Communication Accommodation Theory

Negotiating Personal Relationships and Social Identities Across Contexts

Edited by Howard Giles



Communication Accommodation Theory

Most people modify their ways of speaking, writing, texting, emailing, and so on, according to the people with whom they are communicating. This fascinating book asks why we "accommodate" to others in this way, and explores the various social consequences arising from it. Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), revised and elaborated over the past forty years, has been applied to a wide range of situations, from families to courtrooms, and from media to hospitals, by means of diverse methodologies in many disciplines, and across numerous languages and cultures. Bringing together a team of experts, the book demonstrates how the theory can help us toward a greater understanding of interpersonal communication in a multitude of contexts. Finally, it examines the principles of the theory, identifying a range of avenues along which research can move forward in future.

HOWARD GILES is Distinguished Professor of Communication at the University of California, Santa Barbara and Honorary Professor in the School of Psychology, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia.

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1 The Social Origins of CAT

Howard Giles

> Any conversation you have with a Vancouverite will include at least three "awesomes" and two "perfects." If you want to really blend in, toss in the occasional "good times" and a "right on."
>
> Nikki Baley, Vancouver Sun, H1, August 24, 2013.

> The national language is Icelandic, and while you'll have no problem getting by using English, we're grateful anytime a visitor tried to use *Góðan daginn* (good day) or *Takk* (thank you).
>
> *Icelandic Stopover* (flight magazine), September 2015.

One feature of human, as well as other animals' (Beecher, Campbell, Burt, Hill, & Nordby, 2000; Candiotti, Zuberbűhler, & Lemasson, 2012), behavior is that much of it is synchronized (see Wiltermuth & Heath, 2009). Military folk march together, people sing in choirs and love to dance with others, all the time keeping in synch with each other – and in ways that facilitate social cohesion. I have always been fascinated by such processes and especially how it is enacted in, and (as in the travel scenarios above) prescribed, for talk. In this opening chapter, I indulge the reader in how communication accommodation theory (CAT) was born, how it developed, and what follows in this volume.

The Early Days

From my formative years in Wales, I had noted, when in high school, that my distinctive Cardiff accent (see Coupland, 1990) would shift to a more South Welsh brogue when talking with other spectators at a rugby game, and then to a more Standard English with my peers at college who hailed from the south of England. I wondered, in fact, whether I was a mere "linguistic chameleon," later discovering that I was decidedly not on my own! But I also noticed tendencies towards asynchronous patterns, such as when walking into a North Welsh pub with said college mates to hear the entire gathering there switch to the Welsh language from previously talking in English as we entered.

Later, on the first day of graduate school, when one of my mentors (Henri Tajfel, the architect of social identity theory [SIT]) asked me to declare my

"theoretical framework," I replied bemusedly that not only did I not have one, but also did not fully comprehend what he meant! I had the very strong feeling and urge thereafter to embrace or concoct one pretty quickly if I was ever going to survive in Social Psychology at the University of Bristol in England – as the development of and passion for SIT was clearly and infectiously underway. Yet, there it was staring me in the face – the accent phenomena I had personally witnessed and have just described. Ironically, over forty years later, hardly a day goes by that I am not required (sometimes on more than one occasion) to account for why I have not accommodated to American English. In addition, hardly a month goes by now when I do not thrill at discovering a unique accommodative move, such as friends talking in low whispers to my wife who had almost lost her voice for a while.

As I scoured the literature for interpretations of what subsequently became known as "accent convergence and divergence" (Giles, 1973), I did find studies on interlocutors matching temporal aspects of each other's speech rates (e.g., Matarazzo, Weitman, Saslow, & Wiens, 1963), but very little in terms of convincing explanatory mechanisms. It was at this time that I turned to Sociolinguistics – and post-doctorally self-labeled myself a "sociolinguist" as I felt a much stronger bond with that academic community than my own – and became inspired by the work of Labov (1966). He had produced a well-cited volume (and re-published forty years later) showing that as the formality of a situation increased – from conversing about a colloquial topic to reading isolated words – New Yorkers' pronunciations took on more prestigious patterns. Speech – and later communication accommodation – theory (CAT) emerged as an attempt to provide socio-psychological bite to that and related phenomena. Indeed, given that Labov orchestrated the very contexts in which language was elicited from his informants, I argued (Giles, 1973) that these seminal findings might have been due, at least in part, to his interviewees' accommodating this commanding researcher's *own* changes in speech style; after all, was Labov himself contextually immune?

Bristol was very kind to me and evolving renditions of CAT were patiently entertained in a series of seminars for Colin Fraser's psycholinguistic graduate seminar, my adviser, Peter (the Red Pen) Powesland and, subsequently, my very gracious external Ph.D. Examiner (1971), Peter Robinson, as well as my anonymous D.Sc. Examiners (1996). Over the decades, many "accommodation theorists" – colleagues, graduate students, and generations of *their* graduate students (e.g., Lawson-Sako & Sachdev, 1996) – joined me on this academic journey (see Acknowledgments) – including in major ways contributors to this volume as well as Justine and Nik Coupland (e.g., Coupland, Coupland, Giles, & Henwood, 1988), and my spouse (e.g., Giles & Giles, 2012).

Henri Tajfel eventually resonated to the theoretical quest I was taking, sponsored a monograph on it in his own book series (Giles & Powesland,

1975), and contributed to it (e.g., Bourhis, Giles, Leyens, & Tajfel, 1979). In parallel, and given the ferment of intellectual excitement with Bristolian graduate students who became major players in their own right (e.g., Mike Hogg and Rupert Brown), with a close colleague and friend (John Turner), I also became involved in promoting the value of intergroup theory (e.g., Turner & Giles, 1981). Thereafter, not only did I fold SIT tenets into CAT (e.g., Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977), but Henri funded me with a post-doctoral fellowship where I spent a significant portion of time at McGill University with Wally Lambert and Don Taylor. Gratifyingly, the latter duo seemed to relish working on accommodative issues (Bourhis, Giles, & Lambert, 1975; Simard, Taylor, & Giles, 1976), and an early publication from my Montreal era found its way into the journal, *Language in Society* (Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis, 1973). Dell Hymes, the editor of the day, created keywords for this article, and one was "accommodation *theory*." Not only did these associations provide life-long bonds with Don (two-naan) Taylor and my first graduate student, Richard (Boo) Bourhis, but Hymes had, independently, elevated our work to the status of "a theory"!

During the course of CAT's development, it has manifest itself in three journal special issues (Coupland & Giles, 1988; Giles, 1984; Giles, Gasiorek, & Soliz, 2015), featured as essays in ten encyclopedias across very different areas of communication study (e.g., Dragojevic, Gasiorek, & Gallois & Giles, 2015; Giles, 2016; Giles, in press), spawned (as below) many satellite theories, and been studied across numerous languages, cultures, and applied settings. This book not only charts these cross-disciplinary developments in one coherent forum – the last book on the topic being twenty-five years ago (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991) – but also points the way to even more refinements and elaborations in the decades to come.

A Conceptual Map of CAT's Development

McGlone and Giles (2011) articulated distinct phases in the development of CAT which will be somewhat modified in this section, with illustrative cites and a selection of the emergent satellite models highlighted (see also, Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005). It should be noted that these separate developments are interrelated – and work has flourished in all of them to this day. The first (circa 1969–) "foundational phase" was derived from observing people shifting (as above) their dialects – and bilinguals switching their languages – on a regular basis in particular directions and at particular rates (Giles & Smith, 1979; Gallois & Giles, 1998). In this period, the basic precursors to and outcomes arising from accent and speech convergence were conceptualized and schematized (e.g., Gallois, Giles, Jones, Cargile, & Ota, 1995), and the role of speech

accommodation was shown to be an integral component of the language attitudes literature (Giles & Powesland, 1975).

While other motives for accommodation had been discussed (see Street & Giles, 1982), the second, "intergroup/contextual phase" (circa 1977–) focused on *divergence* and nonaccommodation as forms of social differentiation, drawing on SIT (see Giles, 1978; Giles et al., 1977; see also, many of the chapters in Harwood and Giles, 2005 and Chapter 5). The larger-scale social conditions necessary to trigger communicative differentiations (e.g., a high group vitality) led to the development of ethnolinguistic identity theory (Giles & Johnson, 1981) which, in turn, inspired the intergroup model of second language acquisition (Giles & Byrne, 1982) and, later, the acculturation, tourism, multilingualism models (Giles, Bonilla, & Speer, 2012; Giles, Ota, & Foley, 2013; Sachdev, Giles, & Pauwels, 2012).

The bilingual work had particular theoretical (and pragmatic) appeal as it construed the learning of a second language to varying degrees of native-like proficiency as being an accommodative move. Furthermore, it framed the so-called failure to learn a dominant culture's language in more positive, "healthy" terms, in that it heralded a desire not to assimilate but, rather, to tenaciously preserve a group's linguistic culture. Such a nonaccommodative stance by, say, an immigrant group (and particularly one with an increasingly perceived high vitality that maintains its own linguistic landscape) can often be seen as threatening by the host community (see Barker et al., 2001).

Ultimately, satellite models in other intergroup contexts emerged, such as language contact between: speakers of different age groups (Fox & Giles, 1993); people with different physical abilities (Fox, Giles, Orne, & Bourhis, 2000); the genders miscommunicating in the workplace (Boggs & Giles, 1999); and police–civilian interactions (Choi & Giles, 2012). In all these, theoretical attention was afforded how and why *non*accommodative language forms were fundamental to understanding when individuals define an interaction more in *intergroup* than interpersonal terms (see Dragojevic & Giles, 2014).

The third and related development can be termed a "subjectivist phase" (circa 1982–) that saw CAT embrace a quite complex propositional structure aimed at elucidating both the antecedent conditions under which accommodative/nonaccommodative acts surfaced as well as the social consequences arising from them (e.g., Giles, Willymens, Gallois, & Anderson, 2007; also Chapter 7). The prime insight here was that speakers accommodate not to where others *are* in any objectively measurable sense but, rather, to where they are *believed* (or biasedly heard) to be communicatively (Thakerar, Giles, & Cheshire, 1982).

A fourth phase (circa 1986–) moved CAT into the sphere of intergenerational communication and health (Giles, Coupland, & Wiemann, 1990;

Farzadnia & Giles, 2015), with a focus on under- and overaccommodating moves (Coupland, Coupland, & Giles, 1991; Harwood & Giles, 1996; see Chapter 5). Accordingly, the so-called communicative predicament of aging model emerged (Harwood, Giles, Fox, Ryan, & Williams, 1993; Ryan, Giles, Bartolucci, & Henwood, 1986) that has since guided much communication and aging research (Giles & Gasiorek, 2011). Amongst other findings, this body of work showed that young people tend to overaccommodate their elders by means of patronizing talk in ways that those socially and cognitively alert find demeaning. For their part, older folk were deemed to underaccommodate younger people by talking too excessively about their own problems (see Coupland et al., 1991). Not only can these accommodative mis-moves lead to intergenerational dissatisfaction and avoidance but, for older people, can contribute to the social (and communicative) constructions of aging, fermenting lowered self-worth, depleting life satisfaction, and even accelerating demise (Giles, Davis, Gasiorek, & Giles, 2013; Giles, 1999). Indeed, this work spawned a collaborative cross-cultural program of research around the globe – especially across many South and East Asian nations as well as in Australasia, Africa, and the Middle East that has: provided support for the predicament of aging model (see McCann, Giles, & Ota, in press); moved into the intergenerational workplace (e.g., McCann & Giles, 2006); and also lead to the "communication ecology model of successful aging" (e.g., Gasiorek, Fowler, & Giles, 2016).

The fifth, and concurrent (circa 1988–) "communicative breadth" phase (e.g., Coupland et al., 1991; Giles & Wadleigh, 2008) saw CAT really blossom as a general theory in its moving beyond the adaptive use of accents, slangs, and languages to embracing different discourse styles and nonverbal practices (e.g., gait and dress styles; see later also, Denes, Giles, & Gasiorek, in press). Convergence and divergence were conceived of as but a *couple* of the many ways in which people accommodate or not (called "approximation strategies"). Attention now was also paid to "interpretability strategies" where communicators took into account the shared knowledge each had on the conversational topic to hand as well as their communicative needs and relative social statuses, called "discourse management" and "interpersonal control strategies," respectively (see Chapter 8). These developments led also to an acknowledgment of speakers being able to blend convergence and divergence *simultaneously*, albeit at different communicative levels, in order to fulfill complementary social and identity needs. In this sense, a speaker could diverge from another to maintain their status position but also simplify their grammar and avoid jargon terms, thereby taking into account the listener's presumed and, in this case, limited knowledge base.

The last, to date, set of CAT advances suggested a "mediating mechanism phase" (circa 2006–) and coincided with my interest in police–civilian

encounters as a result of my becoming a sworn law enforcement officer for fifteen years (Choi & Giles, 2012). The theory was then directed toward how accommodations could trigger various emotions like irritation, pride, and joy which then dictate particular evaluative and behavioral reactions from others (Dorjee, Giles, & Barker, 2011). In particular, this was the dawn of another large-scale international collaborative project (e.g., Hajek et al., 2008), including work in other such sites as Russia, Bulgaria, Armenia, and Mongolia that examined how people's views of the accommodativeness of police officers led to feelings of trust which, in turn, enhanced reports of compliance with law enforcement (e.g., Barker et al., 2008). Additionally, attention was drawn to the ways in which attributed intent influenced listener's reactions to accommodation (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012). In this way, a nonaccommodative stance does not necessarily directly trigger negative evaluations of another's attributes but, rather, can be mediated by the negative affect (e.g., frustration and anger) that it arouses (Myers, Giles, Reid, & Nabi, 2008).

Again, these six, admittedly reconstructed, CAT phases are not mutually exclusive or successively contained developments. Instead, they are interdependent, and refinements can be seen as evolving in all of them as implied in the foregoing citations. Doubtless Chapter 10 with its inclusion of biological parameters to accommodative practices and the latter's use in new communication technologies will yield additional phases.

This Volume

As stated earlier, this edited volume is the first book-length treatment of CAT for over two decades (Giles et al., 1991). Much has happened over that time as the theory has undergone a quantum leap in terms of empirical interest across cultures, languages, contexts, and media, particularly since 2000 (see Chapter 4). Indeed, so much research has emerged that an edited volume with committed and energetic colleagues who could provide synergy within and between chapters was deemed the best route to providing a comprehensive overview of extant CAT work, and with visionary perspectives for its future. Each of the chapters then provide quite *unique* analyses of, and slants on, CAT in terms of quantitative and qualitative gains, its relevance to understanding language and communication across an array of significant social categories (from ethnic minorities to people-with-disabilities), and its importance in life-and-death contexts.

The next chapter provides us with a cogent foundation for looking at CAT comparatively alongside other existing accounts of interpersonal communication adjustment. In this (Chapter 2), Jessica Gasiorek discusses an array of frameworks addressing this phenomenon, such as mimicry, language matching, grounding, and many others. Tabulating and contrasting their inherent features, she, ultimately yet conservatively, argues for some of the merits and advantages

of CAT. This is followed by a chapter with Marko Dragojevic and Jessica Gasiorek (Chapter 3) delineating the theory's concepts and discussing relationships and mechanisms in CAT's framework. In so doing, we review empirical (mostly quantitative) work on the theory relating to motivations, perceptions, attributions, and social consequences that provides the reader with a grasp of the breadth and intricacies involved in accommodating and nonaccommodating. As evident from the foregoing, CAT has had a history of revising its integral propositions over the decades, and this chapter ends with a set of refined *Principles of Accommodation* that reflect many of its parameters in accessible, summary form. The next chapter by Jordan Soliz and Gretchen Bergquist puts CAT's quantitative work to a stringent test by reporting on an updated (see Soliz & Giles, 2014) statistical meta-analysis of accommodation studies and findings since the theory's inception (Chapter 4). Gratifyingly, and within the remits of such an analysis, strong support is garnered for the essence of the theory and across a variety of accommodative tactics, such as reluctant accommodation.

Attention next is focused on *non*accommodative mechanisms and strategies by Jessica Gasiorek (Chapter 5). Although a lot of the CAT literature is devoted to forms of accommodative behaviors, a chapter on this topic was considered necessary for pulling together the growing body of research on it, acknowledging the ubiquity with which people do *not* accommodate each other, and the social meanings and consequences this can have. Although a fair proportion of CAT studies has been conducted with the employment of quantitative methods, a range of other methods have also been employed. With Cindy Gallois and Anne Weatherall, we provide an analysis of qualitative studies of this genre (Chapter 6). This includes some new conversation analytical data, with a further Principle of Accommodation paying due homage to the fact that accommodativeness is *talk in action*. The fact that CAT has commandeered such eclectic methodological prowess from scholars across disciplines is well broached in the chapters thus far.

Then, together with Nik Palomares, Cindy Gallois, and Jordan Soliz, we explore the intergroup nature of accommodative-nonaccommodative practices for the first time across a range of very different settings, namely, the intercultural, intergenerational, between-gender, interability, and family domains. One of the vibrant features of CAT is that it can theoretically maneuver between interpersonal and intergroup climates, and Chapter 7 is a testament to its potency in the latter domain. This chapter ends with a refined intergroup accommodation model that can meaningfully transcend, and integrate, the very different intergroup settings discussed (as well as others not highlighted therein).

Although CAT has been invoked interpretively across a wide range of applied settings, including veterinary and dental clinics and the educational practices associated with these, in this volume we feature two of the most-studied

organizational settings where discourse and decisions arising from them can truly affect people's lives. A focus on health and medical contexts follows, with Bernadette Watson, Liz Jones, and David Hewett discussing their own and others' work on accommodative practices in these domains (Chapter 8). Clearly, effective accommodation between medical and health professionals results in better care for patients along many dimensions. Unfortunately, we find that nonaccommodative stances undertaken by different medical specialties – who all, necessarily in their different ways, treat the same patients – can stymie the (even physical) well-being of those in their care and safety. Next in Chapter 9, and together with Augusto Gnisci and Jordan Soliz, we engage CAT work in organizations more generally, but with a unique focus on police–civilian encounters and the courtroom under one (conceptual and sequential) umbrella. Negotiating between accommodative and nonaccommodative stances in these settings can, obviously, have severe consequences in terms of police-involved shootings, publically aired arrests, incarceration, and capital punishment.

The volume closes with Cindy Gallois, Jessica Gasiorek, and Jordan Soliz where we critically examine some of the assumptions underlying the Principles of Accommodation alluded to above. As importantly and in addition, this epilogue proposes various so-called vistas for a future theoretical and research agenda that appeal to among other facets: new methodological innovations; the ever-evolving fascination with neuroscience measures and processes; the new communication technology revolution; and the systematic application of CAT to interventions and training in intergroup communication.

Conclusions

The editor and contributors hope and believe that this volume captures the scope and essence of CAT and its applications to communication processes and contexts, although inevitably not all important contexts can be discussed in detail (but are necessarily included in the theoretical coverage). We believe that CAT is now positioned to continue as a key theory of communication, which uniquely combines intergroup and interpersonal, perceptual and behavioral, and contextual factors. Research exploring CAT is prolific yet integrated, and we believe that it will continue in this way into the future.

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2 Theoretical Perspectives on Interpersonal Adjustments in Language and Communication

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Communication adjustment, the behavior at the heart of communication accommodation theory (CAT), has been studied across a range of allied disciplines (for recent reviews, see Burgoon, Dunbar, & Giles, in press; Toma, 2014). Although scholars in each of these fields are essentially observing the same behaviors and seeking to address many of the same basic questions about human interaction, their attempts to describe and explain this phenomenon have taken a wide range of forms, with a range of accompanying labels.[1] This chapter provides a brief survey of a range of approaches to studying communication adjustment – that is, the process of changing or adapting one's verbal and nonverbal behavior in interaction – and situates CAT within this larger body of work. In what follows, I first review a selection of several constructs and theories addressing communication adjustment across sociolinguistics, sociology, social psychology, and communication. Summarizing similarities observed across these different approaches, I then propose a set of cross-disciplinary propositions addressing communication adjustment. Finally, I evaluate CAT in light of these propositions, highlighting its contributions to the study of this phenomenon.

Theorizing Communication Adjustment Across Disciplines

Superficially, the concept of communication adjustment is quite straightforward: people adapt their verbal and nonverbal behavior in context. Just below the surface, however, lies a host of less straightforward issues: in what ways do people do this; via what the mechanisms does adjustment occur; what are the reasons they do it; what are the functions adjustment serves; what are the social

[1] It should also be noted that the term "accommodation" – CAT's preferred label for the phenomenon of communication adjustment – has been invoked in other disciplines (most notably, interpersonal psychology, developmental psychology, and education; e.g., Elbaum, 2007; Piaget & Cooke, 1954) to refer to other constructs that do not necessarily have a central language or communication component to them. These will not be addressed further in this chapter, as its focus is adjustment of language and communication.

consequences that result from these adjustments; and to what degree are these adjustments conscious versus automatic? Across social scientific disciplines, a number of constructs and theories have attempted to describe and explain communication adjustment, each addressing some (but not necessarily all) of these issues.[2]

Response Matching

Some of the earliest work in communication adaptation was that on *response matching* (Argyle, 1969), defined as immediately following another speaker's action with a similar action. Argyle (1969) proposed that response matching could occur across a range of verbal and nonverbal behaviors, including utterance length, utterance type, words, gesture, posture, and self-disclosure. While he did not explicitly outline a mechanism for behavior matching, he suggested that it could be the result of imitation or social learning (e.g., Bandura, 1986), though he did not specify any other accompanying psychological processes. He also proposed that while some of this behavior – such as self-disclosure, utterance length, and use of interruptions – may be "slow and reflective" (p. 176) or conscious in nature, other aspects such as postural, gestural, and lexical matching are likely to be unconscious. Work on response matching (e.g., Argyle, 1969, Tognoli, 1969) generally did not address the function or effects of such matching; it focused instead on describing the phenomenon across contexts, and proposing possible mechanisms for it. However, later work did observe that it tended to coincide with positive affect and perceived similarity (e.g., Maxwell & Pringle, 1981).

Code-switching

Code-switching (CS) is a construct out of sociolinguistics that is defined as the use of two or more languages or dialects in the same stretch of speech by bilingual or bidialectal speakers (Gardner-Chloros, 2009a; Gumperz, 1982). This phenomenon that has been the object of extensive study by (socio)linguists; research on CS as interactional adjustment constitutes only a

[2] This review is restricted to constructs or theories that explicitly address the *adjustment of communication*: in other words, how individuals change or adapt their verbal and/or nonverbal behavior when interacting with other people. As such, it does not include speak to constructs such as general synchrony in groups (e.g., Páez, Rimé, Basabe, Wlodarczyk, & Zumeta, 2015) which does not have a focal communication component, or to theories that address only how language is used (e.g., Dougherty, Kramer, Klatzke, & Rogers, 2009), but not how it is changed or adapted in context.

small portion of this work. Although the definition of "code" is not well-defined (Bullock & Toribo, 2009), most of the literature on CS has focused on instances of switching dialects or languages in interaction; it has been suggested that CS is the bilingual's analog to *style shifting* (see Coupland, 2007; Gardner-Chloros, 2009a). Gumperz (1982) proposed that CS was either *situational* (reactive; e.g., a response to a shift in topic or individuals present) or *metaphorical* (unprompted; e.g., a shift for emphatic purposes). However, some have questioned the extent to which (entirely) situational switches are an idealized notion (Gardner-Chloros, 2009b). Functionally, CS may serve to specify certain addresses (i.e., include or exclude particular members of the audience), express (dis)identification or (dis)affiliation with certain others or other groups, and/or define a situation in terms of a particular social arena (e.g., Beebe, 1981; Bullock & Toribo, 2009; Gardner-Chloros, 2009a; Gumperz, 1982; Scotton & Ury, 1977). Speakers are often unaware of the fact that they are engaging in CS; as such, CS is considered to be largely unconscious (Beebe, 1981; Gumperz, 1982; Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001).

Audience Design

Audience design, defined as taking one's audience into account when designing one's speech or communication, came out of Bell's (1984) analysis of New Zealand radio broadcasters, whose use of specific phonetic variants differed depending on the audience they were ostensibly reading for. Most of the early research using audience design was concerned with linguistic variables (such as phonetic variation) in given speakers' repertoire, and with understanding their interplay with the various levels of audiences (addressee, auditor, overhearer, eavesdropper, referee) specified by the theory, though it also posits that topic and content may also be adapted for audiences. According to Bell (1984), changes in communicative style may be reactive or proactive (what he terms *responsive* and *initiative* dimensions), and affect both the intelligibility and the social meaning of what is said for a given audience. As a model, audience design is primarily descriptive, and focused on the (social) effects of adjustment rather than its causes. It does not offer an explanation of how these adjustments take place or have a robust explanation for why people adapt their communication in interaction, other than proposing that changes in meaning associated with different topics and settings are derived from our associating those topics and settings with their corresponding people. Although the theory is not explicit about this fact, the language it uses, particularly in its use of the term "design" – which implies a certain level of agency (Coupland, 2007) – suggests strategic, motivated action and, as such, that communicative adjustments are a conscious process (see also Bell, 1991).

Recipient Design

The conversation analytic construct of *recipient design* (e.g., Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 1972; Schegloff, 1996) centers on the idea that speakers design talk with knowledge of the addressee or recipient in mind. Although early work in recipient design focused on referential information (e.g., location, names; Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; Schegloff, 1972), the construct's scope is broad. Sacks and colleagues (1974) propose that recipient design is operant in a range of verbal and linguistic areas, among them topic selection, word selection, admissibility and ordering of sequences, options and obligations for starting and ending conversations, and turn order. Accessibility of information is proposed to be the primary function and effect of these adjustments; adjustment is seen as a means to effective communication. In contrast to work in sociolinguistics (e.g., audience design), however, research using the concept of recipient design tends to focus on word choice and/or the content of speech, rather than (para) linguistic variables. As part of an analytic tradition focused on observable structure and sequences of action as opposed to psychological variables (Enfield & Levinson, 2006), recipient design does not propose any explanations for why individuals engage in these adjustments, or any particular mechanism by which they occur. Recipient design also does not specify whether these adjustments are conscious or unconscious. However, the language used by Schegloff, Sacks, and colleagues – for example, when discussing selections that speakers make among any number of possible ways to express a given piece of information (Schegloff, 1972) – seems to imply at least some level of conscious choice.

Grounding

Grounding, defined as working with fellow interactants to reach the mutual belief that each party understands each other well enough for current purposes (Clark & Brennan, 1991; Clark & Krych, 2004), takes a different approach to understanding communicative adjustment. Grounding is premised on the idea that communication is a joint activity managed through joint commitments by its participants; according to this perspective, people adjust their communication to coordinate activity and content in interaction (Clark, 2006). Conversation is proposed to have two phases, a presentation phase and an acceptance phase (Clark & Brennan, 1991). Moving from one phase to the other requires the parties to display positive evidence of understanding for each other's communication. When this understanding is not evidenced, parties must work together until grounding is achieved (Clark & Brennan, 1991).

According to this approach, individuals are constantly testing and monitoring for understanding, and attempting to adjust to each other to establish

common ground for interaction. In Clark's work, the functional effects of grounding are primarily informational – that is, it establishes a sense of shared understanding so that information may be conveyed – but it has also been proposed that grounding has social-affiliational consequences. Staying attuned to one's conversational partner to constantly test for shared understanding, it is argued, also entails maintaining a level of interpersonal affiliation across the course of an interaction (Enfield, 2006). Work on grounding does not explicitly address the issue of conscious versus unconscious processes in interactional adjustment; however, discussions of testing for understanding (e.g., Clark & Brennan, 1991) arguably imply at least some level of consciousness in adapting one's communication.

Mimicry

Another perspective on communication adjustment is offered by social psychological work on *mimicry*, defined as mirroring or imitating another person outside of conscious awareness (Chartrand & van Baaren, 2009). An area in which research has exploded in the last fifteen years, mimicry has been studied in verbal behavior (e.g., accent, speech rate, utterance duration, syntax, latency), facial expressions, emotions, and physical behavior (e.g., gesture, posture). How this occurs is not entirely understood, though researchers are actively investigating the cognitive and neurological correlates of mimicry (Chartrand & van Baaren, 2009). Empirical work in this area suggests that mimicry functions as a signal of rapport and a tool to generate social support, as well as a way to facilitate smoother social interaction, perhaps by promoting a more interdependent self-construals and thus a fundamental shift in how we see ourselves relative to others.

Mimicry may also help us understand emotions felt and displayed by others, as mimicking others' emotions facilitates feeling and subsequently recognizing those emotions ourselves. As such, it has been proposed that people engage in this kind of adjustment not only as a communication tool for emotion, but also as a sort of "social glue" (i.e., a low-cost way of regulating belonging), as well as a means of managing social distance (Chartrand & van Baaren, 2009). In support of this, it has been shown that generally, people respond to mimicry from ingroup members with increased cognitive and affective empathy, liking, and bonding, as well as mimic ingroup members that they like more. Converse effects have been found for mimicry by and of outgroup members (e.g., Yabar, Johnston, Miles, & Pearce, 2006). The well-documented social effects of mimicry across a range of forms and situations provides evidence that adjustment and adaptation of communication, and indeed behavior more broadly, is deeply fundamental to human interaction.

Linguistic Style Matching

Linguistic style matching (LSM; Ireland & Pennebaker, 2010; Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002) can be understood as a specific form of verbal mimicry. Defined as synchronized use of function words (prepositions, articles, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs), LSM operationalizes communicative adjustment in terms of matching of lexical forms (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002). Pennebaker and colleagues proposed that this type of language matching is a means to establish common ground for interaction through the synchronization of cognitive frameworks, and that LSM is positively correlated with engagement (either positively or negatively valenced). Empirical work has shown that LSM is entirely outside of consciousness – neither speakers nor third party judges were able to detect it – and appears to be unrelated to subjective rapport (Ireland & Pennebaker, 2010; Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002), which contrasts with findings on other types of mimicry as outlined earlier. As such, it has been proposed the function and effect of this kind of adjustment appears to be to coordinate, and thus make interaction possible, at an extremely basic, unconscious level.

Constructivism

Although communication adjustment is not the conceptual focus of constructivism, it is one of the primary outcomes the theory explains and predicts. Constructivists contend that "impressions of others and their perspectives are erected within cognitive structures (constructs) that the perceiver brings with him to interpersonal situations" (Delia, 1977, p. 71). Having a better developed system of cognitive constructs (i.e., higher *cognitive complexity*) was theorized to result in greater social perspective-taking and, consequently, greater communication competence – that is, a greater ability to achieve one's goals in context. Delia and colleagues argued that being able to understand a situation from another person's point of view should allow a speaker to craft a more *person-centered* (i.e., targeted and effective) message. In persuasive contexts, higher cognitive complexity and greater social perspective-taking have both been linked to more effective message adaptation (e.g., Clark & Delia, 1977). Beyond stating that person-centered (i.e., adapted) messages should be more effective at achieving goals in context, however, constructivism does not speak to either the function or social effects of communication adjustment. It also does not specify whether these processes are conscious or unconscious.

Discrepancy Arousal Theory

Discrepancy arousal theory (DAT; Cappella & Greene, 1982, 1984) proposes that adjustment in interaction follows from changes in cognitive arousal, which

are the result of discrepancies between expectations and reality. The theory suggests that small changes in arousal are experienced as positive, provoking an approach/converge response, but that large changes in arousal are experienced as negative, provoking an avoid/diverge response. This is proposed to hold across verbal, kinesic, and vocalic behavior, and be a relatively automatic reaction that follows from cognitive arousal. Focused on explaining the mechanisms through which different kinds of adjustment occurs, DAT does not specify either functions or social effects of adjustment. It also does not take into account the valence of the action leading to arousal.

Interaction Adaptation Theory

Finally, *interaction adaptation theory* (IAT; Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005; Burgoon, Stern, & Dillman, 1995; White, 2008) provides an alternative framework outlining the conditions under which adaptive communication behavior will be convergent or divergent. The theory states that each person comes to an interaction with requirements (R), the level of a given behavior needed to satisfy basic human needs; expectations (E), the anticipated level of a given behavior; and desires (D), their preferences for the level of a given behavior. Together, these three elements (RED) constitute a person's interaction position (IP). When the actual behavior that takes place is more positive than the IP, convergence, matching, and reciprocity are proposed to result; however, when the actual behavior is less positive than the IP, divergence, compensation, or maintenance are proposed to result. Considering the mechanisms involved, IAT assumes that we have a basic human tendency toward entrainment and synchrony, but that these needs are moderated by personal and situational factors (see Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005 for a summary of assumptions of IAT). These needs are seen as driving observed behavior. To the extent that the pursuit of basic human needs drive behavior, adaptation is arguably unconscious; however, in situations where additional social or personal factors moderate or otherwise affect these basic drives, certain aspects of adaptation could be conscious. Like DAT, IAT does not specify the function or social effects of communication adjustment.

Communication Adjustment: Propositions

Although these constructs and theories vary considerably in terms of their scope, explanations for why and how we adjust, proposed functions and social effects of adjustment, and attribution of adjustment to conscious versus unconscious processes (see Table 2.1 for a summary), several common propositions can be derived from this body of work as a whole.

Table 2.1 *Comparison of theories and constructs of interpersonal adjustment*

Construct	Definition	Dimensions/ Areas	Function/Effects of Adjustment	Mechanisms for Effects	Why do we Adjust?	Descriptive or Predictive?	Conscious vs. Automatic	Example Cites	Limitations
Response Matching	Following an act (immediately) with a (highly) similar act. [Distinguished from reciprocity, in which act is not an exact match and may occur at a later point in time.]	Length of utterance, interruptions and silences, type of utterance, words, gesture and posture, self-disclosure, intimacy	Increases positive affect, perceived similarity	Conscious imitation i.e., social learning or some other (not specified) psychological process; reciprocity	Not specified	Descriptive	Some conscious (self-disclosure, utterance length, use of interruption); others unconscious (gesture, posture)	Argyle, 1969; Tognoli, 1969	Does not explain why we adjust, provide any elaboration as to what happens if this process "goes wrong"
Code-switching	The use of two or more languages or dialects in the same stretch of speech by bilingual speakers	Exclusively linguistic: can be language, dialect, "style"	May include or exclude members of the audience, indicate affiliation, express identification, define situation in terms of a specific social arena	Not specified beyond motivations implied by its functions	Response to situational factors or strategic move for social ends	Descriptive	Unconscious	Gardner-Chloros, 2009a; Gumperz, 1982	Typically just refers just to languages or dialects, not other dimensions or domains of communication
Audience Design	Taking one's audience into account when designing one's speech or communication	Linguistic variables (e.g., phonetic) of one's language repertoire, but also topic, setting	Intelligibility to the audience. Results in differences in social meaning as well (which a speaker may deliberately manipulate)	In the case of topic and setting, meaning is derived from association of topic and settings with people	Not specified – approval and efficiency granted as possible reasons (in context of SAT), but not specified in the theory itself	Descriptive	Language used in theorizing suggests strategic, motivated action; conscious processes	Bell, 1984	Written for mass media encounters; focuses primarily on language (and less other dimensions of communication)

Recipient Design	Constructing or designing talk in interaction with knowledge of the addressee in mind	Topic selection, word selection, admissibility and ordering of sequences of talk, options and obligations for starting and ending conversations	Accessibility of information to the recipient	(Not specified – CA as focused on recognizable actions rather than psychological variables)	Not specified	Descriptive	Not specified, but language used in theorizing suggests conscious processes	Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 1996, 2006	Does not explain why we adjust, provide any elaboration as to what happens if this process "goes wrong"
Grounding	Working with fellow interactants to reach the mutual belief that each party understands the other well enough for current purposes (i.e., establishing common ground)	References, content	Mutual understanding as needed for interaction (i.e., informational); also increased social affiliation	Interaction and interplay between parties: presentation and adjustment phases; testing for understanding	Communication as a joint activity; grounding is required for coordination of content and activity in interaction	Descriptive	Conscious, in testing for understanding	Clark, 2006; Clark & Brennan, 1991; Clark & Krych, 2004	Less a theory of interpersonal adjustment than a comment/ theory about what is necessary for interaction to take place, and the nature of interaction as a joint activity
Mimicry	Mirroring or imitating another outside of conscious awareness	Verbal (e.g., accent, speech rate, utterance duration, syntax, latency), facial (e.g., expressions), emotional	For ingroup, rapport, empathy, liking. Creates smoother social interaction, leads people to like each other more (affective empathy as mediator between	Fundamental shift in how people see themselves relative to others (leads to more interdependent self-construal).	Signal of rapport; tool to generate support and communicate (emotion). Increases empathy,	Descriptive and predictive (based on proposed mechanisms, functions, and related social	Automatic	Chartrand & van Baaren, 2009 (review)	Does not address conscious choices to adjust behavior relative to recipient – but this is explicitly

Table 2.1 (*cont.*)

Construct	Definition	Dimensions/ Areas	Function/Effects of Adjustment	Mechanisms for Effects	Why do we Adjust?	Descriptive or Predictive?	Conscious vs. Automatic	Example Cites	Limitations
		(e.g., emotional contagion), and behavioral (e.g., gesture, posture)	mimicry and prosocial behavior)	For emotion: mimicry helps us experience corresponding emotion (~embodied cognition).	serves as "social glue". Provides a low cost way to regulate belonging with both friends and enemies.	psychological theories)			outside its purview
Linguistic Style Matching	Synchronized use of function words (style as distinct from content)	Prepositions, articles, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs	Establish common ground, matching cognitive frameworks for interaction. Unrelated to communication quality or liking – rather, psychological synchrony	Common ground results from matched cognitive representations, created by matched language. Coordination-engagement hypothesis: more engagement, more coordination.	To create common ground for interaction (implicit).	Descriptive and predictive	Automatic	Ireland & Pennebaker, 2010; Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002	Focuses on a very narrow type of adjustment (style/function words only)
Constructivism	Theory suggesting that those with better developed systems of interpersonal "constructs" should be better able to	Primarily verbal communication (most research in persuasive and comforting messages)	Not specified; states that person-centered messages should be more effective at achieving goals in context	Higher cognitive complexity (i.e., better developed system of interpersonal constructs) allows for better understanding	To achieve goals in context.	Predictive	Not specified	Delia, 1977; Clark & Delia, 1977	Does not address communication adjustment focally; somewhat tautological definition of person-centered/

	create messages targeted for a recipient			of others' perspectives and communicative needs					effective messages
Discrepancy Arousal Theory	Theory suggesting that (mutual) adjustment is a result of changes in arousal, prompted by discrepancies between expectation and reality	Verbal, kinesic, and vocal behavior	Not specified; focuses on the mechanism by which adjustment occurs	Discrepancies between expectations and behavior lead to automatic cognitive arousal; depending of the degree of arousal, have either an approach/converge or an avoid/diverge response	Automatic result of arousal, with direction specified by degree of arousal (and behavior relative to expectations)	Predictive	Automatic	Capella & Greene, 1982, 1984	No motivational component; no account for the valence of discrepancy and the effect of that on evaluation of DA
Interaction Adaptation Theory	Theory defining the conditions under which adaptive behavior is convergent vs. divergent	Verbal and nonverbal communication	Not specified; focuses on the mechanism by which adjustment occurs	Based on assumptions about basic biological and human needs; that is, that humans tend toward entrainment and synchrony, but these tendencies are moderated by situational and personal factors	Result of basic human need for comfort, survival, and affiliation	Predictive	Primarily automatic (low level of awareness) in explanatory mechanisms, but may also include conscious adaptation (in the context of social factors)	Burgoon, Stern, & Dillman, 1995; Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005	Does not address effects of adjustment (or lack of adjustment); predicts behavior but not social consequences. Not clearly specified how RED come together to form a coherent whole

Table 2.1 (*cont.*)

Construct	Definition	Dimensions/ Areas	Function/Effects of Adjustment	Mechanisms for Effects	Why do we Adjust?	Descriptive or Predictive?	Conscious vs. Automatic	Example Cites	Limitations
Communication Accommodation Theory	Theory describing how individuals adjust their communication in context	Verbal and nonverbal communication	Manage social relationships at the individual or group level (*affective function*); manage comprehension (*cognitive function*)	Not specified beyond motivations implied by its functions	To achieve social goals in context (as elaborated in functions of adjustment)	Predictive	Not specified	Dragojevic, Gasiorek, & Giles, 2016	Does not address conscious versus automatic nature of adjustment; broad scope has resulted in many (sometimes conflicting) versions of the theory and its key constructs

1. *Communication adjustment is fundamental to interaction, and occurs across a wide variety of domains.* All of the constructs and theories outlined earlier provide evidence of this, although empirical work in the area of mimicry perhaps provides the most robust support. That communicative adjustment occurs on levels that are undetectable to both speakers and outside suggests that this behavior is deeply fundamental, and is likely part of what makes social interaction possible at all (see Enfield & Levinson, 2006).
2. *Communication adjustment serves two functions: first, to establish common ground such that coherent interaction can take place, and second, to manage social distance between individuals, and individuals as members of groups*. Empirical and theoretical work on grounding, recipient design, and LSM demonstrates that communication adjustment has a clear interpretability function: that is, adjusting our communication is a means to make sure that the content that we are trying to convey is accessible to our audience. However, it is also clear the adjustment is not purely informational: as work in the areas of mimicry, audience design, CS, and even grounding shows, communication adjustment has social consequences. Convergence in one's adjustment on most levels is generally associated with increased rapport, empathy, and bonding when the speaker is an ingroup member (e.g., Chartrand & van Baaren, 2009). Divergence, in turn, has the effect of increasing social distance.
3. *Communication adjustment may be either in response to others, or initiated by a speaker to achieve particular interactional or social ends*. While the bulk of work in these areas focuses on how speakers react to others – many of these constructs and theories are explicitly defined in terms of responses or reactions to others' behavior (e.g., mimicry, response matching, DAT, IAT) – there is also evidence that speakers actively adjust or manipulate language to produce particular social outcomes.
4. *People have expectations about what constitutes "appropriate" adjustment in context*. While this is made explicit primarily in communication theories (e.g., DAT) it is implicit in work in other areas as well. Evidence for expectancies and standards for "appropriateness" are implicit in the fact that social meaning is attributed to different types or styles of communication (e.g., Coupland, 2007; but also social effects demonstrated in the work of mimicry, audience design, and CS). To be able to assign social meaning to action, there must be a reference point; here, that reference point is a set of expectations for what constitutes "appropriate" behavior in a given context.
5. *Many of these adjustment processes are unconscious and automatic, though they may also be conscious and deliberate.* As demonstrated convincingly by the large body of work documenting the effects of mimicry – which is by definition unconscious – there are clearly a large number of communicative

behaviors that we adjust and adapt outside of conscious awareness. Among these are the use of function words (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002); gestural, postural, facial, and emotional mimicry (Chartrand & van Baaren, 2009); as well as the use (or alternation) of particular languages or dialects, as in CS (e.g., Gumperz, 1982; Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001). Given this, it appears that many instances of communicative adjustment are unconscious, or occur at a very low level of awareness. However, a number of constructs reviewed earlier, among them recipient design, grounding, and audience design, show that language can also be consciously manipulated, often strategically. Adjustments of the conscious sort generally appear to take place at the (content) word level or code level: for example, a speaker may consciously choose to use one word over another after considering how a recipient would react to each choice, or indeed in response to evidence that a recipient does not understand a word that speaker has already tried.

