger, 1992; Hollenbeck & Williams, 1987; Martin & Tesser, 1989; Miller & Read, 1991; O'Keefe & McCornack, 1987; Samp & Solomon, 1999; Seibold et al., 1994; Tracy, 1991; Wilson & Putnam, 1990). For example, individuals in conflict often pursue resource goals while simultaneously having relational goals (Fukushima & Ohbuchi, 1996) and individuals in initial interaction often pursue both information seeking and impression management goals (Benoit & Follert, 1986). Conversational Constraint Theory posits that pursuing multiple goals typically places restrictions on tactical choices because acceptable tactics for achieving one goal generally fail to overlap completely with acceptable tactics for achieving other goals (Samp & Solomon, 1999). As this research finds, none of the 49 goals are distinctly paired with the 56 tactics. One way of pursuing multiple goals is to choose tactics that are acceptable for each of the goals, yielding an efficient and appropriate solution to multiple goal pursuit. For example, people use question-asking and agreement tactics in initial interactions to achieve information-seeking and impression management goals simultaneously because these tactics jointly serve and are acceptable for both goals (Benoit & Follert, 1986). People having the joint goals of resisting compliance and ending a conversation might opt for nonresponsiveness, rejection or excuses because these tactics simultaneously serve attainment of both goals (Kellermann et al., 1991; Lim, 1990; McCormick, 1979). People might use nonresponsiveness or rejection to end a conversation and test affinity, as these conversational ending tactics are similar to testing affinity by "withdrawing" from conversation (Douglas, 1987).

Future research might benefit from examining the impact of multiple goals tactic selection: the use of multifunctional tactics, whether selected tactics meet efficiency and appropriateness constraints of the multiple goals, and the simultaneous acceptability of selected tactics.

De-contextualization may serve as the second potential limitation. Specific types of contexts for tactical choices were not specificed for the current study. However, we believe that this potential limitation is limited in its effect on the current findings. First, theoretical context is specified. Threoretically, assessments are only goal-dependent, while relationship/culture/gender variations alter preferences for efficiency and for social appropriateness rather than judgment of them. The focus in this research is on judgments of tactics, not preferences for use of tactics; research that focuses on preferences for use of the tactics supports goal-dependent assessments, and cross-situational/relationship/individual factor dependence of preferences for use of differentially polite and efficient tactics; our measurement is theoretically properly contextualized. Second, with our research design, the subjects can randomly consider any conversational partner which adds variance to the reatings, which still are quite consistent across subjects. The lack of specification of context is "conservative" error making it harder to reject the null hypothesis, which is not the problem in this research. Third, the methods used for the study is empirically consistent with other methods of measurement. In other words, when rated as specifically phrased tactics for certain goals, the ratings are consistent with the ratings of speech acts provided herein. The decontextualization becomes an issue if the results failed to reject the null hypothesis, were empirically inconsistent, or were theoretically inconsistent. However, since the current study addresses all the three conditions, the decontextualization becomes less of an issue for the reported findings.

Another potential limitation is that not all the tactics examined in the present research may be usable in the pursuit of various goals. Even though the tactics may be relevant for each goal being pursued, an individual may rarely use certain tactics for certain goals. Thus, by

putting less usable tactics under examination for the purpose of testing appropriateness and efficiency of the tactics for goals, it is possible that the integrity of the support found for Conversational Constraint Theory might have been compromised. However, we consider this limitation as potential rather than substantial one. We argue that the lack of usability of a tactic does not mean that people do never use the tactic. In other words, the frequency of use and relevance are different. In addition, when we were conducting the study, none of the research participants mentioned about certain tactics being unusable. Furthermore, the consistent results for tactics being goal-dependent and the conversational constraints emerged across the variety of tactics despite of their usability.

This research supports the two most critical aspects of Conversational Constraint Theory: tactical assessents are goal-dependent, and the congruence of efficiency and appropriateness ranges from compatible to independent to incompatible. This research also expands and revises other aspects of the theory: a goal's task orientation and negative affect potential affect constraint congruence, and autonomy infringement is a weak determinant of a goal's task orientation. Not knowing what makes a goal task-oriented and finding an additional direct cause of constraint congruence make the theory more accurate and comprehensive, though not fundamentally better at explaining tactical choice as only constraint congruence and tactical appropriateness and efficiency determine tactical choice in Conversational Constraint Theory. The fundamental aspects of Conversational Constraint Theory receive strong support from this research.

