TALKING TO STRANGERS: SELF-DISCLOSURE

SEQUENCING PATTERNS

by

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ABSTRACT

The theory and practice of a new method of telephone communication are described whereby four-way conferencing between strangers can be monitored 24 hours a day. This open information system provides a unique framework for studying natural data useful for objective research in interpersonal communication. The critical and historical background of sociolinguistics, self-disclosure and conversation analysis are reviewed to establish a proper methodological approach in these fields. A new methodology, based on information flow, is developed by isolating category features from transcripts of telephone data collected over an eight month period. The resultant 28 categories, which can be applied to conversation analysis in general, were used to analyze individual patterns of self-disclosure for 24 dyadic conversations, comparing high and low self-disclosure.

It was found that, on average, the flow will change from one speaker to the other every 18th speaking turn, irrespective of whether it is a high or low conversation. The mean for self-disclosure for all the conversations is 2 (high - 1.9; low - 2.1). This suggests that when two strangers talk anonymously on such a phone line they tend to self-disclose, on average, every 4th or 5th speaking turn. In concrete terms it was found that, in general, for every 10 instances of self-disclosure, 4 are question-induced, 4 are volunteered as a result of assertions or reinforcements, and 1 emerges spontaneously, sometimes being picked up by the other speaker and usually inducing 1 further self-disclosure. As a result of these findings it is possible to formulate a general rule for self-disclosure sequencing: A person's self-disclosure tends to be in direct proportion to the other person's control of the flow, i.e. whoever controls the flow tends not to self-disclose. These results and the analysis of the self-disclosure sequencing patterns of 48 speakers represent some of the first research findings of "real life" interaction, and as such establish a foundation for future research in this field. Moreover, these results should be useful in drawing comparisons for those investigating self-disclosure in laboratory settings. By extension, it should be possible to correlate certain personality traits with individual

self-disclosure sequencing patterns and standard questionnaire measures of self-disclosure.

The category system although designed specifically to analyze telephone conversations is equally adaptable to the analysis of face-to-face interaction. Its versatility is exemplified by the fact that it can be used to analyze all types of conversations, whether they be transcripts of the Nixon tapes or the interactions of 4 year olds at play. It is a powerful tool precisely because it is not just an artificial grid applied to a conversation but, rather, a method actually describing things that are happening in the conversation. Moreover, it is a method which effectively measures not only information exchange but power and control. The fact that the category system can be coded for computer analysis makes the potential for this methodological approach seem quite favourable for future research orientation purposes. By combining this system with Allen and Guy's methodological approach, it would be possible for the first time to examine comprehensively many of the variables of the dyadic interaction in real time: temporal structure, syllabic structure, somatic behaviour, intensity and energy investment and categorization in terms of each speaking turn.

The benefits of establishing such a method for measuring and typing interpersonal behaviour extend far beyond the immediate concerns of theoretical research, into such diverse fields as traditional psychotherapy, marriage counselling, counselling juvenile delinquents, etc. The hypothesis that self-disclosure sequencing patterns reflect psychological traits, if proven correct, could provide an important research tool in assessing interpersonal behaviour in widely different contexts, e.g. the classroom, the witness stand, the job interview or the family unit.

The significance of the telephone experiment, the methodology and the results of the data, are further discussed in relation to current and future research objectives in the social sciences. An appendix of 225 pages of transcripts and analysis is included in a separate volume.

CONVERSATIONS ENTRE INCONNUS: MODELES
D'ENCHAINEMENTS DE REVELATION DE SOI
par
ROBERT MOIR

RESUME

Nous décrivons la théorie et la pratique d'une nouvelle méthode de
communications téléphoniques par laquelle une connection de conférence
à quatre lignes accessible au public peut être observée vingt quatre
heures par jour. Cette "source ouverte" d'information fournit un
système unique de coordonnées pour l'étude de données naturelles pouvant
servir en recherche objective dans le domaine des communications inter-
personelles. Un aperçu critique, et historique de la socio-linguistique,
de l'étude de la révélation de soi et de l'analyse de la conversation
est présenté afin d'établir une approche méthodologique particulière à
ces domaines. Notre méthodologie, basée sur l'influx d'information, a
été développée par l'isolement de caracteristiques de catégories à
partir de transcriptions de conversations téléphoniques receuillies
au cours d'une periode de huit mois. Les 28 catégories ainsi obtenues,
peuvent être généralement appliquées dans le domaine de l'analyse de
la conversation. Elles ont été employées pour l'analyse de modèles
individuels de révélation de soi tels que présentés dans 24 conversations
dyadiques, en comparant des niveaux de révélation de soi. L'importance
de l'expérience téléphonique, notre méthodologie et les résultats de
nos données sont traités par rapport à la recherche actuelle et future
dans le domaine des sciences sociales.

Acknowledgements

I am immeasurably indebted to three people: Dr. Raymond Prince, who was so generous of his time and support in directing my thesis; Ron Blumer, whose presence and initiative throughout the year's negotiations with Bell Canada were a decisive factor in setting up the telephone experiment; and Susan Alper, whose genius at organisation, detail and humour made her assistance invaluable in collating the data.

I wish to thank Dr. Nicole Domingue, Dr. G.J. Robinson and Dr. Bill Eaton, members of my committee, for their suggestions and kindness. I would like to acknowledge the work of Dr. Donald E. Allen and Dr. Rebecca Guy, whose book Conversation Analysis, The Sociology of Talk, was a continual source of inspiration. I also wish to thank the Provincial Government for two Quebec bursaries, which made the completion of this thesis possible; and to thank Ms. Lucy Felicissimo for her diligence and composure in typing out the manuscript.

Lastly, I wish to pay tribute to all the Montreal citizens who participated on The Line during its eight months of operation. I hope that in the near future they will have the opportunity of reconvening through a modernized system of sixteen lines, projected for 1979.

DEDICATION

A Cupcake for Tuz.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

OF A TELEPHONE EXPERIMENT

AND ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION

...we cannot delude ourselves that the princpal issue is one
of searching for interactive cable systems per se, (and) must
be directed to a search for meaningful services. Such services
will be the solutions to the communications needs of the
contemporary citizens and their needs as they see them. (...)
Perhaps many of these services are already here but exist in
different forms and we have not seen them because we have been
looking in the wrong places.

> D.M. Atkinson, IEEE
> Transactions on Communications
> 1975, vol. 23, no. 1.

When at last this little instrument appeared, consisting, as
it does, of parts every one of which is familiar to us and
capable of being put together by an amateur, the disappointment
arising from its humble appearance was only partially relieved
on finding that it was really able to talk.

> James Clerk Maxwell
> The Telephone 1878

PART ONE

Theoretical Framework of Telephone Experiment

The aims of this chapter are fourfold: First, to describe the experiment fully and to situate the experiment in his historical context, by comparing it with similar systems e.g. business conferencing, rural party lines, citizens band, Tel-Aid, etc. Second, to reveal the working stages with Bell Canada that took place over a year between the emergence of the idea and its practical application. This required numerous meetings with different departments of Bell Telephone e.g. legal, public relations, accounting, engineering, etc., and permission from the R.C.M.P.* to monitor telephone calls. Thirdly, to describe two stages of publicity for the telephone number and the subsequent response. And fourthly, to briefly outline a history of Dial-a-Chat or The Line, and to propose a few observations concerning subjects discussed among the different age groups.

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* R.C.M.P. – Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Theoretical Purpose Behind the Telephone Experiment

The nature of the telephone experiment encompassed three distinct objectives:

1) The first objective was to examine over an eight month period the feasibility of a new method of communication which would be useful to the community at large, and could by extension, help alleviate some of the feelings of alienation in any city or large town with an efficient telephone service. This new method of group interaction would operate independently of outside controls or interference.

2) The second objective was to describe a new system for gathering data which might be useful to many of the different disciplines in the social sciences. The system was set up as an exemplary model of an open information system to test the hypothesis that it could provide a unique and objective method of gathering research data.

3) The third objective was to examine in specific detail the process of self-disclosure (S.D.)[1] between strangers, and determine whether one can establish any patterns in this form of interaction. This objective reflects the specific area of analysis for this dissertation.
    It is hoped, however, that all three objectives be reviewed each on their own merit and collectively when reading this dissertation.

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[1] In future, S.D. may be found as an abbreviated form for self-disclosure in the text.

Description of Telephone Experiment

What is proposed is one telephone number that can be used as a conference terminal for four persons. A common number would be made available to members of The Montreal Association for the Blind, the alumni of The Lethbridge Centre (for the handicapped), and several Senior Citizens' Homes. The intention is to provide an avenue of communication between the blind, handicapped and some of the senior citizens of Montreal. These shut-ins would have the possibility of making new friends over the phone without having to leave their own homes or reveal personal information; such as where they live, who they are, or whether they suffer from a handicap or whatever, unless of course they volunteered the information.

The conference line would operate as follows: anyone wishing to dial the number would automatically be connected to the others who had dialed the same number. The circuit would connect up to four persons at a time, and a busy signal would inform anyone dialing that the maximum number of persons were engaged. When any one party would hang up his line, the next person to subsequently dial the number would automatically be connected in the conference circuit. If one person were to dial and found no one on the conference line, he could either wait until one of the other lines responded, or hang up and dial again later. The statistical, quantitative and qualitative data of the group interaction could be monitored from our home terminal, and the overall feasibility of such a method of anonymous interaction could be assessed. An object of this experiment is thus to see how people use such a service.

Background Information

The principle for the telephone experiment is based on the actual use of such a method of communication by a number of people in Montreal, in 1971, who discovered the possibility of random conferencing on Bell Telephone test lines. These test lines were later discontinued since the conferencing became so popular that it prevented Bell personnel from using the lines for test purposes. These were illegal and operated as an underground network of communication. The people who used these lines spanned all ages and ranged from all walks of life, from housewives to teenagers to dedicated "phone freaks" calling in from all parts of the U.S. Moreover, the quality of the test lines was greatly impeded by loud consecutive clicks which made conversation difficult to follow. It should be noted that the constant clicking over the lines did not deter the enthusiasm or enjoyment shared by the people who used these lines over a long period of time. Ronald Blumer's article in The McGill Daily for March 2nd, 1971, accurately describes the experience of these test lines - cf. xerox on the opposite page.

It should also be pointed out that conference type interaction is commonplace in rural areas on party lines. The essential difference in the rural practice and the urban test line experience is that, in the latter, people had no means of knowing who would be at the other end, whereas in rural areas, all parties concerned know each other.

What are the Benefits of this Experience?

1) Anyone with a telephone can share a conversation with a like-minded person whom they do not know.

2) This can be done anonymously without infringing on anyone's rights of privacy.

3) The telephone is the least threatening form of communication for such purposes. No one can be forced to participate in a conversation. Fear of rejection is minimal since calls are not strictly purpose-oriented.

4) This method democratizes group interaction by cutting across social and economic barriers. No direct judgment can be made as to a person's physical appearance or financial status.

5) There is a need in an urban environment for random conferencing and there are few facilities available: e.g. high rate of obscene phone calls, Tel-Aid, priests, psychiatrists, etc. As a general rule, people have to pay to be listened to. It is desirable because of urban isolation; alienation is a major problem in cities today. The average Canadian household is made up of 3.7 people; 13.4% of the urban population lives alone, and possibly 38% live alone during the day.

Telephone Conferencing

The practice of telephone conferencing is not new; in fact some of the early experiments in this date back to 1931. Recently Bell

Canada has introduced "Add-On" as a new feature for custom dialing services on the modern PBX systems.[3] This feature permits a person to add a third party in a phone conversation without asking for the assistance of an operator, and thus makes the possibility of three-way conferencing an ordinary event. Moreover, Bell's recent television publicity for business conferencing is an indication of the rise in demand for this form of service as a practical alternative to traveling expenses. The concept of our telephone experiment has much in common with these services with the exception that, in the cases above, all calls are caller-directed, whereas in Dial-a-Chat, people were conferenced together anonymously: they dialed the same number in a telephone exchange rather than individual specific telephone numbers.

Citizen's Band

The phenomenon of citizen's band has been nothing less than dramatic these last few years:

> "It took 16 years from 1958 to 1974, for us to get the first million licenses in Class D", says Richard Everett, assistant chief of the Federal Communications Commission's Amateur and Citizens Division (U.S.), "Then it took eight months to get the second million, and three months to get the third."[2]

Michael Harwood's article in The New York Times suggests that in 1976, 13-16 million C.B. radios were in use in the U.S. alone: "Half the trucks in the United States are now equipped with a C.B. set; so are 1

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[2] Harwood Michael,"America with its ears on," The New York Times Magazine, April 25, 1976, p. 28.

[3] PBX stands for Private Board Exchange meaning an automated switchboard.

of every 7 recreational vehicules and 1 of 20 automobiles."[4] The

exponential growth in this field indicates the rise in popularity

and demand for this kind of communication.

The concept behind C.B. is unlike the telephone experiment

only in certain minor respects. First,a person has to invest in

C.B. equipment, whereas in our experiment anyone with access to a

telephone just had to dial the number. Second,and a much more im-

portant distinction, is that the flow of conversation is quite dif-

ferent. In C.B. the natural telephone conversational flow is not

possible; each caller has to designate when he has finished his turn,

and usually gives out the call number of the person he is talking to,

so as not to confuse anyone else picking up his signal. Furthermore,

C.B.'ers must learn the proper procedure, as well as a language dis-

tinguished by colourful vocabulary. C.B., therefore, despite its

major drawback of not allowing natural dialogue flow, is akin to

The Line in its function as a link between strangers, and its popu-

larity continues to grow.

Radio Hot Lines

The concept of the radio talk show, or "hot line", bears some resemb-

lance to the concept of the telephone experiment. Listeners to a radio

station can call up to challenge or speak with the moderator of a pro-

gramme. These conversations with the public-at-large thus become the

substance of the programme and enable politicians or public personalities

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4

    Ibid.

to get instant feedback from the public on the important issues of the time. Because it is a two-way communication process, it does give "ordinary people" the opportunity to voice their opinions publicly. However, there the comparisons between the two media end, for in the instance of the radio "hot line", the moderator is effectively the gatekeeper of information flow. He controls the subject matter, decides whether or not a person may voice his opinion, and enforces how long the interaction lasts. These controls are quite stringent.

In our telephone experiment there was no gatekeeper as such; people could and did freely talk about anything they wanted. Moreover, it was a four-way communication process, of ordinary people talking about their own concerns, and was not intended to be for a public audience.

Tel-Aid

In many respects, the telephone experiment was closest in spirit to that of Tel-Aid. Tel-Aid is a Montreal emergency phone-in crisis centre, manned by volunteers 24 hours a day, who answer telephone calls from citizens in a state of stress (depressed, suicidal, forgotten, etc.). All phone calls are treated confidentially and conducted anonymously. The usual practice of Tel-Aid volunteers is to act as good listeners and, when needed, to refer callers to social service agencies. In this way, the service of Tel-Aid guarantees that no one in the city should feel the despair of having no one to whom he can express a personal problem.

Because the concept of Tel-Aid is to operate on a one-to-one confid-
ential basis, two of the major problems encountered by the service is
that of "repeat callers" and calls from people whose only problem is
that they are lonely and have no one to talk to. These callers can,
without meaning to, create a bottleneck of the lines available and
prevent a real emergency call from getting through. Moreover, once
these people get into the habit of calling, knowing that someone will
listen, it becomes very difficult for Tel-Aid volunteers to redirect
these callers to other sources.

It would seem that the best solution would be to connect such
callers with one another. This is where the concept of the telephone
experiment is most effective - it could act in conjunction with Tel-
Aid. This we believe is where the greatest potential for The Line
exists in the future, and we have designed with Bell Telephone engi-
neers a larger and more efficient model of 16 lines that could work
as an important support system to Tel-Aid, and which could be manned
24 hours a day on a switchboard basis by the same Tel-Aid volunteers.
(cf. The Montreal Star, March 29th 1977, "Loneliness Key Factor";
xerox on opposite page.)

PART TWO

Negotiations with Bell Canada

Negotiations with Bell took over a year before the concept of
the telephone experiment came to fruition. The introduction of a new
concept, which did not fit with any preconceived notions of telephone
communication or any current telephone equipment, could not be so

easily or readily accepted into the existing superstructure. In fact, the introduction of any new concept in a large organization requires very delicate consultation and cooperation between all the departments of the company.

Once the Public Relations Department accepted the project it remained for the Legal Department to decide whether or not the project presented any legal complications. Actually, because there was no precedent for an experiment of this kind, the department did have to consider all aspects of liability for the company, not the least of which was the possibility that the experiment itself might set a precedent of some kind or another - the consequences of which could not be forseen. The department eventually gave permission for the project to go through on condition that an application be made to the R.C.M.P. for a license to tape and monitor calls. However, such authorization was not deemed necessary by the R.C.M.P.

Consultation with members of the Engineering and Marketing Departments were the next steps towards carrying out the project. Accordingly, a number of meetings were held with members of both departments over a period of several months. In order to illustrate the technical complexity of this "Special Assembly" the final blue print of the circuit can be studied in xerox form on the opposite page.

In retrospect, it should not be difficult to imagine the misgivings and skepticism which a number of Bell personnel had towards the whole experiment. Not everyone was as enthusiastic as we were about the possibility for good publicity for the company - i.e. providing a much-needed service for the blind and handicapped. The

potential for adverse publicity was at the time considered quite real, and it must be emphasized that few members of the personnel believed that the experiment would work at all. The general consensus at Bell was that no one would use the service except a few desperate people and a few cranks. The project would never have been accepted by Bell without the endorsement from McGill University that it was indeed a valid research project.

Installation of the Service in both the Central Exchange and Home Terminal

The installation date took place September 2nd 1975, but the service was not completely operational until September 15th. The most important feature missing from our original proposal was the control to disconnect any of the four lines from our home terminal as the engineer at Bell had suggested. This was deemed necessary in case a caller attempted to disrupt the lines. Because of misunderstandings, we were left with no effective control over the four lines; that is, we had as much control as any one of the users of The Line. The disconnect button was applied for and subsequently installed at the home terminal in March 1976.

PART THREE

Publicity of the Number of The Line after September 15th 1975

The initial concept for the telephone experiment was that it should provide a service for "shut ins" and therefore, the service was designed with the blind, the handicapped and senior citizens in mind.

As soon as the exact installation date was known a number of meetings
were held at the Montreal Association for the Blind (M.A.B.) with the
director of the school and the teachers. They believed, once they
had grasped the idea, that The Line would be a wonderful way of en-
abling blind persons of all ages to communicate.

Our immediate concern was that the maximum number of people
be notified simultaneously about the service so that callers would
not call only once, and finding no one on the line, never call again.
The most effective means of publishing the number was a mass mailing
on the same day of the following letter (cf. opposite page), which
could be read aloud to members of M.A.B. The administration of M.A.B.
was approached with this idea. However, because the mailing lists
are confidential we were not permitted to help in the mailing pro-
cess. After four days about one hundred and fifty envelopes were
sent out. Two days later a postal strike was declared.

Although at least thirty members responded enthusiastically,
there was no real means of knowing how many people received the letter.
It was clear that the strike had put an end to the possibility of
reaching the other thousand members as had been planned. One finding
of this method of publicity was that people did not remember to call
at the prescribed times; that is, 9 a.m. and 9 p.m., but rang at all
hours, missing each other frequently. During this period, those who
did connect, and the ease with which they adapted to the situation,
and the enjoyment they experienced talking with one another, proved
that the system could work. Any of the negative assumptions put
forward by those we had encountered - that it would be too complex
for the members to comprehend - were clearly overruled. Those who

called were having a good time and The Line's success was evident
on several different occasions. For example, one person informed
another of a special transport service for the handicapped in her
area, and as a result, her outdoor life took on a new significance.
Others shared information of group outings to Vermont, which would
give them the chance to meet in person. The younger children con-
tinued to call - their teacher had given out the number in the class-
room - and they had the pleasure of talking with elderly blind people.
Of course, the elderly were happy to hear younger voices. This was
particularly appealing to all concerned because young and middle age
members of M.A.B. are quite effectively segregated and isolated from
one another.

The postal strike likewise put an end to the mailing schedule
at the Lethbridge Centre for the handicapped, although a number of
physio-therapists distributed the brochures by hand to their patients.
Up to this point the few senior citizens that called The Line had
been given the information directly by hand at a few social activities.

Publicity of the Number of The Line after October 15, 1975

The major publicity for the number of The Line was, therefore,
an article, by Luana Parker published in The Gazette (Montreal) on
October 23rd, (cf. opposite page) and an advertisement appealing to
senior citizens, which appeared two days later in The Montreal Star.

Once the line became public, both French and English C.B.C. net-
works requested further interviews on the new communications concept
for its radio audience. As a result, the number was given out to all

listeners of C.B.C. FM on two morning programmes. In turn, the international shortwave department of C.B.C. picked up the story and broadcast the number to its listeners across the U.S. and abroad. They also specifically broadcast the idea behind the "Iron Curtain" (U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, etc.) as propaganda extolling the virtues of Canadian democracy and free access to communication channels by the public at large. At least three callers from Arizona, South Carolina and Washington called long distance, saying they had heard the item on C.B.C. shortwave and were checking it out for themselves.

Phone freaks from as far as Los Angeles, Albuquerque and Charleston in the U.S., called The Line "free of charge" since they had heard of the new number through the grapevine of "loop lines" or the underground network of information exchange.

Thus, during the week following the story in The Gazette, the people who called the line were those who had been exposed to the following publicity: 1) M.A.B. members who received the brochures or were informed at the school, and subsequently told their friends; 2) Some members of Senior Citizens Organizations who received the brochures by hand, and others who read the ad in The Montreal Star; 3) The reading public in Montreal who read the article in The Gazette; 4) The radio listening audience of both English and French C.B.C. on two weekday mornings; 5) The shortwave listening audience in the U.S. and overseas; and, 7) Friends who passed the information by word of mouth as a result of hearing about it from any of the above publicity; e.g. the grapevine of the telephone freaks throughout the U.S. and Canada.

Despite this rather shaky start, within the first week of full

operation, an astounding 5,000 people a week were dialing the number. The network analysis model on the opposite page illustrates the range and different methods of publicity.

Response to Publicity after October 15, 1975

Perhaps the most effective means of explaining how people interacted on The Line is to give the following short examples of conversations illustrating different reactions.

The numbers which appear in brackets next to the names at the top of the three conversations indicate the approximate ages of each speaker. This format will be used for all conversations.

Charles - C (86) and George - G (60)

C   You might have horned in on the date.

G   Well, I guess I was - well, I figure you know, they're having fun - ah, what the heck.

C   That's the first time I've heard of anybody dating on this new get-up. Good idea.

G   Well, you know, I'll tell you something different about this; we can communicate regardless of age, colour, sex, nothing. Don't make no difference. And where else in Montreal can you do that?

C   Sure. Yeah, that's right.

G   Nowhere. Like supposing me at forty years old was to walk up to a chick fifteen years old - no way. On the phone? Yeah, I can do that, you know. So...a communication medium didn't exist before this line - so you get on and you find someone, you can't always establish a reliable means of communication...

C   Well, just to pass the time anyway.

G   Yeah.

C   So what are your main interests?

G   Well, I fix T.V.'s.

C   I beg your pardon?

G   I said, I repair T.V.'s.

C   Oh yes.

G   What do you do?

C   I don't do much of anything except I do a lot of writing, reading. I get all my reading though on record, from the C.N.I.B.

G   Oh yeah.

C   Besides that I'm in a wheelchair, but I get around. I was down to Nova Scotia this summer and I was out to Calgary in the spring. Usually I don't do enough. I should get out; can't really - lot of steps here makes it hard.

G   Where are you located?

C   I'm over in Greenfield Park in the Senior Citizens....

G   Yeah, puts some limitation on your movement.

C   Was that someone else getting on the line?

G   It could be. Hello? Anybody there?

Joseph - J (18) Mike - M (53) Sally - S (64) and George - G (60)

J   Hi, how's everyone?

M   You're the fourth one on the line - so I guess we've got all the
     lines tied.

S   Everything's all tied up. That's good.

G   Well, I guess I'll leave for someone else to come on now.

M   Okay. Well see you again. What's your name?

J   My name is Joseph.

M   What you doin' with yourself, Joseph?

J   Well, I go to school some of the time.

M   You go to school still, eh? How come you're calling this number?

J   Well, I don't know. .I've just heard about it before and it was -
     I heard it was started by a teacher at the school I go to and just
     was sort of curious as to whether this was a true story that someone
     had told me, so I decided to call up and find out. And it's very
     interesting.

M   Well I read about it in the paper - The Gazette or The Star - I
     think The Gazette. There was quite a big spread. I thought it was
     a wonderful idea.

J   Yeah, it's really a great idea - good to get people to talk to
     each other. It's very hard to make contact with people you don't know.

M   But if you're studying you must know a lot of people.

J   No, surprisingly not. Not really.

M   I thought this was more for lonely people. There are thousands of
     them in Montreal.

J   Well, I think we're all probably a little bit lonely. Well, actually
     I can't really stay on. I just wanted to check it out and see what
     it was all about. Okay, bye-bye.

M   Who's still on the line? George?

G   Yeah, I'm still here.

M   Somebody who's still studying. Gosh, you'd think they'd have lots
     of friends to talk to.

G   Yeah, you'd think so, but life is funny...

Mark - M (40), Fran - F (32) and David - D (35)

M   What the heck, that can happen, eh?

F   Tell me something.

M   Yeah.

F   This friend that I was with tonight - we were discussing this. As
     a matter of fact I told him about it - (The Line) and he didn't know,
     and we had a big discussion about it and he said that it was wrong;
     that anybody ringing up there - there's something wrong with them.
     So I didn't admit to calling more than once, and I told him it's
     not true, that there's nice people. Am I right?

M   Well, I'm a nice person - at least that's what I always tell myself.

F   Yeah, but he says it's not possible -- there's too many kooks that
     call up.

M   Oh well.

D   However, I heard a couple on The Line - oh, about 9 o'clock in the
     morning, who were anything but nice.

F   You see this is what he thinks. He thinks that it's just like for
     perverts and people you know, there's something wrong with them.
     And I haven't had that experience yet. I've had only nice people.

M   I'm sure that in The Gazette they didn't put phone numbers for
     perverts.

D   You never know these days. Let's do a little self-analysis. Some-
     body asked me the question earlier and maybe I'll ask it.
     Why did you call the first time Fran and why have you called sub-
     sequently?

F   The first time I called because I was curious.

D   Right, me too. Why do you keep calling back?

F   Because I got to speak to people through different walks of life
     and different professions, different interests and I found them
     interesting.

It is interesting to note that as soon as The Gazette article was printed, the people who instantly took to the idea were Montreal's C.B.'ers and a number of people who had used the test lines in the past. For the citizen's band group it was a natural extension of their method of communication. The number of callers who were reluctant at first to speak were coaxed by the C.B.'ers to join in the conversations.

For some callers the first experience on The Line consisted mainly, of listening in on the discussion and learning how people came on and hung up. Distinguishing which clicks indicated when someone had left the conversation from those which indicated when someone had just connected with the other parties, marked the initial step in understanding how The Line operated. Since there was no gatekeeper (moderator) on the phone, people were at liberty to stay on as long as they wanted and thereby, meet as many newcomers as they wished. Although this factor presented problems later on, as callers remained on The Line in the hope that the others would leave instead, in the beginning everyone was encouraged to talk until they felt they had nothing more to say.

The majority of people were quite fair about the time spent on The Line, and willingly left their places for others to have a turn. Quite spontaneously there evolved out of the context of the situation a special etiquette and a vocabulary for the occasion. A newcomer to The Line, after saying, "Hello," would normally be cautioned to use his first name only and not give out any personal information. If

someone came on the phone and listened, generally the other callers would politely encourage him to participate. In effect, one of the most important findings of The Line was that although this system was unlike anything that people had experienced before, callers from all walks of life, and representing every economic group, were able to adapt to it with ease. Moreover, everyone was very supportive of one another in many different instances. Each person learned how The Line functioned and in turn, relayed the information to any newcomer; thus forming a continual learning and teaching process. Some of the vocabulary that evolved could be explained as follows:

"Listeners" or "The Ears"

This was simply a term referring to a party not participating. As mentioned above, many regulars of The Line confessed later that they had started out as "listeners," often because they had been too shy to speak, yet too curious to hang up. One must remember that the special situation of speaking on The Line forced people to break conventional telephone etiquette; i.e., interrupting a conversation. Since it is frowned upon to eavesdrop on someone's conversation, callers had to adapt to new patterns of interaction.

Frequently, a person did not participate for fear of disturbing the flow of the dialogue. For example, an elderly person would not want to enter into a conversation among three young people discussing their favourite rock group, night spots, etc. (cf. p.117). However, as a "listener," that older caller was allowed the opportunity to hear what the younger generation had to say, and might feel encouraged to

express his opinions. Many parents of teenagers remarked that they
could talk with other teenagers on almost any subject, whereas they
had almost no communication at all with their own children. At times
this was poignant. On one occasion a sixteen year old girl spoke of
her impatience for her driver's license, since she could then buy a
motorcycle, prompting one of the speakers to recount how his own son
of sixteen years had recently been killed in a motorcycle accident.
This father despaired that he had not been succesful in convincing his
child of the dangers, and hoped to impress upon the girl on The Line
the tragic implications of that failure.

There was, however, also a feeling among older people that
they were most likely to be rejected by the younger group if they were
in the minority, and vice versa. "Listeners" did, therefore, play
important roles in their particular "conversations." While four-way
discussions were not uncommon, an average interaction would be com-
prised of three speakers and one "listener" or two speakers and two
"listeners." Needless to say there was little incentive for three
people to listen on a four-way line; however, this Samuel Beckett
situation did at times occur; all parties hoping another would hang up.

Clickers

These people focused attention on themselves by responding to
"yes or no" questions with clicks--one click meaning "no," two meaning
"yes," and three meaning "maybe." On rare occasions this was a genuine
means of prompting a shy caller to talk but more often it was a tire-
some tactic used by pranksters.

"Phone freak" and "loop line"

       "Phone freak" is the name accorded to one who lives on the
underground telephone networks. He uses "blue boxes" to foil the
normal system for billing a call and eludes tracing by calling
test line numbers across the country. The colloquial term for
these test lines is "loop lines," or "the loops." Many who called
The Line found out about these other lines, and subsequently made
arrangements with whomever they were speaking on The Line
to meet on the latter. Because "loops" offer two-way intimacy,
those calling could converse on subjects of a more personal nature
than on The Line and could, morevoer, exchange names and phone num-
bers, if they so desired. In the dating game this was a favourite
method of getting to know someone better—with the freedom to hang
up if one did not want to go all the way and reveal one's name or
telephone number.

<div align="center">PART FOUR</div>

A Brief History of The Line

       A complete history of what happened on The Line over an eight
month period would entail writing a book, and to spend too much time
discribing incidents at length would be inappropriate and irrevelant
to the substance of this dissertation. It is hoped, however, that
the extensive appendix of 26 conversations should give an accurate
indication of how The Line operated, and what kinds of subject matter
were discussed. In addition, the article by Josh Freed which appeared

in The Montreal Star on June 4th 1975, presents a journalist's impression of The Line which should be read as an objective point of view. (cf.   pp. 33-35).