Generally, it appears that initial adjustments made to facilitate common ground or interaction in its most basic are often made unconsciously. If the adjustments that are made unconsciously fail (e.g., interactants signaling that they do not understand; speakers experiencing difficulties engaging their interlocutors in conversation), this may bring the issue to conscious awareness, at which point further adjustments with respect to establishing common ground may be made deliberately. When speakers are consciously pursuing a particular social motive, they may be more likely to engage in conscious or semi-conscious speech behavior (e.g., choosing more complex words in an effort to sound "smart" and impress someone). Here again, such conscious adjustment is likely to occur on the word or code level. However, speakers can and do also engage in unconscious adjustment in pursuit of more fundamental, less conscious social goals such as status, ingroup affiliation, or outgroup distancing.

Communication Accommodation Theory

CAT, the focus of this volume, offers a comparatively robust model for how and why individuals adjust their communication in context. The core concepts of the theory are the focus of the next chapter (Chapter 3); what follows will examine how CAT fares, relatively speaking, as a theoretical framework of communication adjustment.

Adjustment as Fundamental to Interaction

In both the centrality of communication adjustment to the theory and in the range of behaviors and outcomes its theorizing incorporates, CAT is consistent with the first proposition addressing communication adjustment outlined

earlier. Although it began as a framework addressing shifts in accent (Giles, 1973), CAT's present scope is broad: the theory has been applied and tested across a range of verbal and nonverbal communication behaviors, among them accent, code (dialect/language), pitch, speech rate, topic, and discourse management behaviors. Notably, CAT contends that we may simultaneously converge and diverge with different aspects of our communication, an assertion (and degree of complexity) not found in other approaches reviewed in this chapter. CAT has also guided studies across a wide range of applied domains, including intercultural/interethnic, intergenerational, legal, educational, organizational, and computer-mediated interactions (Soliz & Giles, 2014; see Chapters 7–9). These studies have used a wide range of research methods, both quantitative (see Chapter 4) and qualitative (see Chapter 6). This contrasts with other approaches to studying communication adjustment, in which a given construct or theory is more closely tied to a particular methodology or analytic approach (e.g., social scientific experiments or conversation analysis).

Compared to a number of the constructs and theories reviewed earlier (e.g., CS, LSM), CAT also proposes to explain a much broader range of communication forms and outcomes. Finally, CAT is unique in that it addresses motivations at outcomes at the level of both the individual and the social group (e.g., Dragojevic & Giles, 2014). No other theory or construct reviewed here explicitly addresses the joint operation of individual and social identity (see Chapter 7). Thus, CAT offers a broader and more comprehensive approach to studying communication adjustment, both theoretically and empirically, than do alternative frameworks.

Functions of Adjustment

Theorizing on CAT has proposed two distinct functions for communicative adjustment: first, managing social distance and related identity concerns (*affective function*) and second, managing comprehension (*cognitive function*; see Street & Giles, 1982). Broadly, this is consistent with the constructs and theories reviewed earlier: while some focus primarily on the social regulation (e.g., mimicry, response matching) and others on the comprehension and accessibility of information (e.g., recipient design, grounding) this body of theory and research as whole points to these two primary functions (see the second proposition above). To date, empirical and theoretical work using CAT has focused primarily on the affective function of accommodation. Empirical and theoretical research that has been undertaken on the cognitive function has focused on observable linguistic and paralinguistic variables such as lexicon, syntax, speech rate (e.g., Thakerar, Giles, & Cheshire, 1982), and conceptualized adjustments in these areas as helping increase communication "efficiency" (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005). Although it asserts that communication

adjustment is fundamental to social interaction (see Chapter 3) both theorizing and empirical work in CAT generally takes the existence of interaction itself as given; it does not explicitly argue that communication adjustment is what allows interaction to take place, as other approaches do (e.g., LSM, grounding).

Explanations for Adjustment

Turning to explanations for communication adjustment, CAT is once again more specific – and indeed here, also more complete and comprehensive – than most other theories and constructs addressing interpersonal adjustment. CAT is premised on the idea that interpersonal and intergroup relationships are mediated and managed through communication (Gallois & Giles, 1998). Implicit in this statement, and in related theorizing, is the notion that communication adjustment can be proactive and reactive, which is consistent with the third proposition addressing communication adjustment advanced earlier. CAT proposes that adjustment is used to regulate social distance *in pursuit of positive personal and social identities*. Providing an explanation for social effects is a significant contribution to theorizing about communication adjustment, and one of CAT's strengths.

As Table 2.1 shows, a number of constructs in the domain of communication adjustment are just that – constructs – and as such do not provide explanations for *why* we adjust. Those that do offer a social explanation for adjustment (notably IAT, though also mimicry and CS) tend to have broad statements referencing the general human need for affiliation and comfort (e.g., Burgoon & Ebesu Hubbard, 2005) or are fairly speculative (e.g., Chartrand & van Baaren, 2009). Compared to these, the explanation proposed by CAT is relatively specific and concrete. Other constructs (e.g., recipient design, grounding, LSM) either explicitly state or imply that we adjust in order to facilitate communication and interaction as a process (cognitive function of adjustment). CAT also acknowledges this function of communication adjustment, though the theory's main contribution to describing, understanding, and predicting communicative behavior arguably lies in its use of social identity as an explanatory mechanism. Given the amount of support that predictions generated by this aspect of the theory have received (see Chapter 3; Soliz & Giles, 2014), this should be seen as an important contribution to theorizing about communication adjustment.

"Appropriate" Adjustment: Perceptions, Attributions, and Nonaccommodation

Consistent with the fourth proposition earlier, CAT acknowledges that people have expectations for what constitutes "appropriate" adjustment; according to

the theory, these expectations are grounded in the socio-historical context of a given interaction. Compared to other approaches, CAT's treatment of this issue and its implications is quite robust. CAT includes processes of perception, attribution, and evaluation of speakers' behavior as central components of its framework (see Chapters 3 & 5). Other communication theories also suggest that evaluation of communication behavior (presumably, relative to a set of standards for appropriateness) takes place – for example, IAT posits that it is evaluation of the interaction position relative to actual behavior that determines the type of adjustment individuals make. However, CAT does so in a way that is more structured and systematic, allowing for complexities that other models and constructs do not address.

First and foremost among these complexities is the distinction between objective and subjective adjustment (see Chapter 3). CAT acknowledges that the intention to accommodate or the impression that one is accommodating does not necessarily correspond to objective accommodation, in terms of communication behavior. This distinction, in conjunction with CAT's incorporation of perception and attribution processes, allows for modeling a situation in which one party believes that they are adjusting adequately (i.e., they are psychologically accommodating), but the other party does not perceive it as such (see Chapter 5). While parts of this situation could be understood separately with other theories (e.g., audience design or recipient design might explain how or why the first speaker adjusted as he did, and IAT could be used to predict the recipient's response), CAT can explain the interaction as a whole, and offers predictions for consequences that follow.

Second, in terms of these consequences, CAT's incorporation of attribution and evaluation processes addresses consequences that go beyond the immediate interaction. Unlike other constructs and theories, in CAT, perceptions and evaluations of behavior are theorized to result in attributions about the speaker (e.g., politeness, competence, empathy) and the speaker's group, as well as have consequences for speakers' desires to engage in future interaction. Although work in sociolinguistics considers the social consequences of particular language choices (see Coupland, 2007), neither theorizing in audience design nor theorizing in CS explicitly addresses attributions, or makes concrete predictions about the effect of present communication adjustment on future interactions.

Third and finally, CAT also offers particular insight how people perceive and evaluate communication that is *not* adjusted as they expect or desire (i.e., nonaccommodation; see Chapter 5). CAT is not the only theory or construct to consider this issue; CS, DAT, and IAT all address divergence, or adjusting one's communication "away" from another's, as a means of differentiating oneself, increasing social distance, and/or excluding another from an interaction. However, CAT's treatment of the issue is more comprehensive than

that offered by other theories. Nonaccommodation in CAT includes not only divergence, which can be defined psychologically or linguistically, but also the constructs of underaccommodation and overaccommodation (Coupland, Coupland, Giles, & Henwood, 1988; see also Chapter 5). As this is an interesting and important area of inquiry, both a theoretical framework and relatively robust research program addressing this issue is another important strength and contribution of CAT to work on communication adjustment.

Automaticity and Adjustment

One of the biggest unresolved questions in CAT is that of awareness: are speakers aware of the adjustments that they are making? (Are listeners, in turn, aware of adjustments that speakers are making?) To date, the theory has not taken a stance on whether the processes it proposes are conscious or unconscious (i.e., automatic). As indicated earlier, a review of related constructs and theories across fields, unfortunately, does not resolve this question definitively. However, it does offer some insight into when processes may or may not be conscious.

Bargh and Chartrand (1999) define conscious processes as those that we are aware of, that we intend, that require effort, and that we can control. Automatic or unconscious processes are the converse: that is, those that we are not aware of, do not intend, do not require effort, and cannot control. Research in the area of automaticity has shown that a great deal of what we do, from evaluations to physical behavior, is in fact automatic as opposed to conscious (e.g., Bargh, 2006; Bargh & Chartrand, 1999; Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996). Other research in social cognition has shown that people have relatively little insight into their own cognitive processes and that people are often unaware of important stimuli that influence responses and/or that a given stimulus have produced responses in question. Rather, people tend to construct reports of their own cognitive processes based on plausible a priori theories of behavior (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977).

Considering communication adjustment specifically, research in the area of mimicry has demonstrated that a broad range of verbal and nonverbal behaviors are adjusted unconsciously over the course of interaction. These include accent, speech rate, utterance duration, latency, syntax, gesture, posture, emotion, and facial expression. In experiments, participants typically do not report awareness of mimicry having taken place; adjustment of these behaviors also does not appear to be affected by cognitive load, and correlates more consistently with implicit than explicit attitudes (Chartrand & van Baaren, 2009). All of this supports the contention that adjustment in these domains is automatic as opposed to conscious. That speakers will insist that they have consistently spoken one code when in fact they have engaged in CS (often expressing

surprise when tapes of the conversation are replayed for them; e.g., Gumperz, 1982) suggests that in addition to the variables outlined earlier, adjustment of code (i.e., language and/or dialect) may also be unconscious. Finally, work in LSM (e.g., Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2002) demonstrates that adjustment occurs at the level of function words, but that such adjustments occur outside the awareness of both speakers and third party judges. Thus, there is evidence that gestural, postural, linguistic and paralinguistic adjustments can and do occur automatically.

However, many of these adjustments also can occur consciously: if we choose to, we can alter our volume, pitch, gesture, posture, syntax, word choice, and facial expressions, as well as many other characteristics of our communication. A simple example is a situation in which our interlocutor indicates that they do not understand us: while there is some evidence that an initial (and likely unconscious) response is to repeat what we have just said louder and slower (Berger & di Battista, 1993), higher order adaptation (see e.g., Berger, 1997) often entails conscious consideration of other ways to phrase or explain the point we are trying to get across. When certain words or phrases can signal that speakers are from a particular group, they may consciously use or avoid these words to (respectively) indicate or avoid indicating their association with that group identity (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013; see also, Chapter 7). However, consciously thinking about how we are communicating takes cognitive energy (consider how it feels to speak another language when one attempts to translate phrase-by-phrase). As such, it seems unlikely that conscious adjustment would be an interactional "default", particularly in routine interactions.

Taken together, these findings and examples suggest that unless there are intervening conditions, people are likely not aware of many of the adjustments in communication that they make in context. However, in situations where automatic adjustments do not produce the desired outcome (as in the case of an interlocutor expressing a lack of comprehension), or where a social goal is particularly salient (such as avoiding undesirable social labeling), people may consciously adjust their communication on any number of dimensions. With that said, there has been surprisingly little systematic study of this issue; when and why people adjust their communication consciously versus automatically is an open and interesting area for future empirical work.

Conclusions

In sum, considered in the context of other theories and constructs of communication adjustment, CAT fares quite well. It applies to adjustments across a range of verbal and nonverbal behaviors, outlines two basic functions for adjustment (i.e., regulation of comprehension and social distance), contends that adjustment can be proactive or reactive, and acknowledges that people

have norms for adjustment. Indeed, when compared to the five propositions outlined earlier, it is consistent with the first four, though silent on the fifth (regarding automaticity).

In other areas, CAT provides important insights that other constructs and theories do not. First, its invocation of social identity as an explanatory mechanism for communication adjustments and their effects is a significant contribution, as evinced by the support that predictions generated by this part of the theory have received (see Soliz & Giles, 2014). Second, its elaboration of the role of perceptions and evaluations of behavior allows for a more nuanced understanding than other constructs or theories do of the forms communication adjustment can take (e.g., subjective, objective, linguistic, psychological) and the effects that different kinds of adjustments (or lack of adjustment) may have. Third, it acknowledges that we may simultaneously converge and diverge on different dimensions of our communication, addressing a level of interactional complexity that other approaches do not. Fourth and finally, CAT provides considerable insight into how individuals perceive, evaluate, and manage communication that is not adjusted appropriately, an issue other theories and constructs generally do not elaborate. The following chapter, which focuses on accommodative strategies at the core of the theory, provides more detail on CAT's treatment of these issues.

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3 Accommodative Strategies as Core of the Theory

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Several years ago, one of our partners had a temporary condition that left her unable to speak louder than a whisper. Much to her surprise, when she spoke, others would respond to her in a whisper, despite having no such condition themselves. Why? Simply put, in interaction, we adjust and adapt to our fellow speakers. Communicative adjustment is ubiquitous and constitutes a fundamental, and arguably necessary, part of successful social interaction (see Chapter 1, this volume). Upon entering a communicative encounter, people immediately (and often unconsciously) begin to synchronize aspects of their verbal (e.g., accent, speech rate) and nonverbal behavior (e.g., gesture, posture). These adjustments are at the core of communication accommodation theory (CAT).

This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of how, when, and why people adjust, or "accommodate," to one another during social interaction, and what the social consequences of those adjustments are. In the sections that follow, we first introduce the different adjustment strategies people may enact during interaction, as well as distinguish between objective and subjective measures of accommodation. Next, we examine the motivations underlying communicative adjustment, noting the ways in which they are shaped by the context in which the interaction is embedded. We then discuss the social consequences of communicative adjustment, as well as factors that moderate people's evaluations. Finally, we present a number of heuristic principles addressing accommodation.

Adjustment Strategies and Types of Adjustment

Convergence, Divergence, and Maintenance

Early CAT research focused primarily on objective speech variables and identified three basic ways in which people can adjust their communicative behaviors relative to one another: convergence, divergence, and maintenance (for a brief history of the historical development of CAT, see the Foreword, this volume). *Convergence* refers to adjusting one's communicative behaviors

to be more similar to another's. Convergence has been studied extensively in laboratory as well as naturalistic settings. Recently, researchers have increasingly begun to examine convergence in mediated and online environments as well (e.g., Riordan, Markman, & Stewart, 2013). For instance, Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil, Gamon, and Dumais (2011) investigated adjustment on Twitter and found that users regularly converged to one another in their tweets on a wide range of linguistic features, despite the limitations posed by this particular social medium. Interestingly, people have been shown to converge not only toward human, but also toward computer conversational partners (but see Beckner, Ràcz, Hay, Brandstetter, & Bartneck, 2016). For instance, when interacting with computer-animated personas, children have been shown to converge in terms of both speech amplitude (Coulston, Oviatt, & Darves, 2002) and response latencies (Darves & Oviatt, 2002).

Divergence refers to adjusting one's communicative behaviors to be more dissimilar to another's. For example, Bourhis and Giles (1977) found that when an English speaker described Welsh as a "dying language with a dismal future," Welsh participants overwhelmingly broadened their Welsh accents and some even introduced Welsh vocabulary into their responses. Finally, *maintenance* refers to sustaining one's "default" level of communicating, without adjusting for others. For example, Bourhis (1984) had a female confederate approach bilingual (English-French) pedestrians in downtown Montreal (Quebec) to ask for directions in either English or French. When the request was voiced in French, nearly half of the Anglophone pedestrians nonetheless responded in English (i.e., maintenance of default language).

Convergence and divergence can each take multiple forms (Gallois & Giles, 1998), depending on the social value, degree, symmetry, modality, and duration of the behavior. Below we discuss each of these distinctions.

Upward/Downward. When the dimension of adjustment has some social value, adjustment can be conceptualized as *upward* or *downward* (Giles & Powesland, 1975). Upward adjustment refers to shifts toward a more prestigious variety of speech, whereas downward adjustment refers to shifts toward a less prestigious, or even stigmatized, variety. For instance, so-called standard accents (e.g., Standard American English) are typically judged as more prestigious than "nonstandard" accents, which include most regional (e.g., southern accent in the U.S.) ethnic (e.g., African-American Vernacular English) and foreign varieties in a given society (e.g., Spanish accent in the U.S.) (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013). Accordingly, a nonstandard speaker matching another's standard accent is an example of upward convergence, whereas a standard speaker matching another's nonstandard accent is an example of downward convergence (see Willemyns, Gallois, Callan, & Pittam, 1997). Conversely, accentuating one's own nonstandard accent with a standard-accented speaker is an example of downward divergence, whereas adopting

a standard-accent with a nonstandard-accented speaker is an example of upward divergence.

Full/Partial. Adjustment can also be described as either full or partial (Bradac, Mulac, & House, 1988). For instance, a speaker initially exhibiting a rate of 100 words per minute may increase his speed to match exactly another speaker's rate of 200 words per minute (full convergence) or may increase his rate to 150 words per minute to only partially match her rate (Street, 1982). Similarly, interactants may diverge from one another to varying degrees, ranging from partial (e.g., code-switching for a few words) to full divergence (e.g., speaking an entirely different language).

Symmetrical/Asymmetrical. Sometimes adjustment is *symmetrical* and one person's communicative moves are reciprocated by the other. For instance, Nelson, Dickson, & Hargie (2003) reported how both Catholic and Protestant children in Northern Ireland avoided sensitive topics (e.g., religion, politics) during interreligious conversations, citing this as a way to avoid conflict and promote group harmony. At other times, however, one person's communicative moves are not reciprocated by the other. Indeed, convergence is often directed toward those with greater power (without reciprocation by the high-power speaker); such shifts tend to *asymmetrical*. For example, van den Berg (1986) noted that salespersons in Taiwan were more likely to converge to shoppers than vice versa. A similar pattern of asymmetrical accommodation occurs frequently in male–female interactions, where women converge to men more often than men converge to women (e.g., Namy, Nygaard, & Sauerteig, 2002). However, and as discussed later, in such cases asymmetrical accommodation may more accurately be described as "complementarity," and be perceived positively by both parties (Giles, 1980).

Unimodal/Multimodal. Adjustment on some communicative features does not necessarily mean the speaker will adjust on *all* available variables and dimensions. Accordingly, CAT distinguishes between unimodal and multimodal adjustments. The former refers to shifts on only a single dimension (e.g., accent) whereas the latter refers to shifts on multiple dimensions simultaneously (e.g., accent, posture, eye gaze). For example, in the Bourhis and Giles (1977) study described earlier, Welsh participants who responded to the threatening English person by only broadening their Welsh accents were engaging in *unimodal divergence*, whereas those who broadened their Welsh accents as well as introduced Welsh vocabulary into their responses were engaging in *multimodal divergence*.

Owing to the fact that adjustment can take place on multiple dimensions, convergence and divergence are not mutually exclusive strategies and both may be enacted simultaneously (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005). For example, Bilous and Krauss (1988) found that women converged toward men's utterance length, interruptions, and pauses, but diverged on backchannels and

laughter. Relatedly, Zilles and King (2005) showed how immigrant German women in Brazil simultaneously accommodated to host language features and emphasized their Germanic linguistic origins.

Short-term/Long-term. Adjustment can also vary in its duration. Sometimes adjustment toward a particular style is short-lived and occurs during only one or a few social interactions (short-term). Other times, adjustment toward a particular style is more sustained and occurs repeatedly over multiple interactions (long-term). For instance, Pardo, Gibbons, Suppes, and Krauss (2012) examined accommodation among unacquainted male roommates over the course of an academic year and found that mutual convergence not only increased over that period but also was resistant to decay across breaks in exposure (see also Sancier & Fowler, 1997).

The distinction between short- and long-term accommodation has been particularly useful in explaining dialect change (Trudgill, 1981, 1986). Specifically, whereas short-term accommodation toward a particular style may lead to transitory changes in a person's habitual speech, long-term accommodation toward that style may ultimately result in permanent changes to a person's speech. For instance, a young Russian-accented immigrant's repeated convergence to a Californian accent may, over time, permanently change his or her habitual accent so that it becomes indistinguishable from other Californians. A similar process underlies community-level dialect change, wherein regional minorities typically engage in long-term accommodation to the language style of the majority (Nilsson, 2015; Trudgill, 1986). In this sense, then, (long-term) accommodation is a basic mechanism underlying language change.

Psychological, Subjective, and Objective Accommodation

Sometimes speakers' motives and intentions to accommodate and their actual communicative behaviors are congruent. At other times, however, they are incongruent. To account for this potential discrepancy, Thakerar, Giles, and Cheshire (1982) distinguished between *psychological* accommodation – that is, speakers' motives and intentions to adjust their communication – and *linguistic* accommodation – that is, speakers' actual speech behavior. For example, in many role-discrepant situations, dissimilarities are not only acceptable but also expected (Grush, Clore, & Costin, 1975). Thus, a job interviewee wishing to accommodate to her interviewer (i.e., psychological convergence) may do so by *not* assuming the directive, interrogative language of the interviewer (i.e., linguistic convergence), but rather by crafting a more tempered and cooperative communicative style (i.e., linguistic divergence). Similarly, psychological divergence can sometimes be enacted precisely through linguistic convergence. In this vein, Woolard (1989) reported that when Castilian speakers converged to Catalan during conversations with

Catalan speakers, they received replies in Castilian. Although both Castilian and Catalan speakers converged to one another in their respective choices of language, Catalan speakers' convergent behavior (i.e., switching to Castilian) actually represented psychological divergence in an attempt to emphasize intergroup differences and boundaries (i.e., not allowing an outgroup to use Catalan).

Thakerar et al. (1982) further distinguished linguistic accommodation as being *objective* – that is, directly observable or measurable shifts in behavior – and/or *subjective* – that is, individuals' perceptions of behavioral shifts. Like its psychological and linguistic counterparts, objective and subjective accommodation are not always aligned. For example, speakers may perceive their behavior as convergent when, in fact, it is objectively divergent. In this vein, Thakerar et al. (1982) observed that, in dyads characterized by status inequality, high-status participants slowed their speech rates and made their accents less standard, whereas low-status speakers increased their speech rates and made their accents more standard. Although both were objectively *diverging* from one another, each perceived that they were *converging*.

In the previous example, both high- and low-status speakers were likely adjusting their communication to their (status-based) expectations of their conversational partners. Indeed, people often adjust their communication toward where they *believe* others are communicatively, rather than were they actually are (Thakerar et al., 1982). Although sometimes people's expectations of how others will behave and their actual behaviors are one and the same, other times they may be incongruent. Such erroneous expectations are especially likely to occur during intergroup encounters – that is, situations in which people define one another primarily in terms of their social identities (i.e., social group memberships) rather than their personal identities (i.e., idiosyncratic characteristics) – because social categorization depersonalizes people's perceptions of others and leads to stereotyped expectations (Dragojevic & Giles, 2014; Hogg & Reid, 2006). Expectations based on stereotypes can lead speakers to overadjust (i.e., overaccommodate) or not adjust sufficiently (i.e., underaccommodate) their communicative behaviors relative to their interlocutors (see Chapter 5, this volume). For instance, Bayard (1995) found that women and men swore at similar rates during *intra* gender conversations, but that women swore more than men (i.e., overaccommodated) during *inter* gender conversations, presumably because they *expected* (in this case erroneously) men to swear more than women.

Accommodation Strategies

Adjustment can also be conceptualized in terms of its focus or goal relative to a conversational partner's needs and characteristics (Coupland, Coupland, Giles,

& Henwood, 1988), in at least five ways. First, when interactants focus their attention on their partners' productive language and communication, they can employ *approximation strategies*, which involve (as earlier) adjusting their verbal and nonverbal behaviors toward (convergence) or away from (divergence) their interlocutor (see Giles & Wadleigh, 2008; McGlone & Giles, 2011). Most CAT research has focused on these strategies. Second, when interactants focus on their partners' ability to comprehend what is being said, they can employ *interpretability strategies*, such as decreasing the diversity of their vocabulary, simplifying syntax, or becoming louder in order to increase clarity and comprehension. Third, when speakers are focused on their partners' macro-conversational needs, they can employ *discourse management strategies*. These include regulating speaking turns and selecting or selecting conversational topics of mutual interest or concern. Fourth, when speakers are focused on role relationships within an interaction, they may adopt *interpersonal control strategies*, such as the use of interruptions or honorifics, to remind the partner of their relative status or role. Fifth and finally, when speakers are concerned about another's feelings, they can employ *emotional expressions*, such as conveying reassurance and comfort (see Williams, Giles, Coupland, Dalby, & Manasse, 1990; Watson, Angus, Gore, & Farmer, 2015). Just as speakers can converge and diverge on different dimensions at the same time, speakers can adopt multiple strategies simultaneously – for example, one could simplify an explanation to aid interpretability *and* to remind a subordinate of their social position – and what goals or characteristics speakers attend to may vary over the course of an interaction (Gallois et al., 2005; Jain & Krieger, 2011).

Motives for Adjustment

Sometimes we adapt our communication to our fellow speakers unconsciously and automatically. Other times, these adjustments are conscious and deliberate. CAT proposes two distinct motives for adjusting communication (Giles, Scherer, & Taylor, 1979). The first is an *affective* (identity maintenance) motive, related to managing identity concerns. The second is a *cognitive* (organizational) motive, related to managing comprehension and communicative efficiency. The two motives are not mutually exclusive, and communicative behaviors may be motivated by both types of concerns.

Affective Motives

CAT is premised on the assumption that communication conveys not only referential, but also social and relational information. CAT also assumes, per social identity theory (SIT: Tajfel & Turner, 1986), that the self-concept

consists of personal (i.e., idiosyncratic characteristics) and social (i.e., social group memberships) identity components, and that people want to create and maintain positive personal and social identities. Following from this, CAT posits that speakers can pursue positive personal and social identities by communicatively regulating social distance and, thus, signaling their attitudes toward each other as individuals and group members.

Cooperative accommodation (including convergence) is motivated by a desire for social approval from one's interlocutors, as a means to positively reinforce one's own personal and/or social identity. Following the similarity-attraction paradigm (Byrne, 1971; see also, Sprecher, 2014), CAT posits that speakers can increase personal and social liking and gain others' social approval by becoming communicatively more similar to them (i.e., converging) (see Wang & Fussell, 2010). For example, speakers may converge to their interlocutors' idiosyncratic communicative behaviors (e.g., speech rate, gestures) so as to appear more similar to them and thus engender liking. Indeed, Natalé (1975) found that speakers with a high need for social approval converged to their conversational partners' vocal intensity and pause length to a greater extent than did those with a low need for social approval. That said, accommodative moves may also be fashioned by disingenuous motives, such as the desire to exploit one's interlocutor (see Giles, Ota, & Foley, 2013). Speakers may also converge to their interlocutors' socially marked communicative behaviors (e.g., accent, dialect) to signal that they belong to the same social group and, thus, secure potential social reward (cf. Tajfel & Turner, 1986). For example, Tamburrini, Cinnirella, Jansen, and Bryden (2015) found that Twitter users converged to the language style of other members who belonged the same online social communities (e.g., Twilight fans), presumably to indicate common ingroup membership.

Non-cooperative accommodation (including divergence and maintenance) is generally motivated by a desire to emphasize distinctiveness from one's interlocutors, as a means to differentiate oneself from relevant outgroups and positively reinforce one's own personal and/or social identity (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). For example, Berger and Heath (2008) noted that people often diverged in terms of clothing and apparel from select others to avoid signaling socially undesirable group identities (e.g., geek). Additionally, members of ethnic and social minorities may emphasize features of their own (perhaps stigmatized) dialects when they become aware and proud of their cultural identity, as did the Welsh speakers in response to an English person derogating their language described earlier (Bourhis & Giles, 1977). Speakers may also diverge from their interlocutors' idiosyncratic communicative behaviors as a way to signal their disapproval of others as individuals. For instance, Putnam and Street (1984) found that when interviewees were instructed to act

out being dislikeable, they diverged from their interviewers on a variety of non-content speech features.

Although these distinctions and patterns appear straightforward, the actual dynamics of conversation are often far more complex. People belong to many different social groups and, in a given situation, are likely to share some (e.g., ethnicity, age) but not all of these identities (e.g., gender) with their interlocutors. Furthermore, these different identities are likely to vary in salience across different encounters, as well as at different points within the same encounter, with accommodative moves following accordingly. For instance, Jones, Gallois, Barker, and Callan (1994) found that, in an academic setting, ethnic group membership did not predict communicative behavior, but professional group membership did.

Cognitive Motives

In addition to the identity maintenance concerns outlined earlier, CAT posits that communicative adjustment may also be motivated by a desire to regulate comprehension and increase communicative efficiency (Thakerar et al., 1982). Motivated as such, speakers can assess their interlocutors' communicative needs and characteristics, and adjust their speech to be more (or less) intelligible, predictable, and comprehensible. Indeed, converging to a common linguistic style often improves communicative effectiveness and has been associated with increased predictability of the other and, in turn, reduced uncertainty, interpersonal anxiety, and increased mutual understanding (e.g., Gudykunst, 1995).

Comprehension can also be facilitated through divergent shifts (Street & Giles, 1982). For instance, speakers may diverge from their interlocutors to encourage the latter to adopt a more effective communicative style – for instance, by slowing down one's speech in order to re-calibrate an overly fast-talking partner (Brown, Giles, & Thakerar, 1982). Similarly, therapists may diverge from their patients by decreasing the amount of talking they do, to encourage patients to talk more (Matarazzo, Weins, Matarazzo, & Saslow, 1968).

Divergence can also be used to indicate that certain spheres of knowledge and behaviors may not be shared among interactants, with the goal of preventing misunderstandings or misattributions. For instance, non-native speakers sometimes deliberately "self-handicap" (Weary & Arkin, 1981) by broadening their accent when talking to native speakers in their host community. Such a divergent shift signals that they are not members of or familiar with the host community, and that any norms they violate should be attributed to their ignorance and non-nativeness, rather than to malevolent intent. In some situations, speakers may also diverge from others intentionally with the goal of making communication problematic (Giles et al., 1991).

Motivational Processes

CAT conceptualizes motivation as an emergent *process* that can dynamically change during the course of interaction. People enter a given communicative encounter with an *initial orientation*. As the interaction progresses, this initial orientation is transformed into a *psychological accommodative stance*, based on the salience of different identities and interactants' perceptions of their own and others behaviors.

Initial orientation. How people initially adjust their communication is a function of their *initial orientation*, or their predisposition to construe one another in interpersonal or intergroup terms in conjunction with their initial intentions with respect to accommodation (Gallois et al., 2005). CAT proposes several macro-level factors that can influence interactants' initial orientation, including interpersonal history, sociocultural norms and values, and the current and past state of relevant intergroup relations.

Interpersonal history. Interactants' interpersonal history can vary in terms of duration – that is, from no contact (e.g., meeting someone for the first time) to a long-term relationship (e.g., a married couple) – and in terms of valance – that is, from predominantly negative to predominantly positive. When interactants share a positive interpersonal history, they are more likely to adopt an interpersonal orientation and converge toward one another. In contrast, when their interpersonal history is negative, they are more likely to diverge from one another (Gallois et al., 2005).

Sociocultural norms. Sociocultural norms and values specify with whom, when, and how it is appropriate to interact. As such, they not only circumscribe the available opportunities for intergroup contact, but also shape interactants' behaviors. For instance, sociocultural norms often specify what (sort of) language is appropriate to speak in a given situation (Gallois & Callan, 1991). One such norm is the expectation that speakers will converge to those who speak the "standard," or prestige variety of a language (e.g., Standard American English), particularly in status-stressing situations, such as a job interview (Giles & Marlow, 2011). The tendency to treat others in interpersonal versus intergroup terms is also likely to vary culturally. Collectivist cultures tend to share strong beliefs about ingroup identification and loyalty, emphasize group identity over personal identity, and perceive relatively firm intergroup boundaries. In contrast, individualistic cultures tend to have weaker beliefs about ingroup identification and loyalty, emphasize personal over group identity, and perceive intergroup boundaries as relatively permeable. As a result, members of collectivistic cultures tend to be less receptive to convergence from outgroup speakers and are more likely to diverge from them than are members of individualistic cultures (e.g., Aritz & Walker, 2010). In this vein, Ross and Shortreed (1990) noted that when non-native speakers in

Japan attempt to converge linguistically toward their Japanese interlocutors, they sometimes receive replies in English rather than Japanese. In other words, when cultural boundaries are strongly adhered to, attempts to cross them may be unwelcome.

Intergroup relations. Current and past relations between social groups can also be an important determinant of whether people initially construe one another in interpersonal or intergroup terms (see Dragojevic & Giles, 2014), and whether they are motivated to converge or diverge. When interactants belong to groups that have historically been involved in hostile or violent relations, they are more likely to construe the encounter in intergroup terms and to diverge from one another as a way to emphasize their valued ingroup identity. One important construct in the analysis of the relations between cultural and ethnic groups is *ethnolinguistic vitality* (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1981). A group's vitality is determined by three factors: its *status* (i.e., economical and sociocultural prestige), *demography* (i.e., number and distribution of speakers), and the degree of *institutional support* (i.e., representation in social institutions such as education or government) it enjoys. Although many dimensions of vitality can be measured objectively, interlocutors' *perceptions* of their respective groups' vitalities are better predictors of their attitudes during interaction (Giles et al., 1977). CAT posits that historically strong collectives (i.e., high vitality groups) are more likely to diverge in intergroup situations. Moreover, members who have a strong attachment and loyalty to their ingroup group (i.e., high ingroup identification) are more likely to diverge than those who have only a weak attachment. In this vein, Giles and Johnson (1987) found that Welsh participants who were strongly identified with the ingroup diverged from a threatening English person even when their sense of group vitality was low. However, for those Welsh participants who only moderately identified with the ingroup, a sense of high ingroup vitality was required for divergence. CAT also suggests that divergence is more likely to occur when group members feel that their status in the intergroup hierarchy is illegitimate and unfair (see also, Vincze & Henning-Lindblom, in press).

Psychological accommodative stance. Once people begin to interact, their initial orientation is transformed into their *psychological accommodative stance*, or their immediate and ongoing intentions with respect to accommodation (Gallois et al., 2005). A speaker's accommodative stance is shaped by their perception of the salience of personal and social identities in the interaction, as well as their perceptions of their partners' motives and behaviors. In this respect, one's stance is dynamic and has the potential to shift on an ongoing basis throughout the encounter (see Genesee & Bourhis, 1982), as interlocutors react and respond to perceptions of each other's behaviors, needs, and motives. For instance, an initially accommodative stance can quickly

become nonaccommodative when one of a speaker's social identities becomes salient and they wish to positively differentiate themselves from their partner on this dimension. In this vein, Bourhis, Giles, Leyens, and Tajfel (1979) found that when a French confederate asked trilingual (Flemish-English-French) Flemish students a content-neutral question in English, the students converged to English. However, when the French confederate diverged into French to voice an ethnically threatening question, the Flemish students overwhelmingly diverged into Flemish and vehemently disagreed with the French confederate's statements. In other words, the French confederate's threatening question changed the Flemish students' initially accommodative orientation into a *non*accommodative one.

Constraints on Adjustment

There is an inherent tension between people's *motivation* to adjust and their *ability* to adjust (Beebe & Giles, 1984). In other words, regardless of motivation, whether, how, and to what extent people adjust their communication depends, in part, on their ability to perform the behavior in the first place. A number of factors can constrain people's ability to accommodate.

First, adjustment is necessarily constrained by one's communicative repertoire, or the set of verbal, nonverbal, and paralinguistic features that they are able to produce and have at their disposal (Gumperz, 1964, 1965). Accommodation within one's existing repertoire involves altering the usage frequency of variants already within one's control, whereas accommodation outside one's speech repertoire involves the adoption of totally new forms (Trudgill, 1986). A speaker's communicative repertoire can constrain accommodation by determining which communicative features (e.g., words, gestures) he or she is familiar with and, thus, able to accommodate with relative ease (Beebe & Giles, 1984). However, speakers may also accommodate outside their repertoire. Indeed, the acquisition of new forms is not only possible, but also ubiquitous and, arguably, necessary for successful interaction. Nonetheless, because the adoption of new forms may take considerably more effort and time, we argue that people are more likely to accommodate (at least initially) using existing features within their repertoires, rather than to adopt new features outside their repertoires. Consistent with this argument, Bigham (2010) found that Southern Illinoisan university students accommodated to Northern forms primarily by reducing the range or redistributing the frequency of vowels they used within their existing repertoires, rather than by adopting entirely new (Northern) forms. When situations require linguistic accommodation outside speakers' repertoire, they may switch to an emphasis on the affective, rather than the cognitive, motives: Gasiorek, Van de Poel, and Blockmans (2015) found that when doctors in a multilingual hospital setting

could not linguistically accommodate their patients, they tried to use alternative modes of communication (e.g., gestures, relying on an electronic translation tool) and emphasized the social and relational aspects of the interaction.

Second, there are physiological constraints on people's ability to accommodate, particularly with regard to the adoption of novel linguistic forms outside their repertoires. For instance, regardless of motivation, a severely autistic individual may never be able to acquire certain communicative skills. Physiological constraints are especially pertinent to the production of different speech sounds. The human vocal apparatus is structurally universal and, assuming no developmental handicaps, we are all born with the ability to perceive and produce the full range of possible sounds (see Kuhl, 2004; Kuhl & Iverson, 1995). However, as we learn to speak particular languages and dialects, we restrict ourselves to those sounds and our ability to perceptually differentiate and successfully produce other sounds slowly begins to atrophy over time. As a result, past a certain age, it becomes increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to successfully and consistently adopt accents different from one's own (Lippi-Green, 2012). This is precisely the reason why most people who learn a second language late in life are rarely (if ever) able to achieve native-like pronunciation and, thus, may never be able to fully converge to native speakers. Indeed, even among young children, certain types of complex phonological differentiation may never be accommodated successfully (see Trudgill, 1981).

Third, peoples' ability to accommodate on different dimensions is constrained by the communication medium. The communication medium necessarily determines *which* and *how many* dimensions are available for adjustment. For instance, whereas it is possible to converge toward another's accent, eye gaze, and gestures during face-to-face interactions, these dimensions are unavailable in most types of computer-mediated-communication (e.g., email, Twitter).

Outcomes of Adjustment

As outlined earlier, CAT proposes that speakers form judgments of each other, and each others' communication, on the basis of the accommodation they perceive; these judgments also inform speakers' desire to engage in future interaction. Most CAT work to date has focused on evaluations (of the speaker and of the quality of communication) as outcomes of accommodation; however, other correlates studied include compliance, credibility, and relational solidarity (see Soliz & Giles, 2014).

General Patterns

Convergence typically elicits favorable evaluations, particularly when it is symmetrical (Richmond & McCroskey, 2000), and has been shown to increase

a speaker's perceived attractiveness (e.g., Street, Brady, & Putnam, 1983), intelligibility (Triandis, 1960), interpersonal involvement (LaFrance, 1979), and perceived competence and credibility (Aune & Kikuchi, 1993), as well as to facilitate compliance (Buller, LePoire, Aune, & Eloy, 1992), build rapport (Acosta & Ward, 2011; Crook & Booth, 1997), and increase relational solidarity (Imamura, Zhang, & Harwood, 2011). Convergence has also been linked to increased agreement between coalition partners during online multiparty negotiations (Huffaker, Swaab, & Diermeier, 2011), more successful negotiations between police negotiators and hostage takers (Taylor & Thomas, 2008), more positive attitudes toward and increased intention to purchase products (Run & Fah, 2006), improved polling figures for politicians converging to opponents in American Presidential debates (Romero, Swaah, Uzzi, & Galinsky, 2015), and more prosocial behavior in general (Kulezsa, Dolinski, Huisman, & Majewski, 2014). Interestingly, the relatively consistent and broad positive implications of convergence have recently served as an impetus for the development of more "human" computer systems that are able to accommodate to their users. For example, Acosta and Ward (2001) developed a spoken dialog system they named "Gracie," which is capable of recognizing users' emotional state from speech and responding with appropriate emotional coloring. An evaluation of this system showed that, consistent with CAT's propositions, respondents felt significantly more rapport with Gracie than with either of two controls.

In contrast, divergence and maintenance tend to be associated with negative relational outcomes and are often characterized as insulting, impolite, or hostile (Deprez & Persoons, 1984; Sandilands & Fleury, 1979). For instance, speakers who deviate from the standard language by maintaining or diverging toward nonstandard varieties (e.g., a Birmingham accent in the UK; African American Vernacular English in the USA) are typically evaluated less favorably on status (e.g., intelligent) and solidarity (e.g., friendly) traits than those who converge (Giles & Watson, 2013). Although this pattern is seen worldwide, the severity of negative evaluations can vary across different groups and cultures. In general, members of low vitality and stigmatized ethnolinguistic groups who fail to accommodate to the standard language tend to garner more negative evaluations than members of high vitality groups. However, when a high-vitality group is perceived to pose a threat to the majority, its members may suffer more extreme sanctions than members of low vitality groups due to the former's relatively higher (perceived) influence within society (Ryan, Hewstone, & Giles, 1984). Negative outcomes stemming from linguistic divergence/maintenance often go beyond mere speaker evaluations and can have important real-world consequences. Examples of these include discrimination in the workplace (Lippi-Green, 1994) and housing (Purnell, Isdardi, & Baugh, 1999); suitability for high-status employment (Giles, Wilson, &

Conway, 1981); and even attributions of guilt and criminality (e.g., Dixon & Mahoney, 2004; Dixon, Mahoney, & Cocks, 2002).

Multiple Meanings

Of course, the general patterns outlined earlier do not always hold. Communicative behaviors often have multiple social meanings and different individuals may have different perceptions of the same behavior. Accordingly, convergence and divergence can both entail costs as well as rewards. For example, although the tendency of members of linguistic minorities to converge to the language of the dominant majority may garner them social rewards (e.g., economic opportunities) in some settings, it may also lead to the potential loss of a valued aspect of their identity (see Marlow & Giles, 2010), as well as ridicule and social marginalization from ingroup members (Giles & Edwards, 2010; Hogg, D'Agata, & Abrams, 1989).