NOTES

[1] The following articles are used to obtain listings of goals and goal types: Abbott and Black (1986), Alberts (1988), Argyle, Furnham and Graham (1981), Barker and Barker (1963), Baxter (1982), Baxter and Wilmot (1984), Bell and Daly (1984), Bennis, Schein, Stelle and Berlew (1968), Benoit (1990), Berger and Kellermann (1989, 1994), Bjerg (1968), Blum-Kulka, Danet and Gherson (1985), Bochner (1984), Burgoon (1985), Burleson (1984a, 1984b), Burleson and Samter (1985), Buttny (1987), Canary, Cody and Marston (1986), Canary, Cunninham and Cody (1988), Canary and Spitzberg (1987, 1989), Cheepen (1988), Clark and Delia (1979), Clarke (1983), Cody (1982), Cody, Canary and Smith (1994), Cody and McLaughlin (1985, 1990), Cohen (1981), Craig (1986), Dance and Larson (1976), Dillard (1989, 1990b), Dillard, Segrin and Harden (1989), Douglas (1987), Emmons (1989), Gorham, Kelley and McCroskey (1989), Greene and Lindsey (1989), Guthrie and Noller (1988), Hale (1987), Halliday (1973), Hecht (1984), Hobbs and Agar (1981), Hovy (1988), Indvik and Fitzpatrick (1986), Kellermann, Reynolds and Chen (1991), Kemper and Thissen (1981), Lorr and McNair (1965), McCann and Higgins (1988), McCormick (1979), McFarland (1989), McLaughlin (1984), McLaughlin, Cody and French (1990), McLaughlin, Cody and Robey (1980), Metts and Cupach (1989), Miller (1982), Miller and McNeil (1968), Morris (1946), O'Keefe and Delia (1982), O'Keefe and Shepherd (1987), Olshtain (1989), Parker (1985), Patterson (1983), Petronio (1984), Phillips and Erlwein (1988), Read and Miller (1989), Richmond, Gorham and Furio (1987), Robinson (1972), Ruben (1989), Rubin, Perse, and Barbato (1988), Rule and Bisanz (1987), Rule, Bisanz and Kuhn (1985), Schank and Abelson (1977), Schank and Childer (1984), Schutz (1966), Smith, Cody, Lovette and Canary (1990), Soskin and John (1963), Street and Cappella (1985), Tracy (1989), Tracy, Craig, Smith and Spisak (1984), Tripathi, Caplan and Naidu (1986), Veroff and Veroff (1980), Wanberg (1987, 1990), Wardbaugh (1985), Weir

(1984), Wilmot, Carbaugh and Baxter (1985), Wilson (1989, 1990), Wilson and Putnam (1990), and Winograd (1977).

[2] Veroff and Veroff (1980) argue that a limited set of goals underlie all behavior. As such, this merger of goals may provide a preliminary framework for understanding the boundaries and contents of that limited set.

[3] Basic human needs generate motives, and motives generate goals. Goals differ from motives and needs on the basis of permanence and generality. Goals are impermanent whereas basic human needs and functions are enduring (Weir, 1984). Goals are a striving for a desired state of affairs whereas motives are strivings for a general class of incentives which are produced by basic human needs (Emmon, 1989; Rosengren 1974; Rubin & Windahl, 1986). Motives are manifested in goals to be pursued; basic human needs are manifested in motives (Rubin, Perse, & Barbato, 1988). In other words, conversational goals are less abstract than motives which, in turn, are less abstract than basic human needs (see, Canary, Cunninham & Cody, 1988; Cody, Canary, & Smith, 1994).

[4] Bjerg's goal taxonomy distinguishes needs/motives (instinctual goals) from social goals (sessional and adaptive goals; our "outcome" goals) and interaction objectives (conversational and explicit goals; our "discourse" goals), distinctions that are common throughout the communication literature on goals that are pursued in conversation (Craig, 1986; Hovy, 1988; Street & Cappella, 1985; Wilson & Putnam, 1990).