Broadly speaking, for the first ten days after the article appeared in The Gazette, The Line operated remarkably well, largely because people thought that we had control to disconnect any person being a nuisance. Almost every age and socio-economic group responded to the various forms of publicity e.g. a senior executive from Place Ville Marie (one of Montreal's most prestigious skyscrapers) talked freely with an apprentice car mechanic from the east end of town, comparing problems on their job. To give other examples, a few social workers arranged for job interviews with some dejected unemployed callers; and for the first time in their lives, many blind people engaged in conversation with people not prejudiced by their handicap, and provided a welcome opportunity of being treated just like anyone else.

Since the service ran 24 hours a day, different times of day and night tended to produce different patterns of interaction and these in turn differed depending upon whether it was during the week or weekend. Conversation at night (AM) tended to be slower and less animated than that during the day, though this was by no means always the case, especially when the night work force took over The Line. The night work force: security men, computer operators and maintenance men, nurses and police on night shift with time on their hands etc., tended to merge after midnight with those in the habit of staying up

late and those afflicted with insomnia. In turn, the night work force merged with the early risers and day work force e.g. a retired milkman who was in the habit of getting up at 5 a.m. everyday, invariably called then - shift workers who had to be at work by 5 a.m., and mothers who had to feed their children or make box lunches for their husbands etc. to mention only a few.

At the risk of overgeneralizing, morning callers on weekdays were substantially housewives,retired and unemployed people. Lunch breaks drew secretaries, stockbrokers and telephone operators. Afternoons included all of the above and after school, younger children began calling in. The ages of these callers (teenagers), increased as the evening progressed so that by 10 p.m. the median age would be 19 and up. This is a very general outline of some of the patterns, and of course weekend patterns tended to be quite different with a greater variety of age groups and occupations interacting.

Summary Content Analyses of Conversations

As regards teenagers,the question of subject matter and conversation itself should seriously be raised. Our observations of dozens of hours of listening would suggest that teenage interaction is distinguished by a limited range of vocabulary and subject matter bordering on the inarticulate. Instead,communication was effective more at the non-verbal level than the verbal. Background music and endless lists of, "Do you know 'so and so'?" would occupy hours of "discussion". This "group inarticulateness" would not seem to reflect any individual's

intelligence or social background but simply a group phenomenon of
"hanging out". Andrea and Debbie's conversation (vol.2 pp.166-188)
is in this respect an exception and one of the few instances on tape
of two teenagers talking intelligently. Furthermore, this observa-
tion runs counter to the current research that such inarticulateness
is a reflection of socio-economic background with those from higher
economic backgrounds being more articulate. Many of the teenagers
that called came from Montreal's wealthiest neighbourhoods e.g. West-
mount, Hampstead, Cote St. Luc, Town of Mount Royal, and were at
liberty to call often by the fact that they had their own private
phones.

An important thing to remember regarding the subject matter
of conversations is that the situation of The Line forced people to
look for things which they had in common. This varied greatly with
the ages and sex of the callers, and their motives for calling. First,
it should be recognized that the variables of three elderly people and
one teenager tend to present quite different interactions than the re-
verse of three teenagers and an elderly person. As a rule the elderly
people always encouraged a younger person to talk and participate,
whereas teenagers tended to shun anyone older than thirty. The reject-
ion of older people by teenagers, however, should not simply be inter-
preted as a form of selfishness, but remembering their degree of inarti-
culateness amongst themselves, it could be argued that they have not
yet learned to converse (in the proper meaning of the word) in a com-
fortable way with older people, and therefore communication is simply

not possible. Likewise, the variables of four women of similar ages or four men, or three girls and one man or three boys and one girl, all affect the subject matter and type of interaction which would evolve in their respective conversations.

General Observations Concerning Age Groups and Same Sex Conversations

A few generalizations arising from the uniqueness of our data should be mentioned in light of future research. For instance, regarding same sex participants where all four callers were male or female, one generalization that seems to be borne out in many cases is that women together on The Line tended to be much more supportive of one another as a group; i.e., their "bonding" never stimulated aggressive behavior towards each other. While males collectively tended to "bond" most often in the form of "jock talk" or by virtue of shared experiences e.g. unemployment or sports cars etc., they quite frequently became competitive with one another over the outcome of a discussion or argument - who had the faster car or better political analysis etc..

Morevoer, the ages of the people concerned tended to determine the focus of their interaction in quite specific ways. The problems and concerns of each age group tended to span the ages of man in such a way as to suggest the invisible rites of passage at critical periods of life. The following list outlines further generalizations for each age group:

12 - 15   The very young teenagers were mostly concerned with whom
           they knew and where they went to school. Their motives
           for phoning were simply to "get on" and see if they knew
           someone from another school. The more people on extension
           phones on The Line the merrier, but little was ever men-
           tioned beyond the naming process.

15 - 20   Most common problems at these age levels were boyfriend
17 - 20   and girlfriend sagas i.e. dating problems. Other major
           foci of interests were what career to go into - whether
           to go on to college or technical school or drop out - how
           to find a summer job or how to earn enough money to leave
           home and parents.

20 - 25   At this age level subject matter seemed to focus on pros
           and cons of getting married or 'living together' - how to
           get a better job, whether or not to stay in the same field
           or go back to school. For those on unemployment, the major
           focus was how to find a job and whether or not it was all
           worth it.

25 - 30   A number of single parents wondered what they should do
           under the circumstances, whether to remarry and if so how
           to find someone. First marriages would be contemplating
           separation or divorces. The question of getting better
           jobs equal to their talents was frequently mentioned as
           well as the problems of alcoholism.

30 - 40   Fewer people tended to call from this age group for one

30 - 40
cont'd

reason or another, but problems at this level were gen-
erally an expansion of those mentioned at the previous
level, except that people tended to be more resigned and
to expect less from life in general. A number of older
men lusted after teenagers and got nowhere.

40 - 50 Many at this level admitted to feeling lost and disen-
chanted with life for different reasons. Some worried
about how to care for their elderly parents. Loneliness
seemed a major problem and many hoped to meet someone else.
Some found it hard being separated, having brought up their
kids and having little or no contact with them.

50 - 60 Much of the above can be repeated here. Health and the
question of remarriage were frequent issues. Mostly pro-
blems centered around the factor of living alone and hav-
ing few friends.

60 - 70 Widows and widowers again complained of being lonely, of
being forgotten or ignored by their children who had moved
to distant cities with the grandchildren. Health problems
and coping with the death of a spouse were frequently men-
tioned.

70 - 80 Again, much of the above except that many callers lived in
senior citizens homes and complained of having no visitors,
that their children didn't come to see them, that they
suffered from poor health, recent operations etc. and had
nothing to look forward to. They enjoyed talking with
children.

30 - 80   It should be mentioned that between these ages one of

the most common complaints was how difficult it was to

make ends meet - how expensive basic necessities were -

how hard it was to cope with inflation - how impossible

it was for people on fixed incomes to manage.

Coincidences

Because the context of The Line forced people to look for
common experiences and shared interests, a number of coincidences were
revealed:

1) The conversation between Sara, Richard and Tom illustrates
one such coincidence in which Sara's boyfriend Tom is listening to her
evaluation of their relationship. (cf. vol.2 pp. 13-35). But there
were other such incidents:

2) For instance, two unknowing neighbours who had never met,
called from across the same street, figured out their proximity, looked
out their windows and waved to one another.

3) Two callers who figured out that they were born six hours
apart at the same hospital speculated that their mothers must have
known one another in the same maternity ward, and that they must have
been placed next to each other in the same hospital nursery.

4) Two thirty year olds discovered that they had been in grade
one together and had not communicated with each other since that time,
before meeting on The Line.

5) A brother and a sister from different schools called at the
same time each having learned of the number from a different source

and since they adopted different names and lied about their ages, took several minutes to recognize one another.

6) One girl recognized the voices and christian names of two boys who had talked to her on the metro, for just five minutes, three years back.

7) An American from Los Angeles was amazed to hear one of his friends from L.A. on The Line - neither knew the other had left L.A. for the summer.

8) Two people at work in downtown skyscrapers contacted one another at night by signaling with their electric lights, while talking on The Line.

9) Countless teenagers recognized each other from different schools and neighbourhoods, but since this was such a prime focus of interest it is less surprising under the circumstances.

Diversification of The Line

Many different things happened on The Line in addition to normal conversational behavior. For instance, an off duty construction worker was fond of seeking out chess enthusiasts so that he could have a game of chess with someone, as well as a conversation. Communication through music was a favourite pastime among all ages and many would-be performers played their instrument (usually a guitar) to an audience of three. One elderly gentleman played Chopin on his piano whenever there were two listeners. Happy birthday "barbershop trios" were not uncommon and during the Christmas season, carol singing was quite popular especially as one regular caller, a retired entertainer and organist, was

fond of playing his electric organ as he directed the carols.
Among teenagers, there were many frustrated disc jockeys who fre-
quently took turns to play their favourite songs to each other;
discovering what kind of music a person liked was an important method
of relating among teenagers. A number of games were invented - one
particularly, "Canadian roulette" developed as a voluntary means of
rotating in the search for an "ideal" new caller. People took turns
to hang up and then re-dial as quickly as possible to get back on.
Since it was always a matter of seconds before someone "got on" the
free line, this method worked quite successfully, and generated con-
siderable excitement for the participants.

Unique dial-a-chat service

By JOSH FREED

It's 4:15 in the morning and Freda, a 40-year-old married housewife is saying her telephone goodnights to two strangers: Jean, 30, a divorced mother of two, and a genial fellow with a deep voice who goes by the name Napoleon.

''G'night Jean. . .Bye Napoleon. . .'' bids Freda. . . ''speak to you guys soon.''

''G'night Freda'' comes the mumbled chorus of responses.

''Huuuuuhh. . . .huuuuuhh. . . . .h-uuuuuhh . . . gasps a fourth voice on yet another receiver somewhere in the city. But it's nothing to be concerned about — it's only ''the breather'' saying good-night in his own special way. Freda bids him a fond farewell too.

The four parties hang up and the circuit goes dead, but not for long; within moments four new voices are chatting the night away, and North America's most unusual phone line hums once again.

Originally set up as an unorthodox dial-a-chat service for elderly, infirm and just plain lonely people, ''the line'' as it is known to its users, has caught on with all walks of Montreal life.

Handling up to four callers at a time, 24 hours a day the line can be reached by simply dialing 790-0951. After a short clicking sound (assuming it's not busy, which it generally is), you're on ''the line'' — talking to three people you've never met.

Anyone can call. . .and anyone does. Old people, young people, taxi-drivers and housewives drop in for hours at a time, as though it were a friendly corner restaurant.

So do secretaries, stockbrokers, salesmen, bored Bell telephone operators and even a bevy of chess-playing contruction workers.

Oddballs also take advantage of the line's hospitality. It boasts the assorted collection of characters and kooks would make any psychiatrist proud: From ''breathers'' and ''listeners'' to ''moaners'' and ''grunters'', from dial-clickers and push-tone beepers to Napoleon, Superman and Black Sabbath, Master of the Outer World.

The result is an anonymous, sometimes insane, often ordinary but never boring stream of gab that rushes on from dawn to dusk to dawn again each day.

(click) ''Hello. . .Who's there?'' says a newcomer.

''Pete'' comes the gruff response. ''I'm a cabbie on nightshift.''

''A cab-driver: . .gee. . .'' says a young girl's voice ''. . .aren't you kinda scared that somebody might rob you nowadays?''

''Nah . . . I figure a guy's gotta make a livin' somehow and it beats pushin' broom—''

''Wait! . . .Don't leave me out of the conversation. . .'' breaks in a squeaky female voice gingerly. ''I'm Mary. . .I'm a senior citizen!''

The dialogue moves on rapidly from a discussion of religious education to a spirited debate on how to cook chili. Seven recipes are offered as callers come and go. The only thing they agree on is ''lots of onion and not too much garlic.''

The conversation is interrupted in mid-stream by a new caller who beeps the push tone incessantly. Pete advises the others not to ''pay any attention to this bug. He don't need no crackers with his soup.''

But Mary, an 81-year-old widow who lives alone in a large Hampstead house and calls the line daily, is convinced the beeper is simply shy. She perseveres doggedly until she finds a means to communicate.

One beep will mean yes, she informs the reluctant caller, and two beeps no. The following conversation ensues:

''Are you over 20, dear?''
Beep
''over 40?''
Beep
''Over 50?''
Beep beep
''Well then. . .I think you're probably a 45-year-old female!''
Beep beep beep beep beep comes the ecstatic response. The beeper evidently thrilled by unexpected ability to communicate.

The conversation line itself is an unprecedented idea, the brainchild of two amiable, if somewhat zany, McGill post-graduate students — Ron Blumer, 34, and Robert Moir, 27.

Intrigued by the invention known as the telephone, the two are convinced it has yet-unfathomed potential.

''Just imagine,'' bubbles Ron exuberantly, ''there are thousands — millions — of little multi-colored wires running under our streets and sidewalks, up poles and through the air, taking the attention of almost everyone in the world — from the bedpan orderly to Mao Tse-Tung!

''Telephones are fantastic . . . marvellous . . . all it takes is for someone to plug people into each other. Given that, why should any human being lack someone to talk to?''

Convincing Bell Canada was another matter. The two spent two years haranguing sceptical Bell executives into allowing them to set up the relatively simple city-wide chat system.

Then they spent another six months getting permission from Bell and city police to monitor the line for experimental studies.

Finally, last September, the approved number was given to senior citizen and social agencies around the city, the system was plugged in and the line was officially inaugurated.

Public response was overwhelming from the start, so much so that the founders soon convinced Bell to install a cut-off mechanism which clears the line every hour to give new callers a chance. Its popularity is such that in one day the number was dialed over 3,100 times and 450 people managed to get through.

Robert gleefully recalls some of the line's more memorable incidents. Like the two middle-aged ladies who chatted about their lives for two hours before discovering they had been in the same Grade One classroom 25 years ago.

Another time two men who conversed regularly for a week found out they lived on the same block. Looking out their windows, the two waved to each other.

Christmas eve was absolutely unforgettable. A caller named Ron hauled out his piano and led fresh waves of callers in a merry night of Christmas carolling.

Unfortunately, the cost of the line has proved as overwhelming as the response. Bell has been charging over $400 a month to keep the system going. With no outside source of funds, Robert Moir has been footing the bill himself.

He's already in the hole some $3,200, and because of this he's closing down the line shortly while he searches for outside funds or a vastly reduced rate from Bell. Despite his losses however, he has few regrets:

"The line has succeeded beyond our wildest expectations. It's proved just how much potential there is for this kind of service.

"Personally I've grown kind of addicted to it. I'm always checking to see what's going on just in case I'm missing anything interesting. You never know. . .the 'perfect conversation' may be one call away."

If it is, he'll hear it. In the middle of his bedroom sit two huge speakers which live-broadcast the line.

Right now it's early afternoon, and as he talks the speakers sputter and squawck incessantly as George, an Irish widower, tells his problems to Kate, a doctor's secretary, during their lunch breaks.

Since his wife died, George laments, he can't seem to "meet any girls," despite going frequently to YMCA dances. He's very discouraged and wants to know if Kate can "offer any advice."

She inquires "How do you dress for the YMCA dances?"

"Umm. . .usually in a red jacket, with a red tie and sometimes I wear a red carnation!" comes the timid but pleased reply.

"Well, there's one problem," she informs him flatly, relaying a litany of social instructions that cover how to dress, order a drink and correctly ask a woman to dance. "Make sure you don't seem interested until at least the fourth date." she advises.

"So that's another rule, is it?" chimes George after every tidbit of advice. The sound of frantic note-taking is evident in the background.

"Nine out of 10 times you see two women sitting together at a dance, they're there to get picked up? I never knew that!"

No sooner have the two hung up than regulars Freda and Jean are on the line discussing Freda's storm windows. But they are interrupted by "Superman," an arrogant West Island car dealer. He's one of the line's several villains.

"Is storm windows all you ladies have to talk about?" he taunts with obvious satisfaction. "I can't help saying this is one of the most boring conversations I've listened to in a long time."

"Is that so?" retorts Jean, a simple, ingenuous soul who is rarely shy to display her feelings on the phone. "Well listen here, smarty-pants. . .this isn't what you'd call an above-average genius line. It's for ordinary people who don't have much else to talk about except their daughter in the Brownies or the chicken in the oven.

"Today we just happen to be talking about storm windows. If you're too smart for it, just go dial yourself another number."

"Y'know, it's funny," Jean later tells us over the telephone. "Normally I'm very shy. I never have the nerve to talk to someone I don't know. On the line, I'm another person. I can't see them and they can't see me, so I don't mind saying anything that's on my mind. I've talked to some of the people for over 100 hours. . .but if I met them tomorrow in a bar or restaurant, I'd probably be too shy to say a word."

While the line is mostly warm chatter, it has had moving success stories. Recently a social worker found jobs for several chronic unemployed he met on the line, while an elderly lady got advice from a young lawyer on how to deal with her landlord.

One day a young mother who admitted beating her child said she was on the brink of suicide. She stayed on the line an incredible 36 hours and consumed a 24-pack of beer before an intern finally convinced her to turn her baby over to an agency and consult a psychiatrist.

Perhaps the most heart-warming story of all has been that of Lucie, a 45-year old French-Canadian whose life was changed completely. Born in Northern Quebec, Lucie had lived in Montreal for 15 years without making a single friend, she used to stay at home for months on end without receiving a single phone call.

When a social agency advised her of the line several months ago, she started calling regularly. Now she's "phone friends" with several people, especially Freda and her blind husband Ronnie.

One night Lucie took the big jump and agreed to meet them for supper. They hit it off like old friends, which in a way they were. Lucie has built similar friendships since with other callers. Through Ronnie and Freda she's become a volunteer worker for the Association for the Blind, in fact she is now so busy she rarely has time to call the line.

"For years I hated Montreal," Lucie says. "I had completely given up hope of meeting people. This whole thing is like a miracle."

It's now late afternoon in Robert' house and the line buzzes with kids just out of school. They use the line as a dating agency, giggling, and asking questions like: "What color is your hair" or "What school do you go to?"

By six o'clock most of the kids are eating supper, and two older women talk to a bachelor mechanic who complains he spends all of his money eating out.

"Why don't you learn to cook something?" asks one woman.

"Like what?" replies the mechanic skeptically.

"A casserole . . . I can give you a delicious recipe."

"A casserole? Are you kidding? I can't make instant coffee! You got to chop up vegetables, wash dishes, all that crap. I ain't no bloody housewife!" A river of dialogue streams on through the night as a virtual town full of people come and go. Eventually Jimmy the Joker comes on with his nightly comedy act. Tonight he has a new variety — civil servant jokes.

"Why doesn't the civil servant look out the window in the morning?" he asks. "Because he'd have nothing to do in the afternoon."

Guffaws fill the line, and the Joker charges into another one.

"How do you kill a blue elephant?"
No answer . . .
"With a blue elephant gun!"
"Ahhhhhh..." groans the chorus.
"Now . . . how do you kill a green elephant?"
Silence . . .
"Twist his trunk until he's blue — then shoot him with a blue elephant gun!!"

And so the night rattles on. Finally it's 1:15 a.m., and Robert moves to turn off the speakers and let the all-night chatters carry on alone.

As he does a new caller with a Big Bad Wolf voice clicks on and growls: "Hello d'ere. Who's dat?"

"Hello . . ." comes familiar grandmotherly reply. "Im Mary . . . a senior citizen. I live in Hampstead."

"Well . . . hello d'ere Mary . . ." rasps the first voice. "This here s the Wolfman . . . Wolfman Jack."

Mary's nervous, she doesn't much care for Wolfmen. It's rather late anyway, so perhaps she'd best be off to b. . .

After eight months of service to Montrealers who want to chat, "the line" is closing down due to a lack of funds.

But the Wolfman's feelings have been hurt. He assures her is "friendly wolfman" who "causes no-o-o trouble."

Actually . . ." he continues, still gruff but more friendly, "I'm a maintenance man at Alexis Nihon Plaza. I'm 62, and I'm usually a shy guy . . . but somehow when I become Wolfman, I'm a friendly fellow.

"Why don't you give me a chance, Mary" he perseveres. "Isn't there anything Wolfman can do for you?"

The line is still for several seconds as Mary pauses to re-consider. She hesitantly admits there is something troubling her: She's been having "a devil of a time" understanding the weather since they switch to Celsius.

"Mary . . ." comes the reply, "You are in luck . . . it jus' so happens that Wolfman is a ex-pert at farenheit and celsius. Here . . . lemme tell you watcha do!" And like something out of a fairy tale, the Wolfman of Alexis Nihon Plaza patiently explains the intricacies of metric conversion to Mary of Hampstead.

He moves slowly like an elementary school teacher, repeating each step carefully until Mary finally claims to have a grip on the subject. Then he gives a husky chuckle and growls: "Bye now Mary . . . you take care."

A quiet pause, then . . .

"Bye Wolfman . . ." squeaks Mary fondly. ". . . and God bless you."

The two phones click down and the circuit goes completely quiet. Robert reaches out and flicks off the speakers. New conversations, he knows, are certain to fill the line all night. For a little while longer at least.

For some time in the next few days, one small switch among the thousands in Bell's main terminal will be moved over so slightly and change all that. The closed switch cut off the line, and dozens of once-lonely people will presumably be lonely again. Founders Ron and Robert will be left with a lot of work to do.

The two will go to see Bell Canada, and they also seek private and public contributions. They'll do anything they can to see if they can somehow save what's proved to be an awfully good idea.

This process may take weeks, months or years — but eventually, fate and the telephone company willing, it's hoped Mary, Wolfman and the many other personalities who have brought the line to life these last eight months will get to talk again.

CHAPTER TWO

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

OF CONVERSATION ANALYSIS AND

SELF-DISCLOSURE MODELS

When you fall into a man's conversation, the first
thing you should consider is whether he has a greater
inclination to hear you, or that you should hear him.

> Addison and Steele
> The Spectator No. 49
> April 26th 1711

In short, there were models of communication in each of
the classical disciplines and it seemed important to
determine WHICH was true. (...) We were the blind men
EXAMINING DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE ELEPHANT.

> Albert E. Scheflen
> Organisation of Behaviour
> In Face-to-Face Interaction 1975

The aim of this chapter is to situate the critical and his-
torical background of dyadic conversation analysis in the field of
interpersonal communication with a view to establish a proper methodo-
logical approach for the analysis of self-disclosure. The nature of
the chapter is thus twofold - to survey the theoretical models and
methodological approaches of different disciplines on the one hand,
and to select and illustrate the paternity of one particular approach
on the other, with a view to develop a working typology incorporating
the range of patterns for making assertions and questions of self-
disclosure:

Scheflen's Analysis and Critique of Signal and and Format Models

> A decade ago a conference on communication used always
> to end up as an argument among three points of view. The
> psychological theorists advocated an expression theory;
> the social-psychological people advanced an interaction-
> al approach which was then a stimulus-response or an
> action-reaction concept. And the culturally oriented
> participants advanced concepts of codes, linguistic or
> kinesic. Then the members of each of these fronts would
> fall to arguing with each other. The expression theorist
> would disagree about what was being expressed: traits,
> drives, emotions, values and so on. The interactionalists
> would argue about aspects of information theory and almost
> everyone argued that verbal was more important than non-
> verbal, or vice versa. ... In short, there were models of
> communication in each of the classical disciplines and it
> seemed important to determine WHICH was true.[1]

Scheflen's historical insight is taken from his paper Models and
Epistemologies in the Study of Interaction which was delivered to
the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological
Sciences in 1975 - an interdisciplinary symposium focused on the
issues of organization of behaviour in face-to-face interaction. The

purpose of his paper was to evaluate the progress made in different disciplines in the field towards the evolution of a systems epistemology. Scheflen's insight above was clearly meant to illustrate that one of the major drawbacks of early communications symposiums was that the intended cross-fertilization of ideas was often set back by the defense through disciplinary loyalties to one or other of the classical disciplines. In a pre-systems era scholars often suffered from the stubbornness and myopia of what could be called the "elephant syndrome". Since there was no Einstellung comprehensive enough to integrate different disciplines the temptation was for each discipline to argue for purposes of the floor only. This particular dilemma is still widely current in any disciplinary field. But, as Scheflen points out, it can only be resolved when people recognize why they are talking at cross-purposes. In other words, an insight into the problem can only be gained when a suitable analogy can help clarify the situation. Scheflen's own analogy pinpoints the issues: "We were the blind men EXAMINING DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE ELEPHANT."[2]

Scheflen's overview of the models and epistemologies in the field of interaction is important because it focuses on some of the epistemological problems of current communications research, and concerns itself directly with some discourse analysis models, which is the subject of this thesis. Moreover, the IXth International Congress is one of the most recent attempts to come to terms with the problems of such an interdisciplinary field, and to gain a consensus of opinion for its future orientation. As such, this particular conference

reflects to a great extent the development of the field and its current research preoccupations and methodological orientations. Furthermore, since Scheflen's paper amounts to a critique of the field it seems worthwhile to compare some of his evaluations with certain results or events arising out of the conference.

Scheflen's consideration of the progress of the field over a decade veils a certain degree of optimism:

> In reading the current literature on interaction one is impressed with the progress in the last decade toward a greater consensus and a more holistic view of the phenomena. I think this change reflects the increasing adoption of a post-Einstein, or systems epistemology. But I also notice how much we are still omitting from our view of interaction and how many loose ends we have. So I think we are still very shaky in our new conceptual base and we have only begun to exploit it. [3]

This optimism, however, is tempered in his conclusion by a degree of "historical pessimism," the knowledge that disciplinary loyalties are hard to break and that professional career advancement more often than not favours those who "promise AN answer." In fact, as he points out,".... the temptation for us to act reductionistically is almost overwhelming." [4] From this point of view, it is not surprising that the evolution of a systems epistemology was beset with reductionist interpretations. For instance in the 1950's when the first version of human communication theory was examined, as Scheflen points out, "People were said to transmit information to each other as if they were telegraphic stations." [5]

It is, moreover, worth noting that when Scheflen discusses examples of the evolution of systems epistemology, he focuses on progressively more complex models of discourse analysis structures,

from what he calls programmic models of human communication to
communicational programs and metacommunicational models of programs.
To understand Scheflen's argument fully, it might be best to give
his definition of a programmic model:

> In a programmic model of human communication the focus is
> upon interaction but it is perceived that the interaction
> is governed by a convention or format. So communication
> is no longer seen as in simple expression or response terms.
> ...These approaches recognize that the behavior of inter-
> action can be determined by what is expected to happen
> as well as what HAS happened. So these programmic models
> include certain cybernetic or systems concepts.[6]

As an example of a format and signal model, Scheflen focuses on one
of the more currently examined features of discourse analysis, namely
the format of taking speech turns:

> The most simplistic of this new order of models describes
> a convention for taking turns and identifying certain cues
> or signals which guide the speaking order. I will call
> these "format and signal models."
> In the more structural and descriptive versions of this
> approach the behavioral contributions of one, then another,
> participant are described and the rules for speaking order
> are abstracted. Many workers in this version have had train-
> ing in structural linguistics so they describe the juncture
> behaviors of language and the role of these as segmenting
> the stream of behavior. These researchers also take note
> of facial, postural proxemic, and other cues by which
> participants indicate that they are taking or relinquishing
> the floor. In the more cognitively oriented versions
> cognizance is taken of a participant'sknowledge of what
> has gone on before, of the arrival of his turn, and of the
> likely shape of what is to come.[7]

Further, it is important in the context of this thesis to outline
in some detail Scheflen's personal critique of these particular format
and signal models, because it is thus possible to evaluate the merits
of our own research data and to justify our particular methodological
approach in the light of the standards which Scheflen has set

through his critique of the field. Therefore, we shall give the
reasons why Scheflen finds these signal and format models inadequate,
and for what other reasons he finds the data used as research material
unacceptable:

1) In their present usage these format and signal models are
   not adequate from a cultural point of view. They do not
   take cognizance of the relation of the format to insti-
   tution and cultural contexts.

2) Furthermore, most social-psychological ideas about
   communicational formats are derived from the paradigms
   of didactic interaction or else those of psychotherapy.
   As a consequence many authors describe interaction as a
   relationship between two people or between a person and
   a group of people in dyadic interaction. In these in-
   stitutional interactions the roles are usually asymmet-
   rical, so the formats call for one member of the dyad to
   do most of the talking. As a result, interaction is
   pictured as a long monologue to which rather short re-
   sponses are occasionally made.

3) More recently, the seminar has come to be used as the para-
   digmatic format for interaction. In this case the parti-
   cipants are said to take turns in speaking. In either
   case the emphasis usually is upon the speech behaviour of
   transaction whenever academic paradigms form the basis of
   communicational analysis and other forms of communicative
   behaviour are relegated to positions labeled "subverbal"
   "nonverbal," or "coverbal."

4) There is one other difficulty with using academic activ-
   ities or psychotherapy as a paradigm for human inter-
   action. (...) Courtship and other important non-language
   sequences usually are interdicted in academic scenes and
   in psychotherapy, and certain of the political and economic
   contexts of everyday interaction are missing from these
   scenes.

5) When the academic and clinical researcher turns to the
   examination of activities in everyday life he finds very
   different forms of communicational relations. Third,
   fourth and other parties are often assembled around a
   central axis of individual or dyadic activity, and the
   locus of conversation shifts from axis to axis and from
   place to place. In informal interactions no one person
   usually is permitted to hold forth in long monologues. The
   taking of turns, which characterizes the formal institutional

procedure in cultures of British derivation, is replaced
by a competition for floor rights or a simultaneous and
overlapping pattern of speaking order.[8]

In the light of the above critique, Scheflen strongly cautions against

current trends in the field of structuring models upon academic

contexts and presenting these as exemplary paradigms for human inter-

action in general, on the one hand, and for a tendency to relegate

metacommunicational behavior as a subsidiary action of language be-

havior on the other:

6) Now, obviously I am not denying the right of academic
    workers to study such scenes nor do I wish to denigrate
    their importance in human affairs, but I am saying that
    WE MUST NOT USE THESE SPECIAL TYPES OF COMMUNICATIONAL
    STRUCTURE AS PARADIGMS FOR HUMAN COMMUNICATION IN GENERAL.

7) We cannot afford to fall into a dichotomy which holds that
    the language behavior of a communicational event is inter-
    actional or communicational and the non-language behavior is
    simply a means of cueing who is to speak or signalling what
    is supposed to happen.

Our Telephone Data in the Light of Scheflen's Critique

If we examine our research data in the light of Scheflen's

critique taking one point at a time, we can arrive at the following

conclusions. Bearing in mind the nature of our unique telephone

system and its method of publicity both through radio and newspaper,

it can be said to have reached into the homes of a very wide cross-

section of the population of Montreal. Consequently, in relation to

Scheflen's first point the cultural contexts of our material are as

varied as the number of people in their homes or at work who responded

to the specific media exposure over a period of months. As regards

points 2) and 3), since our monitoring of the data did not take

place in an academic or institutional context, in either a didactic
interaction or a seminar framework, the roles of the participants
cannot be said to have been unnaturally asymmetrical if this in
fact proves to be the case. Directly arising out of this is the
nature of our problem - that of finding a suitable paradigm for the
analysis of such multi-contextual interaction. What is clear is
that we cannot accept any of the academic formats or models current-
ly in favour as outlined in 2) and 3). To answer point number 6),
what is needed is precisely a paradigm of human communication in
general that is applicable to the systems of operation of this unique
telephone medium and which can provide a structural analysis of the
interaction of its participants.