Even when convergence is positively evaluated, *full* convergence may not always be appreciated by interactants. For example, Giles and Smith (1979) found that full convergence on pronunciation, speech rate, and message content was perceived as patronizing (i.e., overaccommodative) and evaluated negatively. Conversely, convergence only on speech content and speech rate was perceived more positively. Although divergence may be a blow to recipients' self-esteem, full convergence may also make them uncomfortable. Giles and Smith (1979) suggested that people have different *tolerance* levels for convergence and that any shifts beyond a person's desired (i.e., optimal) level will be evaluated negatively by recipients. A similar argument was put forth by Preston (1981), who noted that full convergence by foreign-language learners (i.e., native-like fluency) is often met with distrust and perceived as controlling by native speakers (see also, Ross & Shortreed, 1990).

Speakers' notions of what constitutes adequate and optimal levels of convergence or divergence are partially rooted in sociocultural norms for intergroup contact. For instance, during intergender conversations, mutual divergence on some speech characteristics (e.g., pitch) may be construed as socially, if not sexually, appealing and desirable by both parties. Indeed, when men and women interact, men often adopt more-masculine sounding voices by lowering their pitch (Hogg, 1985) whereas women adopt more feminine-sounding voices by raising their pitch (Montepare & Vega, 1988). Although these are, objectively, instances of mutual divergence, they may actually more accurately be labeled as "speech complementarity," given that they may involve psychologically convergent motives, with both parties aiming for a nonverbal stance that conveys their respective gender identity and appeal (Giles et al., 1991).

Perceptions and Attributions

How convergence and divergence are evaluated is partly based on the attributions recipients make about those behaviors – that is, the motives and intentions that they think caused it. Simard, Taylor, and Giles (1976) found that convergence was evaluated more favorably when it was attributed to a speaker's desire to break down cultural barriers (i.e., attribution of deliberate, positive intent), rather than to situational pressures (i.e., not intentional on the part of the speaker). Conversely, speakers who diverged were evaluated less negatively when the behavior was attributed to external pressures, rather than their own malevolent intent (see also Gasiorek, 2013; Gasiorek & Giles, 2012; Chapter 5 this volume).

Attributional processes are susceptible to a range of biases, particularly during intergroup encounters. People tend to favor ingroup over outgroup members and make differential attributions about their behavior (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002; Howard & Rothbart, 1980). In particular, they are more likely to attribute socially desirable behaviors to positive dispositions of ingroup than outgroup members, and socially undesirable behaviors to negative dispositions of outgroup than ingroup members (Hewstone, 1990; Hewstone & Jaspars, 1984).

Other studies have suggested additional factors that may mediate the relationship between speakers' behaviors and recipients' evaluations (see Dorjee, Giles, & Barker, 2010), as well as other outcomes, such as attributed intent (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012; Giles & Gasiorek, 2013). Myers, Giles, Reid, and Nabi (2009) found that intergroup sensitivity partially mediated the relationship between police officers' perceived accommodation and participants' perceptions of those officers' competence and social attractiveness. Additionally, other studies of police-civilian encounters in China, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, Guam, Canada, and the United States have shown that trust mediates the relationship between perceived accommodation and compliance (Barker et al., 2008; Hajek et al., 2008; see also, Scissors, Gill, Geraghty, & Gergle, 2009).

Principles of Accommodation

Over the decades, there have been many publications continually refining and elaborating CAT's proposition format (see Gallois et al., 2005). In their recent review of CAT, Dragojevic, Gasiorek, and Giles (2016) proposed six, arguably more parsimonious than hitherto, principles summarizing the theory's central ideas. In light of the foregoing and Rogerson's (2015) recent work, we refine and elaborate the Principles of Accommodation as follows:

1. Communication accommodation is a ubiquitous and fundamental aspect of social interaction that serves two major functions: first, it helps facilitate coherent interaction and, second, it allows interactants to manage social distance between one another.
2. Individuals have expectations about what constitutes appropriate and desirable accommodation in context, and these expectations are informed by the sociohistorical context of interaction, interpersonal and intergroup histories, and idiosyncratic preferences.
3. The degree and quality of individuals' accommodation in interaction is a function of both their motivation to adjust and their ability to adjust.
4. Speakers will over time increasingly accommodate to the communicative patterns they believe characteristic of their interactants, the more they wish affiliate (i.e., decrease social distance) with their interactants on either an individual or group level, or make their message more easily understood.
5. As a function of the intentions and motives believed to underlie a speaker's communication, perceived accommodation increasingly and cumulatively decreases perceived social distance, enhances interactional satisfaction and positive evaluations of speakers, and facilitates mutual understanding.
6. Speakers will over time increasingly nonaccommodate to the communicative patterns they believed characteristic of their interactants, the more they wish disaffiliate (i.e., increase social distance) with their interactants on either an individual or group level, or make their message more difficult to understand.
7. As a function of the intentions and motives believed to underlie a speaker's communication and the potential consequences of associated outcomes, perceived nonaccommodation increasingly and cumulatively increases perceived social distance, diminishes interactional satisfaction and positive evaluations of speakers, and impedes mutual understanding.

While these seven Principles concentrate on the individual and his/her interpersonal and intergroup motivations, perceptions, and outcomes, contextual and interactional dynamics are not highlighted. Chapter 5 attends to the latter processes by its focus on talk in action, and this uniquely invites an eighth Principle to foreground formally such concerns in CAT.

Of theoretical frameworks seeking to understand how, why, and when people adjust their communicative behaviors relative to one another (see Chapter 1, this volume), CAT has been recognized as "one of the most influential behavioral theories of communication" (Littlejohn & Foss, 2005, p. 147) and, as the meta-analysis of recent studies attests (see Chapter 4, this volume), has garnered considerable empirical support. It has been invoked across a wide range of cultures and languages as well as distinct intergroup settings (see Chapter 7, this volume), using a range of methodologies (see

Chapter 6, this volume). Furthermore, it has been fruitfully applied to a wide variety of applied contexts, including medical, health, legal, and organizational spheres (see Chapters 8 & 9, this volume). The rest of this volume directly speaks to this diversity as it will to future challenges on the horizon (see Chapter 9, this volume).

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4 Methods of CAT Inquiry

Quantitative Studies

Jordan Soliz and Gretchen Bergquist

Emerging from early work focusing on accents and bilingual language shifts (e.g., Giles, 1973), Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) is one of the more influential theories for explaining relational and identity processes that constitute our interactions (Griffin, 2009; Littlejohn, 1999; see Chapter 2). With its focus on explaining how and why individuals adapt their communication in various social and relational contexts, the motivations for enacting certain behaviors, and the social and relational consequences for doing so, CAT serves as heuristic framework for multiple research programs and inquiries across disciplines as outlined in the various chapters in this volume. Likewise, throughout its theoretical lifespan, CAT has been further developed to account for various intergroup and interpersonal processes allowing the tenets of the theory to be applicable to salient social issues (e.g., interethnic relations, ageism, and intergenerational communication, see Chapter 7) and many applied contexts (e.g., health, legal, police–civilian interactions, organizational settings, see Chapters 8 & 9).

With its focus on prediction and explanation, CAT was originally developed within a logical-empirical paradigm as a hypo-deductive framework for investigating human interaction (see Chapters 3 & 6 for specific propositions of the theory). Over the years, the tenets of CAT have grown to encompass a variety of behaviors and psychosocial outcomes above and beyond the original focus of the theory (for a review, see again Chapter 3). Emerging with this expansion of the repertoire of behaviors embraced by the theory (e.g., discourse management, interpersonal control strategies, see Chapters 5 & 6) was a broadening of the methodological approaches guiding CAT-based inquiries.

In fact, in Soliz and Giles' (2014) comprehensive and systematic assessment of empirical studies guided by CAT, one of the more surprising findings was the methodological pluralism clearly present across the body of CAT-based scholarship. For instance, deviating from its early logical-empirical and hypo-deductive roots, CAT has been used fairly regularly by scholars from a more interpretive focus that privileges *qualitative* assessment of language and discourse. Moreover, even within the quantitative realm, the various research designs (e.g., correlational, experimental), locus of assessment (e.g., self and

other ratings, third person evaluations), and other methodological artifacts (e.g., survey instruments) point to very little methodological homogeneity.

It is from this perspective that we write this review chapter. The landscape of qualitative inquiries is covered in Chapter 6 and, thus, the purpose of this chapter is to expand and supplement Soliz and Giles' (2014) analysis with a specific focus on the *quantitative* studies. In doing so, we can further elaborate on the maturation of the theory and identify any shifts from the original 2014 inquiry. Ideally, the summary in this chapter will assist researchers and CAT-theorists in identifying important considerations for future inquiries. In the first section, we summarize the contexts of inquiries with an eye toward the trends over the last few decades. Following this, we review the effect size meta-analysis introduced in Soliz and Giles (2014) including updated statistics based on inclusion of new studies for which effect sizes could be calculated. Our conclusion outlines various issues that we identified in our review of the studies. The discussion in this final section is presented not as a critique of the theory but, rather, as important considerations that are part and parcel of any theoretical progression; especially of a theory with a lengthy interdisciplinary history such as CAT. Prior to our discussion of the contexts of inquiry, we first begin with a brief summary for our process in reviewing the literature.

Literature Search

As this analysis builds off of Soliz and Giles' (2014) review, we included all articles that were part of that analysis. Next, we searched three scholarly databases (*Academic Search Premier*, *Communication & Mass Media Complete*, *PsycInfo*) using the term "communication accommodation theory" and names of prominent scholars who have research programs guided by the theory. We also asked those in the scholarly community to check our list of publications and provide any that may have been missing. Finally, we reviewed references in more recent review chapters of the theory to cross-check our list of empirical works.

After finalizing our database of studies, we reviewed each article for two importation qualifiers for inclusion in our review for this chapter. First, we verified that CAT was central to the study. In some cases, the theory was given a brief mention in the initial part of an article or as part of the discussion and was not a guiding framework for the study. In cases where CAT was identified as serving this cursory role, we discussed the study and made a decision on whether to include the article. If none of the research questions, hypotheses, variables, or analysis were clearly framed from a CAT perspective, they were not included in the review. Second, we verified that the study could be considered a *quantitative* analysis either through traditional quantitative metrics (e.g., close-ended surveys) and analysis or quantification of qualitative

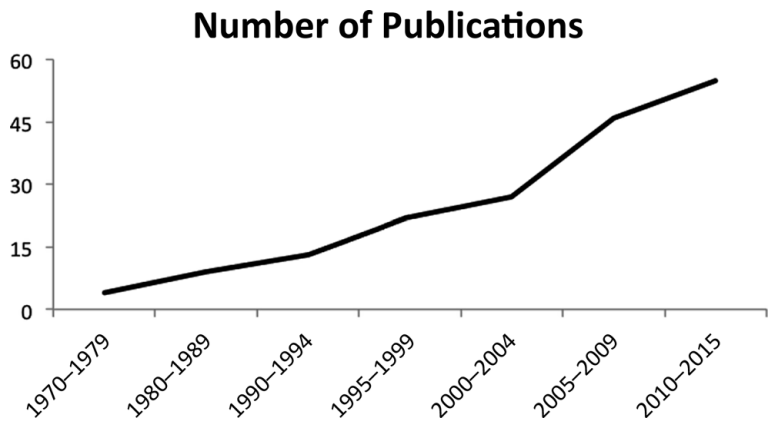


Figure 4.1 *Frequency of quantitative studies employing CAT (1973–2015)*

data (e.g., content analysis). Soliz and Giles' (2014) study included articles from 1973–2010 and, thus, most of the additional studies included in this manuscript are from 2010 and beyond. However, there were earlier studies (prior to 2010) not reviewed in the previous meta-analysis and therefore, are included as part of the review in this chapter. Soliz and Giles (2014) review included 149 quantitative *and* qualitative articles. In the end, we identified 177 *quantitative* articles from 1973 to 2015. A reference list for the articles is available from the first author by request.

Figure 4.1 provides a visual depiction of the frequency of CAT-based quantitative research since the inception of the theory in the early 70s. It was in the late 90s and early part of the twenty-first century when we see the most substantial growth in quantitative studies employing CAT. Moreover, the research is not tied to any specific disciplinary silo as evidenced in the diversity of journals and scholarly backgrounds of the researchers conducting these studies. Whereas this growth in publications speaks to the utility of the theory, more in-depth insight is provided by investigation of the historical and recent trends in the contexts of inquiry.

Contexts of Inquiry: Historical and Recent Trends

Although CAT was originally developed (as speech accommodation theory) mainly as an ethnolinguistics theory, the tendrils of the theory encompass a variety of contexts. In this section, we build on the analysis of the articles from 1973 to 2010 (Soliz & Giles, 2014) but, again, with a specific emphasis on quantitative studies. Working from the contexts of inquiry in the original

Table 4.1 *Categories for contexts of inquiry*

	% of research				
Context of inquiry	Overall (k = 177)	Pre-2000 (k = 49)	2000–15 (k = 128)	2005–15 (k = 101)	2010–15 (k = 56)
Culture/Ethnicity	29.38%	32.65%	28.13%	29.70%	30.36%
Computer-mediated communication	15.82%	4.08%	20.31%	18.81%	25.00%
Educational/Instructional	4.52%	6.12%	3.91%	2.97%	3.57%
Family	11.30%	4.08%	14.06%	13.86%	8.93%
Gender/Sexual identity	10.17%	16.33%	7.81%	5.94%	5.36%
Health	18.64%	18.37%	18.75%	20.80%	21.43%
Inter(intra)generational	28.81%	32.65%	27.43%	21.78%	7.14%
Legal	9.04%	2.04%	11.72%	13.86%	8.93%
Media	4.52%	2.04%	5.47%	6.93%	8.93%
Professional/ Organizational	7.91%	12.24%	6.25%	7.92%	8.93%

Note: Percent of research equals more that 100% as studies can be categorized as multiple contexts.

synthesis, we each reviewed the articles, identified an area of inquiry based on the established taxonomy, and then discussed our categorization. There was near perfect agreement (approx. 98%) in our review and any discrepancy was easily resolved through discussion. The categories are listed in Table 4.1 and the corresponding descriptions of them appear in Appendix A.

In Table 4.1, trends for these contexts of inquiry are broken down over the lifespan of the theory and by specific time periods. Based on the distribution of publications since the theory's inception and taking into account the substantial growth over the last fifteen years, the timespans in the table include pre-2000 followed by additional five-year increments to 2015. Overall, research on issues related to culture/ethnicity and inter/intragenerational communication represents the largest proportion of quantitative research to date. This is not surprising given the origins of the theory and that many of the propositions in early extensions of CAT represented work in communication and aging. However, to truly understand the trends in research, we must delve into some of the variation evident in the more recent timeframes. In doing so, we make six notable observations:

- Research on issues related to communication, culture, and ethnicity remain relatively stable in terms of proportion of research across time periods, demonstrating that CAT is still viewed as an informative framework for understanding the role of language, discourse, and difference in an increasingly culturally pluralistic world.

- Whereas work on intergenerational communication and, to a lesser extent, intragenerational communication has historically been a rich context for CAT-based inquiries, there has been a notable decline on inquiries into this context during the last five years painting a different story than what was presented in the original analysis. Given the well-documented aging of our population and the lingering prevalence of negative attitudes toward older adults and aging, the decline of quantitative inquiries in this realm is concerning. One could argue that CAT and its satellite, the communication predicament of aging model (Ryan, Giles, Bartolucci, & Henwood, 1986), has been a dominant theory to differentiate features of positive and negative intergenerational interactions and, by extension, more satisfying and constructive relationships for older adults. In turn, this has important implications for intergenerational communication competence (see Pitts & Harwood, 2015) and the well-being of older adults, as well as their successful aging (Giles, Davis, Gasiorek, & Giles, 2013). Thus, we hope this observation serves as a catalyst to (re)ignite CAT-based inquiries in this context.
- Although not often thought of as a theory of health communication, inquiries into health issues such as patient-physician interactions and interspeciality communication between physicians has consistently emerged as a prominent area of quantitative inquiry (see Chapter 8). In fact, there appears to be a slight increase in more recent years as scholars *and* practitioners use CAT to develop interventions to assist in health care settings (e.g., Farzadnia & Giles, 2015; McDonald, Gifford, & Walsh, 2011). Further, there is a variety of health research from a qualitative perspective (see Chapter 6) pointing to the applied features and potential of CAT.
- One context that was relatively absent in the earlier years of the theory, but has been on the forefront of more recent research, is the legal context focusing on: (a) associations between individual's communication and perceptions of guilt or innocence, (b) courtroom discourse, and (c) police–civilian interactions often with cross-cultural comparisons and a trust-compliance focus (for more detail, see Chapter 9). Similar to the health context, this is another avenue for demonstrating the applied nature of CAT.
- Over the last five years, research on computer-mediated communication is second only to culture/ethnicity context in terms of the proportion of CAT-based quantitative inquiries and has been a notable area of inquiry since 2000. Much of this growth can simply be attributed to the emergence of the digital age and new communication, relational, and social network technologies. Yet, CAT offers an important framework for this research. Further, given that interactions in social networks move beyond the dyadic focus that has traditionally been at the heart of inquiries from CAT-theorists, this context also provides opportunity to expand the methodological repertoire of the CAT inquiries (see Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil, Gamon, & Dumais, 2011).

- Although CAT is a theory that attends to the manner in which communication affects and reflects both personal and social identity, much of the research has focused primarily on the latter investigating the manner in which our behavior diminishes or amplifies social distance based on social group differences and social hierarchies (see e.g., Giles & Maass, 2016). However, we should not dismiss the utility of CAT for examining more personal spheres (Giles & Soliz, 2014) and this is reflected not only in earlier work looking at features of general conversations, but also in the growth of CAT-based inquiries examining family, for example (Harwood, Soliz, & Lin, 2006).

Clearly, the trends also demonstrate that CAT-based quantitative research is continuing to grow both in amount of scholarship and the contextual diversity. Yet, we see many opportunities and untapped potential for this continued growth. For instance, recent theorizing on classroom environment points to intergroup dimensions of teacher–student and student–student interactions (Hosek, 2015) and, thus, this is an area ripe for research from a CAT perspective. Likewise, much of our discourse on social issues revolves around sexual identity and, thus, the manner in which our communication both reflects attitudes and frames dialogue is another opportunity for CAT research (e.g., Hajek, 2015). The prologue of this volume speaks more to potential contextual vistas for the future as the heuristic value of the theory is one of its strengths. We now turn to the second section of this chapter in which we provide an updated effect size meta-analysis.

Effect Size Meta-Analysis

Prior to Soliz and Giles' (2014) statistical meta-analysis, all previous reviews of CAT were narrative in nature. By this, we mean that reviews discussed trends in findings and conclusions often focusing on selected outcomes, providing only a general discussion of the directionality of effects. While beneficial and certainly a normative and important process in theory review and development, effect size analysis offers a different level of review as it provides insight into the magnitude of effects, potential moderating considerations, and a more nuanced understanding of the processes and tenets of the theory (Ellis, 2010). Our current effect size analysis builds off the original work. For all coding and categorization related to the effect size meta-analysis, we reviewed each manuscript, coded for each dimension discussed below, and calculated effect sizes when appropriate and able. Any discrepancies were discussed and resolved during this process. For readers not invested in the many details of this kind of analysis, we refer you to discussion starting on p. 14 of this chapter.

Accommodative Behaviors and Correlates

Because of the variety of disciplinary backgrounds of researchers and the various contexts of inquiries, there have been numerous categories and labels of behavior at the core of the inquiries. As such, Soliz and Giles (2014) developed a four-category scheme to provide a "relatively parsimonious synthesis of behaviors in CAT-based research" (p. 110) by focusing on four behaviors: accommodation, nonaccommodation, reluctant accommodation, and avoidant communication. These behaviors are further described in Table 4.2 and guide the current effect size meta-analysis. Further, following norms in meta-analytical techniques, Soliz and Giles (2014) developed a

Table 4.2 *Description of behaviors for effect size meta-analysis*

Accommodative Behavior	Description from Soliz and Giles (2014, pp. 110–111)
Accommodation	"... behaviors in which one or both of the individuals enact (or are perceived to enact) positive-oriented or conversationally appropriate behavior (e.g., appropriate topics of conversation) toward the other person. In research, this has been conceptualized as behaviors such as the aforementioned convergence, appropriate accommodation, and accommodative involvement. Central to this behavior is the notion that individuals have attuned their communication accurately to the needs and/or desires of the conversational partner."
Nonaccommodation	"... behaviors typically categorized as underaccommodation in which individuals fail to attune their communication to others or overaccommodation in which individuals 'overshoot' the needs or desires of a conversational partner. For instance, in the intergenerational context, underaccommodation is represented by painful self-disclosures .... a problematic behavior in which young adults feel uncomfortable with older adults' disclosure of bereavement, health, feelings of isolation, and other more negatively valenced topics. Overaccommodation, on the other hand, has been highlighted by patronizing communication (slower, less complex speech) on the part of young adults based on negative age-based stereotypes of older adults."
Reluctant Accommodation	"... behaviors in which accommodation is based on norms of respect, obligation, and/or social hierarchies ... Although an individual may attune their conversational style to others, it is done so not out of an attempt for relational closeness or affinity. Rather, this communication style is based on situation or cultural norms and is, therefore, not typically evaluated positively by the speaker."
Avoidant Communication	"... interlocutors, moved unconsciously by negative stereotypes or, more overtly, by prior unfortunate experiences, wish to end the conversation as quickly as feasible and avoid future such interactions by withholding or constraining communication"

Table 4.3 *Categories of predictors and outcomes of accommodation behavior from Soliz & Giles (2014)*

Compliance (C): compliant actions, message agreement, persuasiveness (12.76%)
Communication Apprehension (CA): intergroup anxiety, communication anxiety (2.13%)
Convergence (CON): convergence/divergence, language adjustment, language choice (9.57%)
Credibility (CT): credibility, guilt/innocence, trust (15.96%)
Evaluation of Groups (EG): ingroup/outgroup attitudes, stereotyping, previous contact with outgroup, norms of evaluation (15.96%)
Evaluation of Individual (EI): sociability, attractiveness, general positive/negative valence, communication skills (22.34%)
Group Salience (GS): ingroup/outgroup identity (8.51%)
Personal Communication (PC): self-disclosure, communicative responsiveness (6.38%)
Power/Status (PS): power, social status, superiority (4.26%)
Quality of Contact (QC): communication satisfaction, immediacy, evaluation of conversation (34.04%)
Relational Solidarity (RS): relational satisfaction, closeness, common ingroup identity, intimacy (20.21%)
Well-Being (WB): self-esteem, life satisfaction, mental health (2.13%)
Although not a correlate, many studies also examined group-based difference (e.g., age, ethnic-racial) in perceptions, use, or evaluations of behavior. Thus, Group Difference (GD) is also included as a category (35.11%).

taxonomy of correlates (i.e., "constructs and variables put forth in the research as predictors or outcomes of accommodative behavior," p. 115) to assess the nature of effects in the research. These correlates are presented in Table 4.3. Percentages correspond to the proportion of the articles included in the final effect size meta-analysis that included this category of correlate.

Effect Size and Design Artifacts

Following the process from the original effect size meta-analysis, each effect size was coded for *locus of assessment* and nature of the *sample*. For locus of assessment, we coded if the informants were providing evaluations of (a) their own behavior, (b) other's behavior directed toward them, (c) both their own and other's behavior, or (d) an assessment of a conversation or interaction – actual or hypothesized – in which they were not involved (i.e., third-person assessment). For the nature of the sample, we coded for whether or not they were college undergraduate student samples, non-student samples, or a combination of the two.

For effect size coding and analysis, we followed the same procedures in Soliz and Giles (2014) based on normative processes for effect size analysis (see Ellis, 2010) for each of the four communicative behaviors described in Table 4.2.

- We calculated a correlation coefficient effect size, *r*, for each study. Appropriate adjustments were made (e.g., unattenuated correlations). If data was included in more than one study, the data was only coded once for the effect size. In addition to the overall effect for each study, we also coded for each behavior and correlate (if included). As is often the case in effect size meta-analysis, many studies were not included because (a) there was not enough information to calculate effect sizes, (b) the study did not test for differences and associations between communication and relevant correlates we introduced earlier, and/or (c) the nature of research design or analysis did not allow for effect size computation. The final effect size meta-analysis consists of ninety-four studies. The difference in the initial studies identified for the review in this chapter and those included in the final analysis is not uncommon in meta-analysis research given the statistical and informational benchmarks that must be met for inclusion in meta-analysis. However, in the conclusion of this chapter, we offer insight into some of the conceptual and methodological considerations for *all* studies included in the review for this chapter.
- Effect sizes for individual studies included in this effect size analysis are provided in Appendix B. Effect sizes are provided overall and for the general behaviors collapsed across correlates. Thus, they provide a general assessment of magnitude of accommodative effects. In Table 4.4, we provide directional effects for correlates and specific behaviors. The effect sizes in this table, therefore, speak to whether or not expected directional effects based on the tenets of the theory are supported by the research overall (e.g., accommodation associated with more positive responses compared to nonaccommodation).
- A mean effect size was calculated using the inverse variance weight and via a fixed effects model. Standard Error (SE) and 95 per cent confidence intervals (CI) were also calculated.
- A *Q* statistic was also calculated to assess heterogeneity among effect sizes in the sample (indicated by a significant *Q*). If there was significant heterogeneity across the effect sizes, we explored potential differences based on locus of assessment and nature of the sample. This allows for inquiry into any differences in effects that can be attributed to methodological design.
- Steps 2 & 3 were completed for an overall assessment and then repeated for each behavior and correlate.

Results for Effect Size Meta-Analysis: Overall

We first calculated an effect size irrespective of the specific behavior or correlate (i.e., a general assessment of CAT behaviors overall). Results indicate a significant, moderate overall effect size, $r = 0.363$, $CI_{0.95}$ [0.348–0.378],

Table 4.4 *Meta-analytical data for correlates and group difference*

	C	CT	EG	EI	GD	QC	RS
Accommodation	*0.327*	*0.592*	*0.086*	*0.300*	*0.200*	*0.417*	*0.282*
k	12	15	12	12	26	19	14
n	3808	4039	2099	1398	8086	2616	2971
Nonaccommodation	–	–	*−0.200*	*−0.206*	*0.235*	*−0.306*	*−0.362*
k	–	–	7	9	16	15	11
n	–	–	1861	1540	5952	2683	2625
Reluctant Accommodation	–	–	*−0.166*	–	*0.349*	*−0.344*	*−0.439*
k	–	–	6	–	14	8	8
n	–	–	1129	–	5773	1664	1821
Avoidant Communication	–	–	*−0.07ns*	–	*0.359*	*−0.500*	–
k	–	–	3	–	11	3	–
n	–	–	760	–	3527	768	–

Note: Unless indicated with "ns" (nonsignificant), all effect sizes are significant at $p < 0.01$. Effect sizes were calculated with higher scores representing a positive orientation for the correlate (e.g., higher scores on QC represent positive communication) and higher scores representing more frequent or greater enactment of the behavior. C = Compliance, CT = Credibility, EG = Evaluation of Group, EI = Evaluation of Individual, GD = Group Difference, QC = Quality of Communication, RS = Relational Solidarity.

$SE = 0.007$, $k = 94$, $N = 21{,}263$. The next step, thus, was to determine if effect sizes are relatively consistent across studies. Using the Q statistic, results revealed heterogeneity across the effect sizes, $Q = 493.38$, $p < 0.001$, indicating there is significant variability in the nature of the effect size across studies. To investigate potential explanations for this variability, we examined differences based on locus of assessment and nature of the sample. There was a significant difference in effect size for locus of assessment, $Q = 232.62$, $p < 0.001$: own behavior = 0.241, other behavior = 0.372, both own and other behavior = 0.252, third-person perspective = 0.262. In general, we see the strongest effects when study participants are evaluating other's behavior. Nature of sample was also investigated for potential differences and results indicate slightly stronger effect sizes when the sample is solely undergraduate students, $Q = 198.52$, $p < 0.001$: students = 0.360, non-students = 0.303.

Results for Effect Size Meta-Analysis: Accommodation

When examining only those studies which focused on accommodation, a similar significant and moderate effect emerged, $r = 0.315$, $CI_{0.95}$

[0.299–0.330], $SE = 0.008$, $k = 73$, $N = 16{,}705$, with significant variability, $Q = 372.10$, $p < 0.001$. Again, results demonstrate that larger effect sizes were found when participants rated other's behavior and, to a lesser extent, in third-person evaluations, $Q = 87.34$, $p < 0.001$: own behavior = 0.241, other behavior = 0.389, both own and other behavior = 0.251, third-person perspective = 0.301. Slight variability was also found when comparing samples, $Q = 17.98$, $p < 0.01$: students = 0.319, non-students = 0.314, with a slightly stronger effect for undergraduate student samples.

Results for Effect Size Meta-Analysis: Nonaccommodation

Compared to accommodation, we see a slight decrease in the overall effect size, $r = 0.249$, $CI_{0.95}$ [0.229–0.268], $SE = 0.01$, $k = 37$, $N = 10.532$, $Q = 230.88$, although it is still a moderate effect. For nonaccommodation, we once again determined that there are larger effects when individuals are evaluating other's behavior, $Q = 59.12$, $p < 0.001$, other behavior = 0.325, both own and other behavior = 0.258, third-person perspective = 0.277. However, in contrast to the previous effects, there was no significant difference for nature of the sample, $Q = 1.70$, $p > 0.05$, in that student and non-student samples demonstrated similar effects.

Results for Effect Size Meta-Analysis: Reluctant Accommodation

For reluctant accommodation, there was a significant, moderate effect, $r = 0.324$, $CI_{0.95}$ [0.301–0.346], $SE = 0.012$, $k = 22$, $N = 7{,}304$, $Q = 281.77$. There was significant variability for locus of assessment, $Q = 14.19$, $p < 0.01$, as evaluations of one's behavior had significantly larger effect than evaluations of dyadic behavior: own behavior = 0.416, both own and other behavior = 0.303, $p > 0.05$. Similar to nonaccommodation the nature of the sample did not influence effect size, $Q = 0.339$, $p > 0.05$.

Results for Effect Size Meta-Analysis: Avoidant Communication

Finally, avoidant communication also experienced a significant, moderate effect, $r = 0.340$, $CI_{0.95}$ [0.308–0.372], $SE = 0.016$, $k = 12$, $N = 3{,}759$, $Q = 116.45$. There was a significant variation for locus of assessment, $Q = 72.084$, $p < 0.001$, with similar patterns to reluctant accommodation in that larger effects were identified for assessment of our own behavior: own behavior = 0.558, both own and other behavior = 0.250. However, for avoidant communication, nature of the sample, $Q = 19.19$, $p < 0.001$, did make a difference as larger effects were identified for undergraduate: students = 0.386, non-students = 0.222.

The preceding discussion provides an overview of effect sizes and design considerations for the four general behaviors. A significant take-away from the results is that we need to consider how the nature of assessment (i.e., locus) and the type of sample may be influencing results. For instance, for accommodation and nonaccommodation, evaluations of other's behavior resulted in larger effect sizes. This suggests that interactional outcomes are dependent more on the perceptions of a conversational partner's behavior than our own. Yet, we see a deviation of this for reluctant and avoidant communication in that evaluations of our own behavior holds the most weight in overall evaluations of the interactions and subsequent outcomes. Is there something about the specific behavior that accounts for this or is this a reflection of the manner in which these behaviors are assessed (or both)? In other words, there could be both theoretical and methodological explanations for the variations in effect sizes – including the sample variations. As we progress with research, it will be important to address the potential theoretical explanation as well as attend to methodological artifacts that may influence results.

Whereas the preceding focused on general effects of these behaviors, the following summarizes effect size for *specific* correlates of accommodative behaviors as well as effect size for studies comparing differences across groups. Doing so allows for a test of some of the foundational tenets of the theory.

Results for Effect Size Meta-Analysis: Correlates

In Soliz & Giles' (2014) analysis of studies to 2010, effect sizes were completed only for correlates that appeared in at least 10 per cent of the studies given this would ensure a reasonable number of studies for each effect. For consistency, we calculated effect sizes for these same categories (see Table 4.4).

Effect sizes were calculated so that higher scores represented a positive orientation for the correlate when applicable (e.g., a higher score for *Quality of Communication* (QC) indicates more satisfaction with the interaction). Likewise, higher scores represent more frequent or greater enactment of the behavior (e.g., higher scores for nonaccommodation indicate more nonaccommodation in the interaction). Reflecting similar findings from the original analysis, the effect sizes largely support the tenets (and propositions) of the theory. Across studies, accommodative behaviors have positive, moderate associations with compliance, positive evaluation of individuals, and relational solidarity. The strongest associations for accommodative behaviors are found for overall quality of communication and perceptions of credibility of conversational partner. As expected, inverse relationships were found for

nonaccommodative behavior(s) as this communication is negatively associated with these correlates. Likewise, both reluctant accommodation and avoidant communication demonstrate strong, inverse relationships with positive perceptions of the interaction and the relationship, in general.

Interesting trends emerge when considering evaluation of the group. This correlate represents general perceptions of the social group for which the conservational partner belongs (e.g., older adult age group if interacting with an older adult). CAT speaks to both interpersonal and intergroup dimensions of an interaction and, thus, the effect size analysis largely supports the theory. Although a small overall effect size, accommodative behaviors are associated with more positive evaluations of a social group corresponding to the conversational partners. Conversely, nonaccommodative behaviors and reluctant accommodation are more evident when there are negative evaluations of the group. These effects are larger in magnitude than accommodative behaviors. This suggests that positive perceptions of a group may not yield much variation in more positive communication (i.e., accommodation), whereas *negative* evaluations of a group are more strongly associated (although on a low-moderate level) with perceptions or enactment of nonaccommodative and reluctant accommodative. This has important implications for improving communication in intergroup settings as these results suggest that it is the absence (or minimization) of negative perceptions of a group (rather than increasing positive perceptions) that may minimize problematic communication. Avoidant communication was not significantly associated with evaluation of the group.

In this analysis, we also calculated effect size for group difference. For all behaviors, there was a significant effect size with larger effects for reluctant accommodation and avoidant communication. Studies on group difference have largely focused on age and ethnic-racial or cultural differences although other groups have been included in analysis (e.g., gender). While individual studies can speak to factors specific to the groups central to the inquiry, these findings support the tenet that there are underlying worldviews, general orientations, and communication practices or expectations that lead to variability in how we evaluate our own and other's behavior.

Although a considerable number of studies have been published since the original meta-analysis (which included studies up to 2010), the results of the current effect size analysis show continued support for the tenets of CAT. However, the effect size analysis also points to the necessity for considering how variations in results can be attributed to methodological artifacts (i.e., locus of assessment, sample type) and we recommend CAT-theorists address this either in research design, or in the interpretation and framing of findings. In the end, however, the findings demonstrate that variation in a number of

interactional, identity, and relational correlates are clearly linked to the nature and perceptions of our communication.

As we mention in our explanation of this effect size analysis, not all of the quantitative studies could be included because of the nature of the design or the type of information presented in the article. Therefore, we conclude with a discussion of methodological and conceptual considerations for future scholarship and CAT-theorists that takes into account all of the studies included in the review for this chapter.

Conclusions

In the final section of this synthesis of quantitative studies, we review some additional issues and trends that emerged inductively in our review of this literature. We present these as four general areas for consideration: (a) propositional vs. sensitizing orientations toward CAT, (b) nuances of nonaccommodation, (c) measures of accommodative behaviors, and (d) opportunities for innovative methodological approaches. Our hope is that these points assist CAT-theorists and researchers as we move forward both in empirical work and further development of the theory.

Propositional vs. Sensitizing Orientations toward CAT

As detailed in previous reviews of the theory and elsewhere in this volume, CAT features specific Principles that outline the expected associations between tenets of the theory (see Chapter 3; also Chapters 6 & 10). As such, it serves as a hypo-deductive framework to lay out specific hypotheses and expectations for when, why, and how our communication is related to a variety of personal, relational, and social constructs. Whereas much of the CAT-based research uses the theory in this manner, there is a great deal of quantitative research that employs CAT as more of a sensitizing framework. By this, we mean that the propositional aspects are not clearly laid out or tested. Rather, in these studies, CAT serves as a general orientation toward understanding human (and, in some cases, even non-human, e.g., Candiotti, Zuberbühler, & Lemasson, 2012) interactions, primarily focusing on the notions of linguistic and discursive adaptation (see Chapter 2). Put differently, this research could be characterized as using the notion of *convergence* or *communication adaptation* as a general paradigm for understanding communication. For instance, studies examined convergence in human-computer interactions to examine efficiency and efficacy of this relatively novel interactional context (e.g., Acosta & Ward, 2011; Tomko & Rosenfeld, 2006) or convergence in mediated contexts (e.g., Goode & Robinson, 2013). In these types of studies, there is a focus on "linguistic synchrony" (or similar terms, e.g., "mimicry") and are explicitly

aligned with this aspect of CAT, but not some of the more propositional aspects. Based on our review, we believe the hypo-deductive and sensitizing approaches reflects a disciplinary distinction with scholars from a more linguistic disciplinary background adopting the sensitizing perspective. We also noted that, in these studies, CAT is often paired with other frameworks on interpersonal or linguistic adaptation in framing the inquiry.

Another area in which this sensitizing approach has emerged is in developing interventions to facilitate effective communication; most often in the health context. For instance, McDonald and colleagues focused on developing training programs and practices to assist older patients in providing more comprehensive disclosure of pain (McDonald et al., 2011; McDonald & Molony, 2004; McDonald, Shea, Rose, & Fedo, 2009). Again, CAT is used as a general framework for highlighting the importance of facilitating effective communication via our language choices but without an explicit propositional focus. Clearly, the research that we characterize as the "sensitizing" orientation is just as valid and significant as the "propositional" studies. Thus, our point in discussing these two different approaches is to spotlight the distinction so scholars can consider this in further elaborations and refinement of the theory as well as be aware of the different research designs, methods, and foci of the different approaches.

Nuances of Nonaccommodation

In our effect size meta-analysis, we did not differentiate between different forms of nonaccommodation for both parsimony-sake and because, until relatively recently, there has not been a concerted effort to differentiate between various behaviors (see Chapter 5). Whereas certain *types* of nonaccommodation have been central to inquiries (e.g., *painful self-disclosures* in intergenerational interactions), there has been limited research on contrasting the evaluations of under- and overaccommodation and the subsequent outcomes of these evaluations (see, however, Chapter 5). However, work by Gasiorek (e.g., Gasiorek, 2015; Gasiorek & Giles, 2012) has begun to uncover important nuances between under- and overaccommodation and listeners' attributions of speakers' intentions. This research demonstrates that, as we move forward with CAT-based inquiries, a more complete understanding of communication processes likely requires attention to the distinction *between* not only accommodative and nonaccommodative behaviors, but *within* the nonaccommodative process.

Measures of Accommodative Behaviors

The diversity of contexts, approaches, and disciplinary perspectives in CAT-based research points to the heuristic value of the theory. However, one

potential drawback of this pluralism in the CAT scholarly landscape is a lack of consistent methods of assessing (non)accommodative behaviors. Some scholars may use a similar measure or approach across her or his body of work, whereas others may adapt measures or develop new assessment tools across studies and contexts. We highlight "*potential* drawback" in the preceding sentence because we believe there are both strengths and limitations to this aspect of the CAT-based work.

A limitation is that it can potentially cloud the conceptualization of (non) accommodative behaviors as what we are assessing may not be consistent across studies. The flip side of this is that CAT is a theory that is adaptable to contexts as behaviors that are central to one situation may not be applicable or insightful to another. Regardless of whether one views this as a strength or limitation of the theory (as used in quantitative research), it can be an issue that emerges in comments and perspectives from those not as intimately familiar with the theory. Therefore, we believe it is a question that should be addressed as the next generation of CAT-theorists and researchers continue to refine the theory. One option is that perhaps future synthesis of the research should include a contextual, rather than general, orientation. In short, CAT provides a macro theoretical foundation but, in some cases, may be best served by more contextually specific propositions and, at times, satellite models and theories. In fact, this has been an approach in some of the conceptual works on CAT; therefore, we suggest an inclusion of a discussion on measures and assessment approaches specific to the context in future CAT-based empirical studies.

Opportunities for Innovative Methodological Approaches

Although the origins of CAT are aligned with traditional experimental methods, there have been a variety of methodological innovations in more recent years especially in the quantitative realm (see Chapter 10). For instance, although discourse analysis was often the purview of more qualitative approaches, linguistic and discourse analysis software allows for quantitative assessment and, thus, the emergence of new questions and insight into our interactions. For instance, the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) program is an earlier program that provides a detailed word-for-word analysis of discourse and has been featured in CAT-based work including "big data" research; for example, Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil et al.'s (2011) study on linguistic convergence in *Twitter* conversations. More recently, programs such as *Leximancer* and *Discursis* also provide analytical opportunities to assess text and discourse in a systematic manner often providing both quantitative and qualitative assessments (see Chapters 6 & 8). Further, we are seeing original coding frameworks and assessment techniques emerging from recent work such as the *Nonverbal Accommodation Analysis System* (D'Agostino &

Bylund, 2011). Clearly, the methodological landscape for assessing language and discourse is advancing and, thus, allows for quantitative inquiries and novel insight that CAT-theorists and researchers should take into account in future endeavors.

Whereas there are many innovative designs and sophisticated analysis in the literature we reviewed especially in the human-computer interaction realm, one area where there is still opportunity is: dyadic analysis (see Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2010). We communicate with *others* and this is clearly laid out in the tenets, propositions, and writings of CAT that use terms such as *speaker, receiver,* and *interlocuter*. Whereas scholars have developed designs to get at the dyadic nature of interactions, dyadic *analysis* has not been embraced by CAT scholars to the same degree. This type of analysis allows us to take into account the interdependence of our dyads and the features of interlocutors that may simultaneously influence evaluations of conversations and others. Given the centrality of subjective evaluations of communication in CAT, dyadic analysis seems a fruitful opportunity to further assess propositional tenets of the theory. Whether discussing approaches that are already evident in the research or highlighting a new opportunity, these innovative methods should not be viewed as new ways to answer traditional questions. Rather, these methods should allow us to ask more sophisticated questions within the CAT framework.

The purpose of this chapter was to synthesize quantitative research since the early inception of the theory. We encourage readers to review this chapter in tandem with a discussion of the qualitative trends and perspectives (see Chapter 6). In doing so, we hope the insight serves as a catalyst for more discussion, a desire to perhaps delve deeper into the contexts and issues we discuss throughout, and, in the end, further elaboration and refinement of the theory.