[5] Bjerg's (1968) taxonomy systematically includes commonly deployed "antisocial" (e.g., humbling others, disciplining others, putting others down, etc.) as well as "prosocial" goals.

[6] A complete list of the merged goals for all levels of abstraction can be obtained by contacting the first author.

[7] Goal-directed approaches also identify such "goals" as secondary goals (Dillard, l989, 1990b) and meta-goals (Berger, 1997; Kellermann, 1988; Wilensky, 1983). Secondary and meta-goals are conversational *constraints*, rather than conversational *goals.* Conversational goals are desired outcomes that individuals are trying to obtain interactively, while conversational constraints refer to ongoing regulators of behavior in interaction that influence how conversational goals are achieved (Kellermann, 1988, 1992; Kellermann & Park, 2000a, 2000b). Constraints are cross-goal concerns rather than interaction-specific end-states. Conversational goals are impermanent and achieved at particular moments in time, while conversational constraints are ongoing expectations regulating behavior. Goals are not violated (or followed), just as constraints are not achieved (or forgone). Goals are achieved (or forgone) and constraints are violated (or followed). People strive for goals and satisfy constraints.

[8] Student Neuman-Keuls tests reveal that goals least beneficial to pursue include stopping your partner's annoying habit, wanting the partner to feel bad and procrastinating; goals most beneficial to pursue include representing oneself as being nice, getting to know each other, obtaining information and comforting your partner.

[9] Student Neuman-Keuls tests reveal that goals occurring least often include stopping your partner's annoying habit, breaking off a relationship and obtaining a favor; goals occurring most often include representing oneself as being nice, obtaining information and having fun.

[10] Student Neuman-Keuls tests reveal that goals of higher priority include moving your relationship forward, assessing what your partner is like, determining the state of your relationship, expressing emotions, obtaining information and providing assistance; goals of lower priority include obtaining a favor, passing time and procrastinating.

[11] The opposite of devaluation is not affirmation. Scale items do not ask whether goal achievement creates implications of liking for the partner; rather they solely focus on the occurrence (or the lack thereof) of implications of dislike or rejection, *negative* affect potential.

[12] While thousands of speech act verbs exist in English (Austin, 1962; Fraser, 1974), not all should be considered verbal tactics (versus verbal acts). Some speech acts have

interactional value but lack illocutionary value, such as those that point back to prior acts (e.g., deny, affirm, agree, accept, turn down, contradict, comply) (D'Andrade & Wish, 1985; Edmondsun, 1981). Others have illocuationary value but reference ceremonial occasions (e.g., pronounce, acquit, adjourn, award, convict) and are not appropriate to conversational interaction (i.e., they are not vernacular performative verbs). Still others fail to be performative verbs, that is verbs in the first person singular noncontinuous present indicative active voice that can take the modifier "hereby" (Austin, 1962; D'Andrade & Wish, 1985; Vendler, 1972). Examples of speech acts that aren't performative verbs include insincere speech activities (e.g., to lie, to show off), shadow performatives (e.g., allege, insinuate), complex speech activities (e.g., to theologize, deliberate, chatter), nonverbal features of speech activities (e.g., whisper, shout), perlocutionary speech activities (e.g., upset, tease, alarm, seduce), interactive speech activities (e.g., quarrel, discuss), communicative programs (e.g., selling, sinning), collateral acts (e.g., mimicking, small talk, changing the subject), and container verbs that reflect mental states (e.g., suppose, think) and mental actions (e.g., learn, understand). Thus, verbal tactics exclude speech acts that are ceremonial performatives, have no illocutionary force, are formulaic expressions, are collatoral acts or container verbs, are insincere or complex speech activities, focus on nonverbal or interactive speech activities, concern mental activities, or deal with relationships between utterances (see, for discussion, Anscombre et al, 1987; Bach & Harnish, 1979; Ballmer & Brennenstuhl, 1981; Clarke, 1983; D'Andrade & Wish, 1985; Fraser, 1974, 1975; Vendler, 1972).

[13] Speech act taxonomies include those by Anscombre et al. (1987), Austin (1962), Bach and Harnish (1979), Bales (1950), Dore (1977), Edmondson (1981), Fraser (1974, 1975), Reiss (1985), Searle (1976), Vendler (1972), Verschuren (1987), and Wanberg (1987, 1990).