Moreover, in response to point 7) the nature of the telephone
medium itself prevents us from falling into the dichotomy neglecting
the importance of visual metacommunication, which does not mean to
imply that there is not a paralinguistic repertory of metacommunication
on the telephone but merely that normal visual cues of interaction
are absent. Regarding points 4) and 5), precisely because contexts of
everyday interaction are present, including courtship sequences and
competition for floor rights, one must attempt to come to terms with
a paradigm that is both comprehensive enough and effective for the
analysis of such multicontextual discourse and such varied group
interaction; and it is hoped one which ultimately can provide us with
meaningful patterns or "rules" of behavior for human communication
in general. This is no easy task.

Scheflen, however, provides us with more advanced models than

the format and signal models, which he calls communicational programs

and metacommunicational models of programs. It is also worthwhile to

examine these in the light of our data and thus, for semantic reasons,

it is advisable · to quote Scheflen's definition of the meaning of

"programs" and to realize that his meaning of the term metacommuni-

cational is identical to Bateson's original distinction of the term:

> To gain an idea of programs we should first make explicit
> the definition of interaction which has come into common
> usage. In the interactional event the behavior of one par-
> ticipant influences the next behavior of at least one other
> participant, and this influence in turn is discernible in
> whatever action comes next. So the construct of inter-
> action defines an interdependency in participant action
> which is manifest through time.[10]

Although Scheflen recognizes that behavioral interdependence is quite

relative in degree even to the extent that some people can be said to

act "TRANScontextually" in Bateson's terms, the function of this term

is implicit in most systems models of interaction. At the more com-

plex systems level of communicational programs and metacommunicational

models of programs Scheflen claims that the format and signal model

can be distinguished along with other syncronous behavior programs.

At this level:

> The format and signal model has been supplemented by a
> description of signals which indicate the completion of
> one utterance and thus signal the permissibility of a
> next one. These same instructional behaviors have been
> studied by those who favor a more complicated model of
> coactional and interactional programs, but a much wider
> range of regulatory behavior also have been described.
> This kind of behavior can be linguistic, paralinguistic,
> tactile (Trager and Smith 1956; Birdwhistell 1961); kinesic
> (Bateson 1956; Birdwhistell 1952 1970); postural (Scheflen
> 1964, 1972 1973a 1973b) tactile (Scheflen 1972); and/or [11]
> proxemic (Hall 1963; Scheflen 1972; Erickson, this vol.)
> ...Thus behaviors of this class have a regulatory or

cybernetic function to the performances of a communica-
tional program. They have been distinguished, therefore,
from the official communicational activities...as "meta-
communicational."[12]

Continuing with the earlier example of the format and signal model

in the context of turn-taking, Schelfen illustrates simple metacomm-

unicative behavior programs:

> In the simplest case a participant simply adds a metacom-
> municative act to his performance. For example, a speaker
> drops his pitch, eyes and head, sits back and folds his
> arms as he finishes speaking and thus relinquishes the
> floor. (Z. Harris 1952; Birdwhistell 1966; Scheflen
> 1966a 1972). He shrugs his shoulders as he declares that
> he is not sure about what to do. He turns and gazes at
> the others raises his pitch and his eyebrows (Birdwhistell
> 1966) and thus signals that someone is to speak in res-
> ponse.[13]

As Scheflen illustrates the major conceptual shift in this systems

epistemology is:

> So, in viewing a program of interaction we need to make a
> conceptual shift which takes us all of the way out of an
> epistemology of "people who." WE WILL SAY THAT THE COMPO-
> NENT FORMATS OF A CUSTOMARY PROGRAM CALL FOR SEQUENCES OF
> BEHAVIOR IN A PARTICULAR MODALITY. BUT MULTIPLE SUCH FOR-
> MATS ARE INTEGRATED SIMULTANEOUSLY AND SEQUENTIALLY IN THE
> COMPOSITION OF THE PROGRAM ITSELF.[14]
>
> ONLY WHEN WE HAVE IDENTIFIED THIS COMPLEX "ORCHESTRATION"
> DO WE ASK WHICH PARTS OF WHOSE BODY ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR
> GIVEN UNIT ELEMENTS AT A PARTICULAR TIME. We can then
> follow this question by asking which relationship carries
> certain themes at given times.[15]

What then is Scheflen's appraisal of the future directions of

the field and its prospects for a greater consensus and integration?

> We now have in hand constructs and operations with which
> we could make a thorough and systematic description of a
> communicational event in space and time. But we still
> have a long way to go if we are to develop a comprehensive
> picture of human communication in the epistemology of
> systems.
>   In the past we have tended to describe relations of
> behavior either in spatial OR in temporal terms, and we
> have not yet brought these together. We can describe

behavioral relations in a given event <u>but we will not
establish the dynamics of systematic change until we
have compared many like events, noted many variations,
and related each of these to changes in the context of the
event.</u> ...In short we now have some analagous but separate
pictures of various local fields of behavior.[16]   (Underlin-
ing added.)

In the light of the above, we can infer that a valid objective for the
methodological analysis of our telephone data should be to establish
an overview of the dynamics of systematic change of discourse turn-
taking or sequencing interaction. Given the nature of the telephone
medium the dynamics of interaction can only be examined in temporal
terms. But this, in itself, together with the nature of our experi-
ment can prove to be an asset, in that by isolating the interaction
to a temporal and nonvisual level, one can examine the dynamics of
interaction from the identical objective conditions under which the
participants themselves experienced the process of interaction.
Given that the dynamics of interaction exist on a temporal plane only,
we can begin to formulate specific questions that can lead us to a
better understanding of the structural organization of discourse
sequencing and turn-taking. For example, can one categorize the
variety of discourse utterances in a meaningful way that can be
applied in widely different contexts? In other words, can one form-
ulate a working typology of question and assertion sequences that can
reveal anything meaningful about the structural dynamics of interact-
ion? Do any such models exist? How can one measure how the "flow"
of interaction is controlled?

Models of Discourse Analysis Presented at the IXth International Conference

Now that we have examined the nature of our data in the light of Scheflen's critique, and clarified certain objectives and questions regarding the nature of our methodological approach, let us examine whether we can build upon any other methodological approaches or models presented by other sources at the IXth International conference. Let us also examine in the light of Scheflen's evaluation, to what extent this particular conference, as opposed to previous ones, showed signs of progress through a greater consensus of opinion on specific research areas. It is valid, we believe, to go into some detail into what happened at the conference, and what topics were focused upon for attention, because as a recent phenomenon that brought together scholars from many disciplines to discuss the behavior of interaction, it does reflect the current orientation and development of the field. It is thus worthwhile to quote Kendon's synopsis of the orientation for this conference in its relation to previous conferences:

> The approach to interaction and the behavior of inter-
> action represented by the present conference departs in
> several ways from the approaches referred to above.
> First of all, the focus is upon systems of behavior
> rather than upon systems of motivation, intent, or effect.
> Second, the focus is upon interaction itself rather than
> upon the behavior of individuals or upon the consequences
> of interaction for individuals. The starting point of
> this perspective, thus, is the interdependency of the
> behavior of individuals that obtains whenever they are in
> one another's presence. Endeavor, in this perspective,
> is to understand how OCCASIONS OF INTERACTION are organ-
> ized. The encounter is taken as a starting point - the
> conversation, the greeting, the interview--and one seeks

> to understand how the behavior that participants
> make use of within such occasions functions in the
> creation of them. In other words, in this perspec-
> tive the concern is with the behavior characteristic
> of occasions of interaction and with its significance
> for those occasions.[17]   (Underlining added)

It seems as Kendon points out, that much attention was focused at

the conference on aspects of conversation and on turn-taking in

particular:

> ...we spent a considerable amount of time on the CONVERSA-
> TION. This is in part because such interactional occas-
> ions can be recorded fairly easily-at least as far as
> the speech featured in them is concerned-and also, of
> course because all of us are conversationalists, we are
> all aware, if only dimly, that conversation, for all its
> variety, has an orderliness to it that can be described.
> One feature of conversation to which much attention was
> paid is that in conversation speakers TAKE TURNS. There
> was some disagreement, in discussion, as to what, exactly,
> is meant by a "turn" in conversation. That conversation-
> alists do take turns, however, was seen as a major fea-
> ture of conversation, and more than one paper was devoted
> to the question of how this ordering of behavior, the
> taking of turns is brought about.[18]   (Underlining added)

It is not necessary here to document fully the two conceptually

and methodologically opposed camps that confronted the issue of turn-

taking, but it is interesting to note that a split did arise over the

question of whether turn-taking was an innately human device for time

sharing information or whether it is the product of learned behavioral

rules governed by a set of turn-taking signals. In either case, it is

important to point out that there was no consensus of opinion, even

for that matter on the issues concerning the semantic definitions of

the terms CONVERSATION and TURN. As Kendon mentions:

> Another reason why the controversy about the universality
> of conversational rules could not be resolved, and why

the discussion of it could not go further, was because the
issue of what a TURN is and what a CONVERSATION is was never
really resolved. These terms seem transparent enough when we
start to use them, yet as soon as we begin careful discussion
we find that they are frought with ambiguity. <u>Great care in
the use of words as we write and talk in this area would seem
to be at a premium, for there is as yet no generally acceptable
vocabulary.</u>[19] (Underlining added)

Moreover, Kendon provides an answer to one of our previous questions,

"How can one measure how the "flow" of interaction is controlled?" by

the fact that this imporant issue though <u>raised</u> in a few papers was

never fully discussed:

> However, this lack of agreement about what counts as a con-
> versation or what counts as a turn in a conversation refers
> us to another issue of great importance in this area which,
> though raised in a number of different papers in the confer-
> ence, was yet never really discussed. This is the issue of
> behaviour structure, <u>the question of how the flow of behaviour
> may be divided into its various strands and segmented into its
> various units.</u> 20 (Underlining added)

It would seem, then, that there was no particular methodological approach

on this issue that was discussed at this conference, and that therefore,

any degree of consensus of approach in this area has yet to materialize.

It is, however, important to clarify the different approaches to the meaning

of turn-taking because the underlying issues are the same as those dealing

with the problems of the measurement of the flow of interaction. To quote

Kendon again:

> To take the disagreement about what counts as a turn once
> again, it seemed that this disagreement arose because some
> wanted to see the term in a FUNCTIONAL sense, while others
> wanted to define the term in terms of some particular be-
> haviour, for example a period of continuous speech. Yet
> even among those who favored a non-functional definition,
> there was disagreement about just which aspects of behaviour
> the term might be said to point to.[21]

From this, one would infer that the progress which Scheflen had anti-

cipated in the field had not been fully realized and the results of

the conference would tend to suggest that it was hard for the participants to suspend their methodological biases temporarily. This is to be expected in its context and by no means implies that the conference was not a success, but it does illustrate the degree in which the field can be considered still in its infancy. Kendon further describes the problems concerning different interpretations of audio-visual records of interaction shown at the conference:

> In the comments that the various participants made on the material, differences in the way in which behavior can be described and analyzed became sharply apparent. Some people as they commented on such material, characterized what they saw in dispositional terms: they said they saw DOMINANCE or AVERSION or that particular behavior as a case of someone TAKING A TURN. Others attempted to stick more closely to units of behavior and refrain from giving them functional names in the first instance. Yet even here there was disagreement, for behavior is continuous; it appears to have a multi-layered structure; and unless we agree upon a clear notion of this structure, even simple matters, such as whether or not a series of head movements (say) should be grouped into one unit or separated into several parts, cannot be resolved. [22]

In summary, then, one can say that a major focus of the IXth International Conference was the conversation, and that much attention was paid to the behavior of turn-taking with little consensus of opinion as to the proper methodological approach in this area. Starkey Duncan Jr's paper Interaction Units during Speaking Turns seems to have provided an excellent format and signal model of a micro-structural interaction c f. Figure one. However, in the light of Scheflen's critique one must not make the error of taking this paradigm as a model for human communication in general. For the data are based upon interview situations within an academic con-

text and thus are subject to the criticism of Scheflen's point number 2) cf. p. 41. . Furthermore, as a format and signal model for such a small unit of analysis it is doubtful whether in our context it can be useful to establish the broader dynamics of telephone interaction. It does raise the question that if on the phone there is no noticeable delay in turn-taking interaction even without the use of any visual cues, how is it accomplished? In fact, turn-taking interaction in closing sequences of conversations can be so rapid as to exceed one per second. Another issue which Duncan's model raises is to what extent disciplinary loyalties persist in the field and to what extent independent studies coexist in the field for there is no reference in his bibliography to a similar format model designed by the Sacks-Schegloff school and vice versa.

Since it is apparent from what Kendon reported of the converence that "there is no generally acceptable vocabulary" in the area of discourse analysis and that the methodological biases of participants made it impossible to resolve basic issues, it would seem wise to clarify some of the different approaches and thereby gain an overview of the multi-disciplinary field that has come to be grouped under the area known as sociolinguistics. Unless one has an overview of the different methodological approaches and biases of those currently engaged in discourse analysis, it becomes quite difficult to have a clear perspective on the progress and orientation of the field through its literature.

Sociolinguistic Approaches to Discourse Analysis

Sociolinguistics has recently become an area of study which has attracted many scholars of different disciplines to present their papers on aspects of discourse analysis under this common forum of interest. However, because of the interdisciplinary nature of this field one cannot yet speak of any clearly defined consensus of approach other than a common objective to research socially, linguistically and contextually-oriented subject matter. Because it is a rapidly growing field, one of its major problems seems to be a lack of any readily available material defining from which disciplines and orientations scholars have gravitated and for what reasons they have converged on this area. It appears that in many cases the reasons are varied and different and there is still a certain amount of confusion as to those who claim to constitute the field, those who claim to be associated with the field through publications but still define themselves through their primary discipline, and those who are associated with the field by others and who disclaim any association with it at all. Therefore, from our context of analyzing what discourse analysis models are currently in use and from our attempt to distinguish which if any may be methodologically suitable for the purposes of our orientation, we have decided to make an arbitrary classification of some of the major leaders in the field and to outline their points of departure or primary academic discipline so as to trace their subsequent methodological change of orientation. Only in this way, we believe, is it possible to gain an understanding of the development of the field and an appreciation of the diversity of its academic backgrounds and approaches.

SCHEMA OF

AUTHORS RELATED TO DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND THE FIELD OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS

POINT OF DEPARTURE:

PRIMARY DISCIPLINE: _____ NEW ORIENTATION ------------INFLUENCE

ANTHROPOLOGY Boas, Kroeber, Sapir (1921) Language -----------------------------
_____ ETHNOGRAPHIC: Gumperz (1962) The Ethnography of
                            Speaking
        (1964)   Gumperz and Hymes (eds) The Ethnography of Com-
                            munication
        (1972)   Directions in Sociolinguistics --------------
----------- Baumann and Scherzer.

        _____Bateson (1972) Steps to an Ecology of Mind (1969) Double Bind

LINGUISTICS (1916)Saussure Lecture Notes, Whorf (1956) Language, Thought
                            & Reality
_____ SOCIOLINGUISTICS: ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF SPEECH
        (1972) LabovLanguage and its Social Context, (1972) Ritual Insults
        (1972) Lakoff Language and Context, (1973) Fillmore May We Come In?

        _____ SOCIOLINGUISTICS: (1975) Thorne & Henley Language & Sex

LITERATURE Burke (1945) A Grammar of Motives, (1966) Language as Symbolic
                            Action

MEDICINE   _____ CLINICAL SOCIOLOGY: Lennard and Bernstein
&   (1969) Patterns in Human Interaction
PSYCHOTHERAPY

                _____ CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY: Matarazzo and Weins
                            (1972) The Interview: Research on its Anatomy & Structure

                _____ TRANSACTIONAL ANALYSIS: Berne
                            (1961) Transactional Analysis in Psychotherapy
                            (1972) What do you say after you say hello?

PHILOSOPHY Wittgenstein, Austin, Griece, (1965) Searle What is a Speech Act?

PSYCHOLOGY   _____ PSYCHO-SOCIOLINGUISTICS: Ervin-Tripp
                            (1964) Analysis of the Interaction of Language, Topic
                            and Listener, (1967) Sociolinguistics.
                            (1968) Fishman Reading in the Sociology of Language
                            (1971) Advances in the Sociology of Language

                _____ SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: (1976) Danziger Interpersonal
                            Communication

SOCIOLOGY Goffman (1961)Encounters, (1964) Neglected Situation ---------
                _____ ETHNOMETHODOLOGY: (1964) Garfinkel ------------
                -------------- (1967) Studies in Ethnomethodology Garfinkel
                -------------- (1965) Sacks Lecture Notes
                -------------- (1968) Schegloff Sequencing in Conversational Openings
                ------School: Jefferson, Moerman, Speier, Sudnow,Turner,Twer:
                (1973) Speier How to Observe Face-to-Face Communication

                _____ SOCIOLOGY OF TALK: (1974) Allen and Guy Conversation
                            Analysis

If one examines the schema in the context of the development
of discourse analysis and from what primary disciplines certain
authors converged from   to form the field of socio-linguistics, one
surprising phenomenon is that the field of linguistics itself was
among the slowest to analyze ordinary speech per se. This is all the
more extraordinary because one would have thought that Saussure's
early seminal distinction between langue and parole would have launched
a linguistic inquiry into the significance of parole. However, as
Giglioli in Language and Social Context explains, it appears that
paradoxically Saussure's distinction had the opposite effect:

> For, if langue is defined as a set of grammatical rules
> existing in the mind of everyone, it becomes unnecessary
> to bother with the study of actual speech in social
> interaction.[23]

It would seem then that because linguists have concentrated on abstract-
ing the invariant rules of language, their research has rarely extended
beyond analyzing the structure of a sentence. Furthermore, Yngve points
out in Human Linguistics and Face to Face Interaction, that the crisis
over the disappointment of structural linguistics (in the fifties and
early sixties) was temporarily offset by the enthusiasm and promise
of the theoretical framework of transformational-generative grammar
throughout the late sixties and early seventies. So long as promise
held out that transformational grammar could unlock some of the mys-
teries of deep structures it seems plausible that many linguists sus-
tained little interest for the logistics of parole or discourse analy-
sis. But as Yngve explains, now in 1975, the tide is changing for the
field is undergoing a second epistemological crisis in 10 years:

> The realization is growing that the transformational-
> generative framework is also inadequate for the very
> discipline for which it was designed. We are thus
> faced with a crisis in linguistics.[24]

This methodological crisis has forced many linguists to broaden their

scope of research from the traditional areas of the discipline. Much

of this interest has spilled over into the newer field of socio-lin-

guistics and therefore a more suitable goal has had to be defined to

incorporate this larger field of "broad linguistics." Yngve has

suggested that it be the following: "I should like to suggest that

our goal be to ACHIEVE A SCIENTIFIC UNDERSTANDING OF HOW PEOPLE COM-
MUNICATE."[25]

If, however, linguistics as a field was slow to study the para-

meters of parole, one can equally argue that sociology itself has

traditionally been blind to the importance of discourse analysis be-

cause of one of the paradoxical assumptions of its field. Giglioli

explains:

> ...sociologists have considered language as an omni-
> present and invariant feature of every society, thereby
> failing to see its causual influence on social action.[26]

This attitude gradually disappeared when sociologists were confronted

with the socially determinant aspects of bi-lingual and multi-lingual

societies. Thus, in the main it can be said that the two fields of

linguistics and sociology have developed since the beginning of the

century until recently, in mutual isolation from one another. Ex-

actly why the two fields began to converge in the mid-sixties and

early seventies is hard to define. It seems that the time was ripe

for both disciplines to benefit from an interdisciplinary approach to

resolve epistemological problems arising out of their respective dis-

ciplines. We have already mentioned the crisis in linguistics, but in sociology as Giglioli suggests the reasons were more diversified:

> ...from a very general point of view, the renewed socio-
> logical interest in language is linked to several theor-
> etical approaches - phenomenology, hermeneutics, symbolic
> interactionism - which, despite their differences, all
> stress the crucial role of symbolism in social life.[27]

Furthermore:

> ...sociology is concerned not so much with language as
> a substantive sub-field, but with the theoretical con-
> tributions that the analysis of speech can offer to
> other sociological areas, for example, face-to-face in-
> teraction, socialization, sociology of knowledge and
> social change.[28]

In the context of our research, then, let us examine in more specific detail, the various discourse analysis models that have been developed from different disciplinary orientations as outlined in the schema above. A brief review of the schema reveals that some of the seminal influences in the field in the early sixties are the following: Gumperz and Hymes (anthropology), Ervin-Tripp (psychology), Goffman (sociology), Berne (psychotherapy), Searle (philosophy), and Burke (literature). There are, of course, others that have been omitted but we shall focus upon these as being leading respresentatives of their disciplines. Burke's methodological approach is representative of the school of symbolic interaction and, as such, had some significance on theoretical questions concerning speech analysis, but like Berne's methodology of transactional analysis, one can make the claim that these specific methodological approaches made only a peripheral impact on what has since become known as the field of socio-linguistics. For this reason we

will recognize their importance in the field of discourse analysis
but only refer to Berne later in the dissertation for specific analysis.

The philosophical questions posed by Searle and others, have,
on the other hand, had a more direct and seminal impact on some socio-
linguistic theoretical models. The questions dealt with in such papers
as What is a Speech Act (1965) did much to signify the conceptual
precision needed to approach empirical work on discourse analysis,
yet although these questions and papers are committed to formalizing
models for empirical work, few if any actually have ever used empiri-
cal conversational data in their research. Their importance in the
context of this dissertation will be provided later to illustrate
particular questions concerning our own methodological approach.

If we examine the remaining three orientations, three distinc-
tive approaches emerge that together constitute the early theoretical
frameworks for socio-linguistic analysis. Arising out of anthro-
pology Gumperz and Hymes formulated the ETHNOGRAPHIC methodological
approach. From the point of departure of psychology, Ervin-Tripp
formulated a psycho-sociolinguistic orientation based upon a FUNC-
TIONAL methodological approach. Whereas in sociology, the work of
Goffman directly influenced Sacks and indirectly Garfinkel to for-
mulate an ETHNOMETHODOLOGICAL approach to conversational analysis.

The ethnographic approach developed by Gumperz and Hymes in
such works as The Ethnography of Speaking and The Ethnography of
Communication has become an integral tool of sociolinguistic res-
earch. The ethnographic approach of linguistic anthropology has
thus provided an etic grid or model to describe any sociolinguistic

setting and as such provide a framework to analyze any communicative
event. This orientation arose from the specific needs of linguistic
anthropology for the following reason:

> ... linguistic anthropology has ... strongly insisted on the
> importance of formalized ethnographic descriptions, conceived
> of as adequate and replicable accounts of concrete social
> events within specific cultures. When this methodological
> approach is applied to speech, it directs attention to what
> has been called 'the ethnography of speaking', that is the
> comparative analysis of speech events, and of their elements
> and of the functions fulfilled by speech in particular set-
> tings. 29 (Underlining added)

In the context of our dissertation we have thus used this ethnographic
model for the descriptive analysis of the nature and setting of our
telephone experiment and to describe the different situational con-
texts experienced throughout its duration. However, because of the
uniform nature of telephone interaction we will not keep referring
to its setting throughout the analysis of our conversational data,
unless a particular situation warrants it. We will, on the other hand
use a functional approach as outlined by Ervin-Tripp and endeavour to
formulate a methodology of our own to analyze our data, should the ex-
isting models prove inadequate for our purposes.

In sociology there can be no doubt that Goffman's work has
been seminal. The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life written in
1956 presented a methodology based on dramaturgical concepts which
focused attention on aspects of ordinary behavior in our daily exist-
ence. This research, together with other works such as Encounters
and The Neglected Situation, awakened a new interest in some of his
graduate students at Berkeley -notably, Sacks, Schegloff, Sudnow and

Turner. These four subsequently were influenced by another Berkeley
professor, Harold Garfinkel, and together formed what can be called
a school of ethnomethodology focusing in particular upon conversa-
tion analysis, whose origins Sudnow explains in his preface to Studies
in Social Interaction.

Garfinkel's work was strongly influenced by the phenomeno-
logist Alfred Schutz and his orientation is thus based on "the phe-
nomenological structure of ordinary settings of social activity."[30]
His paper, Studies in the Routine Grounds of Everyday Activities (1965),
established the goals of ethnomethodological enquiry which were later
expanded in Studies in Ethnomedology (1967). Sacks' dissertation, An
Initial Investigation of the Usability of Conversational Data for
Doing Sociology most importantly laid the ground work for discussion
of problems of categorization in conversational analysis; an orienta-
tion which remained a central theme in his work and that of other
members of the ethnomethodological school more recently; cf.
Jefferson, Moerman, Schegloff, Speier, Sudnow, Turner and Twer. Some
idea of the goals of ethnomethodology can be grasped if we consider
the epistemological problems of consciously categorizing the process
for knowing what to say in a given situation; when in practice, peo-
ple rarely have problems "categorizing" what to say in any given sit-
uation:

> In other words, in natural conversations sentences are
> almost always incomplete or ambiguous. Language pro-
> vides a variety of different labels to refer to an
> object or an action; moreover, the social meaning of
> a term in a semantic field of 'correct' ones, or the
> expansion of incomplete or polysemic utterances is
> (...) rarely problematic for the conversationalists,
> for they can rely on their common stock of knowledge.

> <u>The object of ethnomethodology consists in the analysis</u>
> <u>of the structure of such knowledge, in the study of the</u>
> <u>'ethno-methods' - the interpretive procedures by which</u>
> <u>social actors make sense of speech and orient themselves</u>
> <u>in the social world.</u> 30   (Underlining added)

While an extensive review of the existing ethnomethodological abstracts is not necessary for the purposes of this chapter the following examples of the school's research will serve to clarify its orientation. Schegloff's paper, <u>Recycled Turn Beginning: A precise</u> <u>repair mechanism in conversation's turn-taking organization</u>, explores the frequency in which people repeat the same phrase at the beginning of an utterance especially when it is overlapped by someone else's speech. Such a syntagmatic analysis is clearly micro-structural but it is evident that it is closely related to the paradigmatic analysis of turn-taking, and it is worth repeating that Sacks and Schegloff also developed a turn-taking model which bears similarities with Starkey Duncan Jr's model (viz xerox op. p.50). Among the many papers that reflect the micro-structural orientation of this school is Gail Jefferson's work. Her paper, <u>Notes on the Se-</u> <u>quential Organization of Laughter in Conversation: Onset Sensiti-</u> <u>vity in Invitations to Laugh,</u> focuses on the orderliness of laughter as exemplified by the following distribution rule: "When someone's laughter is overlapped by someone else's speech, <u>laughter stops</u> <u>immediately after onset of speech.</u>"[31] ; or again, her paper, <u>A Case of</u> <u>Precision Timing in Ordinary Conversations: Overlapped Tag-Positioned</u> <u>Address Terms in Closing Sequences,</u> focuses on micro-structural samples of precision timing.

Schegloff's paper <u>Notes on a Conversation Practice: Formula-</u>

ting Place, is more comprehensive in its approach than previous papers and indicates that a broader theoretical framework was in the process of being formulated by this school. Indeed, Schegloff cites such a work in his bibliography - Sacks, H. (forthcoming) The Organization of Conversation,Prentice Hall. But four years later, there is still no indication that this work is forthcoming. Certain factors, including Harvey Sacks' recent untimely death and the fact that this school of ethnomethodology was severely attacked and discredited at the 1976 American Sociological Convention in San Francisco, might have prevented or delayed its publication.

However, the publication in 1974 of Donald E. Allen and Rebecca F. Guy's, Conversation Analysis: The Sociology of Talk,effectively eclipsed all attempts by the ethnomethodological school to originate a comprehensive theoretical framework that would have integrated their diverse areas of research. This single volume signifies a quantum leap in research in discourse analysis; it is the first volume to analyze on a comprehensive and thorough basis the various aspects of inquiry in the field, within the context of a well-defined theoretical framework. The degree to which this orientation overshadows other research in the field is easily illustrated if Scheflen's critique for evaluating the more complex models of human communication is applied here. If one examines Allen and Guy's theoretical framework it is evident that their general model of the conversational process (cf. xerox opposite) fulfills all the qualifications of the highest order of communicational and metacommunicational model programs. In complexity and scope it is of a much more advanced

level than the nearest comparable models - for instance, the format

and signal turn-taking models presented by Duncan Jr. and Sacks and

Schegloff (cf. xerox copies for comparison op.pp.50, 60).

In the context of this dissertation, therefore, we will use

Allen and Guy's theoretical framework as the foundation for our own

research perspective. This does not imply that we reject the eth-

nomethodological approach, for as Allen and Guy point out:

> Real progress in science can be obtained only through re-
> plication of a variety of research designs to the point
> where reasonable doubts are thoroughly resolved. The
> conversational relationship requires concentrated research
> from a diversity of techniques and theoretical and tech-
> nical approaches.[31]

On the contrary, we believe that a committment to rigorous transcript

analysis is of equal importance and shall support our reference data

with specific ethnomethodological documentation if and when the sit-

uation warrants it. To be constrained by a micro-structural perspec-

tive and the lack of a coherent theoretical framework that we consider

characteristic of the school at present, would prove counter-produc-

tive in achieving our goals.

Prerequistes for a New Theory of Discourse Analysis

Despite Kendon's remark that a generally accepted vocabulary

in the field of discourse analysis has yet to be established, it is

our opinion that adopting Allen and Guy's vocabulary and building upon

their theoretical framework would serve the best interests for future

consensus in the field. Their work which sets down the most clearly

defined theoretical goals for future direction represents the greatest

single advance in the field thus far. For this reason alone we should attempt to build upon Allen and Guy's theoretical model; due to the nature of this project, a lengthy description of their theoretical model is unnecessary and we refer one to the original text. But there is a further reason for choosing to follow Allen's orientation.

We have reviewed different disciplinary approaches to discourse analysis in an attempt to distinguish a proper methodological approach for examining techniques of self-disclosure, and we have shown that no one particular approach is suitable. In fact, it is our opinion that there is no appropriately structured methodology for our purposes; even Allen and Guy's theoretical framework does not encompass a methodology suitable for our needs. Considering them to have made the foremost advances in the field we determined to obtain a conclusive opinion. Donald Allen's text confirms however that no pertinent methodology exists, and suggests that further research should concentrate on the creation of a working typology for questions and assertions that would be applicable to all forms of conversation in general. In view of this, it seems all the more reasonable to build upon Allen and Guy's theoretical model as part of a common objective in the field. A working typology of questions and assertions would significantly add to the theoretical framework as an important tool for transcript analysis and provide a much needed alternative technique of analysis.