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APPENDIX A Description of Categories for Contexts of Inquiry (from Soliz & Giles, 2014, pp. 113–114)

"The final coding framework consists of ten categories. As the name suggests, *Culture/Ethnicity* (CE) refers to studies in which the focus was on variations in attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors of cultural/ethnic groups. This category also includes studies with an ethnolinguistic component. *Computer Mediated Communication* (CMC) represents research on communication via various communication technologies. Because of the span of empirical research, we coded based on what could be considered communication technologies at the time of the study (e.g., answering machines in the early 90s). Studies were coded as *Educational/Instructional* (EI) if there was a *specific* focus on the educational context or instructional (i.e., classroom) interactions. *Family* (F) refers to studies in which familial behavior or the family context was at the heart of the study. The category *Gender/Sexual Identity* (GSI) represents those studies focusing on gendered communication, gender differences, or sexual identity/orientation. Although many studies have examined gender differences as part of the analysis, only those with specific hypotheses, research questions, or clear objectives (*a priori* designs/analysis) concerning gender or sexual identity were coded in this category. The category *Health* (H) corresponds with those studies in which health-related interactions were investigated and/or the study included a medical or health-related context. *Inter(intra)generational* (IG) refers to studies focusing on communication or attitudes between and, sometimes, within generations. *Legal* (L) includes those studies taking place in a legal context as well as policing and police-civilian interactions. The category *Media* (M) represents research focusing on mass media or effects of mass media. Finally, *Professional/Organizational* (PO) includes research centering on workplace interactions, other organizational settings, or those meant to simulate professional interactions (e.g., interviews). These ten contexts are not mutually exclusive. For instance, a study investigating accommodation in grandparent-grandchild relationships (Soliz & Harwood, 2006) would represent both the intergenerational and the family contexts. A few studies were not coded for one of the specific contexts as their assessment focused on general conversation or interactions void of one of the specific contexts (e.g., Aune & Kikuchi, 1993)."

APPENDIX B Meta-Analytical Data

Author(s)	Year	*n*	Overall Effect Size, *r* (*k* = 94)	Specific Accommodative Behaviors			
				A, *r* (*k* = 73)	NA, *r* (*k* = 37)	RA, *r* (*k* = 22)	AC, *r* (*k* = 12)
Anderson, Harwood, & Hummert (Study 1)	2005	217	0.620	0.620			
Anderson, Harwood, & Hummert (Study 2)	2005	269	0.455	0.455			
Aune & Kikuchi	1993	286	0.179	0.179			
Barker	2007	400	0.321		0.321		
Barker, Choi, Giles, & Hajek	2008–09	180	0.418	0.418			
Barker, Giles, Hajek, Ota, Noels, Lim, & Somera	2008	684	0.417	0.417			
Bilous & Krause	1988	60	0.660	0.660			
Bonnesen & Hummert	2002	127	0.740		0.740		
Brown, Giles, & Thakerar	1985	120	0.230	0.230			
Buller & Aune	1992	252	0.237	0.237			
Bunz & Campbell	2004	121	0.280	0.280			
Buzzanell, Burrell, Stafford, & Berkowitz	1996	129	0.160	0.160			
Cai, Giles, & Noels	1988	197	0.224	0.248	0.220	0.258	0.173
Casasanto, Jasmin, & Casasanto	2010	62	0.429	0.429			
Chen & Cegala	1994	58	0.356	0.356			
Colaner, Soliz, & Nelson	2014	409	0.432	0.480	0.383		
Crook & Booth	1997	38	0.378	0.378			
Dixon, Schell, Giles, & Drogos	2008	191	0.157	0.157			
Dixon, Tredoux, Durrheim, & Foster	1994	129	0.159	0.159			
Dorjee, Giles, & Barker	2011	158	0.390	0.390			
Fowler & Soliz	2010	269	0.344	0.423	0.107	0.228	
Fowler & Soliz	2013	365	0.345		0.345		
Fox & Giles	1996	149	0.230		0.230		
Gasiorek	2015	193	0.392	0.392			
Gasiorek & Giles	2015	120	0.439	0.439			

(*cont.*)

Author(s)	Year	*n*	Overall Effect Size, *r* (*k* = 94)	Specific Accommodative Behaviors			
				A, *r* (*k* = 73)	NA, *r* (*k* = 37)	RA, *r* (*k* = 22)	AC, *r* (*k* = 12)
Gasiorek, Van de Poel, & Blockmans	2015	30	0.002		0.002		
Gevorgyan	2010	96	0.234	0.234			
Giles, Ballard, & McCann	2002	393	0.356		0.372	0.451	0.246
Giles, Dailey, Sarkar, & Makoni	2007	232	0.379			0.196	0.561
Giles, Fortman, Honeycutt, & Ota	2003	514	0.299	0.337	0.26		
Giles, Fox, & Smith (Study 1)	1993	183	0.168		0.168		
Giles, Hajek, Stoitsova, & Choi	2010	399	0.415			0.380	0.45
Giles, Liang, Noels, & McCann	2001	307	0.228	0.341	0.226	0.158	0.186
Giles, Linz, Bonilla, & Gomez	2012	69	0.284	0.489	0.079		
Giles, Makoni, & Dailey	2005	336	0.772			0.806	0.737
Giles, Noels, Williams, Ota, Lim, Ng, Ryan, & Somera	2003	731	0.190	0.190			
Giles, Ryan, & Anas	2008	240	0.367	0.240	0.258	0.606	0.362
Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis	1973	80	0.192	0.192			
Giles & Williams	1994	252	0.202		0.202		
Hajek, Barker, Giles, Makoni, Pecchioni, Louw-Potgieter, & Myers	2006	363	0.406	0.406			
Hajek, Giles, Barker, Lin, Zhang, & Hummert	2008	682	0.420	0.420			
Hajek, Giles, Barker, Makoni, & Choi	2008	400	0.356	0.356			
Hajek, Villagren, & Wittenberg-Lyles	2007	112	0.335	0.335			
Hansen, Fabriz, & Stehl	2015	133	0.095	0.095			
Harwood	2000	327	0.487	0.461	0.534	0.468	
Harwood & Giles	1996	210	0.161		0.161		
Harwood, Giles, Fox, Ryan, & Williams	1993	222	0.374	0.374			

Harwood, Hewstone, Paolini, & Voci (Study 2)	2005	100	0.518	0.518			
Harwood, Raman, & Hewstone	2006	198	0.195	0.234	0.157		
Harwood, Ryan, Giles, & Tysoski	1997	162	0.223		0.223		
Hornsey & Gallois (Study 2)	1998	123	0.130	0.130			
Huffaker, Swaab, & Diermeier	2011	180	0.260	0.260			
Imamura, Zhang, & Harwood	2011	97	0.310	0.310			
Kulesza, Dolinski, Huisman, & Majewski	2014	330	0.325	0.325			
Larsen, Martin, & Giles	1977	73	0.255	0.255			
Lin & Harwood	2003	208	0.484	0.533	0.337	0.582	
McCann, Cargile, Giles, & Cui	2004	554	0.257	0.242	0.166	0.413	0.207
McCann, Dailey, Giles, & Ota	2005	137	0.365			0.303	0.427
McCann & Giles	2006	348	0.159	0.134	0.212	0.130	
McCann & Giles	2007	267	0.237	0.108	0.241	0.361	
McCann, Ota, Giles, & Caraker	2003	341	0.442	0.264	0.493	0.545	0.467
McDonald & Fedo	2009	302	0.121		0.121		
Mulac, Giles, Bradac, & Palomares	2013	127	0.096	0.096			
Myers, Giles, Reid, & Nabi	2008	112	0.575	0.575			
Namy, Nygaard, & Sauertieg	2002	64	0.287	0.287			
Noels, Giles, Cai, & Turay	1999	133	0.271	0.291	0.283	0.261	0.248
Ota, Giles, & Somera	2007	509	0.130	0.130			
Pearce, Giles, Hajek, Barker, & Choi	2012	446	0.377	0.377			
Riordan, Markman, & Stewart (Study 1)	2013	37	0.520	0.520			
Riordan, Markman, & Stewart (Study 2)	2013	35	0.450	0.450			
Rittenour & Soliz	2009	190	0.507		0.507		
Robertson & Murachver	2003	43	0.277	0.277			
Run & Fah	2006	277	0.593	0.593			
Ryan, Bourhis, & Knops	1991	186	0.156		0.156		
Ryan, Hamilton, & See	1994	151	0.202		0.202		
Ryan, Maclean, & Orange	1994	120	0.276		0.276		
Saal (Study 1)	2015	57	0.151	0.151			
Saal (Study 2)	2015	40	0.164	0.164			

(*cont.*)

Author(s)	Year	*n*	Overall Effect Size, *r* (*k* = 94)	Specific Accommodative Behaviors			
				A, *r* (*k* = 73)	NA, *r* (*k* = 37)	RA, *r* (*k* = 22)	AC, *r* (*k* = 12)
Simard, Taylor, & Giles	1976	60	0.524	0.524			
Speer, Denes, & Giles	2013	133	0.771	0.869	0.720	0.725	
Soliz & Harwood	2003	102	0.284	0.183	0.375	0.293	
Soliz & Harwood	2006	369	0.241		0.241		
Soliz, Ribarsky, Marko Harrigan, & Tye-Williams	2010	134	0.320	0.355		0.285	
Soliz, Thorson, & Rittenour	2009	139	0.357	0.357			
Stoitsova, Choi, Giles, Barker, & Hajek	2009	138	0.595	0.595			
Street, Brady, & Putnam	1983	96	0.479	0.479			
Thomson (Study 1)	2006	72	0.492	0.492			
Thomson (Study 2)	2006	38	0.525	0.525			
Watson, Angus, Gore, & Farmer (Study 1)	2015	80	0.630	0.630			
Watson & Gallois	1998	134	0.325	0.325			
Williams & Garret	2002	490	0.147	0.168	0.123	0.128	0.168
Williams & Giles	1996	126	0.546	0.560	0.519	0.560	
Williams, Ota, Giles, Pierson, Gallois et al.	1997	1631	0.114	0.136	0.076	0.131	
Ytsma & Giles	1997	80	0.171		0.171		

Note: *n* = sample size for each study; *k* = number of studies included in analysis. *A* = Accommodation; *NA* = Nonaccommodation; *RA* = Reluctant Accommodation; *AC* = Avoidant Communication.

5 The "Dark Side" of CAT

Nonaccommodation

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As the previous chapters have shown, communication adjustment can take a wide variety of forms. In many cases, such *accommodation* serves to facilitate interaction and improve social relations. However, the adjustments individuals make for each other can also serve to hamper positive interaction and/or increase the social distance between participants. This "dark side" of communication adjustment is referred to as *nonaccommodation*, and is the focus of this chapter. In what follows, I first delineate how nonaccommodation has been conceptualized throughout the history of communication accommodation theory (CAT), with an emphasis on how various conceptualizations offer different lenses for understanding communication behavior in interaction. Next, I discuss sources of nonaccommodation, what effects nonaccommodation can have on interactants, and how people manage and respond to various forms of it. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of issues and opportunities for research in this area.

Conceptualizing Nonaccommodation

In some senses, the term "nonaccommodation" could be seen as a misnomer: to the extent that "accommodation" refers to adjustments people make to their communication, it seems logical that "*non*accommodation" should refer to an absence of adjustment. Although this can be the case, it is not necessarily so. Indeed, several widely used conceptualizations of nonaccommodation do involve speakers' adjusting their communication; what distinguishes these adjustments from "accommodation" is that there is typically some element of disaffiliation, dissimilarity and/or disconfirmation enacted, sought or resulting from nonaccommodation. To date, scholars have used the term "nonaccommodation" as a general label for several distinct constructs, encompassing both speakers' communicative behaviors and intentions (as in *divergence*, *maintenance*, and particular forms of *interpretability, discourse management, interpersonal control*, and *emotional expression strategies*), as well as listeners' perceptions of those communicative behaviors (as in *overaccommodation* and *underaccommodation*).

Speaker-Focused Constructs

Divergence is a construct from early CAT (then, speech accommodation theory) work, and consists of individuals altering their communication to accentuate verbal and nonverbal differences to their interlocutor (e.g., Bourhis & Giles, 1977; Bourhis, Giles, Leyens, & Tajfel, 1979). As delineated by Thakerar, Giles, and Cheshire (1982), divergence (and convergence; see Chapter 3) may be considered in either *linguistic* or *psychological* terms. Linguistic divergence refers to speakers' communicative behavior: that is, speakers' altering observable qualities of their speech (or nonverbal behavior) to be different or distinct from that of their interlocutors. Linguistic divergence can be understood as objective or subjective: objective linguistic divergence refers to communication behavior that can be observed or measured independently by a third party. Subjective linguistic divergence refers to speakers' beliefs about their speech behavior (of which they may or may not be conscious; see Chapter 2). Psychological divergence refers to speakers' social desires and motivations with respect to the interaction: that is, speakers altering their speech with the goal of disaffiliating or creating social distance from their interlocutors. At an interpersonal level, this could be to convey antipathy for another person as an individual. At an intergroup level, this may be to establish one's ingroup as positively distinct (cf. Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and to distinguish oneself as a (proud) member of that group. Indeed, in situations of intergroup competition, divergence from an outgroup member can be judged more favorably than convergence (e.g., Doise, Sinclair, & Bourhis, 1976).

Thakerar and colleagues (1982) consider linguistic and psychological divergence (and convergence) to be orthogonal. As such, one can have communication that is both psychologically and linguistically divergent: in Bourhis et al.'s (1979) study of language attitudes in Belgium, for example, some Flemish students responded to a threating statement from a Walloon (French-speaking) interlocutor by switching from English (which was the agreed-upon "neutral" language of interaction) to Flemish. By shifting away from the language of the interlocutor (and of "neutral" agreement) and into their native language, these students were expressing their pride and positive distinctiveness as Flemish speakers.

However, communication may also be linguistically divergent but psychologically convergent. In some situations, particularly those with clear status differences between speakers, communication that is objectively different (i.e., linguistically divergent) is both expected and desired, and may be a means to affiliate with others, convey liking or respect, or facilitate comprehension. Examples of this include different speech styles by superiors and subordinates (e.g., Thakerar et al., 1982), or by men and women in conversation (e.g.,

Namy, Nygaard, & Sauerteig, 2002). Indeed, when attracted to the opposite sex, men often lower their pitch, while women raise their pitch. Linguistically, these acts are divergent. However, enacted to convey (and engender) interest, this communication could be considered psychologically convergent.

Finally, communication that is linguistically convergent may be psychologically divergent. One example of this is mimicry with the intent to mock: in this case, mimicked speech is objectively similar to that of an interlocutor, but the underlying motive is to convey disrespect and/or deride one's interlocutor. Another example is code-switching in intergroup encounters: in some cases, speakers will converge to an outgroup's language as a means to prevent outgroup members from speaking the ingroup language (e.g., Woolard, 1989). Although this is linguistically convergent behavior, the goal is to underscore intergroup boundaries, and as such it can be seen as psychologically divergent.

Maintenance is also a construct from early CAT work (see Bourhis, 1979), and refers to the absence of accommodation to or for an interlocutor, as when a speaker continues communicating in their "default" style. Examples of maintenance include an Anglophone speaker continuing to speak English when asked a question in French (e.g., Bourhis, 1984; Bourhis, Montaruli & Amiot, 2007), or speakers persisting in discussing a certain topic or using a particular form of address (e.g., a first name or nickname) regardless of the wishes of their interlocutors (cf. Ryan, Hummert, & Boich, 1995).

As outlined in Chapter 3, communication adjustment has also been conceptualized in terms of speakers' aims or goals relative to their target. In research using this conceptualization, speakers' intentions and resultant communicative behavior are characterized in terms of different *accommodative strategies* (Coupland, Coupland, Giles, & Henwood, 1988). *Approximation* strategies attend to the similarity of communication to that of an interlocutor; linguistic divergence and maintenance are considered nonaccommodative moves, in terms of approximation. *Interpretability* strategies focus on a target's comprehension of a message. Adjustments that make a message more difficult to understand (e.g., speaking a language an interlocutor does not know, using unfamiliar jargon, speaking quickly) are considered nonaccommodative moves, in terms of interpretability. *Discourse management* strategies attend to macro-conversational needs; communicative behavior that makes it more difficult for interlocutors to participate in the conversation (e.g., preventing interlocutors from taking speaking turns, discussing topics that are inappropriate or unknown to them) is considered a nonaccommodative move, in terms of discourse management. *Interpersonal control* strategies focus on relative status and social roles in interaction. Communicating in ways that convey (illegitimate) status or disempower other speakers (e.g., using particular forms of address to exert power or remind speakers of their subordinate position) is

considered nonaccommodative, in terms of interpersonal control. Finally, *emotional expression* strategies address interlocutors' feelings; communication that ignores, delegitimizes or otherwise hurts fellow interactants' feelings is considered nonaccommodative, in terms of emotional expression.

Conceptually and empirically, all of these conceptualizations of nonaccommodation focus on the *speakers* and their communicative behavior or related intentions. Although a considerable amount of research invoking these conceptualizations examines listeners' reactions to speaker's adjustments (for an overview, see e.g., Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991), studies generally consider the listener's response as a dependent variable (i.e., outcome). How listeners experience, perceive, and interpret speakers' communicative behaviors is not integral to the conceptualization of divergence or maintenance, or of other accommodative strategies; these constructs center on the speaker. On the other hand, the listener's perspective is essential to the newer constructs of over- and underaccommodation.

Listener-Focused Constructs

The constructs of over- and underaccommodation originate in research by Coupland et al. (1988) on problematic communication in intergenerational encounters. This work highlighted how social and sociopsychological "triggers," in combination with speakers' interactional goals can lead to speakers' enacting communicative behavior that recipients evaluate as inappropriate or problematic. *Overaccommodation* is defined as communication behavior perceived to overshoot or exceed the level of implementation necessary for a successful interaction. Examples of overaccommodation include young adults using high volume, simplified vocabulary and syntax, and a slow speech rate when speaking older adults who are mentally and physically healthy (i.e., engaging in what is construed as *patronizing talk*; Ryan et al., 1995); or college students (mis)using complex syntax and excessively long words in term papers, in an effort to sound "academic." *Underaccommodation* is defined as communication behavior perceived to be undershoot the level of implementation desired for successful interaction (Coupland et al., 1988). Examples of underaccommodation include a native speaker talking too quickly for a language learner to follow, or a speaker providing an explanation filled with jargon that a listener does not know (and therefore cannot understand).

In contrast to divergence and maintenance, which are conceptualized in terms of speakers' behavior and intentions, over- and underaccommodation are defined by listeners' *perceptions* of what a speaker does. Indeed, speakers may converge linguistically (e.g., by slowing down their speech rate to match that of a slower speaker, or adopting an accent that mimics their interlocutors'), but be perceived as over- or underaccommodative if listeners do not feel these

adjustments are appropriate, given the interactional circumstances. As such, over- and underaccommodation are thus inherently subjective and contextualized. These two constructs are more recent additions to CAT's framework, and have played a central role in an extensive program of CAT-based research on intergenerational communication practices, among other applied areas (see Chapter 7).

Connecting Conceptualizations

Collectively, these conceptualizations can be seen as representing two distinct approaches to understanding nonaccommodation: one focused on the speaker and another focused on the recipient. With these differing foci, a given interaction could be studied using both perspectives. Examining communication through the two lenses together provides insight into the intricacies of communication adjustment specifically, as well as social interaction more broadly. In what follows, the focus is the interplay between linguistic and psychological divergence and over- and underaccommodation. Depending on the context and speakers' goals and foci, these could be enacted in terms of any of the accommodative strategies outlined earlier.

First, as one would logically expect, communication that is, per its speaker, linguistically and/or psychologically divergent can be experienced as either over- or underaccommodative (i.e., perceptually nonaccommodative). An Anglophone speaker persisting in speaking English when faced with a question asked in French will likely be seen as underaccommodative (i.e., not adjusting enough) by the Francophone petitioner. Similarly, when an older adult makes a query in "normal adult" language and receives a patronizing reply (e.g., loud, slow speech with sing-song prosody and simplified syntax and vocabulary), he or she will likely view that speaker as overaccommodative (and have a negative reaction to this talk; see later).

However, communication that is, per its speaker, linguistically or psychologically divergent can also be experienced as appropriately adjusted. For example, if a listener considers their interlocutor to be a disliked outgroup member, they may prefer to maintain or even emphasize differences in their communication styles: in a competitive intergroup encounter, each speaker may play up their accent or distinct way of speaking, but see this as a rightful expression of current intergroup relations and desired social distance (e.g., Doise et al., 1976). To the extent that each speaker considers these divergent communication behaviors appropriate, they may be perceived as neither over- nor underaccommodative.

In short, a given communication behavior could considered in terms of (a) its linguistic features (i.e., is it linguistically convergent or divergent); (b) speakers' intentions (i.e., is it psychologically convergent or divergent;

what accommodative strategies are being pursued); or (c) listeners' perceptions (i.e., is it accommodative, overaccommodative or underaccommodative). Additionally, depending on contextual factors, the same communication behavior could also be interpreted as differentially accommodative or nonaccommodative by different listeners. A younger adult's use of "dear" to address an older adult, for instance, may be experienced as overaccommodative and demeaning by a cognitively active older adult, but as accommodative and caring by a frail, dependent older adult (e.g., Ryan & Cole, 1990). Of course, social conventions and shared cultural and group norms make most communicative acts interpretable in fairly reliable ways (Gallois & Callan, 1988), so these differences occur within a relatively narrow band. However, the subjective and contextual nature of listeners' judgments of nonaccommodation are important to note, as they have implications for how people recognize, acknowledge and cope with nonaccommodation, as well as for understanding how miscommunication arises.

Sources of Nonaccommodation

Communication adjustment serves two primary functions: managing coherent interaction (the cognitive function) and managing social relationships (the affective function) (see Chapter 3). Communication that is intended to be, or is ultimately experienced as, nonaccommodative can occur relative to either of these functions, and be intentional or unintentional.

Intentional Nonaccommodation

In some cases, speakers do not want (certain) others to understand what they are saying; when this is speakers' conscious goal or focus, they may enact *approximation, interpretability* and *discourse management* strategies in nonaccommodative ways. For example, parents sometimes spell out things they do not want their young children to understand ("should we have some I-C-E-C-R-E-A-M later?"). Similarly, in international negotiations or business transactions, speakers may code-switch into their native language (which is often incomprehensible to the other party) when they wish to discuss points within their team that they do not want the other party to understand. Such intentional nonaccommodation with respect to accommodation's cognitive function is generally characterized by linguistically divergent communication behavior, and recipients typically perceive the resultant communication as underaccommodative.

Just as people sometimes want to prevent others from understanding them, sometimes they want to create social distance, emphasize distinctiveness, or reinforce group boundaries, rather than affiliate. When this is speakers'

conscious goal or focus, they may enact *approximation, discourse management*, *interpersonal control*, and *emotional expression* strategies in nonaccommodative ways, to express and create difference. Examples of this include broadening or emphasizing one's accent when faced with negative comments from an outgroup speaker (e.g., Bourhis & Giles, 1977), or a younger adult using patronizing talk as a means to exert control over a (dependent) older adult. As with intentional, cognitive nonaccommodation, this situation is generally characterized by linguistic divergence. Depending on the nature of the context and communication, nonaccommodative moves enacted with the goal of increasing social distance and emphasizing difference could be interpreted as appropriately adjusted (as described earlier) or as either over- or underaccommodative.

Unintentional Nonaccommodation

However, not all communicative behavior experienced as nonaccommodative is intended to be so: in a variety of situations, people may intend to accommodate their interlocutor, but ultimately be perceived as over- or underaccommodative (cf. Williams, 1999). Sometimes, speakers misjudge or misunderstand their conversational partners' needs, knowledge, or background (i.e., what is common ground; Clark & Krych, 2004) with consequences for the cognitive function of accommodation. If people assume their interlocutors know a word or are familiar with a concept that is not, in fact, in their repertoire, they may omit or elide information those interlocutors need to follow the conversation, such as a definition of a term or explanation of a concept. In this case, speakers may believe they are accommodating appropriately (i.e., psychologically converging), but listeners perceive them as underaccommodative. Conversely, if speakers believe or assume their interlocutors do not know a term or concept that they are, in fact, familiar with, speakers may go out of their way to provide elaborations and explanations that are unnecessary. In this case, while (again) speakers believe they are accommodating appropriately, they may be perceived as patronizing or "talking down" to their conversational partners – that is, as overaccommodating. Unless interlocutors alert speakers to their errors and/or the way interlocutors perceive the encounter, speakers may not realize their communication is inappropriately adjusted and/or perceived as problematic. Unfortunately, this means that such nonaccommodation can persist for long periods of time, sometimes to such an extent that it becomes institutionalized (e.g., patronizing talk in nursing homes; insufficiently elaborated explanations in instructional settings).

Speakers can also inadvertently increase social distance and sour social relations with their communicative adjustments. Using informal terms of address (e.g., first names) with older adults who prefer more respectful or

formal terms (e.g., "Mr. or Mrs. Johnson") has been identified as a form of patronizing talk (Ryan et al., 1995). Often, a speaker's goal in using an informal term may be to reduce social distance and be friendly; however, if the recipient perceives this as inappropriate or disrespectful, it can be experienced as either overaccommodative (relative to desired social distance) or underaccommodative (relative to desired acknowledgment of status or respect). Similarly, Platt and Weber (1984) describe how Singaporean hotel staff's attempts to use "educated" English to make a good impression on hotel guests – coined "miscarried accommodation" – were often met with "irritation and sometimes confusion about the speaker's attitude to the addressee . . . at times mistaken for coolness or standoffishness" (p. 135). Although these speakers' intentions were to adjust their communication appropriately and be polite to their clients, their speech was perceived as overly formal, and gave the impression that they were trying to distance themselves socially. In this case, the hotel staff accommodated to their stereotypes of "educated" English, rather than the way people actually spoke. Adjusting communication according to group-based stereotypes, rather than interlocutors' actual and/or individual communicative characteristics, is a common cause of unintentional over- and underaccommodation.

Differences in cultural values or norms related to communication can also be a source of unintended nonaccommodation. Gasiorek and Van de Poel (2012) found that while mobile medical professionals (i.e., doctors working in a non-native country, culture and language) gave themselves high ratings of competence and confidence in their language and communication abilities, their native-speaker colleagues identified a number of ways in which they saw these non-native speakers' communication as problematic. A likely explanation is that these two groups were operating with different, culturally determined ideas of what constitutes "appropriate" communication. As a result, the mobile medical professionals felt they were accommodating, but their colleagues perceived aspects of their communication to be nonaccommodative.

Lastly, sometimes speakers are aware of the fact that they are not accommodating their interlocutors, but are unable to do anything about it because of other constraints. As discussed in Chapter 3 (this volume), the degree and quality of accommodation in interaction is a function of both motivation and ability; if people are not able to adjust their communication in particular ways, they will not do so, regardless of motivation. Thus, when a situation demands a communicative skill people do not have – for example, speaking a language they do not know – they are likely to be perceived as nonaccommodative (e.g., Simard, Taylor, & Giles, 1976). Although they may be aware of this fact, they are not in the situation intentionally. Recent empirical work suggests that under these circumstances, speakers may compensate by seeking to accommodate in other ways, such as apologizing for difficulties or emphasizing social or

relational aspects of the situation when linguistic barriers impede full comprehension of content (Gasiorek, Van de Poel, & Blockmans, 2015; Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis, 1973).

Effects of Nonaccommodation

Although speakers' nonaccommodation can sometimes be a means to express positive distinctiveness – and as such may be experienced positively, at least by ingroup members – negative consequences generally follow from nonaccommodation, particularly when it is defined in terms of listeners' perceptions. Whether intended or unintended, nonaccommodation affecting comprehension or coherence in interaction (the cognitive function) can result in miscommunication, misunderstanding and/or communication breakdown (e.g., Coupland, Wiemann, & Giles, 1991; Mustajoki, 2013). This is obviously problematic in applied settings; in instructional or educational contexts, for example, this can translate to students not learning the desired material and performing poorly on exams. In medical contexts, nonaccommodation between doctors in multidisciplinary medical teams has documented consequences for doctors' understanding of patients' health status and care needs, as well as patient health outcomes (Hewett, Watson, & Gallois, 2015; Hewett, Watson, Gallois, Ward, & Leggett, 2009a, b; see also Chapter 8).

Whether intended or unintended, nonaccommodation affecting social relations (the affective function) generally has negative consequences too, including less positive evaluations of individuals and their corresponding social groups, as well as lower quality of contact and relational solidarity (Soliz & Giles, 2014; see also Chapter 4). As additional examples of the negative consequences of nonaccommodation, the CAT-based Communication Predicament of Aging Model (CPAM; Ryan, Giles, Bartolucci & Henwood, 1986) and the Age Stereotypes in Interaction Model (ASIM; Hummert, 1994; Hummert, Garstka, Ryan, & Bonneson, 2004) both describe how patronizing talk to older adults (i.e., overaccommodation, typically as a result of accommodation to negative stereotypes of this group) can create a negative self-fulfilling prophecy (see also, Chapter 7). Implicit in the use of patronizing talk, the models suggest, is the message that the recipient is incompetent and/or unable to function as a "normal" independent adult. This notion is often reinforced in interaction, where the use of patronizing talk constrains older adults' opportunities to express and convey their competence and independence. If older adults are repeatedly patronized and constrained like this, they may begin to internalize the belief that they are no longer competent and independent, and start to act in ways consistent with that belief. The result is negative communicative, psychological, and potentially even physical outcomes for older adults, as they ultimately accommodate to expectations of

incompetence implicit (and sometimes explicit) in the nonaccommodative communication they experience.

Recent theoretical and empirical work has shown that recipients' inferences about speakers' motives influence these outcomes (e.g., Gasiorek & Giles, 2012, 2015; Giles & Gasiorek, 2013). Faced with communication experienced as nonaccommodative, people often seek to understand and/or explain why their interlocutors are not accommodating them. The motives they infer to underlie their interlocutors' communicative behavior (e.g., to help or to hurt) have been found to predict their evaluations of both speakers and their communication. When nonaccommodation is perceived as either unintentional or intentional but positively motivated (e.g., someone is attempting to be helpful, just doing so poorly – in other words, as psychologically convergent), negative evaluations tend to be attenuated, relative to situations where nonaccommodation is perceived as intentional and negatively motived (e.g., someone attempting to be hurtful, or show that they are superior – in other words, as psychologically divergent). Indeed, Gasiorek and Giles (2015) have recently suggested that inferred motive may operate as a lens through which perceived accommodation is judged. When speaks perceives (the same) communicative behavior to be more negatively motivated, they also perceive it as less accommodative (i.e., appropriately adjusted in context). Collectively, these findings underscore how different interpretations or inferences about the same communicative behavior can lead to more or less negative social and relational consequences.

Managing Nonaccommodation

Nonaccommodation can put individuals in a challenging interactional position. As the previous sections have discussed, evaluative and psychological responses to nonaccommodation are generally negative (e.g., Williams, 1996), suggesting that nonaccommodation is something people would seek to curtail. However, in determining how to respond to (perceived) nonaccommodation, there are frequently other social dynamics at play, including issues of power, relational history, and impression management. As such, nonaccommodation may be managed in a variety of ways, with a range of consequences.

When nonaccommodation takes the form of overt linguistic divergence (e.g., a speaker using a different language), respondents may choose to either converge to or diverge from their interlocutors. (In some cases, a respondents' "divergence" may constitute maintenance of their own or preferred language). Research on speech accommodation in bilingual settings suggests that speakers' choices generally depend on contextual factors such as the interlocutor's social identity, and that such factors also affect how speakers' choices are evaluated in context (e.g., Genesee & Bourhis, 1982, 1988; Lawson-Sako & Sachdev, 1996).

Research on managing overaccommodation has generally focused on responses to patronizing talk. One strategy frequently used by older adults (as well as disabled adults; Fox & Giles, 1996) is a *passive* or *ignoring/nonrelevant* response, which consists of allowing the patronizing talk to pass without comment (Harwood, Ryan, Giles, & Tysoski, 1997). Although this typically results in high ratings of respondents' solidarity and warmth, this type of response does little to counter the implicit or explicit attributions of incompetence conveyed in patronizing talk. It also does little to alert the speaker that their communication is inappropriate, and therefore little to prevent future instances of patronizing talk from occurring.

Other types of responses address the problematic nature of patronizing communication (i.e., overaccommodation), but entail social risks. *Assertive* and *appreciative* responses consist of older adults' asserting their autonomy with a positive or neutral emotional tone; *aggressive* and *condescending* responses also consist of asserting one's autonomy, but with a more negative or confrontational tone and associated nonverbal behavior (Hummert & Mazloff, 2001; Ryan, Anas, & Friedman, 2006). While these approaches generally do affirm older adults' competence in the eyes of others, they often come at a cost to older adults' perceived solidarity or warmth, particularly when the affective valence of the response is negative. A possible compromise may be found in a *humorous* response, which consists of making a joke or witty remark to protest patronizing communication, but in a way that minimizes face-threat (Ryan, Kennaley, Pratt, & Shumovich, 2000). If these responses are perceived as intended (and not as caustic or sarcastic), there is the potential for these to allow for the "best of all possible worlds," asserting older adults' competence without compromising warmth and solidarity (Ryan et al., 2000).

Finally, research has identified three broad categories of responses to underaccommodation: direct, indirect, and passive. Direct responses include asking questions (particularly when the underaccommodation is linked to issues with comprehension) or confronting the speaker about their nonaccommodative behavior. Indirect responses include stopping or attempting to stop the interaction, minimal moves (i.e., short verbalizations that acknowledge a speaker but do not invite further comment), expressing negative affect nonverbally, or changing the subject. Finally, as earlier, passive responses include ignoring or playing along with the underaccommodation (Coupland, Coupland, Giles, & Wiemann, 1988; Gasiorek, 2013). To date, there do not appear to be any studies examining the perceptions of speakers that follow from each of these types of responses. However, Gasiorek's (2013) study did find that participants' attributing a negative motive to the speaker was associated with a higher likelihood of stopping the interaction and expressing negative affect nonverbally, and with a lower likelihood of ignoring or playing along with underaccommodation.

In short, there is a range of possible ways to manage nonaccommodation in interaction. However, those that overtly address the problematic nature of another person's communication often entail social risks – including, likely, being seen as nonaccommodative. The "best" or "most appropriate" response to nonaccommodation arguably depends on contextual factors, particularly respondents' goals. If a priority is placed on social relations, a passive response may be the most effective means to that end; if priority is placed on arresting present and future nonaccommodation – with less concern for social dimensions of the interaction – a more direct, assertive or divergent approach may be the most apposite.

Opportunities in Nonaccommodation Research

In the years since CAT's inception, the focus of nonaccommodation research has expanded from an early focus on speaker behavior (i.e., linguistic accommodation), to include speaker's intentions and goals (i.e., psychological accommodation and accommodative strategies) and listener's perceptions (i.e., over- and underaccommodation). These shifts have created new opportunities for theorizing and research; this section briefly addresses three of these.

Social Cognition and Perspective-Taking

Conceptualizing nonaccommodation in terms of listeners' perceptions – as does work on over- and underaccommodation – implicates other variables: to be able to explain and predict outcomes that follow from interactants' perceptions, we need to understand the nature of these perceptions. Attributions, a key component of perceptions and evaluations of others' behavior, have been a part of CAT's framework for most of the theory's history (e.g., Simard et al., 1976). However, research on social cognition and message processing (e.g., Levinson, 2006; Malle, 2011; Malle & Hodges, 2005) has made considerable strides since attributions were first incorporated into CAT research, and it is arguably time to integrate these new advances into the theory's framework. One social cognitive construct with particular potential is *perspective-taking*, the situated process of representing or imagining the content of another person's mental state (e.g., Galinksy, Ku, & Wang, 2005; Goldstein, Vezich, & Shapiro, 2014).

First, perspective-taking provides a means to explain unintentional over- and underaccommodation. If speakers arrive at incorrect conclusions about what a target knows, needs, or wants (which is not uncommon; Barr & Keysar, 2005) – for example, as a result of overreliance of stereotypes relative to individuating information – either over- or underaccommodation could be a

result. However, there has been no research to date explicitly addressing the link between speakers' perspective-taking and the extent to which their communication is perceived as over- or underaccommodative. Approaching unintentional over- and underaccommodation in this way may also suggest potential remedies for these issues, which may have pragmatic value.

Perspective-taking may also influence how people evaluate nonaccommodation. Given past research on the prosocial outcomes of perspective-taking (Hodges, Clark, & Myers, 2012) and its positive effect on explanations for others' behavior in negative situations (Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003), it is reasonable to expect that the extent to which recipients of nonaccommodation engage in perspective-taking could affect how they perceive and evaluate these interactions. A recent study of recalled nonaccommodative conversations provides initial support for this assertion: Gasiorek (2015) found that the more participants reported being able to see the problematic conversation from their interlocutor's point of view, the more positively motivated they saw the other person's communication to be. Additionally, participants instructed to take their interlocutors' perspective when recalling the conversation (an experimental manipulation) rated the communication they recalled as more accommodative than those who did not. However, this is only a single study; additional research is needed to confirm and expand on these findings.

Underaccommodation

A second opportunity in research on nonaccommodation lies in expanding work on underaccommodation, both theoretically and empirically. To date, overaccommodation has received considerably more scholarly attention than underaccommodation. However, there is some evidence that underaccommodation may in fact be a more prevalent issue, at least for some demographic groups: in a recent study examining college students' experiences, 90 per cent of the instances of nonaccommodation reported by participants were *under*-accommodation (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012).

While overaccommodation is primarily problematic in terms of its effects on social relationships (i.e., the affective function of communication adjustment), underaccommodation is likely to result in consequences for *both* the management of social relationships and comprehension (i.e., the cognitive function of communication adjustment). Underaccommodation in verbal and nonverbal behavior often increases perceived social distance; for example, in the form of divergence or maintenance, it typically signals disaffiliation. However, underaccommodation in discourse management, as in painful self-disclosures by older adults (e.g., Bonnesen & Hummert, 2002), can also result in recipients' feeling that speakers are being inappropriately intimate. Thus, depending on the form it takes, underaccommodation can result in either undesirable

detachment or unwelcome closeness. How underaccommodation along different dimensions of accommodation (see Chapter 5) creates different interactional dilemmas, and results in different social and interactional outcomes, has not been systematically elaborated or tested.

Additionally, as noted earlier, responding to underaccommodation in context presents an interesting interactional dilemma. Ironically, and in contrast to situations involving overaccommodation, recipients of underaccommodation may actually get the implicit message that speakers think they are *more* competent than they really are. This creates a challenge in crafting a response, as recipients must figure out how to indicate that they need help without compromising impressions of their competence too severely. Given the present imbalance in research on over- versus underaccommodation, and the apparent potential for more problematic and negative outcomes following from the latter (e.g., Gasiorek & Giles, 2012; Jones, Gallois, Barker & Callan, 1994), greater scholarly attention should be focused on underaccommodation.

Nonaccommodation in Context

Finally, as this volume's final Chapter 10 contends, a future vista for all CAT work is the development of more thorough understandings of accommodation in *context*. Research on nonaccommodation is no exception to this. As outlined earlier, a given communication behavior could be considered in terms of (a) its linguistic features; (b) speakers' intentions; or (c) listeners' perceptions, and may be construed in different ways by difference audiences. Contextual variables are critical to understanding how communication jointly operates along these three dimensions in real world settings. Linguistically divergent communication can be an expression of positive distinctiveness, antipathy, disaffiliation or defiance, among many other possibilities. Which one of these it is intended to be, and whether listeners perceive it as such, will depend on features of the context, including physical location, interactants' history, local social norms, and interactants' goals.

Among contextual considerations, particular attention should be afforded to the *intergroup* nature of the interaction, as nonaccommodation is more likely to occur in intergroup interactions. First, intergroup interactions are more likely to involve the activation of group-based stereotypes, because social identity is salient (cf. Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). This increases the likelihood of accommodation to those stereotypes, rather than individuated communicative needs or characteristics, and therefore the likelihood of over- or underaccommodation. Second, there is evidence that people are more likely to attribute negative motives to outgroup members, and positive motives to ingroup members. Past research has shown, for example, that people receive criticism from ingroup members less defensively than from

outgroup members (*intergroup sensitivity effect*), because they see (the same) criticism from ingroup members as more constructive (Hornsey & Imani, 2004; Hornsey, Trembath, & Gunthorpe, 2004). To the extent that inferred motive acts as a lens through which accommodation is judged, this suggests that in general, outgroup members' communication is more likely to be evaluated as nonaccommodative (because it is likely to be seen as more negatively motivated).

Previous work in CAT acknowledges these issues, theoretically and empirically. However, bodies of thoroughly developed, contextualized empirical work addressing nonaccommodation exists in a relatively small number of domains, namely intergenerational, interethnic/intercultural (in conjunction with work on language attitudes), police–civilian/legal, and medical/healthcare contexts. (Notably, all these areas have a strong intergroup component to them, and this has been an integral aspect of these programs of research). In other areas, such as instructional, computer-mediated, organizational, and interreligious contexts, a small number of studies have made promising first steps. However, more work is needed for a thorough understanding of what nonaccommodation looks like, how and why it arises, how it is perceived by different actors and related groups, and what its consequences are in each of these domains.

Conclusions

There is a long, rich history of research on nonaccommodation within CAT literature, and the theory's shift to foregrounding psychological variables – most notably, listeners' perceptions of communication as over- and underaccommodative – has brought new opportunities for theorizing and empirical research. However, these opportunities are accompanied by dilemmas and challenges. On one hand, the theory's move toward focusing on the psychological states of speakers and listeners has led to better predictive and explanatory power. People react to what they experience; words and actions only have meaning to the extent that people, as social creatures, imbue them with meaning. As discussed throughout this chapter, a given communicative act could be interpreted in a variety of ways. When scholars understand what people are subjectively experiencing, they can better understand – and, given enough information, predict – people's responses to communication behavior in context.

On the other hand, attention to perception should be balanced with attention to behavior. Meaning is in the eye of the beholder, but members of a given social group often see the world through very similar lenses (Gallois & Callan, 1988). Understanding what language elements or features consistently result in what kind of responses under a given set of circumstances is also important.

Among other things, such attention and knowledge allows us to provide concrete recommendations for facilitating or avoiding certain forms of communication and their related outcomes. Interventions in which nurses are trained to minimize prototypical features of patronizing speech in their talk with older adults (e.g., Williams, Kemper, & Hummert, 2003) serve as just one example of this.

By considering these social cognitive processes in conjunction with communication behavior in context, we may be able to gain insight about why we infer a particular motive, in a particular situation, and what consequences that has. For example, when is patronizing talk seen as controlling, and when is it seen as caring (cf. Harwood & Giles, 1996)? To what extent is it features of the message itself that contribute to this assessment, and to what extent is it the person, the relationship, or the social identities at play? Teasing out these issues in context is arguably an important direction for future research on nonaccommodation. Systematic studies incorporating the perspectives of both the speaker *and* the listener – often a rarity in CAT research – will be an important next step here. To the extent that such work can also measure both interactants' perceptions of interaction (through, e.g., self-report or cued recall procedures) in conjunction with objective analysis of communication behavior (through, e.g., textual analysis by computer programs or traditional coding of interaction behavior), we will also have a richer understanding of nonaccommodation as a dynamic, interactive, and co-constructed process (see Chapter 6).

Communication is a social tool; in addition to being a means to express thought, it can be used to manage both micro- and macro-level social relations. Although it is often seen as the "dark side" of CAT, nonaccommodation plays an important role in these processes. The better we understand the nuances of nonaccommodation, in terms of both behavior and perception, the better positioned we are to achieve our own goals, and to understand our social world.