[14] Speech acts verbs for each category in each taxonomic system are identified through extensive literature searches (Anscombre et al, 1987; Austin, 1962; Bach & Harnish, 1979; Ballmer & Brennenstuhl, 1981; D'Andrade & Wish, 1985; Dore, 1977; Edmondson, 1981; Fraser, 1974, 1975; Haslett, 1987; McLaughlin, 1984; Reiss, 1985; Searle, 1976; Vendler, 1972; Verschuren, 1987; Wanberg, 1987, 1990). In addition, lists of speech act verbs are also perused to assure diversity in verbal tactics (Argyle, Furnham & Graham, 1981; Clarke, 1983; Kreckel, 1982; Wardhaugh, 1985). Wierzbicka's (1987) speech act dictionary is then sampled by category; these samples are taken until each of the categories of the other taxonomic systems is sufficiently represented.

[15] Even if some verbal acts are excluded about which people can disagree as to their "tactical" value, (a) our list typically includes closely related verbal acts, and (b) a good range of tactics for testing the hypotheses exist despite particular exclusions (i.e., adding the extra act or two is unlikely to make a significant change in the results).

[16] Due to constraints we were unable to circumvent at the time, all participants rate social appropriateness in Section 2 prior to efficiency in Section 3. While order effects are possible, we believe they are unlikely: efficiency and appropriateness do not seem to mirror each other in an "ordered" way and ratings of some of these verbal acts in other investigations by separate groups reveal similar assessments (see, e.g., Cole, 1993; Kellermann & Shea, 1995, 1996; Kellermann, et al., 1991; Kellermann & Park, 2001).

[17] While participants make 132 judgments (52 appropriateness, 52 efficiency, 28 goal), they move through the task quickly, without complaint and, as best we can determine, without fatigue. We believe fatigue did not occur in responding because as participants made more assessments, their responses evidenced neither a patterned response nor differential variabiity in responses from previous assessments. Participants expected the questionnaire to take 30 minutes to complete, most completed it in half that time, and all did so within that time.

[18] Given the number of statistical tests we conduct, to avoid spurious results (a) overall *F*-tests are run prior to examining simple effects, and (b) binomial probabilities are calculated to

determine whether the likelihood of getting a specific number of significant simple effects is likely by chance. In this investigation, for appropriateness, of 56 simple effects tests conducted for tactics, 38 are significant, $bp(56,.5) < .011$, and of 49 simple effects tests conducted for goals, 49 are significant, $bp(49,.5) < .0001$. For efficiency, of 56 simple effects tests conducted for tactics, 45 are significant, $bp(56,.5) < .0001$, and of 49 simple effects tests conducted for goals, 48 are significant, $bp(49,.5) < .0001$. Overall, of 210 follow-up tests, 180 are significant, $bp(210,.5) < .0001$. Thus, these procedures warrant obtainment of non-spurious significant main and interaction effects for both social appropriateness and efficiency.

[19] A summary table is provided because the full matrix of means requires a 49 by 56 matrix of values that, even in a very tiny font, takes up over 8 pages. This table of means can be obtained by contacting the first author.

[20] "Nasty" compliance gaining tactics are also not efficient (Kellermann & Shea, 1996).

[21] A summary table is provided because the full matrix of means requires a 49 by 56 matrix of values that, even in a very tiny font, takes up over 8 pages. This table of means can be obtained by contacting the first author.

[22] Other goal-directed analyses and understandings are also needed. For example, activation conditions for particular goals in conversation are surely of importance and understudied (c.f., Miller, Cody & McLaughlin, 1994; Wilson, 1990, 1997). Recently, Samp and Solomon (1998, 1999) report the frequency, intensity (relative importance), complexity (number of intense goals pursuing), strain (tension from managing conflicting goals) and challenge (situational parameters challenging goal achievement) of activated goals when problemmatic events occur in close relationships. Conditions giving rise to particular goals and measures of goal activation nicely complement the present research on the qualities and characteristics that distinquish goals from each other. We believe research examining the essence of *goals* is needed as much as research examining the essence of *goal use*. We are unsure of the applicability of characteristics related to the essence of goal use to the understanding of characteristics related to the essence of goals.

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