The reason why Allan and Guy may not have developed their own typology for questions and assertions probably stems from their intellectual preoccupation which has depended largely on the resources of an analog-digital computer to test hypotheses against a much wider sampling of conversational data than would have been possible through strict transcription analysis. From a developmental point of view, it is interesting to point out that Allen and Guy, like Sacks and Schegloff, were both strongly inspired by the work of Goffman: e.g. "Among sociological theorists, Erving Goffman is perhaps the most energetic in developing a theoretical framework to accommodate the many ramifications of face-to-face interaction."[32] However, their development followed the different courses dictated by their respective methodological orientations; whereas Sacks and Schegloff proceeded to investigate conversation analysis from a microscopic level based on intensive research of transcripts, Allen and Guy wrestled with the problems of conversation analysis on a macroscopic level using an analog-digital computer as their major tool of analysis. It is not surprising, that Allen and Guy should have developed a more comprehensive theoretical framework from their research than was possible for Sacks and Schegloff who were involved in a more intensive kind of micro-structural analysis. Furthermore, because of the macro-structural approach of Allen and Guy, it can be argued that it was easier for them as a result to clarify the need for a typology of questions and assertions to complement their operational model of the conversational process. Nowhere is it discernible in the writings of the ethnomethodological school of conversation analysis,

that such a typology of question and assertions would be considered

a viable objective as a methodological tool for transcript analysis.

If then we are committed to formulating a working typology of

question and assertions of our own, we should review some of the pre-

requisites for this, and examine the premises upon which we shall de-

velop our own model. In the light of Scheflen's critique we have al-

ready mentioned that to be able to discern the dynamics of systematic

change, our categories must as a prerequisite have properties that

are applicable to dynamic theory rather than static theory. Allen

and Guy also illustrate this important distinction:

> Static theories often tend to be partial and to deal with
> isolated aspects of a system. They can be helpful in pre-
> paring the ground work for the dynamic theories and for de-
> veloping a more rigorous understanding of a specific pro-
> perty. The first advantage of the dynamic theory is that
> it is likely to take the system as a whole and to identify
> and interpret sequencing patterns among the elements in the
> moving stream. Dyanamic theory thus reaches a position where
> it can evaluate direction, velocity, and terminus of verbal
> interaction. The second advantage of dynamic theory is that
> it permits recognition of the concept of the channel in which
> the communication flows.[32] (Underlining added)

Further, they denote the particular problems involved in categorizing

assertions:

> In theorizing about assertions, a problem arises precisely be-
> cause assertions have such wide latitude. They are not stand-
> ardized. Thus assertions are nonuniform and unpredictable.
> They are constantly incorporating some novel element which in
> the mass lead to some unique outcome. The task of theory then
> becomes one of discerning the principles whereby assertions are
> assembled into strings which lead to an accumulation of shared
> knowledge between speakers. Theory should point to the specific
> social outcomes of the series of assertions exchanged between
> persons.
>   The essential problem for theory is to determine the make up
> of the elements governing the formulation and sequencing of
> messages emerging between conversing partners. This in turn is

one of the core problems in studying the nature of the social
process which ultimately roots in dyadic conversation. Cherry
calls conversation - the two person interaction - the funda-
mental unit of human communication (Cherry 1971: 12). (and ...)
Miller claims that ... communication, if it is anything at all,
is a social event, and that the spread of information among a
group of people is one of the most important events that can
occur (Miller 1951:p.v.)[33] (Underlining added)

Part of the difficulty in analyzing assertions and their unpre-

dictability can be resolved if one can distinguish in the context of

a conversation, the difference between what is said, on the one hand,

from what is done, on the other. Labov clarifies this distinction in

his paper, Rules for Ritual Insults, which in itself represents pro-

bably the most formalized sociolinguistic analysis of its kind. It

would thus appear relevant to quote in full some of his general prin-

ciples of discourse analysis:

> The first and most important step in the formalization of dis-
> course analysis is to distinguish what is said from what is done.
> There is a small number of sentence types from a grammatical
> viewpoint-principally statements, questions and imperatives -
> and these must be related by discourse rules to the much larger
> set of actions done with words. It is commonplace to use these
> terms interchangeably with the names of certain actions:
> assertions, requests for information, and commands respectively.
> But there is no such simple one-to-one relationship; it is
> easy to demonstrate, for example, that requests for information
> can be made with statements, questions, or imperatives:
>
> > I would like to know your name.
> > What is your name?
> > Tell me your name!
>
> Furthermore there are a great many other actions that are done
> with words and which must be related by rule to the utterance:
> refusals, challenges, retreats, insults, promises, threats, etc.
> The rules that connect what is said to the actions being per-
> formed with words are complex; the major task of discourse ana-
> lysis is to analyze them, and thus to show that one sentence
> follows another in a coherent way.[34]

If we bear these general principles in mind, and the fact that our

categories should be based upon a functional approach as outlined by

Ervin-Tripp and Labov, we believe that it is possible to create a

typology to analyze patterns of self-disclosure, if we base our model upon two premises of human interaction.

Eric Berne's model for transactional analysis is derived from two assumptions which are quoted here since they can consequently be modified to accommodate our model by substituting 'self-disclosure' for 'ego state' in the following:

Berne's model:

> This model is efficient because it follows the principle of scientific economy (sometimes known as "Occam's razor"), making only two assumptions:
> 1) that human beings can change from one ego state to another, and,
> 2) that if A says something and B says something shortly thereafter, it can be verified whether or not what B said was a response to what A said. [35]

Our model is thus based on the following two assumptions:

> 1) that human beings self-disclose to one another from time to time,
> 2) that if A says something and B says something shortly thereafter, it can be verified whether or not what B said was a response to what A said.

These we believe are the only two assumptions needed in creating our own methodology, and it should be evident that the second assumption bears a strong similarity to Labov's general principle of proceeding along the functional distinction between what is said from what is done.

Sociological Research of the Telephone

Before we illustrate in greater detail the procedure for our own methodology, we should examine and set forth some idea as to why there is no acceptable methodology for our purposes either in the field of telephone analysis or in the current field of self-disclosure analysis.

From that moment on March 10th 1876 when Alexander Graham Bell's
assistant heard the now famous first words spoken on the telephone,
"Mr. Watson, come here, I want you.", the impact of the telephone on
society has been immeasureable. To cite one example, Joseph Goebbels
writing in his diary sixty-nine years later on March 29th, 1945, bemoans
the indecency of surrender by telephone:

> A report that the Burgomaster of Mannheim offered the city's
> surrender to the Americans over the telephone is really
> mortifying. This is a totally new way of conducting a war and
> one to which we are not accustomed.[36]

But in point of fact we have become so accustomed to the telephone
that for most of us it is a necessary part of our lives that we take
for granted - a "Lifeline" as Marilyn Monroe once described it:

> But thinking of what Blanche (Dubois) said, do you know who
> I've always depended on? Not strangers, not friends. The
> telephone! That's my best friend.[37]

But if one examines the research directed towards the social
aspects of the telephone it is apparent that this important field
has been almost totally neglected. Sidney Aronson's paper, The
Sociology of the Telephone, is one of the few exceptions and it
is significant that his attitude to this neglect contains the mixed
feelings of being both apologetic and irate:

> If the discussion that follows may seem, by implication at
> least, to give to the telephone an unwarranted primacy as
> an agent of modernization such an overstatement of the case
> can be justified as an understandable reaction to ninety odd
> years of scholarly neglect, not to say disdain. (...) The
> railroad, the electric light, the automobile, even the bath-
> room - not to speak of the more dramatic radio and television -
> have all been granted their moment on the scholarly stage, to
> be examined more or less intensively, more or less dispass-
> ionately. The time seems overripe for a comprehensive exam-
> ination of the slighted telephone.[38]   (Underlining added)

Aronson goes on to explain in a footnote that sociologists have al-

ways recognized the importance of the statistical number of telephones
in a country but they ignored its social impact.

> The number of telephones present in a country is frequently
> used as an indicator of "modernization" by sociologists but
> the process by which telephone communications contributed to
> the changes implied by that term are not considered.[39]

The most obvious reason for this is that researchers have taken the
phone for granted:

> Communication-in-general (...) has been much studied but the
> meaning and the consequences for individuals of being able to
> pick up something called a telephone and rapidly transmit or
> receive messages have been all but ignored. As with so many
> other aspects of social life, that which we take most for
> granted usually needs to be most directly examined.[40]

Although McLuhan has theorized on the importance of the tele-
phone in Understanding Media, few scholars have followed through with
any extensive empirical research. In fact, where one would expect to
find more research than anywhere else, in the voluminous journals of
Bell Canada and A T & T, there is only one significant article, The
Words and Sounds of Telephone Conversations by French,
Carter and Koenig, published in the Bell System Technical Journal in 1930.
The reason for this was explained to us by Bell executives, namely that
Bell Telephone is restricted through its Act of Charter from engaging
in research dealing with any aspect of the content of its communication
systems. Furthermore, they claimed to be at a loss as to why this
particular article could have been authorized by Bell and published
in one of its journals. It is evident that the source of this omission
of research is integrally related to the politics of the telephone
companies on the one hand, and the desire to safeguard the rights of

citizens to have private communications, on the other. One should
point out that these "rights" in Canada have only recently become
law as a result of the Watergate crisis. Undoubtedly the question
of access to empirical material has been the hindrance to the develop-
ment of research into the social aspects of this area.

Apart from Aronson's article and Donald Ball's introductory
paper, Toward a Sociology of Telephones and Telephoners, the research
in the field of telephone analysis is extremely limited. There are
only four dissertations (with the exception of histories and techni-
cally related theses) that are related to the field, three of which
are not relevant for our purposes: e.g.
Two-Way Telephone Evangelism: An Adaption of Electronic Answering
Services,Jack Bohannon Ph.D. Michigan State University 1969; A Tel-
ephone Call For Help: Does the Race of the Victim Affect the Help-
ing Behavior of New York City Liberal and Conservative Party Members?
Samuel Gaertner Ph.D. University of New York, 1970; and Study 1: The
Accurate Empathy Rating of Therapists In Telephone And Face-To-Face
Interviews. Study 11: The Effect of Group Sensitivity-Training On The
Accurate Empathy Rating of Therapists, Anita Hughes Ph.D., Ohio State
University 1969.

The fourth dissertation, which should be mentioned and which
has already been cited is The First Five Seconds: The Order of Tele-
phone Conversational Opening, Emanuel Schegloff Ph.D. University of
California, Berkeley 1967. Although we recognize that this work con-
tributed to the founding of a school of ethnomethodology at Berkeley,
we nevertheless feel that its theoretical framework is not sufficiently
broad in scope for us to build upon in a meaningful way. We would

like to point out, however, that we acknowledge Schegloff's recognition of the importance of sequencing in a conversation, and we think it appropriate to quote how he resolves the problem of the one deviant case which went contrary to his first formulation of a distribution rule, that the answerer speaks first. For as Schegloff points out:

> The distribution rule discussed above holds for all but one of the roughly five hundred phone conversations in the entire corpus of data.[41]

Schegloff appears to have resolved this problem with the introduction of a second higher order of formulation, namely that the interaction in that context is part of a summons-answer sequence: e.g.

> Summons-Answer Sequences:
> Originally we spoke of two parties to a telephone interaction, a caller and an answerer. The distribution rule held that the answerer spoke first. One of the activities in the material under examination seems to be "answering", and it is appropriate to ask what kind of answering activity is involved and what its properties are.
> Let us consider for a moment what kinds of things are "answered". The most common item that is answered is a question, and a standardized exchange is question-answer. At first glance, however, it seems incorrect to regard the "called" party as answering a question. What would be the question? A telephone ring does not intuitively seem to have that status. Other items that are answered include challenges, letters, roll calls, and summonses. It seems that we could well regard the telephone ring as a summons.[42]   (Underlining added)

In the context of our dissertation, we shall bear in mind Schegloff's theoretical framework involving summons-answer sequences and the recognition that the telephone ring should be regarded as a summons. Allen and Guy's theoretical framework, however, represents a more solid foundation for our purposes.

Research in the Field of Self-Disclosure

In examining the field of self-disclosure it is apparent that
the methodological orientation primarily used for research purposes
is the questionnaire. The field itself has largely developed around
the work of Sidney Jourard who formulated his first questionnaire to
measure self-disclosure in 1958, and published his research based on
modified versions of this questionnaire in The Transparent Self, in
1964, and Self-Disclosure: An Experimental Analysis of the Transpar-
ent Self,in 1971. Synonymous with advancement in this area, are the
revised adaptations of Jourard's Self-Disclosure Questionnaire (JSDQ)
which stimulated such an interest that, as Jourard writes in his pre-
face: "By 1970, over one hundred studies had been completed by other
investigators, many triggered by our initial studies."[43] But pro-
gress in the field was confined to research in the university envir-
onment. As Jourard points out in Self-Disclosure, since 1958 "with
the help of graduate students, (he) made some beginnings at studying
self-disclosure in the laboratory."[44] (Underlining added). It is this
last approach or methodological orientation which has revealed both
the strengths and weaknesses of the questionnaire method. It has en-
abled researchers to measure certain aspects of self-disclosure more
accurately in laboratory conditions, but unfortunately it does not
in any way accurately predict self-disclosure of informants in natural
environments. In "A Literature Review of Self-Disclosure" in Psy-
chological Bulletin 1973, Cozby clearly emphasizes this matter in his
evaluation of the field:

It is clear that the JSDQ does not accurately predict actual self-disclosure. The explanation perhaps lies in the fact that scores on the JSDQ reflect subjects' past history of disclosure to parents and persons who are labelled "best same-sex friend" and "best opposite-sex friend". When actual disclosure is measured, the subject is disclosing to an experimenter or to peers whom the subject has never met.[45]

For our intentions, therefore, it is clear from Cozby's review that there is no current methodology available to examine patterns of actual self-disclosure, or to measure aspects of self-disclosure in a natural setting. The nearest equivalent of such a methodology is the system initiated by Vondracek and Vondracek (1971) for scoring self-disclosure by preadolescents in interview situations. Furthermore, as Cozby expounds, "Little work has been done on the content of information disclosed, although there is some research on the positive or negative aspects of the information." [46]

These findings should not blind us to the fact that the wealth of research derived from questionnaires and closed environments represent a wide number of hypotheses which can in turn be tested against an almost infinite number of situations in natural settings. In other words, the research material gathered in such closed systems should pave the way for future researchers to examine the process of self-disclosure in open systems. Cozby touches on the anomaly of the situation in his conclusion:

> Simmel (1964) writes that "obviously, all relations which people have to one another are based on their knowing something about one another." This statement seems so intuitively obvious that it is surprising that there is not more research or theoretical development in the area of self-disclosure. <u>It also seems obvious that there are individual differences in self-disclosure, yet we know little about the meaning of these differences.</u> [47]   (Underlining added)

While reviewing these aspects of self-disclosure, it should be noted that concurrent with the development of the field there has been an inclination among clinical psychologists to make an increasing number of correlations between hypothetical personality traits and self-disclosure questionnaires. As it has been previously stated, there is a discrepancy between self-disclosure scores and actual performance. The tendency, therefore, towards correlating personality traits with these scores has obvious dangers and limitations. Such an overwhelming dependency on the JSDQ thus inherently implies certain drawbacks. Cozby goes so much as to day:

> It must be concluded that continued use of the JSDQ will only perpetuate the confusion that already exists in the literature.[48]

In reference to the discrepancy between the JSDQ's actual measurement and predictive validity, Cozby makes the following suggestions:

> The JSDQ may be best interpreted as a measure of past history of disclosure. (...) Perhaps a more sensitive measure of disposition to disclosure would be subjects' willingness to disclose to an acquaintance, a stranger, or the experimenter.[49]

A future orientation in the field might follow somewhat along the lines of Cozby's constructive criticism;

> The author, however, feels that it would be a mistake to continue the collection of correlations between personality trait measures and self-disclosure questionnaires. Instead, self-disclosure should be measured behaviorally and used as the dependent variable. An examination of this type of procedure is provided by a study by Aztell and Cole (1971) who classified subjects as repressors, or neutrals, and measured the amount of time subjects spent discussing either positive or negative aspects of themselves. It should be expected that any study using such a procedure would yield results which would be considerably less equivocal than studies employing any of the poorly developed self-disclosure questionnaires. The procedure would also allow the introduction

of situational variables into the design, and the development
of better questionnaires by administering the measure to sub-
jects and correlating scores with subjects' actual disclosure.[50]

It is clear that according to Cozby researchers in the field should

continue along a behavioral orientation which although would take in-

creasing consideration of situational variables, would still take

place within a laboratory environment.

A critique of the above methodological orientation, and by ex-

tention of current individual psychological research or other indivi-

dual oriented research, is in order at this point. For it is time

that we recognized the order of qualitative difference in research con-

ducted on an individual basis in a laboratory or academic environment,

on the one hand, and between research conducted between individuals in

a natural setting, on the other. Lennard and Bernstein in Patterns

in Human Interaction have clearly shown to what extent research conduc-

ted in the former manner fails to take cognizance of the fact that,

"to an extraordinary degree, social contexts determine the behavior

of persons who constitute them." [51] For instance:

> Studies of interaction patterns in different specific social
> contexts (such as family context, work situations, psycho-
> therapy, hospital contexts) show a dependency of interaction
> patterns upon the requirements of the social context. The
> pattern of interaction in a work situation is different from
> that within a family, which is in turn, different from that
> to be found in psychotherapy. [52]

Research gathered within an interview or questionnaire context has

important methodological constraints imposed upon it; the results

obtained will vary with situational and temporal variables. As

Lennard and Bernstein point out, one would expect self-disclosure by

interviewees to change over a period of successive encounters:

> Even the interview or a meeting in which a questionnaire is
> administered is itself a special social context with its own
> normative and demand structures and its own interactional
> system requirements. Verbal reporting represents a behavioral
> contribution by one of the members of an interview context.
> The behavioral contributions of members of any context are
> influenced by the system and process variables as well as by
> expectations that are operative in that context. Hence, the
> behavioral contributions of the members participating in an
> interview interaction system may be as much a function of the
> interactional requirements and interactional structure of the
> interview context as of the other social context (family or
> whatever) to which the interview is addressed. For example,
> a typical interview context is differentiated from other soc-
> ial contexts by virtue of the fact that information must be
> divulged to a "stranger". One would then expect to find
> phrases in the over-time characteristics of an interview system
> in which the amount and kind of self-disclosures made by inter-
> viewees changed over time. These phrases would be parallel to
> the changes in the patterning of interaction that occur within
> the life of all social systems. One would anticipate that the
> interpersonal relationship, the interacting process, and the
> type of information revealed would be very different in later
> interviews conducted by the same interviewer and informant than
> in the initial encounter.[53]   (Underlining added)

One of the fundamental methodological problems in the social

sciences is thus the effectiveness of interview and questionnaire

methods, as Lennard and Bernstein illustrate:

> Interview and questionnaire method are frequently employed in
> studies of social systems when these studies are undertaken by
> and from the point of view of behavioral science. (...)
> Their critique, (...) refers to the likelihood that subjects,
> interviewees, informants, and the like will be unable or unwill-
> ing to report accurately, and cannot help presenting a distorted
> picture of interactional processes in which they have partici-
> pated. (...) This comment should not be mistaken for the more
> traditional objection to this use of survey approaches - for
> example, Mills' (1963) observation that the disparity between
> talk and action constitutes the central methodological problems
> of the social sciences.[54]

If we accept such a critique, then it is plausible to ask two

things: first, what is the underlying premise at fault in the behavioral

sciences which has restricted their methodological orientation, and
second, what new premise must be formulated to rectify this approach
and thereby restructure an alternative methodological orientation.
A possible answer to the first point might be that the behavioral
sciences' primary focus of analysis is the unit of the individual in
isolation, rather than the individual's _interaction_ with others. For
as Lennard and Bernstein state:

> The simple observation that human beings must interact with
> each other appears to be so self-evident that it has been
> taken for granted by behavioral scientists and thus has es-
> caped their more careful scrutiny and analysis. Consequently,
> some perhaps naive-appearing but nevertheless fundamental
> questions have not been asked.[55]

An answer to our second point, therefore, lies in the need to estab-
lish an alternative focus with the premise that the unit of analysis
be shifted from the behavior of an individual per se to the _interact-
ion between_ individuals - which is qualitively different from the sepa-
rate analysis of each individual's behavior in an interaction. But
there are fundamental questions which arise as a result of this shift,
namely the theoretical and practical implications of such an alter-
native orientation. Lennard and Bernstein define some of these as
follows:

> When attention is shifted from the behavior of individuals to
> the recurrent behavior interchanges _between_ individuals, the
> lack of applicability of prevailing theoretical perspectives,
> concepts, and methods of study to description and to interven-
> tion, becomes readily apparent. Inadequacies in existing the-
> ories and methods, especially those derived primarily from in-
> dividual and depth psychology, require the invention of new
> approaches and new descriptive terms to meet the specifications
> of this new theoretical reorientation. The objective of such
> conceptual and methodological innovations is to bring into
> view and to focus upon the wider arrays of interpersonal beha-
> vior that take place in social systems.[56]

In conclusion, it should be evident from our review of different methodological orientations of discourse related disciplines, that there is no definitive approach that is applicable for our needs. We must, therefore, create a methodology of our own based upon a new theoretical perspective, using the dyad as our unit of analysis. The reason for focusing on the dyad as the unit of analysis may be clearer if one reads the following two quotations from Danziger and Allen which both embody the recent change in academic approach in the field, and reiterate some of the implications defined by Lennard and Bernstein:

> One thing is clear, and that is that some of the habits of thought and traditional approaches to the problems of individual psychology will not carry us very far into the field of interpersonal communication. For in that field we are less interested in what happens within the individual than in what happens between the individuals. This means that it is at least the dyad and not the isolated individual that becomes our basic unit of analysis. But this has all sorts of implications for the kinds of causal relationships we look for. Instead of restricting ourselves to unidirectional relationships between causes and effects we are much more likely to be interested in feedback mechanisms in which people influence one another. (...) So we are never really faced with one-way influence situations but with complex interactions in which cause and effect cannot be as neatly sorted out as in most laboratory studies.[57]

and,   As Blau has noted, an alternative approach which has not yet been sufficiently explored is to treat not the individual but the interpersonal relationship as the unit of analysis (Blau 1962: 42). This means that analysis must be concentrated on the interaction stream itself and that theory must strive to set forth the principles governing the make up and flux of the stream.[58]

In fact, the only new methodology which we have found which bears a superficial resemblance to our objectives, is that outlined by Danziger in Interpersonal Communication , and described at length in an appendix as A System for Analyzing Rhetorical Codes in Conflict

Situations. However, since this system is derived from four functional but <u>static</u> categories we feel that we should create a methodology of our own, modeled upon <u>dynamic</u> categories derived from the process of the <u>interaction flow</u> itself. Building upon Allen and Guy's theoretical framework and the modifications derived from Berne's two assumptions, we hope to define and illustrate such a methodology in the following chapter.

FOOTNOTES

PART 1

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A WORKING TYPOLOGY OF CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

TWENTY-EIGHT CATEGORIES

Verbal communications must be examined in terms of the functions they fulfill in the interpersonal communication process. What is the effect intended by a given statement, and what effect does it in fact have? What patterns are discernible in the sequence of alternating statements, what repeated figures, circles, spirals, parallel, or converging lines will the temporal progression of verbal statements reveal to the systematic investigator? What is the relationship between the form of statements and their interpersonal function? We do not have answers to most of these questions but we are at least ready to try out alternative ways of getting at the answers.

> Kurt Danziger
> Interpersonal Communication 1976

The assertion and question are complementary to each other and they carry virtually all of the information transfer. It is important to recognize that the information transfer is mutually additive for both participants in the actions of sending and receiving. Therefore the study of communication and social relations involved should center here.

> Donald E. Allen and
> Rebecca F. Guy
> Conversation Analysis:
> The Sociology of Talk 1974

If, as we have mentioned, our methodological objective is to create a working typology of questions and assertions that can structurally reveal aspects of the dynamics of change of human interaction, it is clear that our system of analysis cannot deal with static categories, but with INFORMATION FLOW and thus with categories that are integrally related to the dynamics of information flow. The ultimate objective of such a typology or schema is metaphorically speaking to create some sort of "calculus of information theory" of conversations.

Question and Answer Format Models

The basic format model for such analysis can be outlined as follows:

Question ─────────────────→ Answer

←─────────────────Direction of Flow of Information

The system of analysis that will comprise our methodological approach should deal in an intelligent way with these three elements and if possible quantify them. We shall therefore begin by describing a basic question format model:

Question X	Indirect Question Y
(1) Unrelated Search for Information	(1B) Not directly posed
(2) Elaboration of previous Question	(1D) Meta question, abstract about area.

To complement our basic question model we shall provide a corresponding answer model schema as follows:

<u>Answer V</u>	<u>Evasion W</u>
(1) Total & comprehensive	(4) Change of topic
(2) Partial	(5) Throwback
(3) Non specific	(6) General non-specific

Our W5 category is especially important because we are examining a FLOW
OF CONVERSATION, and a W5 can either be a signal for a reversal of role
of questioner and answerer, (e.g. the "you tell me first" syndrome), or
it can present a momentary exchange in the flow - which is in effect a
request for assurance that the questioner is willing to give something
too. A concrete example of this would be the Hannah-Phyllis conversation,
vol. 2 page 2 line Q, where the flow changes from Phyllis to Hannah.
The answer line R is extremely interesting - high on assurance, low on S.D.

To illustrate the process of information flow more clearly, we shall
look at a short but typical conversational sequence between Hannah and
Phyllis, where Hannah attempts to pinpoint where Phyllis lives. If we
take out the "noise" in the conversation we have the following:

←----------------Information flow

		<u>Q</u>			<u>A</u>	
X1	H	What part of the city are you in?	P	Downtown.		V2
X2	H	Whereabouts?	P	Pretty central.		V2
**	H	Pretty Central?	P	Yeah, thereabouts.		V3
YIB	H	Near to Guy?	P	(Throwback)		W5
W5	P	Why you around there too?	H	No, but I know the district.		V1

It would seem advisable to deal with the interchange as a whole, i.e.
Direction Question ←-------- Direct Answer. Considering the example
above we could have the following answer categories:

Direct Question   ←------------ Partial answer (2)
(New Topic)

Direct Question   ←----------- Partial answer (2)
(Same Topic)

Reinforce   ←----------- Acknowledgement -- (3)[1]
                                   (More self-disclosure)

Indirect Question ←----------- Throwback (5)

Changeover: ←----------- Comprehensive answer (1)
Direct Question

Therefore the applicable categories would be (2), (2), (3), (5), (1).
If we take line Q again it would be difficult to schematize this response
in a meaningful way using static categories. However, by looking at the
FLOW of the whole interaction it is clear that the information is going
from P to H, and when given a request for S.D. in line Q, Hannah deflects
it with a question of her own.

How the Information Flow Model Works

Thus if we use this information flow chart model as a method of
analyzing conversations it is possible to examine a large volume of
material fairly rapidly and to determine a number of important variables,
such as who has power and control in the interaction. Further, one can
determine to some extent the ratio of the balance of "control" and the
equity of information exchange by focusing on the change of flow points
in the interaction. A simple but effective method of measuring this ratio

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[1]An example of this category is the following sequence:

Are you married? ←------------ Yeah.

Oh really! ←----------- Yes I really am.
              ←----------- And I have two kids.

This kind of reinforcement sequence is extremely common in conversation and
will be analyzed more fully later. The number of categories will be
expanded in the larger schema.

is to count the number of flow changes and to add up the number of flow
sequencing exchanges for each person, the number of reinforcing sequences
and the number of noise sequences e.g. M -- 30 F -- 10: 3 flow changes;
3 reinforce sequences; 4 noise.

We can illustrate this by examining a more lengthy conversation, for
example between Kevin and Ethel: cf. vol. 2, pp. 3-11. Starting at the
top of page 4 at A with Kevin as questioner , we can analyze the flow as
follows:

		Information Flow Chart	Flow Units
Page	4 A -- G	Ethel ---------→ Kevin	3
"	4 H -- X	Kevin ---------→ Ethel	8
"	5 A -- R	Kevin ---------→ Ethel	9
"	5 S -- X	Ethel ---------→ Kevin	3
"	6 A -- Q	Ethel ---------→ Kevin	8
"	6 R -- W	Kevin ---------→ Ethel	3
"	7 A -- E	Kevin ---------→ Ethel	2
"	7 F -- H	Ethel ---------→ Kevin	1
"	7 I -- U	Kevin ---------→ Ethel	6
"	7 V -- X	Ethel ---------→ Kevin	1
"	8 A -- P	Ethel ---------→ Kevin	8
"	8 Q to end of p. 11.	Kevin ---------→ Ethel	39

Once we have schematized a conversation like this we should examine the
"calculus" of interaction i.e. the change points. This conversation is
thus a two-way flow with Ethel mainly in control; and if we add up the

flow units for each we can obtain a more precise measurement. Ethel has
67 flow units and Kevin has 24 . If we focus on the early change points
at vol. 2, p. 4 p.5 and p. 6 , it is worth noting that 6R is a W5 as we
have previously categorized it e.g. p. 85, and it exemplifies a successful
"you tell me first" situation. We will not use this conversation for
purposes other than illustrating our flow chart model, however, we will
mention one aspect of it that will be analyzed in other conversations in
the context of a larger schema. This aspect is what we shall term the
"fishing" approach whereby someone "fishes" for information or attempts to
get at some particular angle that interests them about a person in an
indirect way. This "fishing" technique is quite common in conversation as
we shall see later. An example of this is the "fishing" section in the
Kevin and Ethel interaction from vol. 2 page 7I to K, where Ethel comes
out on top. It shows an interesting confusion of generalities with nothing
and everything being said at once.

In terms of the "flow" and the remainder of the conversation it is
important to mention the tension point at vol. 2, page 7, V to W where
Kevin tries to switch the flow by means of a colloquial gambit (p. 7V)
which almost backfires. But Ethel regains the flow at p. 8Q and holds it
to the end. She uses the fact that he wants to talk about dogs to keep
the upper hand. This last point is important because it underlies the
significance of controlling the flow in a conversation. To borrow an
analogy from chess, so long as one is sequentially one move ahead of the
other person he must play defensively. In terms of conversation and self-
disclosure, the fact that you have the flow going your way is just as
important as the content of self-disclosure because you are in a position

to receive personal information from someone else, or at the very least, you are not required to self-disclose yourself. Techniques for keeping the flow going "your way" so to speak are an integral part of certain professions—crown prosecutors cross-examining witnesses and salesmen all have their favourite methods of entrapment. Kurt Danziger in <u>Interpersonal Communication</u> provides an excellent example of such a method—a vacuum cleaner salesman closing in for the kill. It is achieved by manipulating the prospective buyer with questions and thereby maintaining the flow:

"You like the special action brush then?"

"Oh yes."

"And you understand how all these other features (points) will help you?"

"Sure."

"You said you appreciated the ease of operation particularly?"

"That's right."

"So you're convinced that a Hoover will make your work easier?"

"Hm hm."

"And you do admit that buying later won't help you now, don't you?"

"I guess so."

"In fact you owe it to your family to get one now, isn't that right?"

"Yeah."

"So you have decided to take this model then?"

"OK"[2]

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[2]Danziger Kurt, <u>Interpersonal Communication</u>, Pergamon Press Inc., 1976, p. 1.

Reinforcement Categories

In terms of information flow, then, there are many interesting elements which can be given very general headings. We have explained some of these categories in our basic format models but we will examine the category reinforcers more carefully in a brief example. In vol. 2, page 12 we have annotated different kinds of reinforcers—there are those that are related to the questioner alone and those that are reinforcing inter-changes, i.e. 12K and 12L which do not have any information flow but serve to "grease the wheels" and create confidence for future self-disclosure, e.g. "I'm OK, you're OK, OK?". In 12Q-12R, Anne (A) alone reinforces, and often if all things are right in terms of the flow, this is all it takes to induce more self-disclosure.