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6 CAT and Talk in Action

Cindy Gallois, Ann Weatherall and Howard Giles

In this chapter, we review work that explores communication accommodation through talk, using a variety of qualitative methods (see Gallois & Giles, 2015, for a recent review; see also http://catqualstudies.weebly.com/ for a list of many papers using qualitative methods to study communication accommodation). In this way, we engage a substantive body of research which has been conducted somewhat independently of the quantitative work for which Communication Accommodation theory (CAT) is, arguably, best known (see Chapters 3 & 4).

There are many forms of qualitative research, ranging from thematic analyses of interviews through to analyses grounded entirely in naturally occurring conversational behavior (e.g., ethnography of communication; discourse analysis, DA; conversation analysis, CA). Studies framed by CAT have often extended sociolinguistic research on language variation that examines the association between phonological, lexical, and syntactic variation to (usually pre-existing) social categories. Other studies have used one or another form of ethnography or DA, and have linked interpretations of talk to existing or emerging social categories and to the dynamics of positioning in intergroup conversation; we discuss a number of such studies below.

In addition, we afford special emphasis to CA, a methodology with its own long research tradition (see Sidnell & Stivers, 2012), and we include a new CA analysis of data on encounters between American police officers and drivers. This analysis highlights two issues: (1) the ways in which CA can be compared to CAT (see Chapter 2) and (2) the potential benefits to researchers of accommodation in using this well-validated method. We also point to some of the differences between CA and other qualitative research framed by CAT. In addition, we review DA studies, along with other qualitative methods.

As many of the chapters in this volume show, CAT has long been known for its subtle experimental studies of the communicative moves people make in interpersonal and intergroup contexts; it can be regarded as a robust intergroup theory of interpersonal communication (see Chapter 7). It would be wrong to assume, however, that CAT research does not explore the richness of talk. On the contrary and across the world, there is a long and strong tradition of

qualitative research framed by CAT. This work dates at least from the early 1980s (e.g., Coupland, 1984; Shockey, 1984). Both these studies linked detailed phonological analysis to intergroup convergence. In Coupland's research, a travel agent changed phonological features toward those of her customers. This was likely to be in the interests of better customer relations and sales, although Coupland only examined behavior and not attitudes or motivation. In Shockey's research, an American converged to the British exploded dental stop /t/, presumably in the interests of better comprehension in the United Kingdom (again, only behavior, not motivation, was analyzed). Indeed, the special issue of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (Giles, 1984) on communication accommodation, a seminal publication in the history of the theory, contained several articles analyzing discourse and talk. The emphasis put by CAT on actual behavior in interaction made the theory very attractive for scholars in sociolinguistics, as well as in psychology and communication.

Discourse Research and CAT

In contrast to the experimental and questionnaire-based research that characterize the quantitative work on CAT, qualitative studies have always emphasized the details of linguistic behavior *in situ*, and the impact of identity dynamics on interaction and communication. This work began with the detailed observation of phonological changes in intergroup contexts, as illustrated by the papers above. Soon, there was DA work on ingratiation and overconvergence, exemplified by Platt and Weber's (1984) study of Anglo-Saxon employers in Singapore and their (unsuccessful or misplaced) attempts to converge to local versions of English. They found a similar situation with the Singaporean employees, whose attempts to converge to Australian English were perceived negatively, as ingratiating. Studies of underaccommodation also appeared, such as the detailed exploration by Hamilton (1991) of communication between a daughter and her mother, who had dementia. In an interpretive discourse analysis, Hamilton invoked the non-approximation strategies (see below, and Coupland, Coupland, Giles, & Henwood, 1988) by analyzing the daughter's response strategies to ambiguous pronoun references, off-topic comments, or misunderstandings by the mother. Thus, her work was particularly concerned with interpretability. Hamilton, indeed, was one of the first (if not the first) to invoke the concept of unintentional underaccommodation, with specific reference to communication-disabled people like those with dementia. This research made clear the benefits of close analysis of ongoing conversation *in situ* to explore the dynamics of accommodation.

The first systematic theoretical statement of CAT to take full account of research on discourse and talk was probably Coupland et al.'s (1988)

framework. This version of the theory explored the non-approximation strategies of interpretability, discourse management, and interpersonal control, adding them to the original approximation strategy (as convergence, divergence and maintenance were re-labelled). This work was significantly based on DA of talk between cognitively and socially active elderly people attending senior citizen day centers and their younger recruited interlocutors. Partly for this reason, qualitative work on CAT became associated with communication in aging and health. For example, it produced important work on the dilemmas of accommodative strategies and intergenerational communication – simplifying language for interpretability could also be demeaning or result in reduced opportunities for social engagement (Ryan, Giles, Bartolucci, & Henwood, 1986). This work not only added to the complexity of CAT, but also to its comprehensiveness.

In the 1980s and 1990s, qualitative studies using CAT were carried out mainly by sociolinguists, and emphasized the type of DA that is typical there. These scholars examined the ways in which language changes were linked to movements toward or away from social groups. This work continues to the present day. For example, Chakrani (2015) found that speakers of various dialects of Arabic with higher or lower social prestige converged to or diverged from each other's dialects in conversation as a function of their language attitudes. In an interesting example of triangulation, Chakrani used a very detailed interpretive DA around lexical choice, supplemented by analysis of nonverbal behavior and elicitation of attitudes through interviews and questionnaires. In one example, speakers of high-prestige and low-prestige dialects co-constructed a joke about a word with different meanings across dialects. The high-prestige speaker showed a positive attitude to the other speaker's convergence, and also to her dialect. A third speaker (of another high-prestige dialect), however, diverged from the low-prestige speaker by refusing to understand the joke, and indicated a negative attitude to the low-prestige dialect.

In a similar vein, and using both CAT and CA, Nilsson (2015) provided both a broad examination of language variation from nine areas in western Sweden, and a detailed study of convergence of language variants in particular interactions. Initially, Nilsson used sociolinguistic interviews to establish the phonological variants that speakers typically used. Then, conducting a detailed CA of recordings of informal contexts like family dinners, she found that people who typically used different variants converged to those of their interlocutors when they repeated words or parts of phrases used by interlocutors in the immediately preceding turn; that is, they format tied. This convergence occurred when interlocutors were oriented to the same immediate conversational goal. It sometimes occurred when there was disagreement, possibly as a signal of solidarity, given that convergence did not occur in all

format tying. Given the intergenerational nature of the conversations, Nilsson pointed to the potential of this kind of convergence in explaining language shift, and she highlighted the usefulness of CAT for this type of analysis. This work points to the need for future research in order to understand accommodation in linguistic variants as an interactional resource in conversation.

Once again in the intergenerational context, Sandel, Chao, and Liang (2006) looked at code-switching among multilinguals across generations in Taiwan, noting the convergence from local languages to the more prestigious Mandarin, which was greater in the younger generations. In this case, younger people showed their identification with the larger society by speaking Mandarin, which meant that in some cases they diverged from their own (older) family members by not code-switching back to the local language.

What emerges is that behavioral convergence in naturally occurring conversation, which may not be deliberate or even within awareness, is associated with identity and fluctuations in it. Convergence may also be a practice to accomplish actions such as agreements, or to manage social solidarity in the face of disagreement. Other sociolinguistic studies have examined other features of language than the sound system. For example, in a critical sociolinguistic study, Rajadurai (2007) examined shifts in syntax and semantics, as well as phonology, to outgroup variants of Malaysian English in classroom conversations. Rajadurai noted that teachers converge downward to the variants of students for strategic reasons, such as added respect and control. It would be difficult if not impossible to achieve this kind of understanding by other means.

The different approaches of experimental/survey and qualitative studies on CAT in focus and emphasis meant that the two strands of research have been conducted largely independently of each other. There were relatively few mixed-methods studies, although quantitative and qualitative studies often appeared alongside each other in the same edited books (e.g., Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). In this century, on the other hand, there has been an increase in the number of qualitative studies, a greater diversity of methods and contexts, and a coming-together of experimental and survey research combined with detailed studies of discourse (e.g., Gasiorek, 2013; Hewett, Watson, & Gallois, 2015). Furthermore, there are now software tools (e.g., Wordsmith, Word Cloud, Leximancer, Discursis) that facilitate the analysis of language and talk, and these have also contributed to the increase in the analysis of qualitative data.

Approximation

Perhaps unsurprisingly, much of the qualitative work on accommodation is about approximation. This kind of accommodation was studied first, and for many scholars it is still the part of the theory they know best. In a novel

approach, Azuma (1997) studied in detail the speeches of Emperor Hirohito of Japan. He found that, contrary to expectations, the Emperor converged to lower-status versions of Japanese – as Hirohito spoke a version reserved for the Emperor, this behavior amounted to downward convergence to everyone. It is likely that Hirohito, in the light of changes after the defeat in World War II, endeavored in this way to present a more accessible image to his people. He seems to have been successful, as his popularity increased with his use of these versions of Japanese.

In a different context, Yaeger-Dror (1988) found, in a study of approximation in Israel, that immigrant speakers in the mass media (singers) from Arabic linguistic backgrounds first converged to speakers of the dominant form of Hebrew, the koine, in their use of particular sounds that differed in Hebrew and their first language. Then, as the confidence and perceived ethnolinguistic vitality (see Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977) of the immigrant groups in the larger society increased, the singers became more likely to maintain their dialect versions of the sounds.

There has been much research like this, often in classroom situations and involving detailed observation of convergence. In an interesting non-classroom case, Bonnin (2014) looked at convergence to the other's voice, mainly in terms of word choice and style, between psychiatrists and patients in consultations in Argentina. Findings indicated that both interlocutors attempted to adopt the terms and the level of complexity used by the other (perhaps resulting in some overaccommodation, although the study did not look at this). Interestingly, Bonnin describes the study as *not* about CAT, as (in his view) CAT studies are experimental. This misunderstanding is not unusual among qualitative researchers, and an important activity for scholars interested in CAT is to correct this misperception.

Overaccommodation

Almost as soon as CAT was initially put forward by Giles (1973), it became clear that the straightforward idea of convergence to people one liked or groups one wished to join, and divergence from those who were disliked, was – however elegant a concept – too limited to capture the panoply of interpersonal and intergroup interactions. First, people differ in the extent to which they have the skills to accommodate; in addition, they may have complicated motives for accommodating or not. Beyond this, interlocutors differ in their reactions to a given behavior in talk, as a function of their own attitudes and motivations but also of the conversational dynamics and what actions are being oriented to as relevant by people in the interaction. The complexity, evident in research on conversational behavior, began to be reflected in the theory. One of the early additions to the theory was overaccommodation (see Chapter 5), in which

speakers converge (or accommodate in other ways) to stereotypes about their conversational partners, rather than to the partners' actual behavior (Ryan et al., 1986). Platt and Weber (1984) had earlier observed this in Singapore, but Ryan and her colleagues explored it in detail through conversations between older people and health professionals, leading to a CAT-satellite model called the Communicative Predicament of Ageing (CPA), in which older people are subjected to stereotyped communication from others, no matter what they do themselves (see Chapter 7).

Patronizing communication – the use of intonation patterns that resemble baby talk ("elder-speak") and words and phrases that infantilize the care receiver, have been explored in depth as indications of overaccommodation (Giles & Gasiorek, 2011). Early work indicated that how words are perceived was crucial. For example, Edwards and Noller (1993, in a quantitative study of impressions) found that elderly people perceived elder-speak as less patronizing than did younger nursing or psychology students. Such perceptions are central to conversational dynamics, and there was a great opportunity to explore overaccommodation and reactions to it in ongoing talk. Unfortunately, this path was not taken, and research on this complex form of behavioral accommodation has been relatively uncommon since the 1990s. A recent DA study in Quebec by Lagace, Tanguay, Lavallée, Lapante, and Robichaud (2012), however, found that overaccommodation in the form of patronizing communication is alive and well in aged care homes, and that residents resent it, but accommodate to it, perpetuating the CPA. In a theoretical development, Ryan and her colleagues (Savundranayagam, Ryan, & Hummert, 2007) extended the model to the predicament of people with disabilities (Duggan, Robinson, & Thompson, 2012; see Chapter 7), and there have been a few studies looking directly at discourse from this frame.

In recent years, researchers have begun to combine sociolinguistic and social-psychological methods in the detailed study of overaccommodation in talk. For example, Rosemary Baker and her colleagues (Baker et al., 2015) conducted a DA of conversations between people with dementia and their professional carers in aged care homes. They found that overaccommodation – in this case, inappropriate use of questions apparently based on stereotyped expectations – resulted in less engagement in the conversation by care receivers than did accommodation by searching for topics and words that care receivers engaged with. Accommodation by carers resulted in more engagement, even by people with severe dementia. The study made use of one of the newer software tools for analysis of discourse, Discursis, which allows visualization of conversations turn-by-turn (see Angus, Smith, & Wiles, 2012, for an explanation of this software). Angus and his colleagues (Angus, Watson, Smith, Gallois, & Wiles, 2012) also used Discursis to visualize accommodation in conversations between health professionals

and patients, and found that convergence in word use was associated with conversations perceived as more effective.

Underaccommodation

As research has continued, it has become clear that underaccommodation – the failure to move toward the communication of a conversational partner or to take account of the partner's conversational needs – is probably the most ubiquitous form of nonaccommodation, and indeed of miscommunication in general. Underaccommodation in approximation was originally called maintenance, and tended (in studies of perceptions of accommodation in language and accent) to have similar (albeit less extreme) consequences as divergence (i.e., negative perceptions). In fact, this behavior is far more complicated than a simple refusal to change language or style. In recent years, Gasiorek and her colleagues (see Chapter 5) have found that the perceived motive for underaccommodation can be the most important influence on evaluations of it. For example, Gasiorek (2013, study 1), in a thematic analysis of open-ended questionnaire responses to underaccommodation, identified six main responses to this behavior, based on perceived motive. Responses ranged from requests for clarification to open confrontation.

Underaccommodation has emerged as a key feature of discourse in health and disability. The study by Baker and colleagues described above shows that responses to underaccommodation by people with dementia is central to their engagement in a conversation. This work is similar to the work by Hamilton (1991), although the more recent study is more explicitly framed as underaccommodation. Likewise, Cretchley, Gallois, Chenery, and Smith (2010) examined conversations between people with schizophrenia and their carers, using the data-mining software Leximancer to map the parts of the conversations most associated with the carer and the person with schizophrenia. They found that accommodative responses – for example, questions around topics the care receiver showed interest in – were successful in producing conversational engagement by these underaccommodating people.

Others have studied underaccommodation as miscommunication. Susan Baker and her colleagues (Baker, Gallois, Driedger, & Santesso, 2011) conducted a DA of interviews with people with arthritis and similar diseases and their doctors (also using Leximancer). They found numerous cases of subtle miscommunication. For example, they noted that both patients and doctors maintained their different uses of the word "normal." For patients, "normal" meant *back to normal*, or back to where they were before the diagnosis. Doctors, on the other hand, used "normal" to mean a *new normal* after the diagnosis. The miscommunication resulting from this underaccommodation by both sides passed largely unnoticed. On the

other hand, patients did feel that they needed to accommodate ("reach out") to doctors in their language.

In a different context, Hewett and colleagues (2015, study 2) conducted a DA of underaccommodation and reactions to it, in medical record entries written by doctors of different specialties. They found, first, that doctors who were not from the specialty of the doctor who made an entry had difficulty in understanding the ingroup terms, abbreviations, and "hidden agendas." Generally, however, they excused the other doctors' behavior by saying that it was appropriate to that specialty, or that they did not really need to understand the entry. In this way, they could maintain solidarity with their (unseen) colleagues; that said, the impact on patient care is potentially more problematic.

Impact of Qualitative Research on CAT

Qualitative studies that examine actual language behavior *in situ* have importantly shaped the theoretical development of CAT. This research has highlighted the subtlety of intergroup communication in many contexts. For example, Watson and her colleagues (see Chapter 8) elucidated the importance of emotional expression and attention to emotional needs in conversations between health professionals and patients. In recent mixed-methods work with Discursis, Watson, Angus, Gore, and Farmer (2015) found that convergence to an optimal level was most effective in dealing with open disclosure explanations provided by health professionals to patients or their families about medical errors and adverse events. In the next section, we take a different approach, and invoke CA to elucidate accommodation in natural interactions.

Conversation Analysis and Accommodation

The studies reviewed so far have, to a greater or lesser extent, taken account of features of CAT outside the immediate conversation, even though their main emphasis has been on the dynamics of the talk *in situ*. Indeed, recent versions of CAT (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005; Giles & Soliz, 2014) have theorized conversational tactics and dynamics as important constraints of accommodation, that may modify or even negate initial orientation to the conversation. Nevertheless, many studies have taken group memberships like ethnicity, gender, age, or occupation as starting points from which to consider language in conversation (see Chapter 7). CA eschews this process, concentrating on participants' orientations to relevant actions in talk (see Weatherall, 2012). We explore this method empirically in the next sections, in order to explore the potential of CA to add value to research with CAT; one of us (AW), an experienced conversation analyst, conducted the CA, using data collected by Giles, Linz, Bonilla, and Gomez (2012). The aim of what follows was to use

CA to ground subjective attributions of accommodation in what people are doing in talk. The interactions we examined were two American traffic stops. The officer in one interaction received the highest accommodation score of all the traffic stops (ratings were provided by naïve judges; see Giles et al., 2012). For the second case, the driver received the highest nonaccommodation score.

Traffic stop interactions are a form of institutional talk (see Choi & Giles, 2012). The study of institutional talk is important in conversation analysis, and this method is used to examine how institutions are produced by participants as they orient to the joint accomplishment of its business. For example, Weatherall (2015) showed how call-takers for a dispute resolution service accomplished a neutral stance toward callers' complaints. In the analysis presented below, we propose that participants' (mis)alignment to early actions initiated by traffic officers are likely causes of raters' strong impressions of accommodation and nonaccommodation.

Category Membership, Social Identities, and the Accomplishment of Action

A CA approach to the study of social interaction involves limiting the significance of identity matters to the social or category memberships observably relevant to the participants themselves in the mutual accomplishment of action. In this way, CA is different from (and arguably antithetical to) some other forms of qualitative analysis, where talk is interpreted in terms of existing or theoretically determined categories and concepts. This issue has been particularly controversial in gender and language research, which largely rests on assumptions of the omni-relevance of gender to social interaction (Weatherall & Gallois, 2003).

The practices recruited in the mutual accomplishment of actions in talk, which CA aims to explicate, involve social and psychological matters that are handled interactionally. Doing things together requires establishing and maintaining "properly aligned participants" (Jefferson & Lee, 1981). Being aligned refers to interactants who are jointly engaged in the same activity. For example, Jefferson (1988) documented some of the ways troubles were told about in interaction. This work showed that a properly aligned recipient in a troubles-telling displays a similar stance toward the problem as the teller. A properly aligned troubles-telling recipient shows agreement and intersubjective understanding of the teller's problem and stance. In the analysis that follows, the alignment between police officer and driver is central to the course of the interactions.

Accommodative and Nonaccommodative Traffic-Stop Interactions

For this chapter, two traffic stop interactions were identified from a larger sample (n = 313) included in a study of the influence of ethnicity in

police–civilian interactions (Giles et al., 2012). In the original study, data had been content-analyzed for pre-determined information, behavior had been rated by judges for communication quality, and comparisons had been made based on whether the interactions involved white or Latino interlocutors (see Chapter 9). The analysis here, however, is entirely grounded in the details and sequencing of the talk.

The recordings of the traffic stop interactions – involving two different white male officers and two different white male drivers – rated as most and least accommodative were transcribed using the Jeffersonian system (Jefferson, 2004), which is conventional in conversation analysis. The two extracts below show the two traffic stop beginnings, which include the opening, the reason for the stop, and getting the driver's documents.

Extract 1 presents the early moments of the interaction from the accommodating officer case. The driver has complied to the request to pull over with no problems. The recording begins with the officer asking the driver how he is.

Extract 1: Opening of traffic stop interaction rated as the most accommodating (officer)

```
01   O:   How's it goin?
02   D:   How you doin?
03   O:   Pretty good.
04   D:   (All[ right.)
05   O:        [ Hey >the reason< I stopped you is your, (1.0) (t-) uh:
06        rear tail, (.) license plate has got a- (0.5) hitch in the
07        front and it's blocking >a part of the< numbers, so it's
08        hard to see.
09        (0.8)
10   D:   [ Really? ]
11   O:   [ By law- Y] eah. By law you have to have that totally
12        unobstructed.
13        (0.7)
14   O:    and: you have a light that usually lights it up.=It looks like
15         it's not working at the (t-) at the time being.
16         (.)
17   D:      (Can I step[ out and)
18   O:                 [ Uh: in a second you can.=Do you have your
19           driver's licens[ e, r] egistration and insurance^
20   D:                     [ Yep.]
```

A finite set of activities can occur in the openings of social interactions. They are summons-answer sequences, greetings, identification sequences, and personal state inquiries (Schegloff, 1968). Typically, the openings of institutional interactions are more truncated than mundane conversational

openings. For traffic stops, the officer summons the driver by requesting him or her to pull over. In the earlier case, the only other activity typical of conversational openings is a personal state inquiry, which the officer initiates with *How's it going?* (line 1). Instead of providing an answer to the question, the driver counters it by asking *how are you doing?* (line 2). The counter expedites the how-are-you sequence and progresses the interaction by passing the conversation floor back to the officer. The officer responds to the driver's inquiry with *pretty good.*

By countering the how-are-you sequence, the driver shortens the conversational opening and immediately gives the conversational floor back to the officer. In doing so, the driver curtails an activity that would otherwise postpone – by just a turn of talk – finding out why he has been pulled over. After responding to the driver's personal state inquiry the officer continues talking, providing the reason for the stop, which is that the license plate on the driver's vehicle is not clearly visible.

After a short delay, the driver responds to the reason for the stop with *really,* a ritualized display of disbelief that regularly occurs in response to news (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006). The officer orients to the delay as the driver not understanding the significance of the infringement, because he starts explaining the problem in terms of the law. He cuts off the beginning of that explanation that is in overlap with the driver's turn, to respond to the driver's display of disbelief with *yeah.* The officer then continues with a second aspect of the problem – the tail light is not working.

In response to the second aspect of the problem, the driver asks if he can get out of his car and have a look. The request is an interrogative designed for a yes answer. It demonstrates the driver accepting the right of the officer to control what the driver can do. The officer projects the nature of the request before it has been fully articulated, interrupting the driver and refusing his request, or at least indicating there will be a delay before it is granted by saying *in a second you can.* The time formulation *second* minimizes the time lag which, in reality, turns out to be a lot longer.

Another activity visible in the earlier extract is the officer's request for the driver's documentation – *do you have your* . . . (lines 18–19). The driver indicates his compliance with the request with a *yep* early in the officer's turn. What is meant by early is the driver claiming next speakership before the prior turn is brought to possible completion. The driver is showing recognition of the action being done by the officer. That recognition is because the request has a somewhat routine form that has three expected elements. On the video, it can be seen that the driver is also complying with the request by starting to retrieve the relevant documentation.

In sum, Extract 1 shows a smooth and expedited progression through the activities that occur at the beginning of the traffic stop. The driver is compliant with the officer's requests. The driver also displays his unawareness of the problems with his vehicle by displaying surprise – *really* – and asking to be able to confirm it with his own eyes. That request displays the driver's orientation to the interaction as a traffic stop and his interlocutor's membership category as an officer of the law. The officer denies that request, but indicates that permission of the request will be granted later. The sensitive handling of denials is a regular feature of dispreferred response types (Schegloff, 2007), which may contribute to the impression of an accommodating officer. In CAT terms, the two interlocutors have accommodated each other, especially in interpersonal control; they have treated each other as individuals within the constraints of the context. Even though it was the police officer who received the highest score for accommodation, the CA also points to the interactional accomplishment of institutional identities and action. Furthermore, the CA elucidates the ways in which this was accomplished through alignment from the start through the whole opening.

A very different opening is evident in Extract 2, which is taken from the interaction rated as the most nonaccommodating; in this case, the nonaccommodating interlocutor is the driver. Trouble is evident from the start of the recording, where the officer is not satisfied with the way the driver has complied with the request to pull over. When the driver has pulled over satisfactorily, the officer launches straight into the reason for the stop – the lack of a light over the license plate.

Extract 2: Opening of traffic interaction rated as the most nonaccommodating (driver)

```
01       ((Dispatcher talking on radio))
02   O:  PULL AHEAD!
03       21.0)
04   O:  Pull off to the si:de=of the road up he:re.
05       (.)
06   D:  ((driver turns to the left to look at officer))
07   D:  (Huh? /Sorry?
08   O:  >Phull off to the side of the road up here.<
09   D:  <Off to the side of the[ road? >]
10   O:                          [ YEAH^ ] >You're in the >middle of the<
11       LAne^<
12       (0.2)
13   D:  Well, (.) (it's because[ you-)°
14   O:                          [ Pull o:ff >°to° the< side of the
15       road over here.
```

```
16      (26.0)((Driver pulls over. Officer gets back in police
17      vehicle and follow driver.))
18      (26.0) ((Officer talks to dispatch before leaving police
19      vehicle again to approach driver))
20      (17.0)((Officer approaches driver's car))
21  O:  >I just.< pulled you over >'cause you don't have a light
22        over your °license plate°.=It's not a big< dea:l. (.) but,
23       >do you have< you:r (.) registration, insurance and >
24       (license with you)<?
25  D:    °Yup°
```

At the beginning of the above extract, it is clear that the driver complied with the request to pull over, but did so in a way that was unsatisfactory for the officer. The officer instructs the driver to move the car forward (*Pull ahead,* line 2), which the driver fails to do. The officer orients to that failure as a problem in understanding, because he expands the instruction, providing more detail on what is required (*pull off to the side of the road up here,* line 4). The driver claims a trouble in understanding, which the officer addresses by repeating where he wants the driver to move to – off to the side and further up the road. The driver repeats the instruction, which shows that his trouble is not with hearing, but with understanding. The officer addresses the driver's understanding by explaining the problem with the position of the driver's vehicle – *you're in the middle of the lane.* The driver begins to respond to that explanation with *well,* a turn beginning that regularly marks some kind of disalignment with the prior turn. It seems likely that a justification was in the offing, but the officer interrupts the driver to reissue the direction about where to move to, which the driver then complies with.

With the pulling-over sequence completed, the officer could engage with other opening activities, such as a greeting or a how are you sequence. However, he curtails the opening and launches directly into the reason for the stop, which is that there is no light over the license plate. The officer assesses the problem as *not a big deal*. The short silence after that assessment provides a conversation slot where a response to the news about the lack of a light or to the assessment of its severity could be made – this is what happened in Extract 1. In this case, after the beat of silence where a next speaker can talk, the officer continues speaking with a next relevant activity, which is the request for the driver's documentation. The driver indicates his compliance with that request verbally when the turn has been brought to completion.

The extended pulling-over sequence in Extract 2 is in stark contrast with the same activity in Extract 1. Following the pull-over, the officer launched directly into the reason for the stop – none of the other mundane activities of

conversational openings were in the beginning of this interaction. The driver did not take a turn-taking opportunity to respond to the reason for being pulled over; nor did he indicate an early willingness to comply for documentation, which the driver in Extract 1 showed was possible. In CAT terms, the analysis shows that both interlocutors are nonaccommodating (even though it was the driver who received the highest score on this variable). The CA reveals their misalignment with respect to the action.

In both cases, after the officer has secured the driver's documents, dispatch is contacted to check that everything is in order. The interactions look very different, however, and seem likely to produce different results.

As can be seen from this analysis of the openings, the grounded approach of CA sheds a different light on these interactions. The analysis proceeds from grounded observations of what participants are oriented to as relevant local courses of action, accomplished over sequences of turns of talk. It does this rather than interpreting the talk in terms of its meaning in the interaction and with reference to larger institutional and societal issues, as discourse analysts would do. It also fleshes out the behavior in terms of conversational practices – the drivers' and officers' turn-by-turn responses to each other's behavior – instead of pre-existing strategies based on social identities. In particular, CA does not consider the pre-existing category of ethnicity, which is often assumed to impinge on identity (whether it does so or not). In this way, the CA foregrounds the locally relevant nature of social categories.

Conclusion

The work reviewed in this chapter, and the CA presented here, highlight the contribution that qualitative research has made to CAT, as well as pointing to some directions for the future. For one thing, it is clear that accommodation is partly in the eye of the beholder (both speaker and receiver), but is likely also to be grounded in the accomplishment of actions as they unfold in interaction. There may be moment-to-moment changes in the relevant identities, or in CA terms category memberships, and in orientation to other speakers based on language and communication behavior. There is no substitute for examining conversation in natural settings to capture this aspect of accommodation.

A challenge for researchers using CAT is the complexity of the theory. The complexity arises from the attempt to capture interactional dynamics as well as the antecedents and consequences of an interaction. There is room for much more work on conversational tactics and immediate responses in CAT, and the kind of detailed analysis provided by CA and some forms of sociolinguistic and DA is probably the only way to examine it fully. Some of the new language-analysis software may help researchers to analyze larger bodies of data more efficiently; programs like Discursis, which allow visualization of a

conversation turn-by-turn, seem especially promising here. Furthermore, in addition to the ways in which conversational participants make their behavior more similar or different, there are a myriad of ways in which they manage the discourse, help each other to understand the interaction (or not), and allow each other to interact as individuals rather than in roles (or not). For example, how is underaccommodation responded to in succeeding turns in conversational talk? What difference does this make to the overall flow of the conversation? Methods like CA and DA are well-suited to this task.

Much of CAT's theoretical development has resulted from observations of actual language behaviors. A conversation-analytic approach also insists on grounded observations of actual interactional behavior. Much qualitative research in CAT is based on observations of language, focusing on accommodation at the phonological, lexical, syntactic, and pragmatic levels. CA adds a focus on action – what participants themselves are doing in talk. It also shows that actions are a *joint* accomplishment; each turn of talk can stall or further an action launched in a previous turn of talk. CA examines what is happening in practice for the participants, turn-by-turn, in talk. How the theoretical differences between CA and the analysis of behavior within CAT can be reconciled is a future challenge, but in any case, there is huge value in this grounded analysis of action in talk.

The Principles of CAT described in Chapter 3 synthesize many years of research in this area, most of it experimental and quantitative in approach. The CA we present here, as well as the emphasis on talk in action in much of the research reviewed in this chapter, indicate the need for more attention to behavior in interaction. Principle 3 comes the closest to interactional dynamics, positing that "the degree and quality of individuals' accommodation in interaction is a function of both their motivation to adjust and their ability to adjust." We would add to this another principle (Principle 8), along the following lines: "The degree and quality of individuals' accommodation or nonaccommodation in interaction is a function of the interactional dynamics, including turn-by-turn actions, interactional accomplishment of immediate conversational goals, and the (mis)alignment of speakers in terms of the personal and/or social identities negotiated." This means that, as has always been the case, actual talk in interaction is at the very core of CAT.

In sum, qualitative research has been part of CAT from the start and has increased in volume and impact in recent years. This research has been impactful, as the analysis of behavior in interaction has immediate resonance for speakers. The increase in mixed-methods research has also helped to strengthen the links between behavior *in situ* and studies of its antecedents and consequences. We expect these trends to continue in the future, so that

CAT will continue to present a robust analysis of both (non)accommodative behavior and attitudes.

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7 Intergroup Accommodation, Social Categories, and Identities

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A man increases the extent to which he includes emotion while interacting with a female friend; a British English speaker asks someone for the location of the restroom rather than the toilet while at a restaurant in the USA; and a city local provides instructions to a foreign tourist using very slow and loud speech. All of these are instances of accommodation processes that occur, in large part, because of intergroup dynamics. The preceding chapters in this volume have primarily discussed accommodation as a communicator adjusting his/her language or nonverbal behavior as a result of perceptions of an interaction partner's particular attributes and behavior. For example, interviewees may change the directness of their language in response to the interviewer's communication style (see Chapter 3, this volume). Very often, however, accommodation is the result of *intergroup* processes, wherein communicators do not interact based on individual, personal identities and the idiosyncrasies contained therein; but, rather, based on their memberships in and affiliations with assorted social categories (Giles, 2012). For example, an adult may slow speech rate and simplify lexical choices when talking with a small child to increase the child's likely comprehension. The adult does this because of assumptions of cognitive skills and competence associated with the social category of the child, based on age.

This chapter details the processes involved in communication accommodation related to intergroup encounters and specific contextual and theoretical areas that have generated significant research programs. First, intergroup communication is defined. Next, intergroup-based forms of communication accommodation are discussed at a conceptual level of focus, including some general mechanisms the cut across much of this research. Then, a series of concrete domains of intergroup-based communication accommodation are advanced that have resulted in the emergence of an array of satellite models of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT). There are, of course, many more domains of intergroup communication that have been studied extensively (some are reported in other chapters in this volume), but the

domains described here provide good characterizations of the general mechanisms. Finally, we synthesize these domains to provide a theoretical discussion of the general processes cutting across the specific instances of intergroup-based accommodation.

Intergroup-Based Communication Processes

Intergroup encounters are those where at least one communicator accesses a social category and applies it to the interaction (Giles & Maass, 2016; Harwood, Giles, & Palomares, 2005). The social category – such as those determined by age, ethnic group, gender, sexual orientation, social class, university affiliation, profession or occupation, geographic region, nationality, political party, health status, culture, sports team, or some other group (even including those arbitrarily determined in an ad hoc manner, see Tajfel, 1970) – provides a means for a perceiver to define the memberships or affiliations of at least one person (including the self) in the interaction and, thereby, implicitly distinguishes categorized people from others. For example, when someone categorizes a few people as foreigners, the person also categorizes him/herself as a non-foreigner or local. When social categories such as these are employed – and clearly these will be contingent on the specific nationalities evoked as well as the historical relationships perceived between the two cultures – the interaction is based on intergroup dynamics. In contrast, when social categories are irrelevant, then the conversational dynamic is rooted in individual differences, idiosyncrasies, and personalities. This alternative is an interpersonal interaction, where group memberships and affiliations are not applied. Thus, one side of the dimension results in intergroup interactions and, on the other side, interpersonal conversations (see Dragojevic & Giles, 2014).

Employing an intergroup categorization activates the associated identity for those applying the social category. In this way, a man who construes a conversation in terms of gender will apply gender categories to himself and other interactants, which also increases the salience of his gender identity (Palomares, 2008). Identity salience is the extent to which a cognitive state leads to an explicit or implicit self-definition as a member of a collective group. A generic social identity can be salient for some, but not all, group members (see Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Eckes, 2002; Hummert, Garstka, Ryan, & Bonnesen, 2004); this still qualifies as an intergroup interaction. Intergroup dynamics are also fluid and changeable across the course of an interaction (see Chapter 5). Sometimes a conversation may start as interpersonal and become intergroup, say because someone makes a disparaging remark about the other gender. Sometimes, an interaction may begin with one category salient to those involved, and then change to another – or this

may be true only for some people. Thus, intergroup salience and the relevant ingroups and outgroups are features of the interaction itself, and emerge from it, as well as being linked to intergroup and interpersonal history.

Assorted triggers activate social identities; these triggers can be contextual, behavioral, psychological, and so forth. Essentially, myriad attributes and features of an interaction, the social and physical environment, and one's cognitions can foster the application of a social category and an attendant social identity. For example, an assistance device for an individual with a disability can trigger an interability dynamic and relevant identities (Duggan, Robinson, & Thompson, 2012). Likewise, a regional accent can make salient identities based on geographic origin (e.g., standard versus nonstandard varieties; see Giles & Rakić, 2014; Giles & Watson, 2013). These triggers also serve as markers for intergroup identities in response to the application of social categories. Communication, in particular, is a product of intergroup identities. In other words, communication functions as a means to signal group identities and as a response to activated group identities. For example, a student's hesitant and polite request can increase the salience of her professor's identity as an instructor; and having this group membership salient can increase the extent to which the professor speaks in an assertive manner, which can subsequently increase her student identity salience and exacerbate her hesitation and politeness. Communication and intergroup processes are strongly intermeshed (Giles, 2012).

This reciprocal relationship between communication and intergroup identities implicates the strong connection between intergroup forms of communication and accommodation processes. Accommodation is the adjustment and adaptation of one's communication in response to an interaction partner's communication (Abrams, O'Connor, & Giles, 2002). Intergroup dynamics are at the center of these adjustments, as most interactions take place on the intergroup side of the spectrum (Dragojevic & Giles, 2014). Adjustments in communication can be in response to intergroup identities or as a means to mark one's group identity. For example, one can use geographically specific slang to demonstrate one's regional identity, as in a northern Californian saying, "That was a hella good movie" to an out-of-town friend as a means to assert the distinction.

Communication Accommodation and Intergroup Dynamics

The general mechanisms and principles of communication accommodation are highly relevant to the current exposé of intergroup accommodation; readers should consult Chapter 3 for a more comprehensive coverage of CAT. In the present chapter, we will draw connections between the theoretical mechanisms/principles of CAT and intergroup dynamics.

First, accommodation fosters comprehension and coherence during intergroup encounters, where language or communication differences might be barriers for effective communication. Speaking more slowly can increase comprehension for a language learner, for instance. When conversational dynamics suggest a potential for miscommunication along intergroup lines (see Hewstone & Giles, 1986; Coupland, Wiemann, & Giles, 1991) – even if just perceived and not objectively present – interlocutors can adjust their communication in response to, or even in anticipation of, problems. Accommodation in intergroup encounters, in other words, responds to barriers or boundaries based on social categorizations on a collective group level.

Second, accommodation is (amongst other social functions) a means to increase or decrease social distance within ingroups and between ingroups and outgroups. Accommodation can occur between individuals belonging to the same group ("us in contrast to them") and between groups ("me and my group versus you and your group"). Convergence can indicate a decrease in distance at both linguistic and psychological levels. In intragroup contexts, and accommodation can serve to strengthen the closeness between members of the same social category. Similar processes are possible for intergroup interactions as well. A man and woman on a first date can speak with similar levels of tentativeness because they want to develop closeness. Conversely, divergence can increase social distance, as in the case of a Hispanic increasing the intensity of an accent to demonstrate and solidify a social boundary between the Hispanic and a non-Hispanic (see Chapter 5).

Third, social categories provide a source for expectations of what constitutes appropriate and desirable forms and levels of accommodation. When a salient social identity is active, group stereotypes are also triggered. These stereotypes can be applied to the self, as well as interaction partners. Accommodation and intergroup dynamics depend heavily on expectations. Stereotypes, which are heavily involved in intergroup relations (e.g., ingroup favoritism and outgroup bias via stereotyping), populate such expectations. Stereotypes of elderly people suggest that they have difficulty hearing (Hummert, 2011), and gender stereotypes focus on women's emotionality relative to men (Palomares, 2008). Stereotypes are significant because they can often be overgeneralized representations of actual group differences and, therefore, potentially do not describe interaction partners accurately. Further, reliance on stereotypes diminishes the extent to which accommodation is based on perceptions of a partner's individuality and increases the likelihood that accommodation is off mark (i.e., overaccommodation or underaccommodation; see Chapter 5).

Fourth, communication accommodation is both an outcome of, and an antecedent to, intergroup communication processes, such as identity salience. Accommodation, in other words, responds to intergroup dynamics and

functions to shape intergroup boundaries and affiliations. It is important to remember that identity salience is dynamic. Interactants are members of multiple groups, and one or another group may be salient at any given point in an interaction. For example, Hajek (2015) has, over the past decade or so, explored the relationship between identity and communication accommodation among gay men at various points in the age spectrum. His work shows that sexual orientation, gender, age, or a combination of them may be more salient in some contexts and less so in others. Other work shows the same kind of impact of multiple groups, particularly when some but not all of them are shared with interlocutors (cross-cutting identities), on accommodation among other communication and behavioral variables.

Although not exhaustive, these theoretical applications of accommodation processes to intergroup interactions are illustrative of the assorted research programs that have successfully engaged in similar theoretical integrations, albeit more extensively. What follows is a review of intergroup settings (viz., intercultural, between-gender, intergenerational, interability, and family dynamics) in order of research investment, wherein accommodation processes are particularly germane. For each program, we describe the fundamental research questions and core theoretical issues, especially those related to accommodation, and review representative research findings to demonstrate how these questions and theoretical issues have been addressed. Space does not allow for an exhaustive review of the literature for each domain. Thus, our purpose is to elucidate the underpinnings that bring together seemingly different contexts (see Ehala, Giles, & Harwood, 2016) under a theoretical umbrella of communication accommodation and intergroup communication mechanisms.

After detailing these domains of research related to accommodation, we close the chapter by drawing conclusions and making connections across the theories and research programs. Although each domain and theory focuses on different aspects and resides within different contexts, commonalities cut across the particular applications. In doing this, we put forward a refined intergroup model of CAT.

Intergroup Domains and Accommodation

Intercultural Accommodation

From the earliest modern days of the social psychology of intergroup relations, language and communication issues were prominent (e.g., Giles, 1977, 1978). Not unrelatedly, from its inception (e.g., Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis, 1973; Simard, Taylor, & Giles, 1976), CAT has recognized the highly intergroup

character of communication between members of different language, cultural, and ethnic groups. The concepts of convergence and divergence were ideally suited to explore language switches in bilingual or multilingual encounters (Burt, 1994; see Chapter 3). As predicted by the theory, convergence, in particular switching to the interlocutor's language in bilingual contexts, was more likely to occur when there was interpersonal liking or a positive intergroup history shared by interlocutors (see CAT satellite models of acculturation, bilingualism, tourism, and multilingualism, respectively: Giles, Bonilla, & Speer, 2013; Giles & Byrne, 1982; Giles, Ota, & Foley, 2013; Sachdev, Giles, & Pauwels, 2012). On the other hand, divergence (switching away from the language spoken by the interlocutor, or maintenance of the speaker's own language) was a result of poor intergroup or interpersonal relations (or both; see Chapter 5).

The situation proved to be more complex than these observations, however, and most models of CAT over the years have aimed to account for this complexity in intercultural communication. We briefly review the literature on convergence and divergence, non-approximation strategies, and their different impact on perceptions and attributions.

Convergence and Divergence (Approximation). Most people in the world are bilingual or multilingual and, therefore, often have the choice of which language to speak and how to speak it, as well as having strong views about such variations (see Giles & Watson, 2013). For this reason, in multilingual environments, convergence and divergence are easily observed through language switches and code-mixing. Around the world, convergence (making one's speech more like that of the interlocutor) towards the language of prestigious or liked groups has repeatedly been found in experimental, survey, and observational studies. Convergence is particularly and motivationally evident toward speakers of ethnic (or other social) groups perceived to have a relatively higher group vitality than one's ingroup. On the other hand, perception of high vitality of one's own group has been theorized as an important predictor of nonaccommodation (Giles & Johnson, 1981). Subjective group vitality has been operationalized in terms of strength of a group's numbers, economic situation, and history, as well as in the institutional support afforded its cultural practices (see Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977; Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994). Group vitality is an integral component of ethnolinguistic identity theory, another satellite model of CAT (e.g., Giles & Giles, 2012; Giles & Johnson, 1981, 1987) and a mediator of learning another group's language (e.g., Ehala, 2015; Gogonas & Michail, 2015). Early on, features of the context proved to be important influences on convergence; for example, Bourhis, Giles, Leyens, and Tajfel (1979) found that disparaging

remarks by a researcher led to lack of convergence from Flemish to French speakers in Belgium. Similar results have appeared in many European and other countries (Bourhis & Giles, 1977). The same sorts of predictions were made about aspects of speech related to language, but involving speakers of the same language in different dialect or accent groups. In general, results mirrored those for language, with convergence to higher-prestige styles or to the style of liked interlocutors (see Shepard, Giles, & LePoire, 2001; Giles & Watson, 2013, for reviews).