If we examine the questions in terms of our earlier format model, 12A can be considered as an indirectly posed neutral question or Y1B: 12B on the other hand comes under the category of "continuing the topic" questions or X2. In addition there is the expansion question which either introduces a new topic, i.e. X1 or, as in 12G, a question which uses the previous topic as a foothold to go in another way and is thus a hybrid X1-2. It is difficult to determine whether this is a conscious process or not, but there is little use speculating on the basis of one short interaction; we can only look at the results of many such interactions. In terms of patterns of self-disclosure 12G proves itself to be one of the more effective methods for soliciting information and maintaining the flow.

However, we will not analyze such patterns at length until we have developed a more complete typology of questions and assertions that will

enable us to analyze the structural dynamics of entire sequences of interaction. This particular conversation has only served to illustrate the importance of reinforcers in terms of information flow. Clearly the direction of the flow is one-way from Betty to Anne from the beginning of the interaction sequence. In fact, A reinforces this in another manner by interrupting B with a direct question in the middle of her opening self-disclosure sequence. Interruptions, therefore, serve either to reinforce one's control of the flow as in this case, or they can act as flow-breakers.

Larger Schema for Conversation Analysis

Thus far we have examined basic question-and-answer format models in terms of the direction of information flow and we have discussed certain category concepts such as reinforcing, expansion, and "fishing" as being integrally related to the process of the flow. By applying these basic models and concepts to a large volume of our conversational data we have developed a much broader schema comprising 28 categories. This larger schema is an effective working typology for questions and assertions and has been designed specifically to analyze patterns of self-disclosure between strangers. But its applications extend beyond this and as a tool for discourse analysis we believe this typology could be used to analyze the structural dynamics of the variety of conversational interaction in general.

If we examine the schema (cf. opposite page) it is possible to see how our original format models have merged and expanded into a more complex program of communicational behavior. Its effectiveness as a methodological tool moreover can be evaluated by following the notation in the margin for

each sequence of interaction of our conversational data, which through over two hundred pages of analysis covers a wide variety of conversational behavior both in form and content. The twenty-eight categories provide an overview of the structural dynamics of conversational sequencing and as such may provide us with a framework in which to uncover significant sequencing patterns of interaction.

Because the schema is modelled upon the dynamics of interaction flow it is a more powerful tool of analysis than might at first appear. Its method can only be evaluated through its application to conversational data, and its effectiveness proves itself to the degree that the more it is used the more interesting patterns of conversational sequencing are revealed. It is powerful precisely because it is NOT just an ARTIFICIAL GRID put on a conversation but it is a method actually describing things that are happening in the conversation. Moreover, it is a method which effectively MEASURES not only INFORMATION EXCHANGE but POWER AND CONTROL.

In order to apply this schema properly, however, one must be aware of the distinctions of each category. We will therefore examine all 28 categories individually, using specific illustrations from our conversational data as model examples.

X1 and X2 Categories

In our question format model we have already discussed the distinction between an X1, an unrelated search for information, i.e. introducing a new topic, and an X2, an elaboration of a previous question, i.e. an expansion of the same topic. An X1 therefore creates a sharp break in the continuity of the previous subject matter: vol. 2, p. 106 N.[3]

[3]All further page references to conversations in this chapter will be excerpted from volume 2.

J: ...I don't know. I love animals but ...

  <u>X1</u> A: What do you do usually during the weekend?

Or, an X1 can show a break of continuity in the mid-stream of an utterance,
as in p. 106 F.

  <u>X1</u> A: I like ice cream. Do you have any pets?

An X1 is also often the first question asked after presequencing and
identification have been established, e.g. "Hello, what's your name?" It
is a question that initiates the tone of a conversation, e.g. p. 38 A.

  <u>X1</u> D: So, ah, do you have any children Jean?

An X2 question continues the flow of a topic initiated by an X1. Continuing
the sequence above:

  <u>X1</u> D: So, ah, do you have any children Jean?

  V1 J: Yes, I do.

  <u>X2</u> D: How many do you have?

  V1 J: Two.

  <u>X2</u> D: How old are they?

  V1 J: Twelve and nine.

However, it is misleading to think that X2's only follow such strict
alternating question and answer sequences in ordinary conversation. It
does happen frequently as in the example above, but a glance at the notation
of our data will reveal that X2's occur in many other different sequencing
patterns.

X3 and X4 Categories

An X3 we have categorized as the reinforcement of a previous question
in the sense of repeating that question or redrafting the same question in
a slightly different way, e.g. pp. 30 WX-31 A.

X2   R: Is she really that bad?

X4   T: What?

X3   R: Is she really that bad?

And X2   F: Jean, was that you who was laughing?

V1   J: No

X3   F: Come on, who was laughing?

Because an X4 signifies a clarification question it often takes the form
of a single word or phrase such as p. 40H "What?" or p. 39M "Pardon me?"
or p. 35Y "What did you say?" But it can equally be contextually defined
as in the sequence prior to Jean's denial that she was laughing, e.g.:

F: Who's laughing?

X4   W: Jean?

V1   J: No, not me.

or to clarify the identity of a person, e.g. p. 30V.

X4   T: Is this Richard?

or to clarify an event from a different context; e.g. p. 32G.

X4   T: ...Where did Bob live?

In order to distinguish more easily between an X4, an X3 and an X2 we
will provide a short example: p. 29P-Q.R.

X4   S: I just like to what?

R: He hit it.

X2 X3   S: Did he hang up? Tom? I like to what? Richard?

Sara's(S) first question, "Did he hang up?" is an X2 in this context and
not an X1 because it is expanded from a previous topic. Although it could
be categorized as an X4, its directness is more forceful than the nature of
the clarification of "I just like to what?" and the X3 repetition "I like to
what?". In conversational sequencing, an X4 is often followed by an X3.

XE Category

An XE is categorized as a question that echoes another person's previous statement. We also associate it with a "fishing" approach because it serves the purpose of reinforcing the other person's statement by echoing his words and at the same time drawing the person out a little further. It is a common technique in psychiatry because it is a tried and proven method for eliciting self-disclosure; e.g. p. 103G-L.

J: ...what kind of meals do you have? Like just hot dogs?

A: Oh no!

XE J: No?

A: I like to cook elaborate meals when I have time to eat and for about three years now I've been eating horsemeat.

XE J: Horsemeat?

A: Which I find suitably delicious and I'll never go back to beef.

or, for instance: p. 39D-F,

X2 D: Have you tried?

V1 J: Oh, we tried three years ago, but that's all.

XE D: Just three years ago? You haven't tried for three years?

An XE therefore is quite different from an X4 clarifying question, the content in the question is understood, its purpose is to reinforce and to "fish" for more information. Also, there should be no need to confuse an XE with an X3 so long as one is able to remember the distinction that an XE echoes or repeats someone else's previous statement, whereas an X3 is a repetition of one's OWN previous question. We have thus analyzed five categories of direct questions and we will refer to the last one in the

section,K1, at a later time when we have discussed all the other categories except flow changers.

YlA, YlB and YlD Categories

Let us turn to the three indirect question categories. An indirectly posed question or YlB is not always easy to recognize in transcripts because of its similarity to a statement, but it is unmistakeable in its original context and in transcripts any doubt can be verified by the character of the next response. A good example is the following phatic gambit:

YlB W: ...I didn't catch your first name?

       T: I didn't throw it.

YlB W: Well okay how about throwing one?

or p. 25F-G.

YlB R: But you said you caught your parents at something?

      S: Yeah, but you know, I guess they were just fooling around...

The category of a YlA, on the other hand, is only distinguishable from a YlB by what we have called its "fishing" approach. It is an indirectly posed question geared to "fish" for more information in a general area and it serves the purpose of keeping the flow moving in the direction of the questioner. The basic distinction then is that a YlB is a question oriented to a more specific area and clear response, whereas a YlA manipulates the flow into a more general area to elaborate on a topic. A YlA is thus more of an expansion type question, whereas a YlB tends towards reinforcement and clarification of an issue. Examples of YlA are the following: p. 31A-B.

YlA R: ...What's good about her? She good looking?

      T: Yeah, you could say so....

or p. 109J-L.

        A: ...I don't smoke.

XE/Y1A J: You don't? No bad habits?

        A: Oh, well, I might have some but not these. I like to play in electronics, I have been studying to get a ham radio...

or p. 109G

    Y1A J: And you don't go out or anything?

In many cases the single question "Why?" can be interpreted as a Y1A in its context, e.g. p. 25F and p. 20A. A Y1A attempts to draw a person out and self-disclose, e.g. p. 41E and I.

    Y1A D: After two kids, you're living together for ten years, all of a sudden you're divorced? How does it happen?

and Y1A D: Does your husband fool around on the side, is that how it happened?

The category of a Y1D is easily distinguished from these other two categories; as a meta question its usual form is to pose a general question in a theoretical way about a particular area. Its effect is a Y1A question posed in an abstract form. An example of the distinction between the two is: p. 41C.

    Y1A D: What's the reason, Jean, that you got divorced?

    Y1D   How does a thing like that happen?

Other examples are like the following questions, p. 16V and p. 19D:

    Y1D R: Isn't everybody?

and Y1D R: Well, isn't that what life is all about?

and pp. 109P and 110A.

    Y1D A: He's not really sleeping, or she's not. I wonder why we always assume that a person is a man, it could be a woman?

        J: Because you wouldn't blame a woman for something like that.

V1, V2, V3 and V4 Categories

We have already examined the answer format model in some detail so we will give only a few examples of each category. In the attempted answer categories a V1 is a total and comprehensive answer, a V2 is a partial answer and a V3 is a non-specific answer. These are fairly straight forward in their conversational context viz a V2 and V1 sequence p. 38 G-J.

X1   D: ...Does your husband give you support money?

V2   J: Sometimes.

X2   E: What do you do when he doesn't?

V1   .J: I support myself. That's why I work.

V3's, on the other hand, are non-specific because they tend to be incomplete answers that are vague yet indicate a willingness to answer, e.g. p. 13W-X.

X2   R: But why did you decide not to say it?

V3   S: Because...

and p. 108M-N.

Y1A   J: So you must have a nice apartment that makes you want to
             stay there?

V3   A: Well, ah...

The category of V4, however, is defined as a reply to one's own question. It is often a reply to a rhetorical question, or a reply to one's own Y1B or Y1A question in which one indicates the desire to self-disclose. In terms of technique the process is much like "baiting one's own hook" so to speak, or asking to be drawn out further. The sequence can take place in one utterance as in a rhetorical question followed by an answer: e.g. p. 27H.

XE/V4   B: You know where I should put her cigarettes?
             Right down her throat.

or in a short sequence: e.g. p. 33L-N.

Y1A   S: You know what?

X4   R: What?

V4   S: You know, he uhm, the thing is, he says all the bad all
             the things about me because they're the three things (he)
             can get me back for...

Sometimes the sequence takes place over a longer period while the person

has to be prodded to self-disclose. We will illustrate this later.

W4 and W6 Categories

As regards the evasion categories we have discussed the concept of

a W5 previously and we will discuss it further in the context of flow

changers once we have illustrated the remainder of the categories. Because

of the conditions of anonymity on the phone throughout our experiment we

have found that many of our W4 and W6 evasions are based upon a reluctance

to reveal identifying information. Since a W4 is defined as an evasion

with the effect of changing the topic and a W6 as a general evasion we will

distinguish the two categories in the following example: p. 13A-G.

X2   R: What's your family name?
          (...)

W4   S: I'd rather not say because I think somebody's listening.
          Are you listening? Am I interesting?

X2   S: Who are you?

W6   M: I'm just some Joe Blow.

However, it is misleading to think that these evasion categories only reflect the situation of anonymity on the line—we would not consider them genuine categories unless they were applicable to human interaction situations in general. Other examples of a W6 in a different context are the following: p. 42N-P.

YlB D: Tell us how we could avoid the problems that have happened?

W6   J: Oh I have no idea.

YlA D: I see. You just don't care to talk about it, right?

To give a clearer definition of our different categories of answers we will illustrate the distinction between a V2, V3, V4 and W6 through a longer sequence which reveals the interaction involved in which a person is willingly but gradually drawn out to self-disclose via a V4 gambit. pp. 13Q-X, 14A-B.

X4   R: What?

W6   S: Nothing. I was going to say something, but I really changed my mind.
         (....)

X2   R: Why?

V2   S: I, I decided not to say it. But....

X3   R: But why did you decide not to say it?

V3   S: Because.

X3   R: Why?

V4   S: The guy was following me around—he was driving me totally insane. (Inaudible)

Twelve Assertion and Statement Categories

Y2A Category

If we turn now to the assertion categories we find that there are twelve of these to be analyzed. A Y2A which we have termed a "fishing" statement is the counterpart of a Y1A—an indirect "fishing" question. It has the same aspect of drawing a person out on a general issue and to test their response against one's own line of thought. For example, the "fishing" approach and testing for a response is quite clear in the following: p. 22C-D

        S: I just went out with somebody that I had totally at my
           finger tips.

Y2A R: ...Yeah, but you wouldn't like such a guy.

and p. 22J.

Y2A R: Well, if you like such a guy take him.

and p. 42G.

Y2A   Well, if you're a playboy about town, I'm sure you know all.

Y2B and Y2BE Categories

Our category Y2B is defined as personal self-disclosure which is easily recognizable in its context. S's comment above is a good example:

Y2B S: I just went out with somebody that I had totally at my
           finger tips.

There are, however, different degrees and different types of self-disclosure and these will be defined at length in Chapter Four cf. Self-Disclosure Model, p. 119). For the purposes of this chapter we shall classify all forms under the heading of Y2B. We

recognize that there is a difference in self-disclosure between a person who admits that he weighs 150 lbs. and another person who admits to weighing 350 lbs., but we are only interested in the structural dynamics of conversation at this stage and not with the content of the material. Our examples of self-disclosure will thus vary from p. 105M:

Y2B A: I've become lazier and lazier with age.

to p. 27B:

Y2B B: If that's what you always thought of me, well then, I'm sorry because I really loved your ass.

The category of Y2BE is merely what we have termed reinforced self-disclosure and one example of this should be sufficient: pp. 14T, 15A-D.

Y2B S: And I'm five feet four and a half and when I stand around them, not only do I feel small but I feel inferior and it's an awful feeling, so this way I was like tall and I felt better.

X2 R: Why do you feel inferior?

V2/Y2BE S: I don't know I just feel so little. I feel very small.

R: Yeah

Y2BE S: It's a really awful feeling.

Y2C and Y2CB Categories

The category Y2C is defined as an evaluation statement. It is most easily identified as giving an opinion about something, either evaluating the situation at hand in the form of a command, e.g. p. 8U.

Y2C E: Please talk closer to the damn phone.

or, as is more often the case, evaluating something a person says or does, or some aspect of the subject matter depending upon the context:

e.g., p. 26S-T.

<u>Y2C</u> R: ...I think he's nicer than you, Sara. He's more honest than you.

<u>Y2C</u> T: She's not sixteen, she's only fifteen! She's a good liar.

or p. 18S:

<u>Y2C</u> R: You hate yourself because you're Jewish.

The difference between a Y2C and a Y2A is that there is no "fishing" approach usually intended by a Y2C. This is of course totally dependent upon the context as the following example demonstrates: p. 43C-D.

<u>Y2C</u> D: Well, this makes interesting conversation.

<u>Y2C</u> J: And it gets to be very monotonous.

D's statement is clearly evaluative, if analyzed in the context of the conversation as a whole. Had D's statement been made at the beginning of the conversation, it would likely have been meant as a fishing Y2A and would have met with a different reply.

The category Y2CB is defined as countering a previous statement. Again it is easily identifiable in any conversational sequence and frequently occurs at the beginning of an argument. Often a Y2CB is the denial of a Y2C and thereby establishes a difference of opinion (viz. above), but it can equally be the denial of a Y2A or Y2B among other categories. A few short sequences are all that should be necessary to illustrate this: e.g., p. 17A-D.

<u>Y2C</u>   R: You're crazy.

<u>Y2CB</u> S: I'm not crazy.

<u>Y2C</u>   R: You're a snob.

<u>Y2CB</u> S: I'm not a snob.

and p. 42K-L

Y2BE J: I keep away from problems too.

Y2CB D: Well, obviously you haven't.

Y2D Category

Our Y2D category is defined as a meta statement and as such is the counterpart to a YlD—a meta question. What we conceive as a meta statement is anything that deals with a concrete situation or subject matter from a more general or theoretical plane of thought or from a higher degree of abstraction than is usual. What is a meta statement is thus entirely dependent upon the context; for instance, a statement that comments on the context of another person's statement is by definition meta because it approaches it on a higher degree of abstraction: e.g., p. 6.

> Y2B R: No, but ah, you found a flaw in me, but that's the only thing that's wrong with me: I'm conceited. Otherwise, everything's okay. I'm a real great guy.
>
> Y2D S: I used to be conceited but now I'm perfect.

or another situation is: p. 41R-T.

> X2 D: How do you know, Warren?
>
> V2 W: Oh, from seeing previous experiences.
>
> Y2D D: You can't know from seeing previous experiences, you've got to experience it, Warren.

On the other hand, even a generalization can be a meta statement in its context if it is the outcome of discussing a concrete situation in more theoretical terms, e.g. p. 110G.

> Y2D J: But women are geared to talking. Men are accused of falling asleep all the time.

However, it is also possible for a whole sequence of conversation to take place on a meta plane viz.the meta game that begins on p. 19 and

alternates between fantasy and reality to p. 24. Richard successfully

seduces Sara to take a hypothetical trip with him to the country on the

phone no doubt with the intention of capitalizing on the experience later.

It is an interesting technique which we will discuss later, but it is

worth illustrating some of the results in the context of this category.

The whole conversation is raised to a meta plane at p. 19L with Richard's

statement, "Okay, let's go out of town."

The meta plane is accepted by Sara as signified by the following meta

statement: p. 19S.

    Y2D S: Yeah, I'm having a house because I'm living in a house.

What is interesting in terms of development is that R's Y2D at p. 21K,

    Y2D R: You'll be adopted by some husband.

ultimately has the effect of causing S to reflect and to meta self-disclose:

p. 23K.

   Y2B/Y2D S: I don't feel I'm going to be a faithful wife.

Y2E Category

We have already mentioned the importance of reinforcers in continuing

the flow of interaction (cf. vol. I, p. 90). A reinforcement or Y2E often

takes the form of a single word or two of positive acknowledgement;

e.g., "Sure," "Right," "I know," "Yeah" or just "Hmm" and "Uh huh." But

it can also take the form of a much longer phrase or sequence of interaction.

An illustration of the former is p. 104E-F.

    Y2B A: Yeah, I like to cook.

    Y2E J: Hey, that's great.

However, the reinforcement need not always be positive, an example of the reinforcement of a negative feeling is evident if one examines the context of p. 27T-V.

V2　T:　I just can't believe you. Wow.

Y2E　S:　Neither can I.　Wow.　Too much, Tom.

In other cases the reinforcement can place through a sequence of interaction, where each person reinforces each other along a similar line of thought; p. 103C-F.

Y1A　J:　About the washing and ironing?

V1　A:　I do that myself.
　　　　　Oh yeah, for the ironing I try to buy as many ...

Y2E　J:　Perma-press.

Y2E　A:　Right.

and p. 107G-H.

Y2B　A:　...I'm probably afraid of responsibilities.

Y2E　J:　Maybe. But as long as you feel that way, then you're right
　　　　　not to go ahead and do it.

Y2SE and P Categories

The category of Y2SE—a reinforcement of one's own previous statement is quite straight forward. Its counterpart in the question category is an X3. Two short examples should be sufficient to illustrate this. It can be a brief sequence, e.g., p. 16L-N.

Y2C　L:　He's a nice Jewish boy.

Y2CB　M:　He's not Jewish.

Y2SE　N:　Yes he is.

or a more extended sequence, as in p. 101J-P.

Y2C J: And your English is perfect English.

Y2CB A: No, it's not.

<u>Y2SE</u> J: Oh it is!

<u>Y2SE</u> A: No, it's not at all.

X4 J: Pardon me?

V1 A: It is not perfect at all.

<u>Y2SE</u> J: Sure sounds like it.

The category P, however, denotes expansion and as such in our schema is more often associated with a statement which continues to expand on the topic, e.g. Y2B-P. It is readily identifiable in its context but it is justified as a separate category because it helps to distinguish a progression in the flow of interaction. One example should be sufficient to illustrate this: p. 104K-M.

Y2B A: ...But now, well I prefer to be alone, always problems.

Y2E J: Ah hah.

<u>Y2B-P</u> A: No, I like to be free, to work during the night when I feel like working during the night or whenever I want to.

Y2EE Category

A Y2EE which we have termed an "echo fishing" statement is the counterpart of an XE among the assertion categories. It serves the purpose of drawing out another person further by echoing his words in such a way that will suggest a continuation of the flow of information. For example, p. 42C-E.

X1 J: Well, what about you Mark, are you married?

V2/Y2B D: Oh no, I'm a playboy about town. I'm happy-go-lucky.

<u>Y2EE</u> W: Happy-go-lucky. Huh!

or for another example, 14B-C.

> Y2B S: The guy was following me around—he was driving me totally insane. (I'd) stick with my father so he would go away from me.

> <u>Y2EE</u> R: So you'd stick with your father.

Frequently a Y2EE is a summary of a sequence of statements of another person and it is a technique which psychiatrists often use to have a person reflect on their own words and to continue with their flow. An example of such a sequence is in the following example (pp. 39T-40D), when Don attempts to get Jean to self-disclose about her estranged husband:

> X2 D: Don't you see him?

> V1/Y2B J: Well, sure I see him in that way.

> Y1A D: And you don't talk to him.

> V1/Y2B J: Sure we're very good friends.

> X2/<u>Y2EE</u> D: Oh. What's the problem? 'Cause you see him, talk to him, you're very good friends...

We should point out, however, that this technique does not always succeed in drawing a person out further, as is evident in the above context—Jean adamantly refuses to self-disclose.

Y2F Category

Our category Y2F is defined as a statement that gives advice to another person. It is both a reinforcement and an expansion device in the sense of controlling the flow of interaction without any necessity of self-disclosing on the part of the person giving the advice. We shall examine this category later as a technique for soliciting self-disclosure, but we must first illustrate it as a category in the context of our schema. An example of this is Don's advice to Jean to reconsider her marriage, e.g. p. 40R.

Y2F D: Well, I think you should reconsider because ah, for the
         kids alone it could be well worthwhile.

In order to illustrate the reinforcement and expansion device of giving

advice we will use the following sequence as an example, pp. 107S, 108A-D.

Y2B A: I'm not sure it's a question of age, I think it's a question
         of maturity and knowing the right person, and up to now I've
         not met the right person.

Y2F J: That's what I would say to you because if the right person,
         had you met the right person you'd be married by now.

Y2E A: Probably.

Y2C J: But you still have a lot of years to look.

Y2B A: And I find most of the girls I know very superficial.

Flow Changes and Throwback Categories: K1, W5 and K

Thus far, we have examined all the categories in the schema with the

exception of those which we have called throwbacks and flow changers. We

examined the implications of a W5 in our earlier answer format model at

the beginning of this chapter. Our definition of this category W5 may be

clarified if we remember that a question that is answered by a question,

i.e. a question answer is a W5. In other words, a W5 breaks the flow of a

previous question by evading the question with another question and thereby

gaining control of the flow of interaction. A K1, on the other hand, is

not an evasion; it can be defined as any type of question which changes

the flow. It is an opportunity to introduce a new subject ie. K1/X1, or

request information of the other person ie. K1/Y1A. It is still an effective

K1 if it answers the question and then mirrors the question back in the

same utterance turn, i.e. V1/Y2B, K1/X2. We will give an example of it here:

p. 106N-P.

X1   A: What do you do usually during the weekend?

V2/Y2B   J: Oh all kinds of things! Go to the show, go visiting, you
K1/X2   know go shopping. What do you do?

V1/Y2B   A: I don't go out very much, I like to read. I read a lot.
                Probably what I'm doing the most - reading and writing....

In this case the flow changes from J to A, to A to J. The effect of this

K1 is a natural changeover that is common in most conversations. However,

when there is an attempt at fighting for control of the flow of interaction,

the effect of a W5 is more pronounced as in an argument or a minor fight

for control as in the "you tell me first" syndrome. One can recreate an

example of the latter using the example above; e.g.

X1   X: What do you do usually during the weekend?

W5   Y: What do you do?

However, a K1 must always indicate a flow change i.e. implies reversing

the flow. Any interruption by definition may be a K1 or a K (statement)

because it INTERRUPTS THE FLOW of interaction and thus CHANGES it. An

interruption is always an attempt to gain control - usually to reverse the

flow of interaction and thereby gain control - but sometimes an interruption

is merely a means of accentuating control that one already has. In this

case, an interruption is a means of reinforcing control of the flow and as

such one can consider it a "power trip". In the final escalation stage of

an argument or confrontation one finds frequent indications of an interruption

reinforcing control of the flow. We will give an example of this and

illustrate a sequence of throwback and flow changes by looking at the

confrontation between Don and Jean resulting from Don's repeated cross-

examination about her marriage. We will also use this interaction to make

the distinction between a W5, a flow changer-answer, a K1, a flow changer-

question, and a K, a throwback statement. These all personify the separate

throwback and flow change categories of our large schema. e.g. p. 43C-K.

<div>

Y2C   D: Well, this makes interesting conversation.

K/Y2C J: And it gets to be very monotonous.

X4   D: Pardon?

V1/Y2B J: It gets to be very monotonous. I would like to just be on the phone and just be me.

X2   D: Well why don't you speak up? Why don't you say so?

W5/Y2BP J: Not have to say that I'm divorced or whatever, you know.

K1/X2/ D: Well, why don't you just say I ahh?--you can say you're
Y2F   divorced, nothing wrong with it, it's like saying you've
            got brown hair. You can say, "I'm divorced but I'd rather
            not talk about my personal life," that's all you have to
K   say. But I think somewhere I hear, I think you like to
            talk about it.

K1/X2 J: Why would you think that?

V1   D: Because you wouldn't talk about it, you wouldn't want to talk about it and you would say so.

</div>

If we examine the above sequence in terms of flow change we have the

following: The flow initially moves from J to D, but J's counterstatement

although a throwback statement i.e. K, is not an effective flow changer

because D asks for a clarification, and therefore the flow still moves in

the direction of D. J repeats her statement and begins to self-disclose

but is cut off in the middle by D's interruption--his attempt to assert

and reinforce control of the flow of interaction.

However, in this context it is not fully effective; although J is

interrupted she continues with her previous statement. By not conceding

to the interruption in her train of thought and by ignoring D's questions

J regains the flow with her W5--by definition, evading a question with a

throwback answer. Don attempts to regain the flow by using the technique
of an X2 and combination Y2F which is not only a means of reinforcement
and expansion but a "power play" attempt at escalation tactics. The Y2F,
in this case, is basically an attempt to manipulate the flow, and it
culminates with a throwback statement in the form of a K. Jean, however,
replies with a K1/X2 question, thereby reasserting her control of the flow
of interaction. In its context, then, Jean maintains control of the flow
until Don K1's at M with the following flow changer:

   K1/X2 D: Well, why didn't you say so then?

Don's control of the flow lasts for the duration of the conversation until
Jean's K1 at p. 43R.

   Y2C/K J: In a conversation, I don't mind but I don't like a question
            and answer period.

   Y2E/X1 D: I see. Okay, did you ever play tennis?

   V1/Y2B J: No. Are you there?
   K1/X1

Although Jean's statement is initially only a K it is effective because
Don's attempt to reassert control with an X1,"Okay, did you ever play
tennis?" falls flat, and in its context it can only be taken as a meta
statement about their whole interaction which was very much like a tennis
or ping pong game of struggle for control. Don effectively admits defeat
by ceding the floor, or in this case his phone, to someone else without
even bothering to listen to the reply to his half-hearted X1 question.

    We have examined this sequence at length because we hoped to differentiate
the distinctions between a W5, a K1 and a K in our schema and to be able to
distinguish between a flow change and a throwback statement. These
categories focus on change points or conditions for change, and as such are

worth examining in detail, especially since they are the key measurements for measuring the flow of interaction.

Such power struggles in terms of flow are rare, however, in ordinary conversation, and one should point out that such confrontations do not usually last over such extended sequences. These cases normally arise in arguments, and as the discussion becomes more animated what often happens is that the struggle for control of the flow takes upon itself more and more a condition of repeating previous statements because of the fact that neither party is listening to what the other party is saying. We will examine some aspects of this later, and how it affects the control of the interaction. In the meantime, one should mention that in an argument, throwbacks or K's, often take the form of throwing insults back and forth at one another. At times such as these it is questionable whether there is any flow of interaction. One illustration of such a sequence of behavior is the following: pp. 28U-V, 29A-C.

    K S: I don't lie!

    K T: Bullshit!

    K S: Fuck off!

    K T: Bullshit!

    Y2C S: Okay, tell me what I lied about.

Now that we have illustrated all twenty-eight categories of our schema and explained the distinctions between throwbacks and flow changers, and our method for measuring the flow of interaction it should be possible to apply this schema as a methodology for analyzing patterns of self-disclosure in greater detail. We will thus turn in our next chapter to the analysis of certain patterns for eliciting self-disclosure as is revealed through the analysis of our conversational data.

CHAPTER FOUR

SEVENTEEN PATTERNS OF

SELF-DISCLOSURE SEQUENCING

The speech of men is like embroidered tapestries since
like them this too has to be extended in order to display
its patterns, but when it is rolled up it conceals and
distorts them.

> Themistocles
> in Plutarch's Lives c. 500 BC

Speech is a mirror of the soul: as a man speaks so is he.

> Publilius Syrus
> Maxim 1073 c. 50 BC

Advances in any new field for scientific investigation are
made when suitable techniques for measurement are discovered.

> Sidney Jourard
> Self-Disclosure: An Experimental
> Analysis of the Transparent Self 1971

Method for Classifying Seventeen Types of Self-Disclosure Sequencing

In this chapter, we shall attempt to demonstrate sequencing patterns of self-disclosure that are emergent from our category system of analysis. Using transcriptions of dyadic conversations of our telephone data as the basis of our analysis, we shall illustrate seventeen types of conversational sequencing that facilitate self-disclosure on the one hand, or induce further self-disclosure on the other.

However, before illustrating these sequences, it is important to recognize that we do not claim that these types of patterns of themselves reflect the reasons for the content of a person's self-disclosure, nor do we claim that these patterns can in any way reveal the personal motivation of why a person chooses to self-disclose in a particular context and point in time. The variables of conversational bonding that induce self-disclosure are too numerous and delicate to measure with sufficient precision to determine the psychological reasons why a person may choose to self-disclose within the unique context of a conversational exchange.

Nevertheless, given the evidence that people do self-disclose, it is possible through transcript analysis to isolate the specific passages involving self-disclosure and to determine in each case the initial (primary) sequence of interaction which "triggers" the response of self-disclosure, or to determine the fact that the self-disclosure is an unsolicited response. In other words, when analyzing a self-disclosure sequence in a transcript, one of two things should

be immediately apparent in the context.   Either the self-disclosure
is the effect of a prior sequence of a question or an assertion or
response, which can be established by examining the preceding sequ-
ence(s) in the conversational stream until one can pinpoint the
source of the sequence.   Or it is apparent, that the self-disclosure
is volunteered by the person, "fired off" rather than "triggered
off" so to speak.

It is important to establish this distinction from the point
of view of understanding the method for classifying the seventeen
types of self-disclosure into three separate groups. (c f. model
schema op.page 91).   In one sense, we can regard all self-disclosure
as being volunteered [1] - a person always has the option of choosing
not to self-disclose - but there are different degrees of volunteered
S.D. and we shall divide these into three different kinds accordingly.
The first is self-disclosure elicited by direct or indirect quest-
ioning and as is illustrated in the schema, we have established five
primary sequencing types at this level, which we shall call level A.
The second level of self-disclosure as outlined in the schema is a
higher degree of volunteered S.D. than the previous one since it is
not induced by a specific question but rather by statements, assert-
ions or responses by another person along a certain topic of conversa-
tion.   At this level, which we shall call level B, we have determined
seven primary sequencing types inducing topic-related self-disclosure.

_____

[1] All information is volunteered, it is just the way it is volunteered
     that distinguishes it.

The third level is the highest degree of volunteered S.D. and is classi-
fied as such - "volunteered self-disclosure" by the fact that the
self-disclosure is unsolicited and quite unrelated to the previous
topic of conversation. At this level which we shall call level C,
we have determined five primary sequencing types in which the second
party picks up on the volunteered S.D. and induces further S.D. In
the event that the volunteered S.D. is not picked up by the second
party or expanded on by the first party we shall refer to the volun-
teered S.D. as a CO type.

Thus twelve of the seventeen sequencing patterns (five A types
and seven B types) are derived from the fact that the self-disclosure
is an elicited response stemming from a question, assertion or answer;
whereas the remaining five C types of conversational sequencing are
based upon the response to the volunteered S.D. as a means of induc-
ing further self-disclosure. Collectively, we can equate the former
types of sequencing under the general heading of "soliciting or seek-
ing a response of self-disclosure", while the latter types we can
equate with, "easing the flow" of more self-disclosure.

Definition of Primary and Secondary Sequences

These types of conversational sequencing concerning self-dis-
closure are by no means the only ones possible, but they do represent
the most significant, in the sense of the most widely used, that we have
been able to determine through the analysis of our transcript data
using the methodological approach of our category system. Moreover,
we feel that the significance of these emergent types is distinguished

by two complementary functions. First, each type describes the structural dynamics of conversational flow as a binary sequence complete and autonomous in itself, which we will refer to as a primary sequence. Second, these primary sequences, taken as a whole, can be considered as building blocks that interlock with one another to reveal more complex patterns of conversational sequencing that reflect the wide variety of speech patterning of the conversational stream. We shall therefore, refer to these sequences as secondary sequences. Thus in its conversational context, the primary type is that which initiates the first S.D. sequence for that segment of the conversational stream, and the secondary types are those which sustain the flow of further topic-related self-disclosure. Each of the 17 types can therefore inherently function as either a primary or a secondary depending on the conversational context.

Let us then consider these emergent types of self-disclosure sequencing as our basic binary units reflecting the conversational flow and collectively forming extended sequences of the structural dynamics of the flow. If it is possible to speak of self-disclosure patterns, let us consider each type of S.D. sequencing as a primary pattern, complete in itself - able to replicate itself, or to be taken in conjunction with other secondary patterns, thereby forming an extended compound pattern of S.D. This should become clearer when we examine the 17 primary patterns of S.D. with examples from different conversations from our data source. Further, the compound patterns of S.D. sequencing will be better understood when we analyze the flow of specific dyadic conversations in greater detail in Chapters Five and Six.

Composite Breakdown of Y2B Category

However, before illustrating these 17 primary patterns at
length, it is important first to outline a composite breakdown of
our original self-disclosure category - Y2B - (cf. typology sheet)
to make it compatible with the three levels of volunteered S.D. des-
cribed above. In the self-disclosure model below, it should be clear
that each level of S.D. can be consistently classified as follows:

SELF-DISCLOSURE MODEL

Y2B (E) (P) (H)

V1 / Y2B	3Y2B	2Y2B	1Y2B
Level A types		B types	C types
Question-related S.D.		Topic-related S.D.	Unrelated S.D.

All question-related S.D. will be complemented by an answer V1, V2, or
V3 and a plain Y2B - i.e. V1 / Y2B indicative of level A and the 5 A
types. All topic-related S.D. will be designated as 2Y2B indicating
level B and any of the 7 B types. Any self-disclosure which is unre-
lated to the previous topic of conversation will be identified as a
1Y2B indicative of level C and the 5 C types.

However, we have formed a 3Y2B as complementary to the 1Y2B
in question-related S.D. We consider this an essential attribute
for a more composite picture of the Y2B category. A 3Y2B is therefore

defined as self-disclosure which is volunteered over and above that
solicited by the question asked. It is thus an example of introduc-
ing a new element or unexpected item of personal information which
can be followed up by the questioner; and a 3Y2B is distinguished
by the fact that it signifies a higher degree of volunteered S.D.
than that ordinarily encompassed by a normal answer to a question
i.e. V1 / Y2B. Examples of 3Y2B are illustrated accordingly on p. 128.

The effect of having a counterpart to a 1Y2B in question-re-
lated categories at level A is that it enables one to make a more
comprehensive evaluation of the degree of volunteered S.D. on an
individual basis when we analyze specific dyadic conversations in
Chapters Five and Six. By quantifying each instance of S.D. and
classifying it according to our Y2B schema above, the percentages
of each kind of Y2B at the V1 / Y2B level, 2Y2B level, 3Y2B and
1Y2B level should reveal an accurate breakdown of the structural
dynamics of S.D. for each individual in the conversation.

In addition, as illustrated in the typology schema,
any of the above S.D.which denotes either reinforcement ((E)) or
expansion ((P)) may be designated for instance, V1/Y2BE or V1/Y2BP. The
concepts of reinforcement (E) and expansion (P) have been adequately
discussed in Chapter Four, pp.106-7 and need not be analyzed further.

The introduction of a Y2B-H is also an essential attribute for
a more composite picture of the Y2B category in the sense that it
makes the distinction possible between a High S.D. conversation and
an average S.D. conversation. While the Y2B-H is a means of denoting
High S.D we must make the distinction here, that this is a qualitative

process, and is the only instance of a direct allusion to the content of a person's S.D. in our category system. We emphasize that it is not the object of this thesis to evaluate the content of an individual's S.D. or to attempt to define intermediate or lower levels of S.D. on a qualitative basis. But for purposes of comparison between High S.D. and average conversation, it is important that we define what is meant by High S.D. and do so according to objective criteria.

Definition of High Self-disclosure

It does seem possible to do this with precision, if we adhere to the definition laid down by Lazarus (1969) in "The Inner Circle" concept, which is a clinical tool used by psychologists to grade levels of S.D. Roger Lupei uses this category system as part of his methodological approach in his thesis, Self-Disclosure Communication Patterns as a Function of Dyadic Interpersonal Need Compatibility Status (1977), and we shall paraphrase Mr. Lupei's description of these levels briefly, to clarify our definition of High S.D. The five areas of The Inner Circle are delineated as follows: Area A signifies a person's inner world which he shares only with his therapist; i.e. a person's unconscious world. Area B represents the feelings and thoughts a person may reveal to only a very few intimate friends or confidents. Area C encompasses information that can be shared with several good friends without involving risk; i.e. these friends would not share information in either Area A or B. Area D is designated as information that one would share with a friend of a

friend, and Area E is public information or such as would be shared
with superficial contacts.

For our purposes, we will define High S.D. as that falling in
Area A and Area B, and in our conversational context it is almost ex-
clusively Area B. More precisely, then, we will define Area B in Mr.
Lupei's own words:

> Group B includes very intimate information about oneself
> which could be communicated, such as feelings or ideas
> about one's own body, personality, personal sex life,
> extreme fears and passions about very personal matters
> and so on. [2]

In order to clarify what is not defined as High S.D. we will quote
Lupei's explicit definition of Area C:

> This category contains assertions and questions which
> are less risky to disclose and ask than the ones con-
> tained in Group B. Personal tastes, attitudes, fears
> and likes about such topics as sex in general, religion,
> one's philosophy of life, politics etc.. [3]

With the definition of Group B in mind, the concept of our Y2B-H is
readily understood if one examines the following brief conversational
examples from our data on p. 129.

Method for Illustrating Seventeen Primary Patterns

Perhaps the best method for illustrating the 17 primary pat-
terns outlined on pp.126-7 is to show several examples of each taken
from different conversational samples. Since we have described each
category at length in the last chapter, it would not seem necessary
to repeat this procedure in detail again. Furthermore, since our ex-

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2 & 3 Lupei, Roger Self-Disclosure Communication Patterns as a Function of
    Dyadic Interpersonal Need Compatibility Status M.S. thesis 1977,
    Oklahoma State University. p. 77

amples will be isolated from their conversational contexts for purposes of comparison only, we will not spend time analyzing the significance of each sequence in its original context. Rather, we will provide the transcript page, where possible, so that the reader may situate each example in its original context if he or she wishes to do so.

For the present purposes of illustrating each primary pattern, however, we feel that the best way to do this is to list three or four examples of each and let these speak for themselves. The different examples should thus indicate the frequency with which these primary patterns occur in conversational sequencing and enable the reader to familiarize himself more easily with these so as to be able to recognize them more readily in the more complex compound sequences that will be analyzed in greater detail in Chapters Five and Six.

A note of caution concerning the intent behind the caption for each primary, however, should be taken into consideration before reviewing the following examples. For instance, the reader may not always think that the generalization for each type fits the example provided. In this case, the reader should realize that the caption is intended only as a colloquial model that personifies the intent of that pattern and is provided only as a reference to remember the pattern in a verbal manner rather than in a more abstract numerical manner.

Method for Selection of Conversations

Since we decided to limit ourselves to the analysis of dyadic interaction, all two hundred hours of telephone data were examined to isolate such interactions. A total of forty-six dyadic conversations thus comprised the available selection. Of these, several had to be discounted because the noise level on the line affected the quality of the taping and hence would have meant a higher incidence of interruptions in transcript form. Some conversations were eliminated because they were too short. However, these were all ultimately transcribed, and many of these were used as examples to describe the seventeen patterns of self-disclosure in this chapter. For obvious reasons of space these have not been included in the appendices and hence page references are not given for these examples. Other conversations were rejected because they were too long, although two lengthy ones - Nobody and Charles, and Andrea and Debbie, were selected to illustrate at least two complete lengthy interactions. The remainder comprised a "natural selection" of twenty-four conversations which we have used as the basis for our analysis.

It is also important to point out that the major portion of the two hundred hours of data was collected on the basis of random sampling techniques. Random number tables were used to ensure that adequate coverage of daily interaction on The Line could be recorded over a period of months. Since a specific hour's taping was assigned according to a random number from one to twenty-four, there could be no guarantee that it coincided with the beginning, middle, or end of a conversation. For this reason, not all the twenty-four conversations which we analyze are transcribed at the beginning of the original interaction, and likewise not all terminate at the close of the conversation.

Because of our random sampling, however, the conversations selected represent an accurate assessment of the different age groups and people who used The Line over the eight month period.

In all conversations quoted in this thesis, identifying features such as telephone numbers, addresses and even first names used by callers have been changed to preserve total anonymity.

SEVENTEEN SELF-DISCLOSURE SEQUENCING TYPES

Eleven Primary Patterns Eliciting Self-Disclosure

I Five A Types Y2B Direct and Indirect Questioning:

   1) X1-V1/Y2B   "Let's change the subject, do you...?"

   2) X2-V1/Y2B   "Do you...? Are you...?"

   3) X3-V1/Y2B   "As I said before, do you...?"
                        "I'll repeat that, do you...?"

   4) Y1A-V1/Y2B   "I wonder if you can tell me something more?"
                        "You did?"

 *5) K1-V1/Y2B   "I won't answer your question. Let me ask you
                        this, do you...?"

*This type forms a hybrid with any of the four above, e.g. K1/X1, or K1/Y1A.

II Seven B Types 2Y2B Statements, Assertions and Answers:
                              (Inducing topic-related self-disclosure).

   1) Y2A/2Y2B   "You're kidding...."

   2) Y2C/2Y2B   "In my opinion .... According to me ...."

   3) Y2D/2Y2B   "Maybe .... I guess .... It seems to me .... It
                        happens ...."

   4) Y2E/2Y2B   "Right you are .... So true .... Uh huh .... Keep
                        going ...."

   5) Y2F/2Y2B   "If I were you I would ...."

   6) V1/2Y2B   "That's what happened." "Well something happened to me."

   7) 2Y2B/2Y2B   "Something happened to me." "Me too."

III   <u>Five C Types</u>   1Y2B: Volunteered Self-Disclosure Unrelated to Previous Topic.
(Primary patterns inducing further self-disclosure).

    1) 1Y2B/X2-V1/Y2B   "Something happened to me."   "Did it really...?"

    2) 1Y2B/XE-V1/Y2B   "Something happened to me."   "That's what you said eh?"

    3) 1Y2B/Y1A-V1/Y2B   "Something happened to me."   "You did?"

    4) 1Y2B/Y2A/2Y2B   "Some thing happened to me."   "You're kidding."

    5) 1Y2B/Y2E/2Y2B   "Something happened to me."   "Uh huh." "Keep going."

IV   <u>Example of a Primary Pattern Replicated on Itself</u>

    A2 Type - X2-V1/Y2B   "Do you ...?"   "Self-disclosure."

    A2 Type - X2-V1/Y2B   "Do you ...?"   "Self-disclosure."

V   <u>Example of Two Primary Types Forming a Compound Pattern</u>

    A1 Type - X1-V1/Y2B   "Are you...?"   "Self disclosure."

    B1 Type - Y2A-2Y2B   "You're kidding..."   "Self-disclosure."

3Y2B Type: "Let me tell you something you didn't ask."
"What's more, I ...."

Jim - J (47) and Female - F (18)
pp. 88 B, C, D.

XE   F No?

V1/3Y2B   J Oh no, no, no, no, no, I don't. In fact uh, I'm not afraid
to say so, is uh, the reason for my divorce was I had...,
my ex-wife was a real believer of horoscopes and she's an
Aries and I'm a Cancer and if you know anything about
horoscopes ....

Y1A   F They don't get along?

V1/Y2BP   J Uh, I am .... No, they definitely don't get along and also
I'm a Cancer of the twelfth house and if you happen to know
know anything about it I'm a moonchild with the twelfth house
and boy I want to tell you something, that's the worst you
can ever get.

Nobody - N (18) and Charles - C (36)
p. 149 Q, R.

X1   C Because, yeah, it's kind of a status quo right. Have you
ever gone for a job and filled out an application?

V1/3Y2B   N Uh huh. Education. Well like. I've got a job now already
and; but see, they can train me to do things. I don't know
if I want to do it all my life or not, or if I should stay
there and get myself promoted - to up higher and higher or
get out of there. Or I'm not sure if I should go for a better
job, or if I like the job that I have or what. See, so I'm
kind of confused.

Sheila - S (26) and Alice - A (72)
p. 210, N, O.

Y1A   S They're quite big eh? (apartments)

V2/3Y2B   A They're very, very nice. The persons I've met here, most are
French which I don't speak or understand. My son tells me
not to try to speak it because I murder the language.

High Self-disclosure - <u>Y2B-H</u>:   "Look, here's something very, very personal."

       Greg - G (28) and Pam - P (49)
       p. 162, K, L.

Y1A   P Oh, nothing too serious I hope?

V1/Y2B-H G Open heart surgery.

       Jack - J (28) and Heidi - H (16)
       pp. 136T-137A.

1Y2B-H   J I'm a floating balloon. (Sobbing) Just float from one place to another. Same life, no goals, nothing. Ah, that's terrible. Ahhhhhhh! You know what I want to do? I want to go somewhere and have some coffee.

          H (Screams at cat)

       Wendy - W (26) and Mo - M (32)
       p. 160, J, K.

X2   M Did he realize what you were going through?

V2/3Y2B-H W Well he seen the baby - the condition he was in - he was black and blue face with supper on top of his head.

TWELVE PRIMARY PATTERNS FACILITATING SELF-DISCLOSURE

1: Five A Types

Al Type   X1/Y2B: "Let's change the subject, do you ...?"

            Pierre - M (38) and Peggy - P (19)
            p. 48, M, N, O, P.

X1   P Hum. Do you have children?

V1/Y2B M I have one. He's also six foot two.

X2   P Boy! How old is he?

V1/Y2B M He's fifteen.

            Ruth - R (58) and Lara - L (19)

Y2C   R .... very, very foggy outside, you know.

Y2E   L Yeah.

X1   R How long have you been here?

V1/Y2B L Six months.

            Peggy - P (49) and Girl - G (16)
            p. 113, Q, R.

Y2C/X1 P It is hard to tell. There's somebody dialing.
            (Pause) Do you read much?

V1/Y2B G I haven't had the time lately.

A2 Type   X2/Y2B: "Do you?" "Are you?"

              Nobody - N (18) and Charles - C (36)
              G, H, I, J. p. 147, G, H, I, J.

X2   C Do you want to be a bystander?

V1/Y2B   N Not really. I'd like to get into record production.

XI   C But do you really want to get involved in something?

V1/Y2B   N I really don't want to get involved with anything yet.

              Chloe - C (27) and Susannah - S (28)

X2   C Oh yeah, really. Do they ever bite you, the fleas?

V1/Y2B   S Well, we don't have any. Well, my cat used to have fleas,
               I used to get bitten on the leg, you know and then she went
               down when I was living at home. She went down to the basement
               one time.

              Jean - J (30) and Tim - T (19)

X2   J How long have you been a Jehovah's Witness?

V1/Y2B   T I was baptized two years ago.

A3 Type   X3/Y2B: "As I said before, do you ....?"
                    "I'll repeat that, are you ...?"

                    Nobody - N (18) and Charles - C (36)
                    p. 153, F, G, H, I.

X2   C Hell. Do you have a problem or do you have not a problem?

V2   N I think that ....

Y2F/X3   C Balance that in your mind. Do you have a problem or not?

V3/Y2B   N Uh, maybe one.

                    Jim - J (47) and Female - F (18)
                    p. 90. B, C, D, E.

X2   F In your time -- what about it?

X4   J Eh?

X3   F What about your time?

V1/3Y2B   J Oh. In our time it was the same way but not expressed in the
               same way. And there was...we used to go out and have a...it
               was great to go out and have a...oh cripes -- twelve or
               fifteen guys, maybe nine or ten girls and have a beautiful
               evening....

                    Matt - M (18) and Kris - K (22)

2Y2B/X1   K I went to Rawden once and I didn't stay very long. I stayed
               for about a day so, I don't know Rawden very well, at all.
               Do you guys go camping or anything?

X4   M Pardon?

X3   K Do you ever go camping or anything?

V1/Y2B   M I love camping.

A4 Type   Y1A/Y2B: "I wonder if you can tell me something more?"
                 "You did?"

                Pierre - M (38) and Peggy - P (19)
                p. 45, E, F, G, H.

Y1A   M I see. And you have a boyfriend?

V1/Y2B   P Yeah.

Y2EE/Y1A M Yeah. A regular one?

V1/Y2BE   P Yeah. He's a regular one.

                Peggy - P (49) and Girl - G (16)
                p. 114, Q, R.

Y1A   P Oh well. You can help him, eh?

V1/Y2B   G No. That's not my thing. Well, he's a, like he's a brick-
              layer, he's a contractor for bricks.

                Nobody - N (18) and Charles - C (36)
                p. 152, I, J and M, N, O, P.

Y1A   N You don't have any problems?

V1/Y2B   L Yeah. Everytime I wake up in the morning I have trouble
              getting together, you know.

W5/Y1A   N Ah, what do you mean; from a hangover or what?

V1   C No. No.

Y1A   N Or just waking up?

V1/3Y2B   C Just waking up at night. You know, I get some heavy
              hangovers. But normally on the weekend. So during the
              week I play it easy.

A5 TYPE K1/Y2B: <u>"I won't answer your question. Let me ask you this...?"</u>

Eileen -E (48) and Susan -S (15)
p. 95, A, B, C, D.

Y2E	E	Oh, that's good. There's a future.
K1/X1	S	What did you do today?
V1/Y2B	E	I worked kind of hard, I work you know. I work in a sales office and I like it very much. My girl that works with me is away sick so I'm working doubly hard. I work with girls and they're very
K1/X1		nice. Do you have a boyfriend?
V1/Y2B	S	No, I wish I did.

Jack -J (23) and April -A (13)
p. 59, A, B, C.

X2	J	Where do you go dancing?
W6/K1/X2	A	Ah oh I don't know. (Pause) Where do you go dancing?
V1/Y2B	J	Well, to the Tube.

Dora -D (56) and Sylvia -S (32)

X1/K	D	Why don't you go and see someone in the hospital? You know, talk on the telephone never got anybody anywhere. We want action! Why have we got poverty in an affluent society? Because we've got the Liberal Government in - that's why. They'll give themselves $18,000 - $40,000. They give themselves a big raise in pay and they tell the whole nation to tighten their belts. Why don't they goddam practice what they preach?
V1/Y2B/ K1/X2	S	Madam? When was the last time you went out to the Vet's hospital? I go out there regularly.
W5/3Y2B	D	The Vet hospital! What are you talking about? I'm a Canadian.

II. Seven B Types

B1 Type   Y2A/2Y2B: "Tell me something."   "Tell me more."
                        "You must be kidding."

           Susan - S (34) and Norman - N (36)

Y2A   S   I understand your problem of having no money very well.

2Y2B   N   These days no matter what you make never seems to be enough.
               Actually I'm not working at the moment. I'm on unemployment
               insurance.

           Christopher - C (29) and Ariane - A (25)

Y2A   C   You live with your family I take it. Mother, father, brothers,
               and sisters.

2Y2B   A   Yes, two brothers.

           Andrea - A (16) and Debbie - D (13)
           p. 172, J, K, L, M.

X2   A   How much do you weigh?

W6   D   I can't tell I weigh so much.

Y2A   A   You can't weigh that much.

2Y2B   D   Oh I weigh so much you wouldn't believe. I'm twelve years
               old and I weigh like I'm, I don't know, twenty. My brother's
               girlfriend weighs less than me. She's twenty-five.

B2 Type   Y2C/2Y2B: "In my opinion..." "According to me..."

                   Charlotte - C (15) and John - J (21)

Y2C   C It's no fun to have a girlfriend, that's for sure.

2Y2B   J It's not fair for them. I mean I had one. I broke off
              with her for that reason. I just don't have the time.

                   Ronnie - R (36) and Linda - L (27)

Y2C   R I thought you said you had it. (operation)

2Y2B   L No, no, no, no - my fiancé.

Y2C   R Oh, oh. I thought you had been in the hospital, too.

2Y2B   L Well, I was. I had to have a blood transfusion because
              I'm on a very strict diet. My blood pressure went so low
              that I was hemorrhaging.

                   Carmen - C (20) and Simon - S (21)

Y2C   S You sound like a good person, Carmen.

2Y2B   C I am a nice person.

Y2C   S I'm not just talking nice. I don't mean good in terms of
              morals. I mean in terms of being a real person. I mean,
              no phoney.

2Y2B   C Yeah, I'm a good girl. I go to church once in awhile.

B3 Type   Y2D/2Y2B: "Maybe ... "It seems to me ..."   "It could be ..."
                          "It happens apparently."

            Greg - G (28) and Pam - P (49)
            p. 163 Q, R.

Y2D   P   Yeah, well you know for people who are lonely, and are alone
              in a room or an apartment and are shut in and invalids and
              stuff like that, well, you know it's good for them 'cause
              Tel-Aid is all right but it's not for the same thing, you
              know. Tel-Aid is more for people who are depressed and
              attempt suicide and all this stuff.

2Y2B-H   G   Well, I came pretty close to that one time. I think I was
              just down with myself.

            Wendy - W (26) and Mo - M (32)

Y2D   W   Well, it's senseless for me to even go. I may as well just
              ask myself the questions.

2Y2B   M   Right. That's exactly what I thought.   When I was fifteen
              years old, I attempted to commit suicide. I took a bottle
              of aspirin. Fine, I went to a psychiatrist. He said,
              "Why did you do it?" Well, fuck, if I knew why, I wouldn't
              be there.

            Jim - J (47) and Female - F (18)
            p. 86, D, E.

Y2D   J   ...but to sit on the line, to sit there for maybe half an
              hour trying to get this line and then once you get it sit
              there with a handkerchief over the mike and sit there for
              an hour....

2Y2B   F   The reason why I didn't say anything in the first place is
              because I had nothing to say; precisely that.

B4 Type   Y2E/2Y2B: "So true. Uh huh. Keep going."

          Sheila - S (28) and Alice - A (72)
          p. 207, C, D.

Y2E   S Oh that's right, yes.

2Y2B   A And uh, they couldn't put it on so I have to suffer in
             silence and get up in the morning, have my breakfast, take
             my pills, do my therapy, go to bed and cry.

          Mary - M (49) and Stan - S (26)
          p. 204, F, G.

Y2E   M Oh yeah.

2Y2B   S But I'm not in the mood for working.

          Linda - L (19) and Jim - J (20)
          p. 118, E, F.

Y2E   J That's good.

2Y2B   L That's not travelling though. I'd like to go somewhere
             myself and not have anyone.

          Pierre - M (38) and Peggy - P (19)
          p. 48 S, T.

Y2E   P Wow!

2Y2B   M He wears size thirteen shoes.

B5 Type   Y2F/2Y2B: "If I were you I would..." "You should..."

Napoleon- N (18) and Judy - J (25)

Y2F   N Yeah, I think if you go to counselling you'll solve the
            whole problem.

2Y2B   J I've been to counselling.

Peggy - P (49) and Girl - G (16)
p. 192

Y2F   G Take a sewing course.

2Y2B   P Well, they go into so much detail and to me I only want to
            make plain dresses, you know. Like the shifts, more or less,
            you know.

Nobody - N (15) and Charles - C (36)
p. 153, N, O.

Y2F   C You make friends, you go out and make friends.

2Y2B   N I'm very choosy about the friends I make. Or I might not
            want people to know me or something.

Bill - B (34) and Suzanne - S (29)

Y2F   B If you feel something is wrong, you should see a psychiatrist.

2Y2B   S It's not that I feel something is wrong; I feel so guilty.

B6 Type   V1/2Y2B: "That's what happened".   "That's how it is."
                     "Well something happened to me."

Jean - J (30) and Tim - T (18)

Y1D   J Oh, ho, ho, ho. You know how long? (a child can stay quiet
              at a meeting).

V1   T How Jean? Uh, if uh, the kid fidgets around too much eh,
              you can, you can take the Biblical advice in Proverbs which
              loosely quoted is "spare the rod and spoil the child."

2Y2B   J I wouldn't dare hit my child in public. I wouldn't spank
              my child, everybody would be ....

Wendy - W (26) and Mo - M (32)
p. 160, C, D, E.

2Y2B/   W The thing that hurt me was why did I have to do it all on
K1/Y1B   my own — why didn't someone be smart enough to see that I
              wanted help?

V1   M Cause you didn't let them see it.

2Y2B   W I did, I begged my husband on hands and knees.

Mad - M (17) and Lou - L (16)

Y1A   L Uh huh?

V1   M Lou, I'm serious.

2Y2B   L I believe you. I already bought a plant for my parents'
              anniversary. I named it Elizabeth Socrates.

B7 Type   2Y2B/2Y2B: "Something happened to me." "Me too."

           Jackie - J (26) and Eve - E (27)

2Y2B   J When I was younger right, my fantasy names were Mike and ....

2Y2B   E Mine too.

           Ronnie - R (36) and Linda - L (27)

2YBP   R They had to give me an "IV" in one arm and a transfusion in
             the other arm.

2Y2B   L When I was in the hospital I nearly passed away.

           Tricia - T (16) and George - G (39)

2Y2B   T No, I can get my license, I'm going to drive a motorbike
             on my seventeenth birthday. I have a motorbike but I can't
             drive it.

2Y2BH   G Can I tell you something? I have a son who was killed on one.

           Greg - G (28) and Pam - P (49)
           p. 165, A, B, C, D, E.

V1/3Y2B   G I got a French last name that's about it.

2Y2B   P Oh, that's what we have, a French last name. I'm Irish,
             my husband is French.

2Y2B   G My father speaks French.

2Y2B   P But all my children speak both languages.

2Y2BH   G My father tried to teach us French before he died. I think
             we were ten years old.

III. Five C Types

<u>Cl Type 1Y2B/X2/Y2B:</u> "Something happened to me." "Did it really?"
"Further self-disclosure."

Napoleon - N (18) and Judy - J (28)

Y2A   N Well probably you know. He doesn't say he became worse.
             It's you who say that.

1Y2B   J Well, to him I'm an alcoholic.

X2   N Well are you one?

V1/Y2B   J Not as far as I'm concerned, no.

X2   J Do you drink a bottle of beer a day?

V1/Y2B   J I drink a case of beer a day.

Peggy - P (49) and Girl - G (16)
p. 111, B, C, D.

1Y2B   G Just washed my hair.

X2   P Oh. Is it long?

V1/Y2B   G Oh, no. Used to be but it gets so tangled.

Linda - L (19) and Jim - J (20)
p. 117, F, G, H.

1Y2B   J Well I've only been here about four weeks.

X2   G Oh, I see. Where you from?

V1/Y2B   J I was in Toronto for eighteen months. Before that, I'm
             from New Brunswick.

C2 Type   1Y2B/XE/Y2B: "Something happened to me."   "That's what you
                           said, eh?"   "Further self-disclosure."

           Mildred - M (71) and Ian - I (22)
           p. 213, B, C, D.

1Y2B   M Yeah. When you have no children, you know, and you're sort
            of alone in the world, you know ....

XE   I You don't have any children?

V1/Y2B   M No. I never had any children; no.

           Eileen - E (48) and Susan - S (15)
           p. 95, H, I, J, K.

V1   S Yeah, but there's always more.

1Y2B   E Well I met my husband when I was eight.

XE   S Eight?

V1/3Y2B E Yeah we went around by the time we were eight and 'till the
            time we got married when he was in the service during the
            war, and we got married when we were quite young. He died
            on our 28th wedding anniversary.

           Jackie - J (26) and Eve - E (27)

1Y2B   J I have heartburn.

XE   E You have heartburn?

V1/Y2B   J Yeah, we had a pizza.

C3 Type   <u>1Y2B/Y1A/Y2B</u>:   "Something happened to me."   "You did?"
                                         "Further self-disclosure."

Eileen - E (48) and Susan - S (15)
p. 96, N, O, P, Q.

V1/Y2B	S	I'm going to camp.
1Y2B	E	Camp that's nice. I was in Florida in February.
K1/Y1A	S	Oh, it's nice there, eh?
V1/3Y2B	E	Beautiful. I just learned to drive a car so I'll buy a little car, 'cause where I live if you don't have a car, there's no bus service, you know.

Andrew - A (18) and Irene - I (17)

V1	I	A Fury III.
Y2EE/ 1Y2B	A	Fury III - right. I got an accident to mine last night. (Laughter)
Y1A	I	Toyota?
V1/Y2BP	A	Toyota Celica '72. Somebody hit me in the rear end. Wasn't my fault.