As above, the complexity of approximation became clear quite soon; in intercultural and interethnic contexts, context proved to be a very important variable. For example, Jones, Gallois, Barker, and Callan (1994) found very strong support for convergence by both Chinese and Australians in simulated conversations between students and academics; the impact of accommodative behavior far outweighed that of ethnicity. As a result of many studies of this type, CAT undertook the theoretical explication of context in more detail (e.g., Gallois, Franklyn-Stokes, Giles, & Coupland, 1988).

Like convergence, divergence and maintenance across language and cultural or ethnic markers have long been areas of research within CAT (e.g., Bourhis, 1979; see Chapter 5). Once again, the most clear-cut form of divergence is in language, either through a switch away from the interlocutor's language or through refusal to use it. As CAT proposes, divergence generally results in more negative perceptions and behavioral responses. In intercultural encounters, maintenance (or underaccommodation) appeared to function as a mild form of divergence, and negative motives tended to be attributed to speakers who engaged in it (Simard et al., 1976).

The intergroup history between interactants' ethnic, cultural, or national groups has proved to be a key predictor of divergence. For example, there are many striking examples of divergence, perceived divergence, and motivations to diverge in the context of language or intergroup rivalry or conflict, like those in Belgium and Canada (Deprez & Persoons, 1984; Sandlilands & Fleury, 1979; see also Hamers & Blanc, 2000). Intergroup history has been central to the part of CAT that theorizes the role of the larger sociohistorical context (Gallois, Franklyn-Stokes, Giles, & Coupland, 1988). This research also led to strong critiques of intercultural communication competence training programs, which have tended to be immune to intergroup dynamics, such as shared history (Cargile & Giles, 1996; see Chapter 10). Gallois (2003) and others have argued that there are situations where the level of social inequality and the extent of interethnic and intercultural conflict are such that speakers are motivated mainly to diverge. Even in these situations, however, the better trained the communicators are to accommodate, the more the level of conflict may de-escalate (see also Pitts & Harwood, 2015).

That said, conversations are still immediate (i.e., local events between individual speakers), and there are many situations where the intergroup (and interpersonal) history is less predictive of the interaction than the immediate context. One central element in any context is the extent to which it is norm- or role-governed. For example, a student applying for admission to a foreign university may not choose to diverge from an interviewer, no matter how negative the student feels toward the interviewer personally or toward the interviewer's group. If there is divergence, it may be more likely to come from the interviewer, who is less restricted by norms.

Nonaccommodation. As other sections of this chapter (as well as several other chapters in this volume) show, theory about over- and under-accommodation, particularly using interpretability, discourse management, interpersonal control, and emotional and relational strategies, originated in research about ageing and intergenerational communication (e.g., Coupland, Coupland, Giles, & Henwood, 1988; see later section this chapter), and was soon extended into health communication research (see Chapter 8). More recently, there is now a significant amount of research on intercultural nonaccommodation on these strategies, especially (and again) in the intergenerational and health contexts (for reviews of this literature, see Giles, 2012). For example, Gasiorek and colleagues' recent research in health (Gasiorek, Van de Poel, & Blockmans, 2015) has examined the complexities of accommodation among European health professionals who come from different language backgrounds.

Outside these contexts, there is research on non-approximation. For example, Jones, Gallois, Callan, & Barker (1999) found that while stereotypes by Anglo-Australians of Chinese were moderately negative, conversations between Australian and Chinese students, especially women, were mainly accommodative. This was especially noticeable in the use of discourse management strategies, where women in intercultural interactions tended to accommodate in co-constructing topics of conversation, whereas men tended to underaccommodate in discourse management by talking at rather than to each other.

Perceptions and Behavior. Language convergence early on showed significant differences between perceptions (e.g., behavioral intentions) and behavior. For example, French Canadians often said that they would refuse to change to English for an English speaker but, in fact, they did so when confronted with an English–Canadian in the street (in a series of field investigations; e.g., Bourhis, 1984). Furthermore, the impact of language accommodation has been shown many times to be dependent on perceived motivation. In addition, interpersonal relationships among multilingual people, at least in

specific contexts, are often carried out in a specific language, and this may lead to failures to converge that are attributed positively by the people in the relationship (but perhaps negatively by observers of the interaction). Thus, CAT theorizes cross-language encounters as both intergroup and interpersonal (see Dragojevic & Giles, 2014; Gallois & Giles, 1998; Gallois, Giles, Jones, Cargile, & Ota, 1995).

The tradition of ethnography of communication (Gumperz & Hymes, 1986) contends that intercultural hostility often results from a build-up of subtle misunderstandings (due to cultural rules) that have passed by unnoticed, but which lead to a more global negative perception of the other cultural group. This situation is well-theorized in Coupland et al.'s (1991) model of miscommunication and problematic talk. In their model, misunderstandings can be as subtle as misalignments in meaning that pass completely unnoticed, or as large as system failures (which also, ironically enough, can go unrecognized as such). Whether the miscommunication is problematic depends both on what the misalignment is and how it is perceived and interpreted. For example, miscommunication may be attributed to personal or cultural deficiencies in the other speakers' or their groups (whether this is so or not), in which case it is likely to result in negative outcomes. This model underpins a great deal of the work on nonaccommodation across cultures and between social groups (e.g., Boggs & Giles, 1999).

We now turn to other intergroup settings, which for some scholars have been construed as areas of intercultural communication itself (e.g., for gender: Maltz & Borker, 1982; intergenerational: Giles, Coupland, Coupland, Williams, & Nussbaum, 1991–92; and interability: Emry & Wiseman, 1987), and continue, next with gendered communication.

Between-Gender Communication and Accommodation

Between-gender communication occurs when individuals interact with reference to their memberships as men and women or, in the case of children, boys and girls (Palomares, 2012), and has been a burgeoning area within sociolinguistics and elsewhere (e.g., Ehrlich, Meyerhoff, & Holmes, 2014). When gender is irrelevant, other group dynamics may be at play, or interactants might focus on their individual identities. Gender-relevant interactions, however, are those in which intergroup processes focus on gender and have been discussed since the early days of the development of social identity theory (Williams & Giles, 1978). Between-gender communication is arguably one of the most common forms of intergroup communication (see Gabriel & Gygax, in press), up there with intercultural communication. The prevalence of between-gender social interactions is likely due to frequency with which people employ gender as a means to categorize themselves and others.

Gender is one of the first social distinctions people acquire; indeed, infants respond in gender-consistent ways based on superficial cues, such as facial features and voice (Poulin-Dubois, Serbin, Kenyon, & Derbyshire, 1994). Because people start using gender as an intergroup marker so young, gender is a key aspect of humanity and identity, albeit to varying degrees depending on personal dispositions. Gender is consequently very relevant to any exposé on intergroup accommodation. We focus on gender-based accommodation by defining two dimensions of gender-based communication, detailing the role of gender salience in between-gender communication, and, then, finally discussing ways in which between-gender accommodation manifests.

Two major dimensions exist that capture most aspects of gender-based communication (Palomares, 2012). Affiliation is composed of communication that represents closeness, attachment, and engaging with others. Emotional forms of language, social support, and smiling are examples of affiliative communication. Assertiveness is the other dimension of gender-based communication and is composed of means to demonstrate social influence and enact certain outcomes. Examples of communication include in the assertiveness dimension are tentative language, interruptions, and disagreements. Whereas these two major dimensions are separate and orthogonal, specific forms of communication can fall along any location across the two dimensions, which means specific utterances can be high in assertiveness and affiliation, low in both, or high on one dimension but not the other. Assertiveness is typically construed as a masculine form of communication and affiliation as its feminine counterpart. Although these associations are rooted in gender stereotypes (Mulac, Giles, Bradac, Palomares, 2013), research is consistent with this conclusion (Reid, Kerrie, & Palomares, 2003), which suggests these stereotypes are valid at least to some extent, albeit less extreme than most people expect (see Zell, Krian, & Teeter, 2015). Thus, between-gender accommodation draws heavily on assertive and affiliative forms of communication.

Gender salience is one of the mechanisms responsible for gender-based communication, including accommodative outcomes, and is a cognitive state where someone explicitly or implicitly self-defines as a member of his/her gender group (Palomares, 2012) and is a product of the social context. The greater gender is relevant to the context, as in interactions with topics stereotypically gendered, the more gender becomes salient. Communication is a product of gender salience because it has strong ties to the ways in which men and women communicate. These communication styles are based on gender stereotypes (i.e., expectations) and on actual behavioral differences. Gender salience activates associated norms and conventions that play a prescriptive role in behavior in general and communication specifically. Elevated levels of gender salience typically foster differences between men and women along the assertiveness and affiliation dimensions with men being more

assertive and less affiliative than women. For example, women used more references to emotion than men when gender salience was high, but men and women used similar levels when gender salience was low (Palomares, 2004).

Communication between men and women does not always manifest itself in stereotypical ways along the two dimensions, however. When the male/female dynamic of an interaction affords women with an advantage over men (e.g., the topic prioritizes femininity), then men tend to be more tentative than women (Palomares, 2009). Thus, the particular ways in which men and women communicate, and how their communication patterns fall along the assertiveness and affiliation dimensions, is not always consistent with stereotypes. In fact, there are instances when gender-based communication is the opposite of stereotyped expectations. Moreover, men and women can communicate in ways that do not reflect gender stereotypes, as in situations of mutual accommodation (Bilous & Krauss, 1988).

One situational feature that influences how men and women communicate is the conversation partner. That the person with whom someone communicates influences communication is not unique to between-gender communication as this volume attests. The effects of a communication partner are, nonetheless, particularly relevant for between-gender communication accommodation. Accommodation in gender-relevant interactions can be manifest in assorted ways. Research has typically focused on mixed-sex interactions and how men and women will converge in communication patterns to approximate similar styles. For example, men and women used language similar to their conversation partner even when the conversation partner used language inconsistent with gender (Ye & Palomares, 2013). Situations of mutual convergence like these occur because the dynamic between men and women in the between-gender conversation facilitates friendliness and the accentuated similarities are conducive to this.

Thus, in many situations, between-gender communication will demonstrate similarities between men and women (Mulac, Wiemann, Widenmann, & Gibson, 1988). Although similarities are common for mixed-sex interactions, a language shift among women is particularly responsible for the between-gender convergence because they are more likely than men to alter their language patterns to match their conversation partner, at least in gendered conversations (Hogg, 1985; Mulac, Studley, Wiemann, & Bradac, 1987; Palomares, 2004). Indeed, members of lower status groups are more likely to converge than members of high status groups (see Chapter 3), which might explain how communication patterns reflect power dynamics in mixed-gender interactions (Mulac, 1989).

Situations of mutual convergence also occur in same-sex interactions. Men interacting with men will use language similar to their partner's language, and the same occurs for women communicating with women (Thomson,

Murachver, & Green, 2001). What is interesting with these forms of accommodation is that comparing all male groups to all female groups can result in either differences or similarities between men and women across the groups (Mulac et al., 1987). The determining factor is the ingroup dynamic among women and the ingroup dynamic among men. If the dynamic among men fosters masculine expressions and the dynamic among women fosters feminine expression, then the all-male and all-female groups will demonstrate differences. Thus, same-sex gender groups can undergo similar processes even though gender differences (i.e., those between men and women) are not present in a particular conversation (Palomares, 2012).

Between-gender accommodation also is manifest in ways that reveal divergence (i.e., men and women communicating differently). When the expertise demands of a task are gendered, for example, men and women communicate differently. Women were more tentative than men when discussing a masculine topic that stereotypically prioritized men's expertise (Palomares, 2009). On the other hand, if the topic was stereotypically feminine such that women should have more expertise than men, then men were more tentative than women. Such circumstances highlight differences between men and women and communication patterns tend to reflect this, which leads to divergence. Divergence can even approach extremes in that a need to express differences leads to men insulting or threatening women (Steffens & Viladot, 2015). Divergence does not necessarily occur at a global level either. Men and women can diverge on some language features and simultaneously converge on others (e.g., Bilous & Krauss, 1988) depending on the specific gender dynamics of the situation. For example, although men and women altered their references to emotion, they did not change their tentative language (Palomares, 2008).

Theoretically and even anecdotally, accommodation manifests itself in assorted ways between-and within-gender groups. Empirically, however, scholars still have many opportunities to study and understand the variety of ways between-gender accommodation can emerge. For example, asynchronous forms of electronic communication are commonly used to solicit language samples, which can reduce interactivity (Kiousis, 2002). Yet, accommodation is a highly interactive and dynamic process. Much theory and research highlights the importance of focusing on individuals as well as dyads. Many explanations and dyadic models for between-gender communication include accommodation processes (Mulac, Bradac, Palomares, & Giles, 2009). Finally, given the significance of gender salience, there clearly are theoretical and empirical connections between accommodation processes and gender salience. What role does gender salience play in between-gender accommodation is a significant question, especially given some attempts to integrate gender salience in accommodation situations have been unsuccessful (Ye & Palomares, 2013). Are there times when gender salience mediates accommodation

between men and women, and instances were accommodation occurs independently from gender salience? Convergence between a man and a woman does not require gender, for example, because other intergroup dynamics might be at work rendering gender irrelevant. Gender-based communication is a significant arena wherein intergroup accommodation emerges and future research should continue to expand our understanding of it.

Intergenerational Communication and Accommodation

We live in an age-segregated society (Hagestad & Uhlenberg, 2006) and one in which younger adults have fairly negative perceptions of older generations (Kite, Stockdale, Whitney, & Johnson, 2005) and aging in general. Coupled with the centrality of age identity to one's self-concept (Barker, Giles, & Harwood, 2004), many of our intergenerational interactions are intergroup in nature, given the degree to which age identity and difference are salient in these contexts and, thus, the driving force behind many behaviors (see Harwood, Giles, & Ryan, 1995; Hummert, 2012).

Much of the work on intergenerational communication has identified the prevalence and problematic nature of nonaccommodation in these interactions (see Giles & Gasiorek, 2011), perhaps best exemplified through the *communication predicament of aging model* (Ryan, Giles, Bartolucci, & Henwood, 1986). Briefly, the model outlines a problematic cycle of intergenerational communication in which younger adults enact an extremely patronizing style of communication (e.g., slower, louder speech with simplified vocabulary) based on stereotypes of an older adult as cognitively deficient. Studies have shown (typically based on written vignettes and across institutionalized and non-institutionalized settings), however, that patronizers are viewed as less competent and less respectful than non-patronizers, while elder recipients of the former can also suffer from attributions of lower competence (i.e., the so-called blaming the victim pattern (e.g., Ryan, Boich, & Klemenchuk-Politeski, 1994). Furthermore, Hehman and Bugental (2015) found that elders' performance on a cognitive task was negatively impacted when they received instructions on it beforehand that were patronizing as opposed to nonpatronizing. Tellingly, those older people who had more positive intergenerational experiences and had more positive reactions to aging were more protected from a performance deficit.

This, in turn, has negative implications for the self-concept and communication skills of the older adult, often reinforcing the original stereotype activating this style of communication. Whereas younger adults may perceive their behavior as appropriately attuning to the communicative needs of the older adults, this behavior often far exceeds what is actually necessary, thus, reflecting an overaccommodative style (see Chapter 5). Given the interplay

between age identity (including stereotypes) and communication and its emphasis on differing perceptions of what constitutes appropriate accommodation, this model has been foundational in demonstrating the intergroup nature of accommodation. Elaborations of the model have also pointed the way, by means of more personalized accommodations from younger adults (Ryan, Meredith, Maclean, & Orange, 1995) and more assertive reactions from elder recipients (Harwood & Giles, 1996), toward more effective intergenerational communication.

Another nonaccommodative behavior that has received considerable attention is painful self-disclosures (PSDs). PSDs represent a type of communication in which one discloses personal negatively valenced information to a conversational partner. Although these types of disclosures are evident in many interactions, they have been identified as prevalent in older adults' communication with younger counterparts, with the older individuals sharing information such as loneliness, impaired health, and bereavement (Coupland, Coupland, & Giles, 1991). For younger adults, this represents an underaccommodative stance, as the older adult is not perceived as being attentive to desires or needs of the younger adults (Williams & Giles, 1996). In fact, this could be argued as one of the more detrimental communication features of intergenerational interaction, as the dissatisfaction with the interaction and the uncertainty of how to respond to such behavior reifies negative age stereotypes and further erodes desire for intergenerational contact (see Fowler & Soliz, 2010).

Research on age in- and outgroup communication, with CAT as its theoretical base, has now been conducted around many quarters of the world (see McCann, Giles, & Ota, in press), in geographic domains as diverse as and including Mongolia, Ghana, Iran, India, Bulgaria, Taiwan, Vietnam, Japan, and China (see Keaton, McCann, & Giles, in press). Across these widely different cultures, young adults judge communication with older people (family and non-family) as difficult, involving a great deal of nonaccommodation (i.e., communication inattentive of the other's needs) and obligatory politeness (i.e., felt obligation to be polite and respectful). There also seems to be a tendency toward more *negative* perceptions of others (e.g., in nonaccommodation, avoidant communication) in Eastern (vs. Western) sample. In parallel, older Asian adults have reported more nonaccommodative stances from their peer-aged than their Western counterparts. Furthermore, some of these studies examined the effect of reported accommodation and nonaccommodation on elders' subjective health. Briefly, older folk claiming to enjoy more accommodative climates with their same aged-peers and younger adults evinced more positive self- and collective esteem, less depression, and more life satisfaction (e.g., Cai, Giles, & Noels, 1998; Noels, Giles, Cai, & Turay, 1999; Noels, Giles, Gallois, & Ng, 2001). Not unrelatedly, and with little recourse to the sociolinguistics or communication of aging (in the context of a

lengthy bibliography), the American Psychological Association's (2014) Guideline #11 for psychological practice with older adults reads: "Psychologists strive to develop skills in accommodating older adults' *specific* characteristics and the assessment contexts (our italics, and see Ryan et al., 1995).

At this point, there seems to be a somewhat dark and gloomy outlook for intergenerational interactions (see, however, Williams & Coupland, 1991). Clearly, ageism and the consequences for intergenerational relationships and the well-being of older adults (Ryan et al., 1995) do not receive the same scholarly or activist attention as other – isms (e.g., racism, sexism). In fact, in his farewell address in 2012, the Archbishop of Canterbury pointed out the importance of shifting our culture to one that values – both in attitude and action – older generations. From an intergroup perspective, what role can communication play in fostering more positive intergenerational relationships and attitudes toward aging? Not only is this significant for today's older generation, but age identity is one of the only social identities for which, if individuals live an expected lifespan, they will become members of what was once an outgroup. Thus, our intergenerational communication today has implications for the quality of our life as we age.

Fortunately, some areas of inquiry have focused on factors leading to more positive, relationally enhancing, person-centered (i.e., accommodative) intergenerational communication. For instance, Hummert elaborated on the communication predicament of aging model with the *age stereotypes in interactions model* (Hummert et al., 2004) to both demonstrate the influence of positive age stereotypes on our communication and to identify factors that may differentiate the activation of positive and negative stereotypes (e.g., quality of contact, physical features of older adults, age salience of context). Additionally, a line of inquiry has focused on the manner in which intergenerational contact may potentially change attitudes toward older adults. The grandparent-grandchild relationship is the most common, enduring, and – typically – positive intergenerational relationship for both older and younger adults. We know that younger adults point to supportive interactions, stories about families, desired self-disclosures (i.e., sharing emotions), and passing on wisdom or desired advice as some of the key communicative elements of satisfying grandparent-grandchild relationships; these clearly represent more accommodative behaviors in terms of topic (i.e., discourse management). Yet, complaining and criticizing, PSDs, and unwanted advice are some of the behaviors deemed less satisfying and reflect a nonaccommodative stance (see Soliz & Lin, 2014, for a review). There are intriguing insights into the intergroup nature of this familial intergenerational context, as accommodative interactions are associated with more of an ingroup orientation toward the grandparent-grandchild relationship (i.e., shared family identity), whereas nonaccommodation is associated with salience of age identity and

intergenerational difference (Harwood, Raman, & Hewstone, 2006; Soliz & Harwood, 2006). These behaviors are also linked to attitudes toward older adults, as accommodation on the part of grandparents is associated with more positive attitudes, but most often in situations when grandchildren perceive the grandparent as typical of older adults (Harwood, Hewstone, Paolini, & Voci, 2005; Soliz & Harwood, 2006). As discussed below, this represents an important consideration for understanding the intergroup considerations of accommodation.

Interability Communication and Accommodation

(Dis)ability is perhaps an identity that is most easily activated in encounters involving an individual with a disability; especially one that is physically visible. Rarely will individuals "see past" this aspect of one's identity as the disability becomes the salient characteristic of the individual, often leading to an intergroup orientation toward the interaction (for an intergroup accommodation perspective on interability communication, see Fox & Giles, 1996a; Fox, Giles, Orbe, & Bourhis, 2000). Thus, although individuals may have many common and cross-cutting identities (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender, nationality), the interability difference may transcend these commonalities. In ways that parallel findings on overaccommodation in intergenerational encounters and using a written vignette scenario, Fox and Giles (1996b) found that people without disabilities rated persons-with-disabilities (as well as third party observers of them) who were patronized, as feeling less supported and comfortable than those not so patronized. Again, nonpatronizers of people-with-disabilities were attributed as more competent, sensitive, and social than patronizers of them. However, it should be borne in mind that overaccommodation is a social attribution and not an objective communicative act (see Ytsma & Giles, 1997). In other words, the patronizing form of speech and nonverbal behavior could be viewed as demeaning by some, but helpful by others (e.g., perhaps by those with cognitive and/or communicative impairments).

Unlike many other intergroup encounters, these interactions are not driven primarily by overtly negative attitudes toward outgroups. Often, there is uncertainty and potential anxiety about how to best act in interactions, what constitutes appropriate questions and topics of conversation (e.g., questions about the disability), and what support is desired and appropriate. In fact, research by Braithwaite and Eckstein (2003) points to the tensions individuals with disabilities experience in balancing the need for support with the desire not to be deemed as or communicated to as helpless or overly dependent, nor to be communicated to in a patronizing manner.

Recognizing stereotypes and the potential stigma of individuals living with a disability, Ryan, Bajorek, Beaman, and Anas (2005) reformulated the

communication predicament of aging model to apply to interability contexts. Following much of the same logic, stereotyped expectations of individuals with a disability often lead to nonaccommodative behaviors toward the individual. In turn, individuals with a disability can respond in one of three ways: passively, aggressively, or selectively assertive. The first two tend to reinforce negative stereotypes of having a disability, which is seen to make you dependent (passive) or overly hostile (aggressive). Through selective assertion, individuals can halt the undesirable nonaccommodative communication in a manner which (re)establishes power in the interaction and, ideally, enables a more personalized encounter void of stigmatized, group-based influences (Braithwaite, 1990).

The Family as an Intergroup Accommodation Context

Intergroup relations are typically conceptualized as contact between strangers and, thus, interactions are often thought of as occurring in *either* the interpersonal *or* intergroup domain. Intergroup theorizing has challenged this dichotomization of an intergroup and interpersonal orientation For instance, building off Giles and Hewstone (1982), Harwood et al. (2005) suggest moving past the intergroup-interpersonal divide, arguing that many interactions have potential to have both intergroup and interpersonal influences and, in fact, there are very few "pure" interpersonal relations where we are not, in some ways, influenced by social collectives (Dragojevic & Giles, 2014).

One domain where this has been actively applied in recent years is the family. In one sense, families can operate as a fairly homogenous social collective, providing individual members of them with a sense of belongingness, communal identity, shared worldviews, and standards for communicating. Yet Soliz and Rittenour (2012) show that families are not immune from the intercultural and intergroup dynamics that exist in society, especially when one considers newer types of family relationships. Similar to other intergroup contexts, relational solidarity and sense of collective identity (i.e., family) has been shown to be negatively associated with perceptions of group salience and difference (Soliz & Harwood, 2006; Soliz, Thorson, & Rittenour, 2009). In general, perceived accommodation often magnifies this sense of collective familial identity, whereas nonaccomodative behaviors amplify perceived differences among family members, reducing a sense of relational solidarity.

Some of the behaviors in families mirror findings in non-intimate intergroup domains. In grandparent-grandchild relationships, for instance, positive familial relationships in which age differences are minimal are constituted with the same accommodative behaviors as those in satisfying intergenerational interactions (e.g., storytelling, affection, desired topics of conversation, limited painful self-disclosures). Yet, for many family types and relationships, the specific behaviors

that are perceived as accommodative or nonaccommodative are unique, even though they still reflect the fundamental tenets of the theory. For instance, in multiethnic-racial families, *identity accommodation* represents communication in which a parent or grandparent communicatively affirms and recognizes the mixed heritage a child (Soliz et al., 2009). In interfaith families, *religious-specific supportive communication* i.e., actively supporting religious practices) and *respecting divergent values* in conversation are linked with relational solidarity, whereas *inappropriate self-disclosure* (excessive information about one's religious experiences), *emphasizing divergent values*, and *giving unwanted advice* based on a religious worldview amplify differences in the family (Colaner, Soliz, & Nelson, 2014). In families with gay or lesbian family members, topic avoidance – especially related to religion and relationships – often amplified perceived intergroup anxiety (i.e., seeing the family member as a sexual identity outgroup) and diminished relational solidarity (Soliz, Ribarsky, Harrigan, & Tye-Williams, 2010). This finding is especially interesting in that it suggests that, while people may avoid topics because they perceive it to be conducive to more pleasant dialogue, it can actually hinder positive relational progression and highlight the potential differences in the family.

The preceding discussion has focused on families in which there are divergent social identities. However, even formative processes in families such as marriage (in-laws) and remarriage (step-families) reflect a merging of different social groups with accommodative behaviors key to a less turbulent merging of families. For instance, Rittenour and Soliz (2009) found that accommodative behaviors, such as supportive interactions and reciprocal self-disclosure, facilitated a family connection between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law. However, mothers-in-law often enacted behaviors that would clearly delineate between family-of-origin and outsiders (e.g., "she rarely explains family customs and rituals"). Of particular interest for the aging family, the mother-in-law's behavior is not only linked to relational and familial solidarity but future relational intentions of the daughter-in-law (e.g., caregiving, relationships with grandchildren).

Turning to so-called blended families (Speer, Giles, & Denes, 2013), stepchildren who perceived their stepparents' behavior as appropriately accommodative (i.e., warm, attentive, appropriate topic management) during typical interactions were more satisfied with their conversations, reported higher levels of relational closeness), and were more likely to view their stepparents as members of a common familial ingroup than stepchildren, who perceived their stepparents' behavior as nonaccommodative; the latter was represented as underaccommodative (e.g., "unequal of children") and overaccommodation (e.g., "tries too hard"). Further, DiVerniero (2013) demonstrated the important role of accommodative behaviors in managing changing roles and family relationships following divorce.

Conclusions

The research in this chapter points to the centrality of accommodation processes in intergroup relations. Whereas we have a more comprehensive understanding of what may differentiate positive and negative intergroup encounters, as well as the manner in which our social identities are constituted in communication, we have yet to fully tap into the potential of communication to improve intergroup relations in general. Scholars from multiple disciplines have devoted significant efforts to understanding the facilitating conditions for changing outgroup attitudes based on individual contact with outgroup members (see Brown & Hewstone, 2005; for a CAT satellite model of intergroup-intergenerational contact, see Fox & Giles, 1993). Although this research has identified structural, identity, or conditional factors (e.g., institutional or communal support, group salience, equal status between members), the focus on *communication* has not been as central. As evidenced in the previous discussion of grandparent-grandchild relationships, accommodative behaviors have been shown to be important facilitating factors in improving intergroup attitudes in the contexts of both intergenerational communication (Harwood et al., 2005; Soliz & Harwood, 2006) and across sexual identity (Soliz et al., 2010*;* see also, Hajek, 2015*).* Although these studies have been examined in the context of family relations, they demonstrate the applicability of CAT to understanding prosocial outcomes of intergroup contact (Harwood et al., 2005, 2006).

To explore this process, one must ask two key questions: First, when is communication likely to be more intergroup, and to produce less accommodation and more nonaccommodation? Second, when is it likely to be the consequence of accommodative processes? As the review above shows, most research has addressed the first question, about the antecedents of (non)accommodation. Recently, Ehala et al. (2016), in the context of interethnic communication, put forward six additive dimensions that operate as a set to produce a more or less intergroup climate for an interaction. These dimensions include (1) boundary permeability, or the extent to which boundaries between groups are soft (easy to penetrate) or hard; (2) emotional attachment and commitment to one's own group (partly a function of the number of other groups that are available and of cross-cutting identities); (3) ethnocentrism (as a trait and toward another group specifically); (4) distrust of the other group; (5) perception of the other group's ethnolinguistic vitality relative to that of one's own group; and (6) perceived illegitimacy of the existing power relations between one's own and another group (in part an index of relative deprivation). When boundaries are hard, attachment, ethnocentrism, and distrust are high, and perceived relative vitality of the other group and perceived illegitimacy are high, an interaction is likely to be intergroup, no matter what behavior occurs.

Ehala et al. call this situation intergroup "ground zero," and Gallois (2003) argued that in situations like these, communication skills are often used by individuals for intergroup purposes. On the other hand, when all these dimensions are low, interpersonal interactions are highly likely. In the middle – and most intergroup interactions are in the middle on some or all these dimensions – accommodative behavior assumes an influential role. In these situations, the second question, about the consequences of (non)accommodation, is central to understanding the process.

A Model of CAT in Intergroup Encounters

The propositional models of CAT theorize this process, and they complement the Principles (see Chapters 3, 6, & 10) through their emphasis on the connections between the larger social context and the immediate interaction. Because the models have been developed and streamlined since 1988, we present an adaptation of the most recent version (Giles & Gasiorek, 2013), into which the Ehala et al. dimensions have been inserted, in Figure 7.1. We have made one change in the dimension names: ethnocentrism is now *group-centeredness*, to show that this trait and state has analogues in all intergroup contexts (although it is best developed in the interethnic one). As can be seen, all interactions – intergroup or interpersonal – take place in a sociohistorical environment with an intergroup and an interpersonal history, as well as an immediate interactional context, and in the light of societal norms and values.

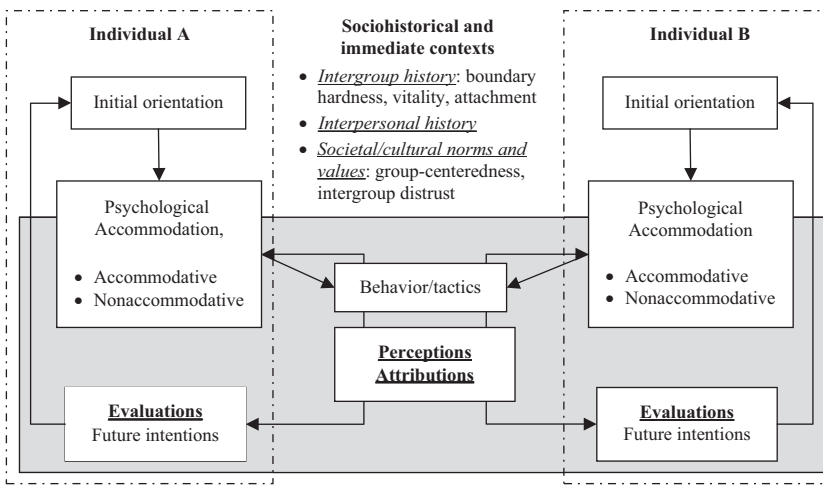


Figure 7.1 *The intergroup process model of communication accommodation theory*

The dimensions put forward by Ehala et al. (2016) describe central aspects of the intergroup environment and associated norms and values. When these dimensions are extreme, they will be the largest determinant of the interaction at its beginning. Nevertheless, they combine with the interpersonal history between the interactants – what their relations as individuals are like – to produce a more or less intergroup initial orientation for each interactant. Note that, even in the same intergroup climate, initial orientation – an interactant's perceptions, motives, and goals – may not be the same for everyone. It is this orientation that is the initial influence on psychological (non)accommodation, or how motivated each person is to accommodate to the other or others (see the Principles). Psychological accommodation is a large influence on behavior, and behavior then leads to perceptions and attributions about the other's behavior. This, in turn, leads to evaluations of the interactions and a changed or unchanged orientation and intention toward future interactions with that interlocutor or members of the same group.

What the model also theorizes is the impact of the behavior in the interaction itself. Included with behavior are tactics, or responses (which may be more or less in awareness and deliberate) to what has occurred in the immediately preceding turns (see Chapter 6). As we have shown in this chapter, what interactants say and do can change the salience of particular groups, interpersonal attitudes and perceptions, and the extent to which the climate is more or less intergroup and nonaccommodative. In this way, group-centeredness (for example) may become less salient in an interethnic interaction, because the other person has behaved in a friendly and accommodative manner. It is not that the group-centered person has become less so; rather, other variables have become more prominent. If the other person is seen as a typical group member, then evaluations and future intentions may also become more positive. Ultimately, of course, if this process continues, the hope is that the person will become less ethnocentric or group-centered. The same process applies to all six dimensions. It is this loop – from the societal to the personal, and from perceptions through behavior to evaluations – that uniquely characterizes CAT. Chapter 10 describes some ways that CAT can be applied to intergroup communication skills training. Here, we highlight the way that it captures the complexity and dynamism of intergroup communication.

In this chapter, we have described accommodation in some key intergroup contexts involving central groups for most people – culture, gender, age, family relations, and ability. As we have noted, there are many more such contexts. Examples include occupational, professional, and organizational groups; institutional groups (police, health, law, etc.); other key aspects that differentiate people (sexuality, religion, social class, etc.); and social groups

(sport, teams, friendship networks, etc.). All of these implicate communication, and all of them are subject to accommodative processes when members of different groups interact or when members of the same group interact with reference to outgroups. The aim of CAT is to understand and explain the key variables and processes underlying these and other intergroup interactions. In this way, we can capture the essence of what makes such encounters different from interpersonal interactions, and over time, improve them.

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8 Accommodating Health

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Health care is fundamental to modern society, but is complex and unsafe (e.g., Vogus, Sutcliffe, & Weick, 2010), with worldwide acknowledgement that health communication failures are the leading cause of error and adverse events in health (Leonard, Graham, & Bonacum, 2004; Ong & Coiera, 2011). Our focus here is to demonstrate how communication accommodation theory (CAT) assists in understanding the underlying causes of ineffective health communication in all contexts, and consider the applied potential for CAT in improving health care education and delivery.

We begin with an overview of early research where CAT was invoked to examine health professional and patient interactions (Watson & Gallois, 2007), and then review more recent research in which the CAT health focus has expanded to investigate interspecialty communication between doctors and interprofessional communication more generally. We describe how health professionals communicate and negotiate patient care and how CAT explains how, when and why miscommunication can occur both during traditional dyadic encounters, but also within and between multidisciplinary health care teams. The chapter closes by revisiting the theoretical basis of CAT in health research and suggesting new directions. We will argue that CAT is well positioned to not only explicate the complexity of health care encounters, but to also improve health care through the design and delivery of interventions that move beyond skills based training.

Health Care as an Intergroup Context

In this chapter, our fundamental premise is that health care interactions are interpersonal interactions that occur at an intergroup level (see Chapter 7). CAT constructs interpersonal interactions as grounded in the social identity (ies) of the interactants, and predicts that communication is influenced by the "group" memberships that are salient for each participant. In health care, these identities/groups are those of patients and a range of health professionals

(Street & Wiemann, 1988). Status differentials between interactants shape their communication, and in doctor-patient interactions, for example, the doctor has high status.

This intergroup context is pervasive in health, particularly hospitals, due to the very traditional, strongly hierarchical, and highly role-bound system that governs patient care, where individuals identify themselves in their professional roles (e.g., doctors, nurses), each with their own language and cultures (Watson, Gallois, Hewett, & Jones, 2012; Watson, Hewett, & Gallois, 2012). A strong identification with these roles and the related status differences influences the communication that occurs between health professionals about patient care, and creates a "silo" mentality impacting on patient care (see Kreindler, Dowd, Dana Star, & Gottschalk, 2012; Peters, Morton, & Haslam, 2010). Such silos (another metaphor for the intergroup climate) apply to all areas of the hospital system and not just clinicians, but also managers responsible for clinical governance, and human and financial resources, and administrative and technical staff (Coiera, 2011). Until the beginning of the twenty-first century, the intergroup dimension of health communication tended to be ignored by health communication scholars, who explained miscommunication between individuals as due to communication skills deficits that could, in turn, be rectified with training (Wright, Sparks, & O'Hair, 2008). Such a perspective on communication competence comes from traditional intercultural communication research (Emry & Wiseman, 1987), and focuses on training individuals in specific communication skills to assist with effective communication, including management of difficult situations. The naivety of this approach was noted by Cargile and Giles (1996), who proposed that intergroup relations are an important component of an interaction. In health, focusing on communication competence does not recognize that individuals possess social and professional identities that are often highly salient during their health care interactions. Communication skills training, by itself, does not address how individuals understand and negotiate their roles with other health professions and with patients.

With recognition of health care complexity, collaboration between professions is more important than ever before, and there is a strong move to new models of care that embed interprofessional practice as the norm (for a review, see Thistlethwaite, 2012). We argue that this move must not only focus on "training" health professionals in communication competency, but attention must be afforded to the differing cultures, rules, and professional norms of health professions, that make for a highly intergroup context. CAT is the ideal theoretical basis for interventions that shape and improve interprofessional practice. Next, we briefly describe how CAT can help us to understand how communication is influenced by the intergroup context and the communicative strategies that can be employed (see Chapter 7).

Accommodative Positions and Strategies

When individuals converse with each other, they often accommodate their behavior to ensure each understands the other and both view each other positively (see Chapter 3). By contrast, individuals may decide the encounter is not positive and take a nonaccommodative position. Such positions could include counteraccommodation, where a person is hostile and may constantly interrupt their speech partner. They may also choose to be patronizing (overaccommodation) and use a demeaning tone in their conversation (e.g., Ryan, Bajorek, Beaman, & Anas, 2005; Ryan, Giles, Bartolucci, & Henwood, 1986). These positions are often discussed alongside specific communication behaviors.

CAT describes five types of communication behaviors (also called strategies) that reflect the intergroup and/or interpersonal dynamics that occur in a given conversation (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005). The first of these is *approximation*. This strategy describes the linguistic changes individuals make to their speech, and includes changes in accent, language, speech rate, and pauses. It concerns language production. For example, individuals may choose to converge linguistically toward their speech partner in order to gain that person's approval. In the health context, professionals may adapt their communication to meet the needs of the patient; for example, by talking more slowly or matching language use. The goal would be to ensure that the linguistic differences between the speakers are reduced. By contrast, a speaker may diverge from their speech partner and become more linguistically distant. This behavior may serve to exaggerate the differences between the two speakers. It may signal dislike by one speaker and, in many cases, serves to accentuate their different group memberships and demonstrate their different group identities.

A second strategy is *interpretability,* which relates to communicative competence and mutual understanding. The interpretability strategies used depends on the speaker's motivation and their perception of the other person. Judging a speech partner to be highly educated and proficient in medical knowledge may result in a health professional using medical terms in their conversation with a patient. If the assessment is accurate then the health professional will be engaging in appropriate interpretability and the patient's competence is matched. If not, such behavior may impair comprehension, impact on trust between patient and provider, and limit the likelihood of following recommendations for treatment.

A third strategy is *discourse management*. This strategy refers to the communication process rather than the content, and addresses the communication needs of the speakers. Behaviors such as back-channels, appropriate turn

lengths, and sharing the way topics are chosen, introduced, and developed, ensure that each speaker is listened to and is engaged in the conversation.

The fourth strategy is *interpersonal control,* and focuses on the role relationship of each interactant. Interpersonal control is accomplished through the extent to which individuals remain in, or able to move outside of, their role. In the health context, health professionals may view the patient as a passive contributor to the conversation, and may use strategies such as interruption, abrupt topic change, and consultation termination to signal their control over the patient and reduce the patient's ability to express their opinions. High status health professionals may also employ these strategies when engaging with those who are junior to them. Alternatively, health professionals may engage in small talk to make an interaction more interpersonal, or seek a shared role or identity with a person, such as parent or sporting fan.

The final strategy is about *emotional expression* and focuses on the relational needs of the speakers. Appropriate emotional expression occurs when the other person's individual needs for reassurance are met and their concerns are addressed. Health professionals show appropriate emotional expression when they seek to reassure an anxious patient or are supportive of colleagues' needs.

Each of these five strategies can be used during interpersonal interactions, and may heighten or reduce intergroup differences. The value of CAT in explicating the intergroup and interpersonal relational dynamics in health care has a long history, and next we briefly review its application in health care communication research.

CAT Research in Health Professional and Patient Communication

In the nineties and early 2000s, scholars started to investigate the intergroup and interpersonal dynamics that occur during health care consultations. A main focus was patients' perceptions of satisfactory and unsatisfactory interactions with health providers (Street, 1991, 2001; Watson & Gallois, 1999, 2002). The findings confirmed that the intergroup dimension explained patients' perceptions of the interactions, and subsequent communication behavior and evaluations of their interactions. For example, the Watson and Gallois studies (1998, 1999, 2002) found that specific CAT communication strategies (interpersonal control, discourse management, and emotional expression) were strong predictors of patient satisfaction. Patients rated their interactions with health providers as most positive when they perceived that they had some control in the consultation, such as being able to check understanding and question the health professional's decision, when they actively engaged with the health

professional, and when they felt reassured. Patients did not rate health providers negatively who were directive and exerted control over their patients, provided they also gave their patients opportunities to have control in the consultations. These findings demonstrated the interplay between interpersonal and intergroup dynamics in any given interaction. Interpretability was the one strategy that did not significantly predict patient satisfaction.

Farzadnia and Giles (2015) recently reviewed research that applied CAT to the health provider and patient domain, and demonstrated that CAT can be used as an intervention technique to change communication behavior. In eight studies examining patient's descriptions of pain to health professionals, they found that when health professionals engaged in CAT strategies, such as accommodative discourse management, patients were able to provide more specific information about their pain. Relatedly, in an investigation of end of life doctor-patient interactions, Janssen and MacLeod (2010) reported that patients valued doctors who accommodated to their needs and focused on them as individuals with their own unique concerns.