Liz - L (16) and Claude-C (20)

2Y2BP	L	I get up at five-thirty.
1Y2B	C	I just bought a car.
Y1A	L	Yeah?
V1/Y2BP	C	About two months ago. I've always wanted a car. My first car. And it cost me $1,600.

C4 Type   1Y2B/Y2A/2Y2B   "Something happened to me."   "You're kidding."
                            "Further self-disclosure."

           André - A (28) and Jean - J (31)
           p. 102, J, K, L.

1Y2B   A Oh yeah, but too much of myself; that's the problem. For
           example, tonight I was supposed to clean my apartment, but
           I don't feel like cleaning my apartment.

Y2A   J So you didn't do it.

2Y2BP   A Exactly. It's a real mess.

           Linda - L (19) and Jim - J (20)
           p. 123, M, N, O.

1Y2B   L You know I can't type or anything or I'd wake everyone up.
           So the next best thing is to use the phone. Yeah, and I
           don't feel like reading 'cause I'm too tired. What a crazy
           nightmare.

Y2A   J Like what.

2Y2BP   L I dreamt I was on stage with the Rolling Stones and Alice
           Cooper and Mick Jagger and the cobra.

           Napoleon - N (18) and Judy - J (25)

1Y2B   J Well, he went out this afternoon to bowling at 12 o'clock
           noon. He came home around 3:30, got on the talk line; he's
           been on ever since, until he slammed the phone down and walked
           out the door because he got mad at me.

Y2A   N Yeah, but there must be a reason for that.

2Y2B   J Well he's either doing that or he's watching T.V. or he falls
           asleep on the floor or he goes to bed.

Y2SE   N Yeah, but there must be a reason for all that.

2Y2B   J Well I guess he just doesn't like me.

C5 Type <u>1Y2B/Y2E/Y2B</u>: "Something happened to me." "Uh huh."
                          "Further self-disclosure."

        Eileen - E (48) and Susan - S (15)
        p. 96, I, J, K.

1Y2B   E I became an aunt again today.

Y2E   S Oh, that's so good.

2Y2BP   E Yeah, a little boy.

        Greg - G (28) and Pam - P (49)
        p. 162, I, J, K.

1Y2B   G If I would have known about this phone, uh, this thing
             about six weeks ago I think I would've enjoyed it. I was
             laid up.

Y2E   P Oh, sure you would've. 'Cause you could've been on all night.

2Y2BP   G I could've, you know, 'cause I was in the hospital.

        Paula - P (16) and Steve - S (30)
        p. 194, F, G, H.

1Y2B   P He was just talking - like my friend went away for the summer.

Y2E   S I see.

2Y2BP   P So I was left all alone, but I didn't mind.

IV. Example of a Primary Pattern Replicated on Itself

Type A2: X2/Y2B

        Don -D (35) and Jean -J (31)
        p. 38, C, D, E, F.

X2	D	How many do you have?
V1/Y2B	J	Two.
X2	D	How old are they?
V1/Y2B	J	Twelve and nine.

    and pp. 39-40, R, S, T, A.

X2	D	Oh, how often does he see them?
V1/Y2B	J	Every weekend and sometimes during the week.
X2	D	Don't you see him?
V1/Y2B	J	Well, sure I see him in that way.

Type A4: André -A (28) and Jean -J (31)
        p. 109, I, J, K, L.

Y1A	J	You don't go to nightclubs or anything?
V1/3Y2B	A	No, I hate that. I don't see any reason for me to go there. I don't drink, well, I'm not interested in drinking. I can drink when I have to but I'm not really interested in drinking. I don't smoke.
Y1A	J	You don't? No bad habits?
V2/3Y2B	A	Oh well, I might have some but not these. I like to play in electronics, I have been studying to get ham radio license for awhile, but I have to give up my work because of a lack of interest.

V. Examples of Primary Types Forming Compound Patterns

Type C5: 1Y2B/Y2E/2Y2B and Type C1: Y2B/X2/Y2B

Jackie - J (25) and Eve - E (27)

Y2E   J Yeah.

1Y2B   E My cousin's getting married in October. She's never lived
             with a guy so they'll be divorced. It's true. So many
             couples ... Because we made an arrangement that we'd live
             together and like to see how it is and if we liked it we'd
             go on, right, and I liked it, it was so natural it was like
             I lived with him all my life you know.

Y2E   J Yeah.

2Y2BP   E (Inaudible) I got very mad one time. I wanted to leave.
             It's like we're married type thing; he won't let me pay for
             anything, you know.

X2   J Does he work?

V1/Y2B   E Oh yeah. He's a computer programmer.

Type A1: X1/Y2B, Type B7: 2Y2B/2Y2B, and Type B2: Y2C/2Y2B

Andrea - A (16) and Debbie - D (13)
p. 167, J, K, L, M, N, O.

X1   A How old are you by the way?

V1/Y2B   D I'm thirteen.

2Y2B   A I'm sixteen.

2Y2B   D Oh. I'm always the youngest one.

Y2C   A It's not so bad you know.

2Y2B   D Well, I'm sick of being the smallest.

Many variations of compound patterns are possible and will be analyzed
further in the following chapters. Moreover, the length of these compound
patterns is determined by the length of the self-disclosure sequencing.
An illustration of the number of primary types and their sequence
formation for one compound pattern is the following: e.g. Types A2:
X2/V1/Y2B, B3: Y2D/2Y2B, B4: Y2E/2Y2BP; B1: Y2A/2Y2B; B2: Y2C/2Y2BP;
B4: Y2E/2Y2BP.

            Andrew - A (18) and Irene - I (17)

X2   I How did you tip over?

V1/Y2B   A There was three of us in the truck, eh, and someone said I was
             I was (inaudible) the floor, so I floored it.

Y2D   I And when you're stoned, it doesn't really ....

2Y2BP   A And I took a curve, right...

Y2E   I Uh huh.

2Y2BP   A ....a little bit too fast.

Y2A   I Oh my god, and it just went over.

Y2CB/   A No, it didn't go over, I lost control with the steering and
2Y2BP   when I took the curve I hit a rock and with the rock underneath
             the truck, that gave a weight, eh?

Y2C   I That was a fluke.

Y2EE/   A Yeah. That was just like a fluke but if I wasn't stoned you
2Y2BP   know, it went so fast you know, I would have been able to
             control the truck.

Y2E   I Probably yeah, for sure.

2Y2BP   A So I was, you know, going in towards the other part of the
             road and with a standard truck you just can't, you know,
             put the brakes on, you know. I would have did that, I would
             have swerved all over. I had a concussion and I didn't think
             to .... Because I was top-loaded, you know and stoned.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF 12 CONVERSATIONS OF

LOW SELF-DISCLOSURE

Though talk is a common habit and much enjoyed
those who try to record it are aware that it runs
hither and thither, seldom sticks to the point,
abounds in exaggeration and inaccuracy, and has
frequent stretches of extreme dullness.

> Virginia Woolf
> The Captain's Death Bed 1950

Speech is civilization itself. The word even
the most contradictory word, preserves contact –
it is silence which isolates.

> Thomas Mann
> Magic Mountain 1924

How to read the table on p.160

If we examine the table on p.160, conversations are grouped in order of their predominant type i.e. type A, B or C, or a combination of these. The aspect of each conversation can thus be seen to be the predominant type. The first table in the upper half of the page denotes the total number of types for each party in the conversation. Therefore, the first conversation, Jean and Don, is the most predominant A type conversation - its aspect is clearly A type. The figures adjacent to their names refer to their nearest approximate age, i.e. Don is 35 years old and Jean is 31.

Age approximation for each speaker

The figures for the ages of each speaker are either mentioned in the conversation themselves, or determined from previous conversations in which an age was given. In all cases, this is an approximate figure since we cannot verify that false ages were not given, although experience from listening to hundreds of conversations has enabled us to distinguish fairly accurately the habits of how people lie about their ages. As a rule, young teenagers add on a couple of years, older people i.e. over forty-five, tend to be more vague and will, if asked, give the correct age to their peers or reduce it considerably when talking to younger persons i.e. twenty years and less, for fear of seeming too old. Generally people give their real ages unless they feel they have something to gain from the other party by doing otherwise - especially in the dating game.

How to read the number of types per speaker

Since these tables denote the number of types which trigger or induce

S.D. from the other party, it should be clear that the person with the highest

number of types self-discloses the least, and vice versa, the person with the

lowest number of types self-discloses the most. The figures for Jean and

Don are broken down into their separate A, B, and C types respectively, so

that Jean, abbreviated as J:, has two A types and two B types; in other words,

she succeeds in getting Don to self-disclose by asking two questions (A types)

and a statement or assertion etc. (B types). Don, on the other hand, abbrevia-

ted as D:, succeeds in getting Jean to self-disclose through thirty-two A types

(questions) and two B types. Neither Jean nor Don employ any C type sequences

and therefore the score for this category is 0. The table in the upper half

describes the total number of types for each party in a conversation

according to their respective level A, B, and C; the table below, in the

lower half, designates the respective percentages for each of the numbers above.

How to read percentages of types

The breakdown into percentages for the numbers of types in the conversa-

tion between Jean and Don is thus the following. Since Jean's (J) total

number of types is 4 and two of these are A types and two of these are B types,

her percentage total is therefore 50% A type, and 50% B type, and 0% C type.

Since Don has a total of 34 types, only 2 of which are B types, his (D:)

percentage total is thus 94% A type and 6% B type and 0% C type. The third

column of percentage totals, gives the total for the whole conversation,

which in percentage terms yields 89% for A types and 11% for B types. The

predominant type is underlined i.e. 89% as it signifies that the dominant

aspect of that conversation is, in this case A, and so on. The figures in

the tables for each other conversation can be construed in an identical

fashion.

How to read the statistic sheet for each conversation

If we examine the statistic sheet for Jean and Don's conversation on p.161 it is possible to explain the format for reading the analysis of each section, which is the same format for each of the other twenty-three conversations. The table at the top of the page represents the, "flow to S.D." chart for the conversation. The two left hand columns refer to the direction of the flow for each party and the two right hand columns refer to the corresponding number of S.D. for each party. The page reference in the left hand column refers to the transcript page number in the appendix. The letters D-J (Don to Jean) and J-D (Jean to Don) refer to the direction of the flow in the conversation for that page. On p. 38 of the transcript, therefore, Don has total control of the flow.

Definition of one unit of flow

If we define one unit of low (represented by one arrow ↑ in the transcript) as a complete sequence of interaction - one turn each of two people speaking - e.g. a question and an answer, an assertion followed by reinforcement etc., then on p. 38, it can be seen that there are eight units of flow or completed sequences of interaction; i.e. 16 turns in all.

How to read the "flow to S.D." chart

As mentioned above, on p. 38, Don controls the flow, i.e. the flow goes from Jean to Don during which Jean S.D.'s seven times. On the other hand, there is no flow from Don to Jean, and Don does not S.D.. Only on p. 42 does Jean gain the flow. On that page Don controls the flow for 5 units and Jean controls the flow for 2 units or completed sequences, during which Jean S.D.'s

three times and Don twice. The total flow figures from Jean to Don (J -- D) are 42, and for Don to Jean (D -- J), a total of 4. The total S.D. figures are 30 for Jean and 2 for Don. Clearly Don controls the flow for 42 units during which time Jean S.D.'s 30 times, whereas Jean controls the flow only 4 units during which Don S.D.'s twice.

Noise

The letter N as denoted in the master schema denotes noise i.e. a turn which is indecipherable for one reason or another; telephone noise, coughing, etc.

The flow to S.D. ratio

The figures for the flow to S.D. ratio are computed according to the total number of flow units divided by the individual's number of S.D. Jean's total, therefore, is J - 46 (42 plus 4 units) divided by 30 (her S.D.) which is 1.5; whereas Don's total is D - 46 (4 plus 42 units) divided by 2 which is 23. Since one flow unit is equivalent to two speaking turns, the flow: S.D. ratio for Don and Jean - (D:J - 23:1.5), means that Jean self-discloses once very third turn, and Don self-discloses once every forty-six turns in this conversation.

The Mean

The mean for the conversation, therefore, is 46 divided by 32 which is 1.4, which means that someone self-discloses every third turn in this conversation.

Changeovers

The number of changeovers in the flow for the conversation is four, and this is indicated beneath the figures for the mean (1.4). The shorthand for this is D-J to J-D - 2, and J-D to D-J - 2, which in longhand would be written; the number of times the flow from Don to Jean changes to Jean to Don is two, and the number of times the flow from Jean to Don changes to Don to Jean is two: i.e. there are four flow changes in this conversation. Since we do not include these changeovers or units of flow in our total calculation for units of flow, the ratios of flow to S.D. are marginally higher than if the changeovers were included. The reason for not including these units of flow in the totals is that in the process of changing over from one person to another, the _flow_ of the conversation by definition is clearly _not_ flowing to a particular person until the changeover has been completed.

Breakdown for S.D. levels

The figures for the breakdown of S.D. levels are given in the middle right hand corner of the page. Don's S.D. (D.S.D.) and Jean's (J.S.D.) follow directly under their respective columns of the flow to S.D. chart, for the conversation above. As we see, the total for Jean's S.D., 30, is the same as that of the flow to S.D. chart column above - 30, but it is clear that 26 of these are Y2B, and 1 is a 3Y2B; i.e. question-related, whereas there are only 3 at the volunteered 2Y2B level. The two instances of S.D. for Don are 1 at the Y2B level, and 1 at the 2Y2B level.

The Q Factor

The percentage total for each level is given as well as the Q or

question - related factor for each person. In this case, Jean's Q factor, J - Q is 90%, since 87% of her S.D. was at the Y2B level, and 3% was at the 3Y2B level. Don's Q factor, on the other hand, is 50%, since he has one of his two instances of S.D. at the Y2B level.

Breakdown of Types

In the bottom right hand corner, in their respective columns, is the breakdown of the types, at levels A, B and C. The figures are the same as the ones described above in the table of Low S.D. conversations p.152. These types - seventeen in all - have been described in detail (pp.126-46) , and these are what "trigger", solicit, or induce each instance of S.D. illustrated above. It is important to point out that, ideally, if there were a one-to-one ratio, of one type to one S.D., then the figures for the types and S.D. columns would balance identically. However, the result of an S.D. cannot always be attributed to a single question or assertion in the preceeding sequence. A person may ask a double-barreled question, or a reinforcement statement followed by a question, which in turn induces one S.D. The resultant S.D. cannot thus be attributed to just one of the double-barreled questions, or the question to the exclusion of the reinforcement, for instance, and for this reason, although there is a general one-to-one corresondence between types and S.D., the statistics for the types will always be greater than that of those for the S.D. The breakdown into levels A, B and C for Don's types are thus, 32 at level A, 2 at level B and 0 at level C.

An exact breakdown according to the number of specific types is given in the bottom left hand corner of the page. From this we can determine that Don's line of questioning is essentially direct e.g. four A1 types, fourteen

A2 types, four A3, etc., whereas there are only 2 types at level B, i.e. one B4 type B5 type each. On the other hand, we can determine that Jean's only successful direct question that resulted in Don's S.D. was a direct A1.A5 throwback type.

Primary and secondary types

The figures for P and S directly under the A B C columns in the bottom right hand page, stand for the number of primary and secondary types for that conversation. Don, accordingly, has 10 primary types, P - 10, and twenty-four secondary types, S - 24; whereas Jean has three primary types P - 3, and only one secondary, S - 1.

How to read the S.D. sequencing pattern page

On the following page, the self-disclosure sequencing patterns for each page of the transcripts for Don and Jean are clearly marked. The first figure in the margin - p. 38 - refers to the transcript page for the conversation. The next column of letters A, B, C, D, E, F, etc., refers to the sequencing turns of S.D. on that page. One should remember that each page of transcript contains this same alphabet marking system to denote the sequencing progression of each turn in a conversation, so as to enable one to make a specific reference to a particular sequence in a conversation. Adjacent to each letter denoting a turn in the conversation is the respective category evaluation for that turn as represented in the master schema. The letters in the third column - D, J, D, J, denote the initials of the person who has the turn to speak. In this case, D, represents Don's turn, and J represents Jean's turn. Thus it should be clear that:

p. 38   A   X1   D

denotes on p. 38 of our transcript, at A,   Don's primary sequence

inducing Jean to S.D. is an X1 or a direct question opening a new topic

of conversation.   The following

B   V1 / Y2B   J

denotes that at B, Jean self-discloses by fully answering Don's question,

i.e. V1 / Y2B.

These sequencing patterns thus illustrate in greater detail the figures

of the flow to S.D. table.   Whereas the flow chart table denotes that on

p. 38 Don controls the flow for eight complete sequences, and Jean self-

discloses seven times, the sequencing turns are clearly represented on this

page to the extent that we can determine that Jean S.D.'s seven times at B, D,

F, H, J, L and P, on p. 38, and so on, for pp. 39 to 44.

How to read the split-pattern and type page

On the subsequent page are the same patterns divided according to speaker,

so that the primary and secondary types for each speaker may be clearly re-

presented.   For future reference we will refer to this page format as the

split-pattern and types page.   The way to read it is quite simply as follows:

All the categories in the column under Don's name reflect Don's sequencing

patterns, and under the columns - P and S, which stand for primary and secon-

dary, are the corresponding primary and secondary types.   The same format

applies to Jean's sequencing patterns and primary and secondary types.   Both

the primary and secondary columns for Don and Jean enable the reader to

establish quite quickly and specifically the self-disclosure sequencing patterns

for both parties.

The asterisk adjacent to the first column (letter, etc.) signifies that it is the opening sequencing turn. Thereafter, one follows the next letter of the alphabet as the next turn in that sequence, which may mean reading right to left or left to right, depending upon the situation. In other words, clearly on p. 38 Don has the opening sequence since the asterisk is adjacent to A, and his primary type is an A1. The first S.D. sequencing pattern for Don and Jean, therefore, extends on p. 38 from A to F, during which Don demonstrates one A1 and two A2 types.

In this conversation, the first time in which Jean gains the flow and induces Don to self-disclose is represented on p. 42 at C. The reader thus reads the sequence turns from right to left, so to speak, from Jean's opening primary sequence at C, to Don's reply at D.

Summary

Essentially, then, the procedure for analyzing the statistics for each conversation is quite straightforward. One begins by examining the table of types and percentages for one particular conversation, and then proceeds to examine its particular statistic sheet as has been described above. The sequencing pattern page will give greater detail for each S.D. sequence, and finally the split-pattern and types page will enable one to examine each speaker's primary and secondary types quite simply by reading under the column P and S for each speaker. This process gives an in-depth study of the self-disclosure sequencing patterns for each speaker in a conversation, and enables one to make meaningful comparisons between different speakers and different conversations, especially between those of High and Low self-disclosure.

Total Number of Types: (Low)		A	B	C		A	B	C	Aspect
1 Don (35) & Jean (31)	D:	32	2	0	J:	2	2	0	A
2 Pierre (38) & Peggy (19)	Pi:	14	9	0	Pe:	7	3	0	A
3 Jack (23) & April (13)	J:	12	6	0	A:	14	14	0	A
4 Lucas (18) & Male (45)	L:	4	13	0	M:	1	5	1	B
5 Terry (19) & Roslyn (35)	T:	2	7	2	R:	8	15	2	B
6 Jim (47) & Female (18)	J:	0	7	1	F:	11	8	0	B
7 Male (21) & Sandra (34)	M:	3	3	3	S:	6	2	3	C
8 Eileen (48) & Susan (15)	E:	19	11	10	S:	7	11	8	C
9 André (28) & Jean (31)	A:	6	8	3	J:	26	17	5	A & B
10 Joan (31) & Male (25)	J:	0	4	0	M:	5	2	0	A & B
11 Peggy (49) & Girl (16)	P:	8	11	4	G:	0	5	2	B & C
12 Linda (19) & Jim (20)	L:	8	7	5	J:	19	17	6	A B C

Total Percentages of Types:		A	B	C		A	B	C	A	B	C
1 Don (35) & Jean (31)	D:	94	6	0	J:	50	50	0	89	11	0
2 Pierre (38) & Peggy (19)	Pi:	70	30	0	Pe:	61	39	0	64	36	0
3 Jack (23) & April (13)	J:	67	33	0	A:	50	50	0	57	43	0
4 Lucas (18) & Male (48)	L:	24	76	0	M:	14	71	15	21	75	4
5 Terry (19) & Roslyn (35)	T:	18	64	18	R:	32	60	8	28	61	11
6 Jim (47) & Female (18)	J:	0	87	13	F:	58	42	0	41	55	4
7 Male (21) & Sandra (34)	M:	33.3	33.3	33.3	S:	55	18	27	45	25	30
8 Eileen (48) & Susan (15)	E:	48	27	25	S:	27	42	31	39	33	29
9 André (28) & Jean (31)	A:	35	47	18	J:	54	35	11	49	39	12
10 Joan (31) & Male (25)	J:	0	100	0	M:	71	29	0	45	55	0
11 Peggy (49) & Girl (16)	P:	35	48	17	G:	0	71	29	27	53	20
12 Linda (19) & Jim (20)	L:	40	35	21	J:	44	41	15	43	39	18

Don -D (35) and Jean -J (31)

	D — J	J — D	D S.D.	J S.D.
p. 38	-	8	-	7
39	-	10	-	7
40	-	10	-	7
41	-	4	-	3
42	2	5	2	3
43	2	5	-	2
44	-	-	-	1
	$\overline{4}$	$\overline{42}$	$\overline{2}$	$\overline{30}$

N - 12

$$J - \frac{46}{30} - 1.53$$

$$D - \frac{46}{2} - 23$$

Flow: S.D. ratio

D:J - 23: 1.5

$$\text{Mean} - \frac{46}{32} - 1:4$$

D — J to J — D - 2

J — D to D — J - 2

$$\overline{4}$$

Don: 00(1) A1(4) A2(14) A3(4) A4(9)

   B4(1) B5(1)

Jean: A1(1) A5(1)

   B1(1) B7(1)

	D S.D.			J S.D.	
Y2B	- 1	50%	Y2B	- 26	87%
1Y2B	- -		1Y2B	- -	
2Y2B	- 1	50%	2Y2B	- 3	10%
3Y2B	- -		3Y2B	- 1	3%
	$\overline{2}$	100%		$\overline{30}$	100%

D - Q - 50%   J - Q - 90%

D Types		J Types		Total %
A - 32	94%	A - 2	50%	89%
B - 2	6%	B - 2	50%	11%
C - -		C - -		
$\overline{34}$	100%	$\overline{4}$	100%	100%

P - 10	P - 3
S - 24	S - 1
$\overline{34}$	$\overline{4}$

Don -D (35) and Jean -J (31)

p.38	A	X1	D		p. 40	L	X2	D
	B	V1 / Y2B	J			M	V1 / Y2B	J
	C	X2	D			N	Y2E / Y1A	D
	D	V1 / Y2B	J			O	V1 / Y2B	J
	E	X2	D					
	F	V1 / Y2B	J			R	Y2F	D
						S	2Y2B	J
	G	Y2EE / X1	D					
	H	V2 / Y2B	J		p. 41	C	X3 / X2	D
	I	X2	D			D	W6	J
	J	VI / Y2B	J			E	Y1A / X3	D
	K	Y2A / Y1A	D			F	V1 / Y2B	J
	L	V1 / Y2B	J			G	Y1A / X3	D
						H	V2 / Y2B	J
	M	X1 / Y2A	D			I	Y1A	D
	N	W6	J			J	V1 / Y2B	J
	O	Y2E / X2	D					
	P	V1 / Y2B	J		p. 42	C	K1 / X1	J
	Q	X2	D			D	V1 / Y2B	D
p.39	A	V1 / Y2B	J			G	Y2A	J
	B	Y2EE / X2	D			H	2Y2B	D
	C	V3 / Y2B	J			I	2Y2B	J
	D	X2	D					
	E	V1 / Y2B	J			P	Y1A	D
						Q	V2 / Y2B	J
	H	X2	D			R	Y2E	D
	I	V1 / Y2B	J			S	2Y2B	J
	J	Y1A	D					
	K	V1 / Y2B	J		p. 43	C	Y2C	D
						D	(Y2C / K)	J
	P	Y1A	D			E	X4	D
	Q	V1 / Y2B	J			F	V1 / Y2B	J
	R	X2	D			G	X2	D
	S	V1 / Y2B	J			H	W5 / Y2BP	J
P. 40	T	X2	D		p. 44	R	Y2C /K	J
	A	V1 / Y2B	J			A	Y2E / X1	D
	B	Y1A	D			B	V1 /Y2B	
	C	V1 / Y2B	J				K1 / X1	J
	D	X2 / Y2EE	D					
	E	V2 / Y2B	J					
	F	X3	D					
	G	V1 / 3Y2B	J					

		Don	P	S		Jean	P	S
p. 38	*A	X1	A1			B	V1 / Y2B	
	C	X2		A2		D	V1 / Y2B	
	E	X2		A2		F	V1 / Y2B	
	*G	Y2EE / X1	B04.A1			H	V2 / Y2B	
	I	X2		A2		J	V1 / Y2B	
	K	Y2A / Y1A		B1.A4		L	V1 / Y2B	
	*M	X1 / Y2A	(A1.B1)			N	W6	
	O	Y2E / X2		B4.A2		P	V1 / Y2B	
	G	X2		A2	p.39	A	V1 / Y2B	
	B	Y2EE / X2		B04.A2		C	V3 / Y2B	
	D	X2		A2		E	V1 / Y2B	
	*H	X2	A2			I	V1 / Y2B	
	J	Y1A		A4		K	V1 / Y2B	
	*P	Y1A	A4			Q	V1 / Y2B	
	R	X2		A2		S	V1 / Y2B	
	*T	X2	A2		p.40	A	V1 /Y2B	
	B	Y1A		A4		C	V1 / Y2B	
	D	X2 / Y2EE		A2.B04		E	V2 / Y2B	
	F	X3		A3		G	V1 / Y2B	
	L	X2	A2			M	V1 / Y2B	
	N	Y2E / Y1A		B4.A4		O	V1 / Y2B	
	*R	Y2F	B5			S	2Y2B	
p. 41	*C	X3 / X2	(A3.A2)			D	W6	
	E	Y1A / X3		A4.A3		F	V1 /Y2B	
	G	Y1A / X3		A4.A3		H	V2 / Y2B	
	I	Y1A		A4		J	V1 / Y2B	
p. 42	D	V1 / Y2B				*C	K1 / X1	A5.A1
	H	2Y2B				*G	Y2A	B1	
						I	2Y2B		B7
	*P	Y1A	A4			Q	V2 /Y2B	
	R	Y2E		B4		S	2Y2B	
p. 43	*C	Y2C	(B2)			D	(Y2C / K)	
	E	X4		00		F	V1 / Y2B	
	G	X2		A2		H	W5 /Y2BP	
p. 44	A	Y2E / X1	B4.A1			*R	(Y2C / K)	
	C	(Don leaves - no answer)				B	V1 / Y2B/K1/X2	

Don and Jean

Jean: "In a conversation, I don't mind, but I don't like a question and answer period."

Jean's comment above sums up the kind of exchange that this conversation represents. Clearly it is a one-way conversation; the flow ratio of 42 to 4 denotes Don's aggressive behaviour. The S.D. figures also clearly indicate this (Jean 30, Don 2) with the disproportionate flow ratio of 1.5:23. The fact that it takes on the form of a "question and answer period" is even more evident when one examines the types of Don's question patterns -62% of which are Al or A2, and 28% of which are A3 or A4. Ninety per cent of Jean's S.D. is thus question-related. Especially at p. 40G, her reluctance to volunteer S.D. (she has only 3 2Y2B's) is apparent when she finally reveals that she is divorced rather than separated as she lead Don to believe. She evades the questions about her separation as early as p.38 N, and continues throughout, especially at p.39 C.

If we examine the conversation from each person's point of view, two patterns seem to emerge. The first, Jean's habit of volunteering as little information as she can to each question, emerges as giving short often echo responses to the previous question. The effect of this is that as the questions become more elaborate the replies become curt. Jean uses silence (pauses) to counteract Don's barrage of questions. Eventually Don puts words in her mouth, i.e. fishing for answers to his own questions e.g. p.41 G.

However, from Don's point of view, the direct line of questioning is quite successful in obtaining information from Jean without having to volunteer any information about himself. Moreover, he reinforces his questions producing double-barreled questions which represent 31% of all his S.D. exchanges. The key to Don's approach seems to lie in these double-barreled patterns and is worth some analysis. In three cases, at pages 38 G, 39 B and 40 D, he echoes (Y2EE) Jean's answer and follows up with another question; and at pages 38 0 and 40 N, he reinforces (Y2E) her answer and thus questions her further. When he discovers that Jean is divorced and attempts to find out "how it happened" his questioning is relentless: he repeats the same question four times in a row by using a primary A3 and A2 type followed by three A4 and A3

Don and Jean

types. However, in the second half of this "tennis match", Jean, by refusing
to comply with Don, and by throwing a "K" at p.43 R, would seem to be the
winner. This interchange makes apparent the inability of one person to force
another to S.D. -especially if the questioner offers no S.D. of his own.