By contrast, other studies demonstrated the negative effects of nonaccommodation with older adults or patients with a communication disability. When health professionals used patronizing speech, high levels of interpersonal control, and counteraccommodation, it reduced perceptions of quality of life for older adults in care (Lagacé, Tanguay, Lavallée, Laplante, & Robichaud, 2012). Nurses at one care facility reported that they used nonaccommodative strategies because of time constraints, and admitted frustration with their ability to make themselves understood with older adults (Hemsley, Balandin, & Worrall, 2012). Williams (2006) evaluated an intervention to reduce such communication behaviors, and showed that while improvement occurred after the intervention, with health providers being less controlling, more respectful, and more caring, health providers regressed to their previous communication patterns after two months.

CAT has a significant role in examining communication between patients and health professionals when they are from different cultures. In interviews with twelve physicians, Jain and Krieger (2011) highlighted the communication barriers experienced by doctors from a different culture, and described their strategies to overcome them. These included learning American slang, practicing American pronunciation, and changing speech rate. Scholl, Wilson, and Hughes (2011) found that physicians and patients downplayed their ethnic identities as factors influencing communication; instead, doctors focused on the need for patients to be competent communicators (by clearly stating their medical concerns), and patients focused on doctors being linguistically competent (and speaking the patient's language) irrespective of the doctor's ethnicity. Gasiorek, Van de Poel, and Blockmans (2015) also invoked CAT to

examine how doctors managed consultations in a multilingual hospital, and demonstrated that they used code-switching and nonverbal gestures to make themselves better understood and to promote positive affiliation when language was a barrier. In sum, CAT has the ability to unpack a variety of communication strategies that interactants engage in to achieve communication competence.

Studies on nurse–parent communication show how CAT can be useful in explicating the differences between effective and ineffective communication, how members of different social groups value different strategies, and how we need to consider the interplay between multiple social group memberships. Jones, Woodhouse, and Rowe (2007) used CAT to explore parents' perceptions of effective and ineffective communication with nurses in a neonatal nursery and Dordic (2009) compared mothers' and nurses' perceptions. These studies found that effective communication was generally described as accommodative and ineffective communication was most frequently described as underaccommodative but, occasionally, described as overaccommodative. For effective communication, discourse management and emotional expression were the most frequently mentioned strategies, and to a lesser extent interpretability. Both studies showed ineffective communication is not just the opposite of effective communication, but is characterized by nonaccommodative use of strategies such as interpretability, discourse management, interpersonal control, and face (the public self-image of people). For example, comments included being spoken down to or treated as if they were silly, being scolded, and nurses who treated parents as irrelevant or just another parent. These studies also showed how different group memberships interact; for example, Jones et al. (2007) found that mothers mentioned negative face and interpersonal control more when describing ineffective communication, whereas fathers mentioned more the interpretability strategy.

Another interesting line of enquiry that further extends CAT in the health professional and patient domain is research undertaken to explore the role of concordance or discordance of explanatory models (EMs) between doctors and their patients who are being treated for depression. Doctors may believe that the cause of depression (EM) is a chemical imbalance or the result of psychosocial pressures (a different EM), and their belief may differ from that of their patient. This ongoing work investigates the role of effective communication, as operationalized through CAT, in establishing the patient and doctor alliance – even when EMs are discordant (Teh, 2014).

Despite the research we have reviewed here on patient–practitioner interactions, there are still relatively few papers explicitly invoking CAT to design their research. Instead, many studies interpretively allude to concepts and strategies, such as approximation or adaptive behaviors, and the role of social identities.

Communication between Health Care Professionals

There has also been a growing body of research examining communication between health professions from a CAT perspective. This expansion resulted from the mounting evidence that communication between health professionals was often ineffective, and was leading to patient harm (e.g., Leonard et al., 2004; Sutcliffe, Lewton, & Rosenthal, 2004). The unique contribution of CAT research in this context is the explicit recognition of intergroup encounters between health professionals, that is encounters that are interpersonal (i.e., person-to-person) but that typically occur at an intergroup level (Dragojevic & Giles, 2014; Hewett, Watson, Gallois, Ward, & Leggett, 2009a, b).

For example, Setchell, Leach, Watson, and Hewett (2015) recently demonstrated strong resistance by doctors to allowing nurses to take on some of the work traditionally conducted by doctors. Importantly, the study showed that doctors used highly derogatory language about the outgroup (nurses) to justify their non-support of the proposal. One doctor wrote: "*. . . What is happening to our standards to even consider this nonsense!!!????? Shouldn't we be training our own trainees first before wasting time on nurse endoscopy!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!*." It appeared that doctors felt highly threatened by the proposed change, and responded (as CAT would predict) by denigrating the nurses (the outgroup).

Much of the recent research has focused on hospital settings as a key context for investigating health communication. As we have noted earlier, hospitals are complex hierarchical environments, where a diverse range of health professionals work together. They are also organizations, where organizational identities drive behavior. Communication scholars have applied this intergroup framework to investigate how individuals negotiate and communicate their professional identities in organizations (see Gardner, Paulsen, Gallois, Callan, & Monaghan, 2001). This framework is particularly relevant where there is tension and threat between groups. The numerous professional identities that co-exist in hospitals, and the tensions between them because of status and power differentials, combined with the continual cutting of resources (staffing and finance), makes this an environment where "tribal" warfare plays out between the professions (Bartunek, 2010; Hewett et al., 2009a, b; Lingard, Espin, Evans, & Hawryluck, 2004; Lingard, Schryer, Spafford, & Campbell, 2007).

The intergroup climate (termed "silo" mentality) prevents effective communication and information exchange. Patients can be caught in the "cross-fire of intergroup dynamics" (Watson et al., 2012, p. 294). CAT is ideally positioned to unpack the intergroup dynamics of interactions between health professionals, because it explicitly explores the motivations and cognitions that make specific group identities salient, and shape our perceptions and behavior in a given interaction (see Chapter 3).

Hewett and colleagues found clear intergroup conflicts between doctors from different subspecialties (Hewett, Watson, & Gallois, 2015; Hewett et al., 2009a, b). Importantly, they found that patient care was compromised because of the intergroup dynamics, which influenced communication between doctors from various specialties. Hospital structural factors precluding shared patient care, together with ambiguities in hospital processes and policy, were central to the generation of an intergroup climate. Hewett and colleagues showed how intergroup rivalry led to tribal allegiance and "turf" wars (intergroup conflict) between specialties, which negatively influenced, or took priority over, the negotiation of patient care. For example, posturing between departments resulted in threats to withhold patient care. In written communication, underaccommodation was ubiquitous. Through the interpretability strategy, doctors underaccommodated when communicating their findings and recommendations, so that specialty-specific ingroup language was incorrectly interpreted by doctors from outgroup specialties, leading to inappropriate recommendations for subsequent patient care. When conflict occurred, doctors used nonaccommodative strategies to secure intergroup dominance, by communicating, in writing, a shift in responsibility for patient care, and their dissatisfaction with other specialties.

Clinical handover/handoff (the transfer of patient information between hospital staff, usually when one shift ends and new staff take over, or when patients move from one ward to unit to another) has been identified as a weak link in patient care (Thomas, Schultz, Hannaford, & Runciman, 2013). This is an ideal area for CAT to explore, as it provides insights into the barriers around handovers. Watson, Jones, and Cretchley (2014) asked different professions what were the communication strengths and problems for effective clinical handover. Two issues emerged. First, the different professions all discussed the same issues around handover, including time management, time pressures, and the difficulties of coordinating different handovers. Second, they found that each professional group had its own unique perceptions and priorities about handovers. The findings from this study suggested that health professionals understood what was required for handover improvement, but did not believe they had capacity to influence and change their working environment. Watson et al. (2014) concluded that handover scheduling by clinician managers needed to prioritize interprofessional representation.

Watson, Manias, Geddes, Della, and Jones (2015) investigated handover issues across a number of hospitals, and concluded that outside expertise from different research disciplines is needed to change the current practices and culture. They found a strong intergroup culture, where professional identities possessed their own rules and regulations, and the silo mentality was evident. In this environment, communication between professions was often ineffective and important patient information was not always conveyed. They suggested

that clinicians work with communication and interdisciplinary scholars to bring about system improvement.

Watson et al.'s (2015) study invoked a model of miscommunication that outlines different types/levels of miscommunication (Coupland, Wiemann, & Giles, 1991). Although not exhaustive, this model provides possible answers as to why improvements and changes in handover communication are not happening. For example, Coupland and colleagues suggested a lack of awareness by those working inside organizations to recognize the systems problems they face. To remedy this, Coupland and colleagues proposed that interdisciplinary scholars from outside an organization (e.g., outside the hospital system) should collaborate with key stakeholders (e.g., clinicians and management) to negotiate cultural change.

Intergroup dynamics in health care extend beyond simple ingroup and outgroup relations. Grice, Gallois, Jones, Paulsen, and Callan (2006) demonstrated the existence of double, "nested" or "cross-cutting" identities in a large public hospital. This refers to individuals who share the same work team and occupational profession (nurse and nurse on same team) as opposed to sharing the same work team, but belonging to a different professional group (e.g., nurse and physical therapist on same team). In their study of employees at a psychiatric hospital, they found that individuals within the same work team and same profession felt they provided the same detail of information to the double ingroup identity colleagues as well as to those who were in their team but belonged to a different profession. In contrast, they perceived that information relayed to them was more detailed when given by a double ingroup identity colleague than when delivered by someone who was in the same team but not the same profession. This finding highlights the intricacies of team and professional identification, and its influence on perceived health communication. More research is needed to explore how double and nested identities influence communication, particularly in complex social systems such as hospitals. What is clear is that this intergroup phenomenon lies outside of communication skills training and goes to the heart of how individuals are motivated to communicate from a sociopsychological perspective.

Emerging Methods

More recently, we have also seen the application of a range of new methods of analysis to CAT research on health communication, providing us with different ways to unpack communication. Most of this research has focused on interactions between health professionals and patients. D'Agostino and Bylund (2013) used the Nonverbal Accommodation Coding System (NASS) to explore nonverbal approximation strategies between physicians and patients. They showed that, in over 50 per cent of cases, physicians did not converge to

the patients' nonverbal behaviors. This new tool expands our understanding of approximation beyond verbal behavior, and has great potential for further unpacking the complexities of effective accommodation.

Angus, Watson, Gallois, and Wiles (2012) examined verbal communication in simulated doctor and patient interactions using a software package called Discursis (see Chapter 6). This software visualizes conversations across time by showing how interactants share topics and manage the conversation. Angus et al. found that when there was evidence of a lack of accommodation in at least one of the identified CAT strategies, patients were less satisfied with the consultation. Their examination of conversations highlighted how engagement and a balance of task and rapport were critical elements of good consultative communication. Baker, Angus, Smith-Conway, Baker and Gallois et al. (2015) examined communication exchanges between carers and dementia patients. Visualization of the interactions with Discursis demonstrated how specific communication strategies influence patient engagement. When carers used reflection, it improved engagement on the part of the patient. Conversely, when carers did not listen attentively to patients, or did not allow the patient sufficient time to respond, there was reduced engagement.

Watson, Angus, Gore, and Farmer (2015) employed the same technology to examine training sessions between health professionals and simulated patients or family members. The health professional was required to explain to a patient or family member the reasons why they had experienced an adverse event. Watson et al.'s study demonstrated how the use of accommodative CAT strategies resulted in more effective open disclosure encounters with patients and families. In this difficult context, effective encounters were defined as both parties being able to move toward resolution. The Watson et al. study also linked approximation with sociopsychological strategies to demonstrate the effect approximation has on communication when employed by the health professional or by the family or patient.

A number of researchers have used the software tool Leximancer (Smith, 2003) to examine a range of health provider and patient interactions (e.g., Baker, Gallois, Drieger, & Santesso, 2011; Baker & Watson, 2015). Baker and Watson asked Canadian and Australian patients to reflect on their consultations with doctors and nurses. They found that patients' perceptions of whether their consultation was a negative or positive experience were directly related to the health providers' communication strategies. When health providers listened to the patients and checked understanding, patients felt more comfortable with the consultation. Conversely, patients reported feeling ignored or patronized when they perceived that the health provider did not spend time listening to them and was not being actively attentive. Thus, CAT communication strategies that reflected communication competence were predictors of patient willingness to communicate.

These new lines of analysis provide new techniques to view the word choices individual make as they describe their beliefs and attitudes. In the case of Leximancer, concept maps are created that can be objectively derived without the researcher's theoretical input. Similarly, Discursis provides visualizations of conversations that do not depend on a theoretical framework. While these technologies can work as stand-alone tools, they also provide the communication scholar with opportunities for data triangulation.

The Future of Health Communication

This chapter has laid out the diversity of communication issues and challenges in health care. They span areas that move us beyond health professional and patient interactions, where this chapter began. But, we must not lose sight of the fact that embedded in all communication challenges, the patient is the common link – it is the reason why we as health communication scholars investigate intercultural language barriers, health professional silos, and associated hospital systems. Miscommunication, whatever the cause, can lead to poor patient care.

Improving patient care through improved communication is now more critical than ever. Medical technology advances, and better standards of living in the western world, mean people are living longer, often with complex comorbidities that require the involvement of multiple health providers. In turn, this has seen a move to models of care emphasizing interprofessional practice or multidisciplinary teams. Often, however, these teams do not communicate competently, and the patient suffers.

It is disheartening in twenty-first century health communication scholarship that communication failure remains the most cited reason for poor patient outcomes. Recent health sector improvement efforts have focused on improving communication competency through skills training, and introducing communication tools that provide professionals with structured checklists. It is appears that, despite these interventions, there has been no reduction in adverse patient events. We have argued that a dogged focus on a theoretical skills training alone will not change the dynamics around health communication. Pitts and Harwood (2015) proposed that exploring communication accommodation competence is a clear direction for CAT researchers, which is one that resonates with us as health communication scholars.

The challenge for CAT scholars is there is no set template for communication effectiveness. It depends upon the type of interaction, the needs of the interactants, and the values placed on different strategies by different groups. This fact has always been embedded in CAT. Gasiorek (2015) proposed that health communication research must take account of both interactant identity/ies (and whether they are motivated to accentuate group distinctiveness in their

communication) and context, which in health includes an array of factors such as the hospital culture, resource and time constraints, and other systemic factors. Pitts and Harwood (2015) set us the challenge of now actively revisiting CAT to use it for a task to which it is eminently suited, a theory of communication accommodation competence, where individuals establish competent relations.

We believe the time is right to showcase CAT as a framework to achieve communication competence. All the studies discussed in this chapter sought to explain the motivations and cognitions that underpinned communication problems. Some of the papers also examined the contexts around the interactions, and how issues such as time constraints, poor resources, intergroup conflicts, and the silos that exist for hospital clinicians and management, influence communication behaviors. Some of the papers reviewed here were intervention studies (e.g., Williams, 2006). It is good to see that some intervention work has begun. However, such studies need to look at the identities and the context as reasons for communication failure. CAT can unpack each of these and explore the issues around the miscommunication. The message from Pitts and Harwood (2015) gives us direction for advancing CAT. They say we must look at how individuals developing accommodation competence is a lifetime journey, and the health context provides a specific area for this research. Development of a communication accommodation based model of communication competence in health care would shift the focus of CAT toward application and intervention that may improve health care and patient outcomes.

We propose the following areas for future study that together will assist in developing a model of CAT competence in health care. First, such a model must incorporate the advances in health care. With the evolution of health care teams, we need to extend our attention beyond dyads to the communication strategies within interprofessional teams, with the associated power differentials. The role of the patient as part of that team is a critical part of the extended CAT model. Issues to be explored here are how leadership and decision making play out across the different health contexts. We need too a better understanding of the intergroup and interpersonal balance in such communication.

Second, E-health and remote care centers are becoming more common and have their own communication challenges that need our attention. To date, CAT has not examined mediated health communication and this area requires CAT application. The written medical patient record, whether paper or electronic, is also a fruitful line of enquiry on which, to date, there has been little work conducted.

Third, CAT has a prominent role to play in the education of health professionals to achieve communication accommodation competence. The potential for better understanding patient care outcomes is integrally linked with the communication patterns of the teams making patient care decisions.

Interprofessional education and practice are features of health care in the twenty-first century. Exploring team relations, and how they operate under different circumstances, such as different types of stress the team experience (patient deterioration, time constraints, and resource constraints), are key communication directions. Relatedly, we must use CAT to investigate the patient's journey, which consists of multiple conversations with a number of different healthcare professionals. This would provide us with insights into how a patient's accommodative stance or choice of strategies (by both themselves and by health professionals) change over time and as they interact with different health professionals. Finally, it is time to test interventions that invoke CAT, to examine how such interventions change communication behaviors, and improve interprofessional practice and patient quality of care.

The number of papers in health communication that incorporate CAT is a cause for celebration. CAT researchers have moved from focusing on health professional and patient interactions to examining interprofessional communication. Much of the research identified the interpersonal and intergroup dimensions of healthcare communication, and how communication accommodation strategies explain the effectiveness or otherwise of interactions about health, and the outcomes for patients, such as satisfaction. CAT has progressed our understanding of particular strategies that health professionals should be using to achieve competent communication. Accommodative use of approximation, discourse management, interpersonal control, and emotional expression by health professionals are associated with positive patient relations and willingness to engage (Baker & Watson, 2015). This body of research provides valuable insights for future research directions.

The health domain is expanding. New models of interprofessional care and medical advances are changing patient care. However, the perennial problems of communication failure and associated adverse events are not reducing. CAT has shown its value in exploring and explaining communication failure. The next step is to extend CAT as a vehicle for reducing communication failure in the health context. CAT has the potential to introduce a new pedagogy to communication accommodation competence training for health professionals, allowing new understanding for health professionals and patients about the complex system within which they communicate.

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9 CAT on Trial

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Although communication accommodation theory (CAT) has many of its roots in the ethnolinguistic realm, the tendrils of the theory have expanded into a variety of applied contexts, and especially so over the last two decades (Soliz & Giles, 2014; see also, Chapter 4). One such potent setting – that of healthcare – was discussed in the prior chapter. In this chapter, we introduce additional contexts central to our everyday lives. All of us – either in our professional and personal spheres – are intimately tied to organizations and the behaviors and views of organizational members reflect the larger organizational culture that is constituted in the everyday interactions and communication of the organization. Thus, we begin this chapter with a synthesis of research on accommodation in organizational contexts. In the remainder of it, we turn our attention to the legal arena, manifest here primarily in policing (i.e., police-civilian interactions) and courtroom discourses. We bring these contexts together in this chapter given the impact and practical consequences on individuals (e.g., layoffs, job and life satisfaction, conviction, or discharge, etc.), which can include, in the legal setting, life and death implications.

CAT and Organizations

The success and vitality of organizations are dependent, largely or in part, on the manner in which members feel a sense of affiliation, pride, and connectedness with the organization (Ashforth & Mael, 1989), and these perceptions are clearly linked with the communication from organizational hierarchies and between organizational members (Morton, Wright, Peters, Reynolds, & Haslam, 2012). A great deal of research has focused on the link between communication and organizational lives and many of the tenets of CAT are reflected in this research, even if not explicitly stated. For instance, barriers in work-life can be transcended by (re)conceptualizing the organizational context as a common ingroup as opposed to separate work-groups, organizational hierarchies (e.g., manager-subordinate relations), or other social collectives (Gaertner et al., 2000), and accommodating collaboratively toward that end accordingly (see Chapter 7). Of course, this can only be accomplished through

both macro (i.e., organizational level) and micro (i.e., individual organizational members) processes. More specifically, accommodative communication is key to creating the inclusive organizational identity, relational satisfaction among members, and productive communication central to organizational success. Indeed, ineffective workplace communication between, for example, managers and their subordinates – as manifest in nonaccommodative stances (see Chapter 5) – may lead to organizational incivility, lower productivity, and employee turn-over (see Ng & Sorensen, 2008).

Research on organization communication guided by CAT has focused primarily on group-based boundaries and markers. Boggs and Giles (1999), for instance, demonstrate how the patriarchal nature of organizations is often constituted in the interaction within and between genders. Nonaccommodative communication may serve to both demean women in the workplace (via patronizing interactions) as well as reify a masculine culture by maintaining a communicative environment not inclusive to women in the workplace (i.e., an underaccomodative move). This work demonstrates how motives for the style of interactions may be related to desire for affiliation or distinctions (such as race-ethnicity, social class, gender, and sexuality) based on larger social-cultural context that pervade the organizational structure. Yet, these distinctions can also represent working groups within organizations (e.g., sales team vs. production team) and potential hierarchies within the organizational structure.

As an example, Gardner and Jones (1999) focused on the role of communication in superior–subordinate relations identifying different workplace goals that must be overcome through (perceived) appropriate communication based on the role of the worker. Perhaps most interesting in this study is that appropriate communication (i.e., accommodation) is often tied to task-oriented perceptions and processes whereas nonaccomodative behaviors are often internalized to the individual level, thereby magnifying individual and group-based differences in the organization. Work by Hewett, Watson, and Gallois (2013) in the health field (see Chapter 8) shows how accommodation is also key to inter-specialty collaboration and cooperation in the workplace environment.

Focusing on workplace identities and roles, Willemyns, Gallois, and Callan (2009) investigated how organizational hierarchies and social roles and expectations (e.g., gender) interact to uncover different perceptions and communication in the workplace (see also Chapter 6). Female managers, for instance, are simultaneously perceived as more accommodating in general interactions yet perceived as less so (compared to male counterparts) when workplace encounters are more negative (Rogerson, 2015). Shifting from gender to cultural distinctions, McCann and Giles (2006, 2007) conducted a series of cross-cultural inquires into the workplace finding that, as might be expected,

organizations are not immune from the intergroup dynamics in the larger context. Here, both American and Thai workers perceived older co-workers as less accommodative toward the younger counterparts while also recognizing that younger workers are more deferential (i.e., respectfully avoidant) to the older workers (McCann & Giles, 2007).

Somewhat similar findings emerged in research on American and Thai bankers in that both age-group distinctions and organizational roles (e.g., manager vs. non-manager) influenced the nature of communication. Younger workers were more respectfully avoidant to older managers, even though they are perceived as less accommodating to younger workers not in managerial roles (McCann & Giles, 2006). Although only minor cultural differences were found in this study, the variation in accommodative styles across cultures should be taken into account when considering organizations that span national and cultural boundaries. For instance, Ayoko, Hartel and Callan (2002) demonstrate how important appropriate accommodation (via proper discourse management, minimal interruptions in conversations, respectful communication) is to transcending differences, minimizing perceived exclusion, and enhancing constructive outcomes in cross cultural working groups.

As Rogers and Ashforth (2014) argue, organizational identity reflects both larger collective identity (i.e., "we") and the individual identities of the organizational members (i.e., "me"). From these inquiries, it is clear that, like other relational and social contexts, CAT has much to offer in understanding organizational dynamics reflective of collective and individual processes. Whereas most of this research has focused on communication within and between organizational domains, there are also opportunities for enhancing our understanding of organization-public communication as well as service encounters (Sparks, 1994). We now segue to specific contexts of the law and its enforcement, and the social relationships within them, where accommodative practices can be critical.

Enforcing the Law: The Role of Accommodative Practices

Although the social sciences have addressed policing from various perspectives (e.g., Heydon, 2005; Solan & Tiersma, 2005; Tyler, 2006), only a few researchers had until recently explored the *communicative* dynamics of law enforcement-civilian encounters (see, however, Giles, 2002; Gundersen & Hopper, 1984; Perlmutter, 2000). This may be surprising given estimates that about 97 per cent of American police work involves interacting with the public (Thompson, 1983), with communication being regarded as "the central most important commodity that the officer has at his [or her] disposal" (Womack & Finley, 1986, p. 14). However, attention to this topic has mushroomed in recent years, and, arguably, is timely in light of the many contested police shootings of

civilians in the USA (e.g., in Ferguson, Missouri) since 2013 that has drawn widespread public attention and outcry (see Clay, 2015; Vick, 2015).

Hence, in this section and before moving into the courtroom context, we overview studies investigating police-civilian encounters from a CAT perspective. Toward this end, the role of perceived accommodation in forging attitudes toward law enforcement is explored. Thereafter, we examine features of accommodation–nonaccommodation between officers and drivers in traffic stops – an event over 80 per cent of Americans at least have encountered (see Langton & Durose, 2013), and is *the* occasion when the public most comes face-to-face with officers (e.g., Tyler, 2001; Cox & White, 1988). Finally, implications for police training and public education are articulated.

Attitudes toward Law Enforcement

Attitudes toward police (ATP) officers – manifest in terms of positive-negative valence, trust-mistrust, and high-low confidence in law enforcement – can be traced to multiple sources (Tyler, 2006). Whereas 35 per cent of respondents in Los Angeles believed that the mass media held the greatest influence on their opinions of local law enforcement (for reviews of media depictions, see Choi & Giles, 2012; Perlmutter, 2000), 65 per cent believed their personal experiences (or those vicariously reported by significant others) were the most influential factor (Hennigan, Maxson, Sloane, & Ranney, 2002). Many studies have pointed to socio-demographic factors predicting judgments about police. In the United States for example, older, female, urban, better educated, higher-income, married, and Caucasian respondents manifest more positive views of law enforcement than their social counterparts (e.g., Olsen, 2005). But of all such factors, civilians' race has always been a strong predictor of ATP; Caucasians and Asians have the most favorable images, followed by Latinos and Native Americans and, finally, African Americans.

Although it is difficult to generalize, as ATP studies are conducted with different communities at different times and with different instruments, many groups of civilians (as earlier) hold negative images of local enforcement, and experience problematic communication with these agencies; others also harbor mixed-feelings about police being construed and in ways that can be characterized as "revered *and* despised" (Molloy & Giles, 2002). Negative views can seriously impede the public's willingness to cooperate and comply with law enforcement directives and investigations as well as their reluctance to support community policing endeavors (see Molloy & Giles, 2002). Indeed, many African Americans and Latinos contend that they are over-stopped, over-searched and over-arrested, with many of the former complaining of being pulled over simply for "driving while black" (Tomaskovic-Devey, Mason, & Zingraff, 2004).

In line with data suggesting that communication issues (e.g., disrespect, expressed bad attitude) account for most complaints the public have with law enforcement, as well as this being the nexus of factors they would wish to see improved, Giles et al. (2006) found that perceptions of how communicatively accommodating officers had been to informants in the past was a more potent predictor of their evaluations than age, gender, or ethnicity. Relatedly, in a series of other investigations around the world (from Mongolia to Bulgaria), Giles and associates found that perceived officer accommodativeness (e.g., listening, taking the civilian's perspective into account) promoted feelings of public trust (Tyler & Huo, 2002) which, in turn, increased civilians' reported willingness to comply and cooperate with law enforcement (e.g., Giles et al., 2007; Hajek et al., 2006, 2008). Given that police officers around the world, differ dramatically not only in demeanor, but also in levels of corruption, abuses of power, and thresholds for the use of force, there is, predictably, wide variation in officer's perceived accommodativeness between nations (see Barker et al., 2008).

Hence, police officers who are willing accommodate their behavior and take time to show kindness, understanding, consideration, and avoid legal jargon and overly suspicious inclinations (Stroshine, Alpert, & Dunham, 2008) when interacting with others will likely foster more positive reactions resulting in a greater likelihood of cooperation and satisfaction (see Glauser & Tullar, 1985). In contrast and from vignette studies (Giles, Zwang-Weissman, & Hajek, 2004), it has been found that officers who are perceived as *non*accommodating to suspects – for example, adopting patronizing talk (see Chapter 5) – are viewed less competently and as more hostile than when talking in a non-patronizing manner. Such outcomes are mediated by negative attributions of the officer as being as threatening, offensive, and arrogant, and this being the case irrespective of the severity of the violation at hand (Myers, Giles, Reid, & Nabi, 2008).

Accommodation/Nonaccommodation at Work and on the Street

Dialogic analyses of ongoing interactions in policing have focused on police interrogations (e.g., Antaki, Richardson, Stokoe, & Willmott, 2015; Oxburgh, Mykebust, Grant, & Milne, 2015; Shuy, 1998; Yoong, 2010). For example, a recent study paying lip service to CAT showed language style matching (see Chapter 2) of interrogators to suspects in situations where a confession ultimately emerged (Richardson, Taylor, Snook, Conchie, & Bennell, 2014). Interestingly, in interrogations where confessions did not occur, the latter accommodated to the former. But actual analyses of ongoing interactions with officers in the field are much rarer (for the language of homicide confessions, see Bozeman, 2014). As a means toward filling this void in a midwestern city

having a history of conflict with law enforcement Dixon, Schell, Giles, and Drogos (2008) analyzed the content of a large and representative sample of video-recorded traffic stops between African American and white police officers on the one hand, and African American and white civilians on the other. Trained coders examined each stop for more than hundred contextual and officer-driver variables.

Among other interracial patterns noted, African American drivers were more likely than white drivers to experience what was labeled "extensive policing" (for a related distinction between "soft versus hard" policing tactics, see Innes, 2005). Here, African American drivers were detained for an average of 2.6 minutes longer than white drivers, with typically more than one police officer present. In addition, they were between three-to-five times more likely than white drivers to be asked to leave the vehicle, asked if they were carrying drugs or weapons, and have themselves, their passengers, and/or their vehicles searched for illegal items. For their part, African American drivers were coded as more nonaccommodative than whites: less apologetic, courteous, and respectful, and more belligerent. While each party's accommodativeness predicted the other's behavior, intergroup encounters were coded as more nonaccommodative than those where both driver and officer were of similar ethnic backgrounds (see Chapter 7). The interracial communication climate was found to be characterized by officers listening less, being more indifferent and dismissive, and coded as less approachable, respectful and polite than intra-racial traffic stops (for a conversational analysis of prototypical accommodative and nonaccommodative stops found in these data, see Chapter 6). In a follow-up and unpublished study with a wider sample of videotaped traffic stops sampled a year later, these scholars also found strong evidence of an interaction effect between officers' and drivers' race not evident in the previous data. More specifically, white officers engaged in more extensive policing (i.e., vehicle searches and longer stops) with African American drivers, a pattern that was not evident when African American officers stopped white drivers.

The question then arises as to whether such findings would generalize to other ethnic minorities, such as Latinos (see Hammer & Rogan, 2002), in another quite different locale in the USA. As above, this group has generally unfavorable views of law enforcement (e.g., Huo & Tyler, 2000). Giles, Linz, Bonilla, and Gomez (2012) analyzed the content of video-recorded stops of Latino and non-Latino white male drivers with non-Latino white male officers. Ethnic identities were evaluated primarily by surname and accent to provide indicators of Latino or Non-Latino origins. As would be predicted by CAT (see Chapter 3), officers accommodated more with more accommodative drivers and nonaccommodated more with drivers that were more dismissive. But unlike the Dixon et al. (2008) study, a police supervisor screened the

video-recordings before passing them on to the investigators. Nonetheless, Latinos were accommodated to less by officers than their non-Latino counterparts. Heavily Hispanic-accented drivers were also coded as recipients of more extensive policing than other drivers, and were also accommodated to less by officers. Hence, even with pre-screening, once again, driver ethnicity – and, this time, *accentedness* (see Giles & Watson, 2013) – emerged as critical elements of a traffic stop.

Applied Implications

Traffic stops are those occasions where the public connects with law enforcement the most on a face-to-face basis; for a heuristic pathway model of this encounter, including its antecedents and broader outcomes, see Choi and Giles (2012). As such, they can have important consequences for shaping attitudes toward law enforcement (Langan, Greenfeld, Smith, Durose, & Levin, 2001), images that can be vigorously communicated to others in their social networks and across the community (Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, & Ring, 2005). All this notwithstanding, CAT contends that nonaccommodation may not *always* hinge on situations being inherently construed as hostile and, indeed, may be strategically beneficial as in, for example, slowing down a fast-talker to a more comprehensible level (Street & Giles, 1982). But all this presents a paradox for officers. Traffic stops are known, by police officers, as being amongst the most dangerous situations they can encounter with members of the public. Hence, so-called routine traffic stops have now been re-designated as "indeterminate risk" stops. Officers are "on their guard" – even under the most mundane circumstances – and are trained to be self-protective and to resist temptations toward complacency and vulnerability; officer accommodativeness is not, therefore, a "natural" communicative strategy in this situation.

Indeed, resistance to accommodativeness might be accentuated when encountering members of a social category that have more stigmatic associations with crime than others (Dixon, 2006). This is compounded further given that accommodative officers are the ones most liable to be victims of lethal force from members of the public in traffic stops. In this regard, and from interviews with victims' peers and supervisors, slain officers are often described as "friendly to everyone, well-liked . . . and tend to look for 'good' in others" (Pinizzotto, Davis, & Miller, 1997, p. 12). In general, officers are aware of these data and, doubtless, many have such a schema activated in when approaching drivers.

Interpersonal accommodation is, thereby, a two-edged sword: it can induce civilian trust, but could compromise officer safety through complacency and accommodativeness. When civilians perceive a defensive or

nonaccommodative demeanor, and especially when it is combined with the distancing effects of a military hairstyle (Giles et al., 2004) and military gear and equipment (Pickler, 2015), they can easily and quickly misinterpret the motives and behavior of police officers and feel unjustly treated, contributing yet further to their negative images of law enforcement; for a CAT perspective on racial profiling, (see Giles, Choi, and Dixon, 2010). The communicative dilemma is, then, for officers in ambiguously risky situations to enact a balance of accommodativeness and nonaccommodativeness. Another dilemma resides in how to optimally train civilian instructors of police officers in communication skills – a potentially intergroup encounter – to be accommodative of officers' experiences and for them to appear highly credible and informationally valuable to law enforcement. For their part, too, civilians need to reappraise their emotions, cognitions, and talk when being traffic stopped (and/or elsewhere on the street). While the situation can be sometimes riddled with uncertainty about the cause of the stop and also be very anxiety-provoking (see Gudykunst, 1995), civilians (who are an unknown commodity to officers) should be advised to take the perspective of officers who likely might be viewing and reacting to this same situation quite differently. Moreover, adopting an accommodating stance is related to reciprocal accommodation by officers and sometimes to reduced personal and financial consequences.

Clearly this kind of applied and theoretically driven CAT research does have important implications for officer training. Indeed, the art of balancing accommodative and effective nonaccommodative strategies should, arguably, be part-and-parcel of police training; for existing communication programs, see Glennon (2010) and Kidd & Braziel (1999). Relatedly, it should be important to focus upon ways in which officers can feel and keep control of circumstances without appearing hostile and nonaccommodative. Having officers themselves critically analyze accommodative and nonaccommodative exchanges as exemplified in Chapter 6 could put "flesh on the bones" of such training. As implied above, however, interventions should be *bi*-lateral as citizen education (e.g., in schools or for learner drivers) is sorely lacking in informing the public about the communicative demands and dilemmas placed on officers; for the empirical value of civilians' simulated perspective-taking exercises of policing, see Giles, Willemyns, Gallois, & Anderson (2007). In this vein, Maria Haberfield (Professor and Chair of the Department of Law, Police Science, and Criminal Justice Administration at John Jay College) noted that "... we spend hours teaching children about Shakespeare and history, but we don't devote even an hour a week to the role of police in creating the world in which we live" (pers. comm., 6/30/2011).

In sum, many scholars and police practitioners recognize police-civilian cooperation as fundamental to crime prevention and, for effective policing to

succeed, it is imperative that it be understood as the responsibility of *both* law enforcement and the community and that intergroup between them dissipate; for a community policing program that tries to bridge these divides, see Revoyr (2015). With that said, it is the continued study of accommodation that will further what we have come to understand of the police officers experiences and communicative practices as well as the public in general including stigmatized minority groups and other social categories, such as adolescents (see Drury, 2010).

In the remainder of this chapter, we discuss the accommodative-nonaccommodative climates that can permeate courtroom exchanges; in other words, the legal portion of what occurs *after* officers have arrested suspects. Interestingly, even after a clear-cut and legitimate arrest of a known felon, officers are well aware that while their job has skillfully (and sometimes courageously) been done, it can often be undone in this next setting (Osborne, 2015). Hence, we will describe the accommodative strategies studied first in prosecutor–defendant, then in legal professional–witness examinations. Finally, we will describe the effects in terms of attribution of guilty of a suspect who during an interview converge or diverge.

The Addressees of Accommodative Strategies in the Courtroom

Although the discourse between legal professionals (e.g., lawyer or prosecutor) and examinees (e.g., defendant or witness) during criminal trials is the most known and studied activity in this applied sphere, in reality, there are multiple legal contexts (e.g., courtroom, lawyer–client conversation) and many different kinds of courts (e.g., civil, criminal, administrative, juvenile, small claims court). Moreover, different activities can be realized in each context and even during the criminal trial, as *voir dire*, opening arguments, confrontation, summation, and so forth, each one with its goals, rules and roles. As well, even during the same activity (e.g., a cross-examination), many different goals can be accomplished (e.g., direct and indirect cross-examination, interventions by the judge or legal jurors, objections, and claims).

Each of these may see different accommodative strategies at play and, therefore, talking of accommodative strategies in any *generic* legal setting can be misleading. Nonetheless, our effort here will consist of providing a general framework applicable to the many different communicative situations in different legal settings. For the sake of expediency, we focus mostly on talk between a prosecutor and a defendant during a criminal trial, even though many other actors (e.g., defendant, witness, defense lawyer, prosecutor, and judge) may accommodate each other; see Figure 9.1 for a schematic depiction of some these relationships.

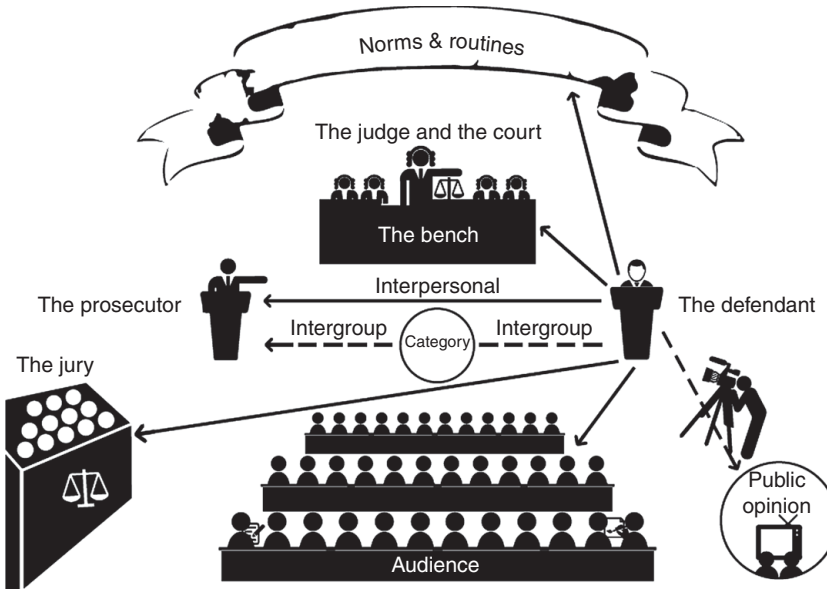


Figure 9.1 *Accommodative pathways in the courtroom*
The arrows indicated the many possible addresses of a defendant's CAT strategies during a cross-examination in a criminal trial in courtroom (Figure by Valeria Michetti).

The Prosecutor

Cross-examination consists of two phases. The defendant is, firstly, examined by the prosecutor, then by his/her defense lawyer. Therefore, the direct and obvious addressee of a defendant in an examination is, of course, the prosecuting or defending counsel. Consider the defendant-prosecutor arrow in Figure 9.1, which shows the accommodation strategies enacted by the defendant on the basis of the prosecutor's specific behavior and features at an individual level (see Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Contrary to what might be expected in criminal trials, the defendant may address the prosecutor as a person, enacting more informal communication. For example, a co-defendant, in the well-known Italian trial against Cusani, pressed by too many inquisitive questions by the prosecutor, addresses him with the exclamation: "Figlio mio!" (literally "My son!"). This expression in Italian means, sarcastically, something like "What more do you want?!", "What the hell do you want?!" (Gnisci & Pontecorvo, 2004).

However, the defendant may accommodate to the prosecutor based on the social hierarchy and, thus, at the intergroup level (see Giles, 2012; also Chapter 7). Take the case, for example, of a male defendant who diverges from a female prosecutor because he construes her as a powerful *woman* (Gnisci, Scognamiglio, & Di Conza, 2010). In the process of decoding each other's behavior, they may perceive the other either as an individual or as a member of a social category (e.g., career woman, guilty felon; for a discussion of interpersonal versus intergroup encounters, see Dragojevic & Giles, 2014). In Figure 9.1, this is depicted by the dotted link between the defendant and the prosecutor moderated by the social category.

The Judge, the Court, and the Jury

Accommodative strategies in court may be *indirectly* addressed to other possible actors. At least in the western world where the adversarial Anglo-American model is widespread, the defendant may want to adjust his/her behavior to a third party, the Judge and/or the Court (see again Figure 9.1). These third-party actors exercise many different functions during examination (e.g., clarifying, informing, reformulating, asking information or clarification, reprimanding) and with respect to more general legal principles (e.g., monitoring the correctness of procedures, defending the rights of the defendant or the weaker people, emitting the verdict or sentence: Conley & O'Barr, 1990; Gnisci & Di Conza, 2012). The most decisive at the end of these proceedings is that these actors emit a verdict that will substantially change, in positive or in negative ways, the life course of the defendant. In sum, while accommodating to the prosecutor, time to time, as an individual or a member of an outgroup, the defendant may invoke accommodative strategies directed toward the Judge, the Court or the Jury, all of which in concern will ultimately decide his or her fortune.

Laws and Routines

The defendant may (and often must) accommodate language also to the trial phases (e.g., reading the charge, statements of facts, cross-examination, concluding speech; Linell, 1991) as well as to the behavior expected, prescribed by rules and norms, procedures and routines for this setting (Drew & Heritage, 1992). They specify (at least) when, why and how, and who communicates with whom. Formality, asymmetry, rules, and roles, differences in status associated with particular linguistic acts (e.g., questions for legal professionals and answers for interviewees), expectations and interpretive norms, sequential alternations of turn are the features that identify interaction in legal contexts (Atkinson, 1992; Drew, 1992).

Audience

Often a multifaceted audience (*the gallery*) is present in the courtroom that may include members of the defendant's ingroup (e.g., relatives, friends) and of the outgroup (e.g., relatives and friends of the alleged victim) as well as members of other outgroups (e.g., journalists, experts) and strangers (e.g., training students, legal practitioners, draftsmen, and curious visitors). In some legal systems (e.g., in Italy), cameras can be present in the court, making the hearing similar to a TV studio. This is probably an uncommon option for a defendant, but media can be a recipient of communication in themselves as well as a channel through which accommodative strategies with significant others outside the courtroom can be put into action. This happens particularly when the trial attracts media and public attention and the participants themselves are public figures (e.g., politicians, entrepreneurs, institution officials, and *mafia* exponents). For example, many well-known politicians and entrepreneurs called as co-defendant (as such not obliged to give testimony) in a publically memorable criminal trial in Italy in 1993–94, choose to testify in a late effort of saving or restoring their "face" (Gnisci & Pontecorvo, 2004). They knew that their examination would be broadcast, in full or in part, within some weeks, by the TV program *Un giorno in Pretura* ("A day in Trial"). In this as in some others cases, the addressees of CAT strategies of the defendant are those that influence public opinion (dotted arrow in bottom right of Figure 9.1).

In sum, we understand courtroom discourse as a stratified, multilayered dynamic process in which convergence and divergence at different levels may occur in coordination with the many addressees available. The defendant copes with the somewhat difficult task of accommodating effectively to all of these entities. We focus next on legal examinations during criminal trials, because this is the arena in which CAT has been invoked the most.

A Microanalysis of Cross-Examinations during Criminal Trials: Accommodative Tactics

The first inquiry into legal examinations, to our knowledge, was Levin and Lin's (1988) study on the strategies with which John Dean, the key witness against President Nixon in the Watergate case, converged to the level of formality of the language of his Senators during the Watergate Committee Hearings. In similar fashion, Neiderhoffer and Pennebaker (2002) studied official transcripts of the recordings of meetings between President Nixon and his collaborators before the Watergate scandal by means of numerous linguistic categories, including social and affect words (expressing positive and negative emotions) and cognitive words (expressing causation and certainty). They showed that markers of convergent behavior between the

President and Dean transformed into markers of divergent behavior as their relationship deteriorated. This is an interesting study because it shows that the evolutions of CAT strategies in time may disclose how the quality of the relationship among people develops (see Chapter 6).

CAT and the Examination of the Defendants

A more integrated approach to CAT and courtroom cross-examinations was proposed on the basis of the Swedish Linköping corpus of courtroom discourse comprising forty criminal trials (Adelswärd, Aronsson, Jönsson, & Linell, 1987; Aronsson, Jönsson, & Linell, 1987). In one of these studies, the authors investigated the complexity of information by legal professionals and defendants; that is the amount of substantive new content introduced at a determined moment (Aronsson et al., 1987). They found different types of accommodation. First, the actors adjusted their discourse to the different phases of the trial (as earlier). Second, legal professionals converged to the interpersonal (i.e., real) behavior of the defendants in terms of information density and the frequency of hedges and amount of talk. Third, and during cross-examination, legal professionals and defendants showed accommodation strategies that attenuated many features of their distinctive communicative styles; respectively, less legalese and less criminal jargon, known as the hypothesis of the "hearing as a middle ground."

Later, revisiting the same corpus data (Adelswärd et al., 1987), Linell (1991) found that legal professionals adapted differently to different categories of defendants in terms of types of questions (declarative, coercive, and interrogative) and other features of turn-taking. For instance, legal professionals accentuated a number of formal linguistic features associated with their role when facing a more serious offender. This was interpreted in intergroup terms: "If professionals know that defendants are more serious offenders, presumably they stereotypically categorize them as an outgroup that is quite distant from their own group" (Linell, 1991, p. 120). In sum, the authors found accommodation strategies that reduced distance between legal professionals and defendants (based, for instance, on information complexity) as well as strategies that increased this distance.

CAT and the Examination of the Witnesses

CAT strategies were also observed in the examination of witnesses. For example, Gnisci (2005) and Gnisci & Bakeman (2007) studied forty-seven hostile examinations from a single criminal trial (the Cusani trial). Questions were coded for their *coercion* : how much the form of question constrained qualitatively and quantitatively the contents of the answer (respectively,

declarations, yes/no questions, tag-questions, choice questions, wh-questions). Answers, however, were coded for their *equivocation* : how much the answer replied to the question (minimally, elaborating, evading, etc.). The authors took as an evidence of convergence on content aspects of turns when, for example, a non-equivocal answer was in reply to a coercive question (e.g., "Is this your bank account?" – "Yes, it is"). They talked of divergence when, in reply to the same question, a more equivocal answer was provided (e.g., the evasive, "Actually, I did not met the director of that bank"); here, the contents of the two adjacent turns actually diverged.

Turning to examining interpersonal control tactics and discourse management strategies in court (Coupland, Coupland, Giles, & Henwood, 1988; see Chapters 6 & 8), the manner in which legal professionals and witnesses took the floor (interrupting, synchronizing, and pausing) and the length of their turns were coded (Gnisci, 2005). A quantitative, sequential approach was used to analyze associations among the coded data (Bakeman & Quera, 2011; for a qualitative approach to sequential patterns in courtroom, see Atkinson & Drew, 1979). All these analyses were refined in a later study of a more representative and heterogeneous sample of examinations (about eight times more in terms of duration and number of turns) from different courtrooms (Gnisci, Quera, Bakeman, Scognamiglio, & Di Conza; 2009; Scognamiglio & Gnisci, 2009). These examinations were less hostile because they included testifying of collaborators and police officers and included female interviewers and interviewees too (for gender issues, see Gnisci, Scognamiglio, & Di Conza, 2010).

All in all, there was mutual convergence in the way the witnesses and the legal professionals took the floor. When the legal professionals (or the witnesses) interrupted, synchronized or paused taking the turn, in the next turn, the witnesses (or the legal professionals) interrupted, synchronized or paused (Gnisci & Bakeman, 2007; Gnisci et al., 2009). This pattern was also found for length of turns of answer and question. However, the witness accommodated to the legal professional more than the legal professional accommodated to the witness; and the latter used more accommodation strategies, whereas the legal professional used more maintenance strategies (Gnisci, 2005). Nonetheless, many *divergent* strategies were found between legal professionals and witnesses. For example, in the sample of hostile examinations (Gnisci, 2005), when answering, the witnesses were found diverging from the legal professionals in that the more coercive the question, the more equivocal the answer. Conversely, the legal professionals, when questioning diverged from the witnesses' preceding answer in that the more equivocal the answer, the more coercive the subsequent question. In addition, when the contents of the witnesses' answers diverged from the contents of the questions (a unimodal tactic), they also diverged from the way the legal professionals took the turn to

ask the question (a bimodal tactic). For example, when the legal professionals interrupted the witness, the witnesses then equivocated, elaborating their answers or otherwise evading.

The above patterns were reversed in the *less hostile* examinations of the second sample (Di Conza, Gnisci, Scognamiglio, & Abbamonte, 2012). The witnesses' answers converged with the legal professionals' questions – the more coercive the question, the less equivocal the answer – and the legal professionals as well converged to the witness's preceding answer; the less equivocal the answer, the less coercive the subsequent question. Whether hostile examinations encourage divergent tactics or whether the latter shape the labeling of the former is an intriguing issue to consider in future work. Another intriguing feature that arose from this body of research is that the study of CAT strategies in courtroom interaction should not be limited to contingent behaviors, because speakers can accommodate to earlier preceding, but *not* directly adjacent, behaviors. For example, while an answer can accommodate to the question just preceding the response, an answer can also accommodate to questions the legal professional asked in the prior turn to that (Gnisci et al., 2009; Scognamiglio & Gnisci, 2009). In general, witnesses accommodated to the three sequentially preceding turns and legal professional to the preceding, underscoring the value of studying "long term" and sequential patterns of mutual accommodation.

Strategies and Attributions of Guilt

Thus far, we have described the results of research on CAT in real legal settings. However, a couple of studies have been conducted in the laboratory to ascertain if accommodative strategies of a criminal suspect could affect attributions of guilt by naïve people. The first involved Welsh participants listening to an examination between a Welsh-accented suspected criminal either converging toward or diverging away from an English-accented police interviewer. Interestingly, the Welsh respondents rated the diverging suspect as less guilty than the converging counterpart (Bourhis, 1977). Social identity was central to this pattern of evaluation (see Chapter 7; and Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). Listeners attributed more guilt to people who betrayed ingroup solidarity by converging to the outgroup English speaker's accent features. Similarly, in another study conducted in South-Africa, English-speaking participants listened to an Afrikaans-speaking suspect interviewed by an English-speaking interrogator (Dixon, Tredoux, Durrheim, & Foster, 2001). Depending on the experimental condition, the suspect was heard to: (a) converge, responding only in English; or (b) partially diverge, responding mainly in English, but lapsing into English in a turn; or (c) completely diverge, responding only in Afrikaans. Under these circumstances, the suspect who

diverged was rated as more guilty than the ones who converged. Again, social identity can be invoked to explain this result as English people considered as a member of an outgroup are less guilty when they converged toward their language rather than diverged.

Few experimental studies have been conducted exploring the relationships between accommodative strategies and attribution of guilt or other interrogation outcomes (see e.g., Richardson et al., 2014). Such studies could throw light on many uninvestigated phenomena (e.g., the effect of maintenance strategies and their difference from diverging ones) as well as explore the role of the strategies in determining the legal decision-making (e.g., the verdict), that ultimately is what affects the life of people involved in legal settings.

Conclusions

Cross-examinations in courtroom settings – at least in the cultures studied – have demonstrated to be an applied arena in which some basic CAT concepts and strategies have been put on trial. We have witnessed a complex pattern of adjustments and influences among multiple behaviors between prosecutor and defendant/witness that unfold sequentially over time. These include accommodations between proximal and distal behaviors and bimodal strategies, along with the presence of convergence and divergence. Some accommodative processes that involve defendants/witnesses and legal professionals are unidirectional, with the legal professional communicatively conveying the power associated to his/her role (Coupland et al., 1988). We have suggested that in this process, intergroup norms and procedures may be at play, featuring focally in attributions of guilt and innocence – a perspective worthy of further empirical scrutiny (Gallois & Callan, 1988). The simultaneous presence of different strategies or the shifts from a strategy to another during the examination should be more the focus of any CAT research in applied contexts.

One central player – whose accommodative and nonaccommodative acts have serious social and physical repercussions on the street – are police officers who (as discussed in the last section) can play a key role in the unfolding of events in the courtroom as well. For the first time here, research on policing and the courtroom have appeared side-by-side in one academic forum – and it is time for work in these separable domains to be meshed under the same investigative umbrella. Studying how the same officers – some more accommodative than others (see Chapter 6) – sequentially act in the field, manage other agencies (community and professional) in solving a problem or lending a hand, interrogate in the station, and thereafter appear in court would make a profound contribution to CAT, particularly if conducted longitudinally

as officers, male and female (Bochantin & Cowan, 2008), gain experience and move up the ranks.

Whether we recognize it or not, our lives are series of organizational and legal encounters as manifest in the opening section of this chapter. There we showed CAT has had much to offer in understanding the interactional dynamics within and surrounding organizational culture and legal settings (for an analysis of police culture, see Hahn, 1971). More importantly, our communication has pragmatic implications for individuals, those in our intimate sphere, and our communities. We believe there is much opportunity for growth in the application of CAT to these contexts and, thus, the research and ideas synthesized in the preceding sections should serve a springboard for significant, applied research trajectories. For many, "organizational" connotes a professional (i.e., workplace) entity – and this is reflected in much of the CAT-based research in the organizational context. However, this is a somewhat limited view of "organizational" as it can also apply to non-work entities such as religious and social organizations that serve important roles in terms of senses of affiliation and belongingness. Moreover, "organizational" can also refer to the act of collective organizing. CAT has much to offer in terms of guiding these inquiries. For instance, in organizing for social change, how does accommodation (or lack thereof) minimize or amplify connections and working relations with local communities and non-profit entities?

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10 Communication Accommodation Theory: Integrations and New Framework Developments

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The chapters in this book canvass a wide variety of contexts, and provide a strong sense of how Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) has developed and where it is today (see also, Giles, Gasiorek, & Soliz, 2015). In this final chapter, we aim to look forward and give a sense of where CAT might go. Since its inception, and particularly for the past thirty-plus years, the challenge for CAT has been to maintain coherence while being both comprehensive and useful for scholars using a variety of methodological approaches and in a range of applied contexts. Rather than being a drawback, this challenge is a natural part of any theory's growth and development. However, it does require attention. Taking into account the research agendas and methodological reviews synthesized for this volume, this final chapter aims to address this challenge and in so doing, provide a guide for both theorizing and empirical research with CAT for the next decade and beyond. In the following sections, we consider the Principles of CAT, then describe some conceptual, methodological, and contextual vistas we see for the theory, highlighting ways in which research using CAT can move forward.

Principles of CAT

Before going further, we believe it is important to revisit the Principles of accommodation (see Chapter 3), as a means to reflect on the major themes and contributions of CAT. The Principles are general, by design, and they capture all the core features and propositions in CAT concisely. That said, in their wording and formulation, they could be seen as prioritizing certain aspects of the theory. First, they emphasize the perceptual and motivational parts of the theory, which have become increasingly prominent over the years. Second, they primarily discuss interactions between individuals, although they certainly attend to the potential influence of salient group identities. Third and finally, the Principles contrast accommodation with nonaccommodation at a fairly abstract level, and thus do not foreground either the various sociolinguistic strategies that underlie much accommodation and nonaccommodation or the differences across types of nonaccommodation, although other papers

and many chapters in this volume do so (e.g., Chapters 4–6, 8, & 9; see also Gasiorek & Giles, 2012). A closer examination of the Principles in conjunction with extant CAT research, however, reveals that they do ultimately accommodate perceptions and behavior, interpersonal and intergroup factors, and the various forms that (non)accommodation can take. These three issues are central to the constitution and history of CAT and CAT research; we now address each in more depth.

Perceptions, Motivations, and Behavior. CAT has long moved between a description of what people *actually* do – that is, how their speech, paralanguage, and nonverbal behavior change toward or away from their interlocutors' – and what they are *trying* to do – that is, their psychological motives and intentions – as well as related perceptions of their communication. In part, this reflects the diversity in disciplinary background of people working with the theory; those with a more sociolinguistic bent tend to emphasize behavior, whereas the more psychologically inclined tend to emphasize perceptions and motivations. Some scholars opt to focus on only perceptions, or only behaviors, based on their preference and aims of inquiry (for a discussion of this issue, see Gallois & Giles, 2015).

This diversity of approaches has caused some to query what constitutes "communication" within the theory's framework. However, this is not an issue unique to CAT; this question has been a source of tension in the whole field of communication at least since Watzlawick, Beavin, and Jackson's (1967) assertion that it is impossible *not* to communicate and, thus, that all interactive behavior counts as communication. Other researchers have been more restrictive in their definitions, going as far as to require intention by a speaker for behavior to count as communicative (for a review of this issue, see Noller, 1984). Collectively, researchers using CAT have taken a middle ground, defining communication in terms of what is intended by a speaker, understood by a receiver, and/or which provokes an interpretation, attribution, or evaluation. Thus, communication is a product and function of the participants in an interaction and their perceptions; this perspective is evident in the Principles and in prior propositional models of CAT (e.g., Giles, Willemyns, Gallois, & Anderson, 2007).

Of course, both perceptions and behavior are important. Many studies have shown that perceptions – perceived motive, perceived behavior, and expectations – can be better predictors of people's evaluations than actual behavior (e.g., Thakerar, Giles, & Cheshire, 1982). This is particularly true in the case of underaccommodation, as this ubiquitous form of communication is ambiguous by its very nature (see Chapter 5). Do people underaccommodate because they want to, because they cannot do otherwise (Principle 3), unintentionally (despite an ability to do otherwise), or for some other reason? Interlocutors' answer to this question – which may or may not match that of

speakers – directs their responses. Perceptions are also central to understanding how people experience and react to overaccommodation: one person's patronizing communication is another's normal discourse. The same can be said of accommodation, and even of counteraccommodation (see Chapter 5). The importance of perceptions, beliefs, and motivations is reflected in the fact that they are invoked by all the Principles, and are the central focus of Principles 2, 5, and 7.

Despite the importance of perceptions in understanding people's reactions to communication in various forms, it would be limiting to assert that actual behavior does not matter. For one thing, it is behavior that people experience as a stimulus for perceptions, and that underlies their perceptions and reactions. Additionally, we are often legally and morally responsible for behavior, regardless of how we (or others) may perceive the behavior. For example, antidiscrimination laws address what people say and do, and not necessarily how the behavior is perceived or the motives for the behavior. Beyond this, there is ample evidence that people mark their identity through the details of their language and nonverbal behavior (e.g., Coupland, 1984), often without either themselves or their interlocutors being aware of it (see Chapters 4, 6, & 9).

Furthermore, CAT has always invoked the important role of tactics, or immediate behavioral responses to what has happened in the preceding conversational turns, in interaction. For example, if an interlocutor unexpectedly interrupts, we may diverge from him or her, often without being aware of doing so, as an automatic way of maintaining the floor and finishing our turn. The importance of actual behavior, in addition to perceptions, is acknowledged in two central Principles, 4 and 6, as well as Principle 3, which focuses on what people say and do in interactions. Beyond this, Chapter 6 proposes a new principle explicitly to encompass behavior in interaction, Principle 8: "The degree and quality of individuals' accommodation or nonaccommodation in interaction is a function of the interactional dynamics, including turn-by-turn actions, interactional accomplishment of immediate conversational goals, and the (mis)alignment of speakers in terms of the personal and/or social identities negotiated." Thus, through the Principles, CAT addresses perceptions, behavior, and their interaction.

Intergroup and Interpersonal Dynamics. Since the 1970s, CAT has been quintessentially a theory that balances the interplay between interpersonal and intergroup aspects of communication. The theory accounts for both the ways that intergroup relations are central to many interactions between people (arguably all of them, given the dynamic nature of social identities), and of the ways that speakers surpass intergroup factors to interact in a more idiosyncratic, individualized manner. In this way, CAT goes beyond virtually all other theories of interaction, which concentrate *either* on intergroup *or* on interpersonal factors (see Chapter 2). All the Principles put forward in Chapter 3 apply

to both group and individual aspects of communication, and seek to account for the dynamic interplay between intergroup and interpersonal factors. Very few interactions have no intergroup aspects, and CAT, unlike most theories of interpersonal communication, brings intergroup history, motives, perceptions, and behavior to the fore (see Chapters 7 & 9).

In the following sections, we highlight connections between accommodation and competent communication, and suggest that CAT may offer an important contribution to this area of work. What differentiates CAT from other theories and programs in communication competence is this simultaneous focus on intergroup and interpersonal dimensions of interaction. Many interpersonal communication theories suggest that communication competence reflects an individual's abilities to effectively achieve personal and relational goals. As such, various theories lay out – implicitly or explicitly – best practices for individuals, but often ignore the intergroup dimension of social interaction. Some important communication theories, notably anxiety/uncertainty management theory (see Gudykunst, 2005) and identity negotiation theory (Ting-Toomey, 2005) do address intergroup aspects of communication and the potential tension around group identities, but their focus is still mainly on the individual communicator and how that person reacts intra- and interpersonally. Likewise, there are also well-validated training programs for intergroup encounters, particularly in the intercultural arena. What is lacking is training programs that attend to both interpersonal and intergroup competence, although we see the nascent stages of such programs, for example in work on pain disclosures in medical encounters (McDonald, Gifford, & Walsh, 2011). CAT has the potential to underpin such programs, as its framework can be used to foreground the edgy relations between intergroup and interpersonal communication (see Dragojevic & Giles, 2014; Gangi & Soliz, 2016).

Nuances of (non)Accommodation. Finally, it is essential to remember that both accommodative and nonaccommodative communication may be enacted for a range of reasons, and take myriad different forms. Several chapters in this volume (see Chapter 5 in particular) make clear the ways that, for example, overaccommodation and underaccommodation are different from each other, in motivation, level of awareness, and reception. They are also different from counteraccommodation, which is probably the least common but the most dramatic form of nonaccommodation. While the Principles do not explicitly differentiate forms of nonaccommodation, they imply this kind of nuance in motivation, behavior, and reactions to behavior. We believe that research on the subtleties of accommodation and nonaccommodation should and will increase in volume and diversity in the coming decades.

Thus, drawing on the Principles in Chapter 3, we emphasize the importance of keeping three points in mind:

- CAT is a theory of *both* behavior and perceptions and motivations. Perceptions drive the ways in which interlocutors try to behave and respond to behavior, but actual behavior underlies perceptions. Thus, it is important to study both.
- CAT is a theory of interpersonal *and* intergroup communication – indeed, most of the contexts described in this book are intergroup, and social identity is likely to be more salient than is personal identity. Nevertheless, the emphasis is still on conversations between people (i.e., interpersonal communication).
- Accommodation and nonaccommodation can take a range of different forms. Overaccommodation, underaccommodation, and counteraccommodation are qualitatively different ways of adjusting or attuning to others, and not simply differences of degree in the way nonaccommodative behavior is perceived and responded to. They are all different from accommodation, as well as from each other.

Three Vistas of Accommodation

CAT is an eclectic theory and has always been grounded in its empirical underpinnings. As this book shows, the theory is inextricably linked to the contexts and methodologies in which it is used. Indeed, the concepts in CAT have evolved out of these contexts, contributing to CAT's dynamic history. As we move forward, we can see a number of issues and challenges to be addressed. In this section, we discuss these issues under the rubric of three "vistas" of accommodation: contextual, methodological, and conceptual.

Contextual Vistas

Many features of the current version of CAT have emerged from the extensive research in interethnic and intercultural encounters, intergenerational interactions (see Chapter 7), as well as communication in healthcare settings (see Chapter 8). This has made it clear that each context has its own intergroup and interpersonal characteristics, its own emphases, and its own sticking points. For example, older adults often – and rightly – complain that they are not treated as adults by those caring for them, and sometimes by members of their own families. In this context, accommodation means moving beyond stereotypes and treating each other as individuals (Ryan, Meredith, MacLean, & Orange, 1995). On the other hand, in many health contexts, both clients/patients and health professionals believe that the relevant expertise and identities of all should be recognized, as they are central to the interaction (see Baker & Watson, 2015). Indeed, there is no reason to go to doctors or other health professionals unless one needs their expertise (see Chapter 8). In this

context, accommodative communication may mean staying in role and operating from social identities, but treating each other with appropriate respect and attention to individual needs. In some intercultural contexts, particularly those where group boundaries are strong (e.g., Ross & Shortreed, 1990), it may be most "accommodative" (i.e., communicatively competent in context) to emphasize differences between one's own culture and the new one – that is, to diverge – as long as this is done with respect and positive tone (Giles, Ota, & Foley, 2013).

It is arguably time for CAT to theorize the role of context more explicitly, as a number of chapters in this volume do (see in particular, Chapters 7, 8, & 9). The Principles in Chapter 3 move away from context, toward generic statements about accommodation. This is helpful in that people working in different contexts can use the Principles to guide their own work. However, this approach misses how accommodation can vary in and depend on context, as described above. To address this, we believe it could be beneficial to develop ways of categorizing contexts in terms of criteria relevant to accommodation, such as how intergroup they are or how role-driven they are. Because contexts are complex, a simple categorization scheme is likely to be insufficient: those that share some common features along one dimension will likely differ in other ways (see Ehala, Giles, & Harwood, 2016, for a model of dimensions in intergroup contexts; see Chapter 7). Regardless of what criteria are used for classification, explicitly identifying features of the context that affect interaction is an important step for CAT researchers to take in their work. Doing so would also provide some methodological conformity across similar studies (see Chapters 4, 6, & 9 for discussion of this issue).

In the future, systematic study of context should enable CAT to make clearer predictions about its operation in different types of contexts (see e.g., Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Ehala et al., 2016; Giles & Hewstone, 1982). To do this, we believe that theoretically interesting contexts deserve research emphasis, and that researchers can usefully choose to study particular contexts for the benefit of theoretical development. For example, because it is extremely formal and role-driven, and because it provokes anxiety in all players, the police–citizen context has potential to offer new theoretical considerations for CAT that are context driven; courtroom and some other organizational contexts also do this (see Chapter 9). Likewise, family interactions, which can be a more interpersonal context of communication (see, however, Giles & Soliz, 2014; Soliz & Rittenour, 2012), also provide an opportunity for theoretical advancement specific to a relational context (Gangi & Soliz, 2016; Harwood, Soliz, & Lin, 2006 see Chapter 7).

There is another reason that the variety of contexts for the study of accommodation has increased over the years. Put simply, communication makes a difference in people's lives. Understanding the role of (non)accommodation in

various contexts, therefore, provides insight into what may differentiate positive and negative outcomes of interactions, relationships, and social or professional institutions. The early and continuing emphasis on intercultural contexts meets this criterion, as it provides evidence of the link between language, in- and outgroup attitudes, and the self-concept. Health is another such context; many studies have shown the adverse (sometimes life-threatening) outcomes of nonaccommodative communication in hospitals and primary care (see Chapter 8). As Chapter 9 shows, legal and courtroom contexts provide an important, formalized, context in which to study (non)accommodation in terms of both approximation and nonapproximation strategies and behavior. All social-science theories stand or fall on whether they can be applied in real-life contexts, and whether they make a positive difference to social life. Researchers in CAT over the past decades have gravitated to contexts where communication *does* make a difference (see Soliz & Giles, 2014), and they should concentrate even more on them in the future. This requirement will have a consequent impact on methodology (e.g., research done in the field, use of large corpora and data-bases). In this work, it will be important to focus on behavior as well as motivations and perceptions, and to develop efficient methods for studying behavior and perceptions together. Such efforts may also mean larger-scale projects using mixed methods, and may well involve multi-disciplinary research teams.

Methodological Vistas

Like the theory itself, the methods of CAT are eclectic, and tend to be determined by the research aims and by the disciplinary background of the researchers. Chapters 4 and 6, respectively, discuss in depth the quantitative and qualitative approaches to CAT that have been adopted over the years. In accordance with current pleas for more pluralistic methods (e.g., Shaw & Frost, 2015), the diversity in methodological approaches is a great strength of CAT research, as it means that it is comprehensive and interdisciplinary. However, the various strands of work on accommodation have existed and developed somewhat independently of each other. Thus, experimental studies tend to cite other experiments; indeed, the meta-analyses of CAT research that have been done (Soliz & Giles, 2014; see also Chapter 4) are by their very nature limited to studies that meet particular quantitative criteria. In the same way, sociolinguistic studies involving microanalysis of behavior tend to cite other such studies, and qualitative researchers also tend to cite each other. There have been exceptions, but only to the extent of seeing both approaches side-by-side in CAT journal issues (Coupland & Giles, 1988; Giles, 1984; Giles et al., 2015). Looking ahead, there is capacity to examine the interconnections between approaches more closely. For example, social network

analysis, over the past decade, has been used extensively to elucidate connections between academic papers (see Benckendorff & Zehrer, 2013, for an example in the interdisciplinary field of tourism); research on CAT could make good use of this type of analysis in the future.

In the past few years, mixed-method studies have begun to appear (e.g., Gasiorek & van de Poel, 2012; Hewett, Watson, & Gallois, 2015). This work, particularly when it involves detailed sociolinguistic, discourse, or conversation analyses, allows for rich and interpretive descriptions of actual behavior in naturally occurring conversations, accompanied by survey or experimental explorations of specific perceptual variables. In addition, qualitative studies of attitudes and perceptions based on interviews can complement quantitative research by fleshing out these aspects of accommodation in speakers' own words. In this way, the research questions addressed can be robust and broad, and such questions can be explored cogently. It is time for researchers of accommodation to make mixed methods more of a priority, truly integrating quantitative and qualitative designs.

Gnisci, Giles, and Soliz in Chapter 9 (and related work), explain a very interesting way to explore the sequence of sociolinguistic moves in interactions quantitatively. Their method, based on the analysis of corpora of courtroom discourse through coding of behavior in terms of CAT strategies (approximation, discourse management, and interpersonal control in particular), uses sequential analysis of behavior to elucidate accommodation or nonaccommodation and responses to it. For example, they show that hostile questions provoke divergence (more equivocal answers) in some instances (cross-examination) and less so in others (direct examination). This analysis allows researchers to combine features of the larger context with turn-by-turn analysis of behavior, and it has the potential to be generalized to larger sequences of behavior. There is also the potential to expand this work from the very formal courtroom context to more conversational interactions.

The explosion of new software tools for language analysis will also contribute to the expansion of mixed method research. Content analysis tools like *Wordsmith, Word Cloud*, and *LIWC* provide quick summary information about the words people use, and some give visual summaries that are easy to understand and use. Concept-based, artificial intelligence tools like *Leximancer* and *Discursis* afford, in addition, the capacity to go beyond words per se and analyze concepts that occur together (e.g., in interviews or written texts). Such tools are ideal for guiding researchers about which parts of their texts merit more detailed analysis. These programs, in addition, can assist in both qualitative (e.g., discourse analysis, conversation analysis) work and in quantitative research like the sequential analyses described above (see Chapter 9). Discursis, which is being developed with CAT in mind, adds

visualization of conversations turn by turn. It is thus an excellent complement to conversation analysis or discourse analysis. This program is now being used extensively in this way (e.g., Baker et al., 2015), and it also has the potential to combine qualitative analysis of conversations with summary quantitative information about the same texts through its metrics (e.g., Watson, Angus, Gore, & Farmer, 2015; see also Chapter 8).

In the future, it is likely that tools like these will play a greater role in studies of accommodation, and will allow qualitative work and sociolinguistic micro-analyses to be done with larger corpora, which at present is very difficult because of the labor-intensive nature of this work. It is important to remember, however, that these software tools are only that – tools. They allow speedy initial analysis of large texts, but they do not interpret the texts. Researchers must still understand the intricacies of conversation analysis, discourse analysis, and thematic analysis, and must not try to let the tools do the interpretive work for them.

Developments such as these will enhance another aspect of research on CAT that is important for the future: larger-scale work that is more integrative and programmatic. To explore accommodation as it happens in real-life settings, it is essential to work in the field, and to work closely with stakeholders. For example, research about (non)accommodation by police in their encounters with citizens can only be done with the cooperation and insights of both groups involved. Likewise, research in health settings requires the collaboration of health professionals and patients, if it is to explore accommodative attitudes and behavior by all participants in health encounters. This will mean an interdisciplinary approach to research, which needs its own accommodation of the different perspectives and methodologies of the various groups. Interdisciplinary research is in itself an intergroup process, and the Principles of CAT apply to both the studies and those who conduct them.

Finally, CAT is a theory about interactions that are most often dyadic (or more) in nature; however, quantitative CAT research has only in a limited way embraced dyadic *analysis* as a regular process of inquiry (see, however, Chapter 9). Some but not all qualitative research does look at dyads as such (see Chapter 6). One potentially useful model for CAT researchers is the actor-partner interdependence model (APIM: e.g., Kenny & Ledermann, 2010), which accounts for the bidirectional influences of members in an interactional dyad using data collected from both individuals. Using such models allows us to assess how perceptions or motivations for a speaker's behavior and that of the partner influence communicative and relational behavior for each individual. Advances in statistical techniques and analysis (see Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006) should generate new questions and types of analysis that will be able to both further test and further develop the propositions and ideas put forth in the preceding chapters.

Conceptual Vistas

Thus far, our discussion has addressed methodological issues and contextual considerations stemming from the vast body of extant research. In this final section, we offer three important conceptual directions for future research with CAT, all of which we believe have significance for our understanding of human relations.

Accommodation as Communication Competence. Intergroup communication researchers, those working within CAT in particular, have been strong critics of traditional training programs in communication competence, as well as of intercultural and interprofessional training programs (see e.g., Cargile & Giles, 1996). This is because such programs have typically emphasized the interpersonal features of communication (see Parcha, 2014) and ignored the intergroup; additionally, such programs usually assume that people are motivated to communicate as effectively as they can. In some cases, however, people's goals are not cooperative, and can even be anti-social: people may, for example, want to win a zero-sum conflict, or to deprecate another group. In these cases, "competent" communication – that which effectively accomplishes a goal – may actually lead to quite negative outcomes, which is what traditional training programs seek to avoid (see Chapter 9 for some interesting instances of this behavior in law enforcement and courtrooms). Gallois (2003) argued that in some situations, the better people's communication skills are, the less positive (and, in terms of most communication competence programs, the less "effective" in a prosocial sense) their communication is. Gallois argued that this is because the intergroup context may be sufficiently negative that members of each group are actually motivated to misunderstand each other: they would rather win the fight than produce a good outcome. In these cases, political or social work must be done before (traditional) communication competence skills training can have much impact.

The watchword of many intergroup communication competence training programs is to break down the silos between individuals and groups (see Peters, Morton, & Haslam, 2010), and/or to communicate openly and honestly. For example, health professionals are encouraged to forget that they are doctors, nurses, or physiotherapists, and to talk to each other as people who want to give the best treatment they can to patients/clients. The aim of such efforts is to transcend social identity and intergroup relations by forming an interpersonal bond, or through recourse to a larger, shared identity (see Pitts & Harwood, 2015). This is laudable, but there are many situations in which breaking down silos is not realistic or appropriate, and may even be the worst thing interlocutors can do.

It is important to remember that people often have huge investments in their core social identities. For example, high status positions in many organizations

now require advanced qualifications (e.g., medical or legal degrees plus specialized training) and long periods of apprenticeship (e.g., the years academics spend before they receive tenure). The investment in these qualifications cultivates a strongly held sense of professional identity. Such an identity includes commitment to concepts and language norms, as well as knowledge and skills, all of which are often tied to core values (Morton, Wright, Peters, Reynolds, & Haslam, 2012). It is not surprising that people strive for positive group distinctiveness in these identities, relying strongly on them in times of difficulty or crisis. To be asked to abandon them and to interact as an individual or in terms of a more inclusive social identity (health worker, legal worker) may be highly threatening, as well as unrealistic. If anything, it is essential to build people's confidence in their identities and ways of communicating within them, so that they are more resilient in conflict or difficult situations.

CAT theorizes this situation comprehensively, and the accommodative strategies outlined in the theory (see Chapter 3) can be a resource for formulating recommendations in various intergroup contexts. For example, in the police–citizen context, the role of the police officer means that he or she must take the lead in accommodation, and must learn to expect fear and hostility from a driver (see Chapters 6 & 9). Accommodation (or nonaccommodation) takes place along multiple dimensions – verbal (language, word choice, register), paraverbal (voice quality, prosody) and nonverbal (facial expression, gesture, posture). Thus, the police officer can maintain his or her role of authority through words, while expressing friendly behavior on nonverbal channels that the driver can reciprocate. If the officer commences the interaction with an accommodative tone, and gives the driver communicative room to move, it is probably not necessary to give the driver physical room to move (which may be threatening to the officer). In addition, if the officer can give the nervous driver reassurance, through nonverbal channels (tone of voice, etc.) or through speaking less formally and without legalese, this is likely to make the driver feel less threatened, and more likely to reciprocate accommodation. If these skills are practiced and routinized, they can become core aspects of the police officer's ways of communicating, and thus of his or her social identity (see Chapter 7).

In other contexts, different skills are likely to be important. For example, intercultural sojourners may need to understand their temporary identities as visitors (Giles et al., 2013). In this case, it may be most appropriate and culturally sensitive to diverge strategically to mark their status. For example, one might persist in speaking a standard version of a language, rather than attempting to speak a dialect reserved for locals (e.g., Pidgin in Hawai'i; Marlow & Giles, 2008). At the same time, sojourners can learn to express respect and admiration for the new culture, perhaps nonverbally (especially if they do not speak the host language). Thus, it is important for

trainers in *intergroup* communication competence to use the Principles of CAT to do the following:

- Analyze the training situation via CAT in intergroup and interpersonal terms – what is the history, what are influential current events, what are the main goals, what are the relevant stereotypes?
- Foreground the nature of the context – is it more or less intergroup, more or less hierarchical, formal, or role-related?
- Highlight the most relevant sociolinguistic strategies in this context – is approximation (i.e., convergence or divergence) important, or even relevant? Which of the nonapproximation strategies are implicated, and how?
- Train in perceiving and interpreting others' behavior, and in drawing lessons for future interactions.

In this way, training programs can be theory-based, and can emphasize moving across silos (or group identities) with appropriate respect and understanding, rather than trying to eliminate them. Such programs can also emphasize ways to learn about other groups' values, motivations, knowledge and ways of thinking, and ways of communication during the course of an interaction. Doing so would provide participants with the "tools" to understand how to further fine-tune or hone their communication over time. Of course, theory-based programs like these should still look at basic communication skills, and highly desired topics like dealing with conflict and working with difficult people. However, with this approach they can do so through a nuanced look at all aspects of the encounter, not only the immediate interpersonal ones. CAT is ideally suited to this task.

Biophysical Underpinnings of Accommodation. Recent years have seen an increase in the exploration of the biological and neurological underpinnings of interpersonal communication (for overviews, see Afifi, 2015; Floyd & Afifi, 2011). Research has shown that certain communicative acts, such as affection and social support, are associated with neuroendocrine activity (e.g., cortisol and oxytocin levels) that physiologically protects the body from stress (Floyd & Riforgiate, 2009). Relatedly and intriguingly, O'Donnell, Falk, and Lieberman (2015) have linked the synchronization of communication with neural activity and relational outcomes, citing CAT and other models of linguistic synchrony (see Chapter 2).

O'Donnell et al. (2015) found, using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), that framing an idea by adopting words that are associated with social interaction (e.g., *friends, family, yours*) triggers activity in the temporoparietal junction in the brain. Such neural work is claimed to be associated with "mentalizing," or the capacity to relate to the mental states of others. It also appears that this influences participants' own communication. As described by the authors, "increased mentalizing while being exposed to and encoding a

novel idea makes it more likely that in subsequently describing the idea to others, individuals will use [more] social words to frame their description" (p. 50). Hence, it is conceivable that an interpersonal history of expressing and receiving accommodation leads not only to mutual trust (Nettle & Dunbar, 1997) and relational health, but also to different mental and communication patterns by those involved. In this way (and with respect to overaccommodative (patronizing) communications, see Hehman & Bugental, 2015), a question arises: could expressing and receiving accommodation lead to visible neuroendocrine activity (e.g., changes in cortisol and oxytocin levels), either in interaction or over time? Moreover, would such interpersonal accommodation also lend itself to an identifiable neural signature?

Recently, neuroscientific advances and methods have also begun to appear more prominently in the study of intergroup relations (e.g., Forbes, 2015; Page-Gould & Akinola, 2015), with potential payoffs on the horizon for intergroup *communication* as well (see Clément, Bielajew, & Sampasivam, 2016; Rauchbauer, Majdandžić, Hummer, Windischberger, & Lamm, in press). For instance, victory for vested sports fans over rival teams can not only elevate their self-esteem and be construed as a personal success (Giles & Stohl, in press), but can also activate the pleasure center in the brain (Cikara, Botvinick, & Fiske, 2011). Hence, would seeing valued peers diverge from a members of disdained groups lead to neural activity in areas of the brain associated with reward processing, such as in the ventral striatum (Fiske, 2012)? Relatedly, would the adverse affective reactions to being a recipient of counter- or underaccommodation be associated with, or be the precursor to, neural activity in the anterior cingulate cortex, a region associated with pain and punishment? The bi-directional effects of biophysiological and neurological activities (e.g., neural synchrony; Weber, Popova, & Mangus, 2012), in relation to interpersonal accommodation-nonaccommodation, hold exciting prospects for the further innovative development of CAT.

Accommodation in the Digital Age. Technological advancements in computer-mediated communication and the new interactional processes and norms of our increasingly digital age warrant attention from CAT researchers. As we communicate more and more via electronic media – which by their nature shape what kind of cue information is available, and also have their own norms – what constitutes appropriate and accommodative communication becomes increasingly mutable. Further, many of our communication platforms constrain the messages (e.g., Twitter's character limits). Here, CAT could be a resource for understanding what communicating "competently" looks like as we move between media. We might also consider how our ability to accommodate is influenced by the constraints or structural elements of the social network platforms we use. Given the various ways of communicating in today's digital age (face to face, email, text, social media) and individual

variations in preferences, will communication mode become a more significant aspect of perceiving, understanding, and/or responding to (non)accommodation in context?

A second issue raised by digital technology concerns the nature of a message's audience. As Pfister (2014) notes, many of our social networking platforms move the context from dyadic or one-to-many communication to "many-to-many" interactions. Our communication is received and, thus, perceived often by audiences unknown. Likewise, we have little control over our messages once they are "out there." How do accommodative motives – actual or inferred – and relevant outcomes (e.g., evaluations of the speaker) operate in a context in which mass unintended audiences are both recipients and potentially owners (i.e., through retweeting or reposting) of messages (Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil, Gamon, & Dumais, 2011)?

Finally, as we see in Chapter 4, many of the more recent quantitative studies employing CAT are focusing on human-computer communication, reflecting the increased frequency of our "interactions" with machines, including automated voice systems, chatbots, and (increasingly) robots. Can a robot or automated voice system be under- or overaccommodative? Are a person's reactions to these systems influenced by perceptions of "intentions" in the same way they can be in an interaction with another person (see Spence, Westerman, Edwards, & Edwards, 2015)? Do we give a machine a "pass" for being a machine, or react in the same way as we would to another human? These will all be questions for future research; such questions will also evolve further as technology evolves.

Conclusions

CAT began with a basic question: how do people adjust their speech in interaction, particularly as a means to indicate their attitudes toward their interlocutors? It soon added the notion of the social group to this explication of individual behavior, and became the intergroup theory of interpersonal communication that it is today. Over the past forty or more years, CAT has grown in conceptual, methodological, and contextual complexity, but this added complexity has not changed the theory's core goal of understanding the nature of human communication, its antecedents, and its consequences. What will CAT look like when it reaches fifty years of research, in the not-too-distant future?

The chapters in this volume, as well as the issues raised in this chapter, offer several indications. First, they point to more focus on accommodation that makes a difference, and on exploring the difference that communication accommodation makes to other aspects of social relations. Over the years, CAT has focused increasingly on interactions between members of

longstanding groups like those based on age, gender, culture, and the like, as well as on intergroup interactions within institutions or organizations, like those in health, police, law, and so forth. Other chapters highlight the impact on health care, intercultural communication, and family and other relationships that (non)accommodation has. Across its history, research using CAT has also become larger in scale, more multi-disciplinary, and more applied in focus. We expect this trend to continue and increase in the future.

Along with this emphasis on making a difference, there will be a stronger focus on intergroup communication competence. CAT has the potential, through understanding accommodation and nonaccommodation, to improve communication in many contexts. Scholars are already developing training programs grounded in CAT, and such programs have the potential to add an important dimension to communication competence. They may also lead to surprising insights. The present record of communication competence training programs in producing improvements in communication and interaction is mixed, and the addition of the foci of CAT should improve the track record.

In the future, we will see more and more studies that combine the insights of CAT with cutting-edge research in other parts of the human sciences. Thus, there will be more work on new and emerging digital communication media, and on para-social and para-human interactions. Understanding the role of the audience in digital communication is paramount in this work, and we expect the next iterations of CAT to theorize it explicitly. Finally, we expect CAT to incorporate more intrapersonal aspects of communication – both physiological and cognitive – into its propositions.

The Principles of CAT presented in Chapters 3 and 6 focus on aspects of accommodation observed across situations. While this provides a useful foundation, we also believe that, as research contexts proliferate, scholars should attend to both what is common and what differs across all contexts, media, and forms of communication. Accommodation will take different forms, and understanding what these look like will provide us with a richer picture and deeper understanding of social interaction. However, we anticipate that despite superficial differences in what accommodation looks like, we will see the same fundamental relationships and interplay between identity, perceptions, and behavior outlined in the theory's Principles. Research on CAT should and will make use of them as it expands even further over the next decade.

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