Pierre -M (38) and Peggy -P (19)

	M -- P	P -- M	M S.D.	P S.D.
p. 45	1	6	1	3
46	9	1	4	-
47	7	3	5	2
48	10	-	6	-
49	1	6	-	1
50	4	-	3	1
	32	16	19	7

$$M - \frac{48}{19} - 2.5$$

$$P - \frac{48}{7} - 6.8$$

Flow: S.D. ratio

M:P - 2:7

$$Mean - \frac{48}{26} - 1.8$$

P -- M to M -- P - 5

M -- P to P -- M - 5

10

Pi: A1(1) A4(4) A5(2)
     B4(3)

Pe: A1(3) A2(4) A4(3) A5(3) 00(1)
     B1(1) B4(8)

M S.D.		P S.D.	
Y2B - 12	63%	Y2B - 6	86%
1Y2B - -		1Y2B - -	
2Y2B - 7	37%	2Y2B - 1	14%
3Y2B - -		3Y2B - -	
19	100%	7	100%

M - Q - 63%   P - Q - 86%

M Types		P Types		Total %
A - 7	70%	A - 14	61%	64%
B - 3	30%	B - 9	39%	36%
C - -		C - -		0%
10	100%	23	100%	100%

P - 7   P - 15

S - 3   S - 8

10   23

Pierre - M (38) and Peggy - P (19)

P. 45	A	Y1A	M		p. 48	I	Y2E / Y1A	P
	B	V1 / Y2B	P			J	V2 / Y2B	M
	E	Y2F / Y1A	M			M	Y2E / X1	P
	F	V1 / Y2B	P			N	V1 / Y2B	M
	G	Y2EE / Y1A	M			O	X2	P
	H	V1 / Y2B	P			P	V1 / Y2B	M
	R	K1 / X1	P			S	Y2E	P
	S	V2 / Y2B	M			T	2Y2B	M
p.46	D	K1 / Y1A	P			U	Y2E	P
	E	V2 / Y2B	M			V	2Y2B	M
	F	Y2E	P		p. 49	E	Y2A/K1/Y1A	M
	G	Y2C	M			F	V1/Y2B/Y2C	P
	H	Y2C	P		p. 50	E	X4	P
	I	2Y2BP	M			F	V4 / Y2B	M
	N	X1	P			G	Y1A	P
	O	V2 / Y2B	M			H	V1 / Y2BP	M
	R	X2	P			I	Y2E	P
	S	V2 / Y2B	M			J	2Y2B	M
p. 47	A	X2	P			K	2Y2B	P
	B	V1 / Y2B	M					
	C	Y2A	P					
	D	2Y2B	M					
	E	X2	P					
	F	V3 / Y2B	M					
	N	K1 / X1	M					
	O	V2 / Y2B	P					
	P	Y2E	M					
	Q	V1 / Y2BP	F					
	U	K1 / X2	P					
	V	V2 / Y2B	M					
	W	Y2E	P					
	X	2Y2BP	M					
p. 48	A	Y2C	P					
	B	2Y2BP	M					

Peggy		P	S	Pierre		P	S
p. 45 B	V1 / Y2B			*A	Y1A	A4	
F	V1 / Y2B			*E	Y2E / Y1A	B4.A4	
H	V1 / Y2B			G	Y2EE / Y1A		B4.A4
*R	D1 / X1	A5.A1		S	V2 / Y2B		
p.46 *D	K1 / Y1A	A5.A4		E	V2 / Y2B		
F	Y2E		B4	G	2Y2BP		
H	Y2E		B4	L	2Y2BP		
*N	X1	A1		O	V2 / Y2B		
p.47 *A	X2	A2		B	V1 / Y2B		
C	Y2A		B1	D	2Y2B		
E	X2		A2	F	V3 / Y2B		
O	V2 / Y2B			*N	K1 / X1	A5.A1	
Q	V1 / Y2BP			P	Y2E		B4
*U	K1 / X2	A5.A2		V	V2 / Y2B		
W	Y2E		B4	X	2Y2BP		
p. 48 A	Y2E		B4	B	2Y2BP		
* I	Y2E / Y1A	B4.A4		J	V2 / Y2B		
* M	Y2E / X1	B4.A1		N	V1 / Y2B		
O	X2		A2	P	V1 / Y2B		
*S	Y2E	B4		T	2Y2B		
U	Y2E		B4	V	2Y2B		
p. 49 F	V1/Y2B/Y2C			*E	Y2A/K1/Y1A	(B1)A5.A4	
p.50 *E	X4	00		F	V4 / Y2B		
G	Y1A	A4		H	Y2BP		
I	Y2E		B4	J	2Y2B		
K	2Y2B		B7				
*R	X2	A2		S	V2 / Y2B		

Pierre and Peggy

Pi Well, tell me about yourself.
Pe No. You tell me about yourself.

  This second A type conversation is clearly two-way, unlike Jean
and Don. There are an equal number of changeovers (five each) and a
similar percentage distribution of A and B types - e.g. Peggy has 61%
and 39% B types whereas Pierre has 70% A and 30% B types; although from
the flow chart, it is clear that Peggy controls the flow twice as much
as Pierre and that as a result, he S.D.'s twice as much as she (19 to 7).
  There are no C types in this conversation and although most of
the S.D. is question-induced (Peggy's Q factor is 86% and Pierre's 63%)
the volunteer level remains subdued as witnessed by the fact that there
are no instances of a 3Y2B. The approach in this conversation centers
around getting to know one another through direct questioning. Ini-
tially, it only takes Pierre three A4 type questions to find out that
Peggy is 19 and has a regular boyfriend that she has been seeing for
three years. She in turn mirrors his questions and discovers that he
is only "slightly married," which is defined as an "open marriage,"
and that he makes a living as a consultant. If one examines their split-
patterns sheet the similarity in their questioning approaches is quite
evident, especially the way in which they mirror one another's patterns.
For instance, most of Pierre's questions are A4 types and he tends to
reinforce these with a B4 type, sometimes in double-barreled fashion.
Peggy on three separate occasions throws back, or mirrors, these ques-
tions, likewise relying heavily on reinforcement. - In all she employs
8 B4 types. This mirror type interaction is exemplified on pp.47 N-48D
where she describes herself neatly and directly as five feet six inches
tall, one hundred and twenty pounds; and he in turn describes himself
as six feet two inches, two hundred and twenty pounds. The patterns
of this conversation embody the direct approach interaction in which
two people exchange information on a direct and equal basis - each hold-
ing out on the other until he S.D.'s.

Jack -J (23) and April -A (13)

	J -- A	A --J	J S.D.	A S.D.
p. 51	4	4	1	2
52	3	8	2	2
53	2	7	2	-
54	3	6	-	1
55	8	2	4	3
56	3	5	2	5
57	8	-	-	1
58	8	3	1	2
59	10	-	6	1
60	5	1	3	-
	—	—	—	—
	54	36	21	17

N -6

$J - \dfrac{90}{21} - 4.3$

$A - \dfrac{90}{17} - 5.3$

Flow: S.D. ratio

J:A - 4:5

$Mean - \dfrac{90}{38} - 2.4$

J -- A to A -- J - 7

A -- J to J -- A - 7

—
14

Jack: A1(5) A2(5) A4(2)

B1(2) B2(1) B4(1) B6(2)

April: A1(5) A2(1) AC2(1) A4(3) A5(3)

B1(2) B2(2) B4(8) B6(2)

	J S.D.		A S.D.	
Y2B -	7	33%	Y2B - 12	71%
1Y2B -	-		1Y2B - -	
2Y2B _	12	57%	2Y2B - 5	29%
3Y2B -	2	10%	3Y2B - -	
	—	—	—	—
	21	100%	17	100%

J - Q - 44%   A - Q - 71%

J Types		A Types		Total %
A - 12	67%	A - 14	50%	57%
B - 6	33%	B - 14	50%	43%
C - -		C - -		
—	—	—	—	—
18	100%	28	100%	100%

P - 10   P - 17

S - 8   S - 11

—   —
18   28

Jack -J (23) and April -A (13)

p. 51	C	Y2E	A	p. 56	A	V2/Y2B	A	F	Y1A	J
	D	2Y2B	J		B	X2	J	G	V1/Y2B	J
					C	V2/Y2B	A	H	Y2E	A
	L	Y1A	J		D	X2	J	I	K1/X1/2Y2B	J
	M	V1	A		E	V1/Y2B	A			
	N	Y1A	J		F	X2	J			
	O	V1/Y2B	A		G	V1/Y2B	A			
	T	X1	J		H	X1	J			
	U	V2/Y2B	A		I	XE/Y2B	A			
	V	Y2E	J							
p. 52	A	2Y2BP	A		J	X2	J			
					K	V3/K1/Y1A	A			
	B	X2	J		L	V1/Y2B	J			
	C	X4	A							
	D	Y2A	J		Q	Y2C/K1/X2	A			
	E	2Y2B	A		R	V1/Y2B	J			
				p. 57	A	Y2C	J			
	U	X1	A		B	2Y2B	A			
	V	V1/3Y2B	J							
	W	X1	A	p. 58	F	Y2A	A			
	X	V1/Y2B	J		G	2Y2B	J			
p. 53	A	2Y2BE	A							
					P	Y2C	A			
	I	V2	A		Q	2Y2B/K1/X1	J			
	J	X2/2Y2B	J							
	K	W6	A							
					S	X1	J			
	T	(X2)	J		T	V1/Y2B	A			
	U	V1/Y2A	A							
	V	2Y2B	J		U	X1	J			
					V	V1/Y2B	A			
p. 54	N	X1	J	p. 59	A	X2	J			
	O	Y2EE/V2/Y2B	A		B	W6/K1/X1	A			
					C	V1/Y2B	J			
p. 55	B	Y1A	A							
	C	V2/Y2B	J		H	Y2E	A			
	D	Y2E	A		I	2Y2B	J			
	E	2Y2BP	J		J	Y2E/X3	A			
	F	Y2E	A		K	V1/3Y2B	J			
	G	2Y2BP	J							
	H	Y2E	A		N	Y1A	A			
	I	2Y2BP	J		O	V1/Y2B	J			
					P	XE	A			
	J	X2	A		Q	V1/Y2BP	J			
	K	V1/Y2A	J							
	L	2Y2B	A		T	Y2E	A			
					U	2Y2BP	J			
	Q	V3/X2	J		V	Y2E	A			
	R	V1/Y2B	A	p. 60	A	2Y2BP	J			
	S	X2	J							
	T	V1/Y2B	A							
	U	Y1A	J							

	Jack	P	S		April	P	S
p.51	D	2Y2B			*C Y2E	B4	
	*L	Y1A	(A4)		M V1		
	N	Y1A	A4		O V1 / Y2B		
	*T	X1	A1		U V2 / Y2B		
	V	Y2E	B4	p.52	A 2Y2BP		
	*B	X2	(A2)		C X4		
	D	Y2A	B1		E 2Y2B		
	V	V1 / 3Y2B			*U X1	A1	
	X	V1 / Y2B			W X1		A1
	J	X2 / 2Y2B	B6(A2)	p.53	*I V2		
					K W6		
	T	(X2)			*U V1 / Y2A	B1	
	V	2Y2B	B6				
p.54	*N	X1	A1		O Y2EE/V2/Y2B		
p.55	C	V2 / Y2B			*B Y1A	A4	
	E	2Y2BP			D Y2E		B4
	G	2Y2BP			F Y2E		B4
	I	2Y2BP			H Y2E		B4
	K	V1 / Y2A	B1		*J X2	(A2)	
					L 2Y2B	B6	
	*Q	V3 / X2	A2		R V1 / Y2B		
	S	X2		A2	T V1 / Y2B		
	U	Y1A		A4	p.56	A V2 / Y2B		
	B	X2		A2	C V2 / Y2B		
	D	X2		A2	E V1 / Y2B		
	F	X2		A2	G V1 / Y2B		
	*H	X1	A1		I XE / Y2B		
	*J	X2	(A2)		K V2/Y1A/K1	A5.A1	
	L	V1 / Y2B					

	Jack (cont'd)		P	S		April (cont'd)		P	S
p.56	R	V1 / Y2B			*Q	Y2C/K1/X2	B2.A5.A1		
p.57	*A	Y2C	B2		B	2Y2B			
p.58	G	2Y2B			*F	Y2A	B1		
	Q	2Y2B/K1/X1			*P	Y2C	B2		
	*S	X1	A1		T	V1 / Y2B			
	*U	X1	A1		V	V1 / Y2B			
p.59	A	X2		(A2)	B	W6/K1/X1	A5.A1		
	C	V1 / Y2B							
	I	2Y2B			*H	Y2E	B4		
	K	V1 / 3Y2B			J	Y2E / X2		B4.A2	
	O	V1 / Y2B			*N	Y1A	A4		
	Q	V1 / Y2BP			P	XE		AC2	
					R	2Y2B		B6	
	U	2Y2BP			*T	Y2E		B4	
p.60	A	2Y2BP			V	Y2E		B4	
	G	V1/Y2B			*F	Y1A	A4		
	I	K1/X1/2Y2B			H	Y2E		B4	

Jack and April

J   What kind of boys do you like?
A   What do you look for in a girl?
J   What's your phone number?
A   I'm not going to tell you.

This A type conversation represents another example of two people
getting to know one another through a process of direct questioning.
The main focus of interest throughout is Jack's attempt to get April's
phone number, though April controls the flow slightly more than Jack -
54 to 36 and S.D.'s slightly less than he - 17 to 21. The statistics
sheet illustrates the extent to which this two-way interaction is quite
evenly-balanced from the point of view of sharing personal information.
One way in which this conversation is quite different from that of Pierre
and Peggy, for example, is that the subject matter changes much more
frequently and each topic is much less sustained. The incidence of this
is reflected quite clearly by the fact that Jack and April have 5 A1 types
each, whereas Pierre and Peggy have 1 and 3 respectively.

However, if we compare the specific patterns of S.D. for each, it
is evident Jack and April have quite different approaches to questioning
one another. Jack's approach is essentially direct, five A1, and five
A2's with only two A4 types and one B4 reinforcement. In response to
this direct line of attack by Jack, April tends to throw back or mirror
his line of questioning; each time he asks for her phone number she
asks him to give his. Her three A5 types and five A1 types thus sig-
nify her means of regaining control of the flow. Her natural mode of
questioning, however, is more indirect as characterized by her three
A4 types and the use of only one A2 type.

Lucas -L (18) and Male -M (45)

	L -- M	M -- L	L S.D.	M S.D.
p. 61	3	5	-	1
62	10	-	2	1
63	6	3	-	1
64	4	7	-	1
65	-	11	1	2
66	8	2	-	-
67	5	4	-	2
68	3	5	-	5
69	6	4	1	2
70	4	-	-	-
	49	41	4	15

$N - 3$

$L - \dfrac{90}{4} - 22.5$

$M - \dfrac{90}{15} - 6$

Flow: S.D. ratio

L:M - 22:6

Mean $- \dfrac{90}{19} - 4.7$

L -- M to M -- L - 6

M -- L to L -- M - $\dfrac{7}{13}$

Lucas: A2(1) A4(1) A5(2)

B1(1) B2(4) B4(6) B7(2)

Male: A4(1) B5(1) B6(4)

C0(1)

	L S.D.			M S.D.	
Y2B	- 1	25%	Y2B	- 1	7%
1Y2B	- -		1Y2B	- 1	7%
2Y2B	- 3	75%	2Y2B	- 12	79%
3Y2B	- -		3Y2B	- 1	7%
	4	100%		15	100%

L - Q - 25%   M - Q - 14%

L Types		M Types		Total %
A - 4	24%	A - 1	14%	21%
B - 13	76%	B - 5	71%	75%
C - -		C - 1	15%	4%
17	100%	7	100%	100%

P - 10   P - 5

S - 7   S - 2

17   7

Lucas -L (18) and Male -M (48)

P.61	J	Y2C	L		p.69	L	K1 / Y1A	L
	K	2Y2B	M			M	V1 / 3Y2B	M
	T	V1	L			Q	1Y2B	M
	U	2Y2BE	M			R	2Y2B	L
	V	(laugh)	L					
p.62	A	2Y2BE/Y1A	M					
	B	V1 / Y2B	L					
	P	Y2A	L					
	Q	2Y2B	M					
	R	2Y2B	L					
p.63	S	Y2C	L					
	T	Y2D / 2Y2B	M					
p.64	U	Y2E	L					
	V	Y2C / 2Y2B	M					
p.65	A	(laugh)	L					
	B	2Y2BP	M					
	C	(laugh)	L					
	D	2Y2BP	M					
	J	Y2F	M					
	K	2Y2B	L					
p.67	I	(laugh)	L					
	J	Y2D / 2Y2B	M					
	K	Y2C	L					
	M	Y2E	L					
	N	2Y2BE	M					
	Q	V1	L					
	R	2Y2B	M					
	S	Y2E	L					
p.68	A	2Y2BP/Y1B	M					
	B	V1	L					
	C	2Y2BP/(Y1B)	M					
	F	V1	L					
	G	2Y2BP	M					
	H	K1 / X2	L					
	I	V1/Y2B/K1/Y1B	M					
	J	Y2D	L					
	K	2Y2BP	M					

	Lucas		P	S		Male		P	S
p.61	*J	Y2C	B2			K	2Y2B		
	*T	V1				Y	2Y2B	B6	
	V	Y2E		B4	p.62	A	2Y2BE/Y1A		A4
	B	V1/Y2B							
	*P	Y2A	B1			Q	2Y2B		
	R	2Y2B		B7					
p.63	*S	Y2C	B2			T	Y2D/2Y2B		
p.64	*U	Y2E	B4			V	Y2C/2Y2B		
p.65	A	Y2E		B4		B	2Y2BP		
	C	Y2E		.B4		D	2Y2BP		
	K	2Y2B				*J	Y2F	B5	
p.67	*I	(laugh)	B4			J	Y2D/2Y2B		
	K	Y2C		B2					
	*Q	V1				R	2Y2B	B6	
	S	Y2E		B4	p.68	A	2Y2BP/Y1B		
	B	V1				C	2Y2BP/(Y1B)		B6
	*F	V1				G	2Y2BP	B6	
	H	K1/X2	A5.A2			I	V1/Y2B		
	J	Y2C		B2		K	2Y2BP		
p.69	*L	K1/Y1A	A5.A4			M	V1/3Y2B		
	R	2Y2B	B7			*Q	1Y2B	CO	

Lucas and Male

L I think you, just uh, shootin the baloney.
M Ever go to the Sextuple? You can see some nice bodies there.

This B conversation between Lucas and Male is a good example of
two males "bonding" through what is essentially "jock talk". The very
high degree of volunteered S.D. is reflected in the mean of 75% B types
for the whole conversation. It is Male who consistently introduces the
subject matter e.g. "Do you ever watch chanel 9?" "You ever go to the
Sextuple?", while Male controls the flow, he S.D.s four times as much
as Lucas. This is due to the fact that the questions which Male asks
are designed more to excite Lucas' interest in the subject matter than
for a basic interest in his replies. For instance, when Lucas answers
that he hasn't heard of the Sextuple, Male replies, "I didn't think you
did." This approach provides Male with the opportunity to launch into
a graphic description of his experiences at the Sextuple, while at the
same time passing it off as man-to-man advice for the less experienced
Lucas. Lucas is thus a willing sounding board for Male's raunchy stories,
reinforcing constantly and "bonding" in appropriate "jock" fashion.
The breakdown of patterns demonstrates this quite explicitly - Lucas'
six B4 types and two B7 types exemplify the reinforcement and bonding
relationship. The four B6 types for Male illustrate his approach of
asking a question and then responding to the answer on a personal level.
Likewise, the one B5 type signifies his penchant for giving advice.
    At times the flow of Male's narrative runs almost like a monologue
(cf. pp.66G-68Q) interspersed with brief reinforcements by Lucas. How-
ever, the obvious vicarious thrill which Lucas has is derived from his
sense of being treated like "one of the boys" and the degree of "male
bonding" here is representative of standard "locker room" or tavern "jock
talk."

Terry -T (19) and Rosyln -R (35)

	T — R	R — T	T S.D.	R S.D.
p. 71	–	6	1	3
72	–	9	7	3
73	6	2	5	–
74	6	–	3	1
75	8	–	3	1
76	1	4	2	–
77	8	–	3	–
	—	—	—	—
	29	21	24	8

N – 17

$T - \dfrac{50}{24} = 2.1$

$R - \dfrac{50}{8} = 6.3$

Ratio T:R – 2:6

Mean – $\dfrac{50}{32}$ – 1.6

	T S.D.			R S.D.		
Y2B	– 6	25%	Y2B	– 2	25%	
1Y2B	– 2	8%	1Y2B	– –	–	
2Y2B	– 15	63%	2Y2B	– 6	75%	
3Y2B	– 1	4%	3Y2B	– –	–	
	—	——		—	——	
	24	100%		8	100%	

T – Q – 29%   R – Q – 25%

T — R to R — T – 1

R — T to T — R – $\dfrac{1}{2}$

Te: A1(1) A4(1)

   B1(1) B2(1) B4(1) B6(1) B7(3)

   C (2)

Ro: A2(3) A04(1) A4(2) A5(2)

   B1(1) B2(4) B4(6) B5(1) B7 (3)

   C5 (2)

T Types	R Types	Total %
A – 2 18%	A – 8 32%	28%
B – 7 64%	B – 15 60%	61%
C – 2 18%	C – 2 8%	11%
— ——	— ——	——
11 100%	25 100%	100%

T	R
P – 7	P – 13
S – 4	S – 12
—	—
11	25

Terry -T (19) and Roslyn -R (35)

p.71	C	X1	T
	D	V2 /3Y2B	R
	E	2Y2B	T
	J	Y2F	R
	K	2Y2BE	T
	L	2Y2BP	R
	T	Y1B	T
	U	V1 / Y2BP	R
p.72	A	Y2A	T
	B	2Y2BP	R
	C	2Y2BP	T
	D	Y2E	R
	E	2Y2BP	T
	G	Y2C	T
	H	2Y2BP	R
	I	2Y2B	T
	J	2Y2B	R
	K	2Y2BE	T
	N	Y2C	R
	O	XE / 2Y2B	T
	P	Y2C	R
	Q	2Y2B	T
	R	Y2E	R
	S	2Y2B	T
	T	(laugh)	R
	U	2Y2BP	T
p.73	G	Y2A	R
	H	2Y2B	T
	I	Y1A	R
	J	V2 / Y2B	T
	K	Y2E	R
	L	2Y2BP	T
	M	X2	R
	N	V1/Y2B/K1/X4	T
	O	K1 / X4	R
	P	V1 / Y2B	T
	S	Y2E	R
	T	2Y2BE	T
	U	Y1A	R
p.74	A	V1/Y2B	T

p.74	N	1Y2B	T
	O	Y2E	R
	P	2Y2BP	T
	Q	2Y2B	R
p.75	C	1Y2B	T
	D	Y2E	R
	E	2Y2B	T
	K	Y2E	T
	L	2Y2B	R
	M	Y2E	T
	N	Y1B	R
	O	V1 / Y2B	T
p.76	K	Y2C	R
	L	2Y2B	T
	M	Y2E	R
	N	2Y2B	T
	Q	K1 / X4	R
p.77	A	V1 / Y2B	T
	B	X2	R
	C	V3 / Y2B	T
	F	Y2C	R
	G	Y2C / 2Y2B	T

		Terry	P	S		Roslyn	P	S
p.71	*C	X1	A1		D	V2 / Y2B		
	E	2Y2B		B6				
	K	2Y2BE			*J	Y2F	B5	
					L	2Y2BP		B7
p.72	*T	Y1B	A4		U	V1 / Y2BP		
	A	Y2A	B1		B	2Y2BP		
	C	2Y2BP		B7	D	Y2E		B4
	E	2Y2BP						
	*G	Y2C	B2		H	2Y2BP		
	I	2Y2BP		B7	J	2Y2BP		B7
	K	2Y2BE		B7				
	O	XE / 2Y2B			*N	Y2C	B2	
	Q	2Y2B			P	Y2C		B2
	S	2Y2B			R	Y2E		B4
	U	2Y2BP			T	(laugh)		B4
	H	2Y2B			p.73*G	Y2A	B1	
	J	V2 / Y2B			I	Y1A		A4
	L	2Y2BP			K	Y2E		B4
	N	V1/K1/X4	(A5.00)		*M	X2	(A2)	
	P	V1 / Y2B			O	K1 / X4	A5.00	
	T	2Y2BE			*S	Y2E	B4	
p.74	A	V1 / Y2B			U	Y1A		A4
	*N	1Y2B	C		O	Y2E	C5	
	P	2Y2BP			Q	2Y2B		B7
p.75	*C	1Y2B	C		D	Y2E	C5	
	E	2Y2B						
	*K	Y2E	B4		L	2Y2B		
	M	Y2E		(B4)	N	Y1B	A04	
	O	V1 / Y2B						
	L	2Y2B			p.76*K	Y2C	B2	
	N	2Y2B			M	Y2E		B4
p.77	A	V1 / Y2B			*Q	K1 / X4	A5.00	
	C	V3 / Y2B			B	X2		A2
	G	Y2E / 2Y2B			*F	Y2C	B2	

Terry and Roslyn

R ... Like you see, yesterday I had the shakes all day, like.
T ......I had that before, I had that before from drinking and
stuff like that.

This conversation between Terry and Roslyn reflects the wide
variety of B type patterns which can be found when there is a high
degree of bonding between two people. For instance, Terry's S.D.
at the 2Y2B level is 63% whereas Roslyn's is 75%; and between them
nearly every form of B type is used. The degree of bonding is
clearly in evidence by the fact that they each have three B7 types
and moreover, by the fact that each picks up on the other's S.D.;
e.g. their secondary and primary type totals correspond: Terry has
7 primary and 4 secondary, whereas Roslyn has 13 and 12 respectively.

Roslyn controls the flow and S.D.'s one third as much as Terry.
Her six B4 types and one B5 type are indicative of her manner of re-
inforcing Terry and giving him advice. An example of their bonding
behaviour is p.71D-E, when Roslyn's flu bug reminds Terry of his
health and leads into the topic of his injuries at hockey and ski-
dooing. Yet another form of bonding in another portion of the dia-
logue is their enthusiasm at putting down the prurient behaviour of
younger callers on The Line, which is really just another way of in-
dulging in it themselves.

Roslyn's reinforcement is borne out in the two instances of
Terry's C types at pp.74N and 75C, when he reveals that his voice was
recognized by a former high school friend and that he has met a couple
of people from The Line in person. In each case, Roslyn picks up on
the S.D., inducing Terry to elaborate on these encounters.
The overall pattern of the conversation suggests that Terry's bonding
behaviour is prompted by his willingness to talk on every subject which
Roslyn introduces, whereas Roslyn's approach is to listen, reinforce and
sometimes S.D. in response to Terry's reactions.

Jim -J (47), Female -F (18) and Ivan -I (22)

	J -- F	F -- J	J S.D.	F S.D.
p. 78	-	3	2	1
79	4	3	2	-
80	6	-	1	-
81	7	-	1	-
82	8	1	1	-
83	6	3	-	1
84	3	3	-	-
85	3	-	-	-
86	-	5	-	1
87	4	5	3	1
88	8	-	6	-
89	6	-	4	-
90	3	-	1	-
	58	23	21	4

	J -- I	I -- J	J S.D.	I S.D.
p. 90	3	-	3	-
	61	23	24	4

N - 4

$J - \dfrac{88 - 4}{22}$

$F - \dfrac{88}{4} - 22$

Ratio J:F-4:22

Mean $- \dfrac{88}{26} = 3.4$

J -- F to F -- J - 3

F -- J to J -- F - 4

$\dfrac{}{7}$

Jim: B1(1) B2(2) B3(1) B6(2)

00(1) CO(1)

Fem: A1(2) A2(2) AC2(1) A3(4)

A4(1) A5(1)

B2(3) B3(1) B4(4)

J S.D.			F S.D.		
Y2B	- 7	33%	Y2B	- -	
1Y2B	- 1	5%	1Y2B	- -	
2Y2B	- 9	43%	2Y2B	- 4	100%
3Y2B	- 4	19%	3Y2B	- -	
	21	100%		4	100%

J - Q - 52%   F - Q - 0%

J Types			I & F Types			Total
A	- -		A	- 11	58%	41%
B	- 7	87%	B	- 8	42%	55%
C	- 1	13%	C	- - --		4%
	8	100%		19	100%	100%
P	- 8		P	- 16		
S	- 0		S	- 3		
	8			19		

Jim - J (47), Female - F (18) and Ivan - I (22)

p.78	B	V2	F
	C	1Y2B	J
	F	Y2C	I
	G	2Y2B	J
	I	Y2CB	J
	J	2Y2B	F
p.79	G	K1 / X2	F
	H	V1 / Y2B	J
	M	X3	F
	N	V1 / Y2B	J
p.80	C	Y2C	F
	D	2Y2B	J
p.81	K	X3	F
	L	V1 / 3Y2B	J
	Q	Y2C	F
p.82	A	2Y2B	J
p.83	N	Y2C / K	J
	O	2Y2B	F
p.86	D	Y2D	J
	E	2Y2B	F
p.87	G	Y2C / Y2A	J
	H	2Y2B	F
	J	V1	F
	K	2Y2B	J
	L	Y2E	F
	M	2Y2BP	J
	T	Y2D	F
	U	V1 / Y2B	J
p.88	A	XE	F
	B	V1 /3Y2B	J
	C	Y1A	F
	D	V1 / Y2BP	J

p.88	F	V1	I
	G	2Y2BP	J
	H	Y2E	F
	I	2Y2BP	J
	J	X1	F
	K	V2 / Y2B	J
	N	X2	F
	O	V1 / Y2B	J
p.89	A	Y2E	F
	B	2Y2B	J
	G	X3	I
	H	V1 / Y2B	J
	I	Y2E	I
	J	2Y2B	J
	M	X1	F
	N	W6 / 3Y3B	J
p.90	D	X3	F
	E	V1 / 3Y2B	J

	Jim		P	S		Female		P	S
p.78	C	1Y2B	CO			*B	V2		
	G	2Y2B				*F	Y2C (Ivan)	B2	
	*I	Y2CB	00			J	2Y2B		
	H	V1 / Y2B			p.79	G	K1 / X2	A5.A2	
	N	V1 / Y2B				*M	X3	A3	
	D	2Y2B			p.80	*C	Y2C	B2	
	L	V2 / 3Y2B			p.81	*K	X3	A3	
p.82	A	2Y2B				*Q	Y2C	B2	
p.83	*N	Y2C / K	B2			O	2Y2B		
p.86	*D	Y2D	B3			E	2Y2B		
p.87	*G	Y2C / Y2A	B2.B1			H	2Y2B		
	K	2Y2B	B6			*J	V1 (Ivan)		
	M	2Y2BP				L	Y2E	B4	
	U	V1 / Y2B				*T	Y2D	B3	
	B	V1 / 3Y2B			p.88	A	XE		AC2
	D	V1 / Y2BP				C	Y1A		A4
	G	2Y2B	B6			*F	V1 (Ivan)		
	I	2Y2BP				H	Y2E	B4	
	K	V2 / Y2B				*J	X1	A1	
	O	V1 / Y2B				*N	X2	A2	
p.89	C	2Y2B				*B	Y2E	B4	
	H	V1 / Y2B				*G	X3 (Ivan)	A3	
	J	2Y2B				I	Y2E (Ivan)		B4
	N	W6 / 3Y2B				*M	X1	A1	
	E	V1 / 3Y2B			p.90	*D	X3	A3	

Jim and Female

J That's exactly why I'm on the phone. I may be involved ex-
terior-wise you know with various people, but I do not have
sufficient involvement outside so therefore I have to have
extra-curricular involvement so I call this number.

The conversation between Jim and Female reflects a different
kind of bonding altogether from the previous conversations. It is the
disagreement over the interpretation of the word 'broad' which under-
lies much of the bonding interaction of the conversation as we learn
from Jim that his reference to "broad" is what actually induces Female
to participate instead of remaining a listener - nevertheless she re-
fuses to reveal even her first name. The attraction or bonding aspect
of this conversation thus hinges on the fact that Female is obsessed
with what kind of a person uses the word "broad" to describe women, where-
as he cannot fathom why a girl is afraid to reveal her first name.

This cat and mouse game runs throughout the conversation, but the
essential difference of their approach to the game is borne out by the
figures for the conversation - Female controls twice as much of the
flow; her curiosity and persistence are reflected in her four A3 types
but her reluctance to disclose is reflected by her S.D. count of 4.
Jim, on the other hand, does not hide the fact that he is desperate to
talk to someone 'without getting involved' and his S.D. count is 22.

The whole conversation switches dramatically the moment Jim attem-
pts (p.87C) to guess the girl's zodiac sign; and this ultimately leads
into the reason for Jim's divorce from his wife - they had totally in-
compatible zodiac signs. Whereas Jim was quite guarded up to this point
about his personal life, once they had exchanged signs, he does not hesi-
tate to discuss his youth as a McGill engineering student "back in 49"
and reveals quite a different facet of his character. This conversation
is thus a good example of what triggers people to S.D., and how a slight
change in subject matter and approach opens up a whole new side of a
person's character and lifestyle.

Male – M (21) and Sandra –S (34)

	M –– S	S –– M	M S.D.	S S.D.
P. 91	7	–	2	1
92	1	10	1	6
93	6	3	6	2
	—	—	—	—
	14	13	9	9

N – O

$M - \dfrac{27}{9} = 3$

$S - \dfrac{27}{9} = 3$

Flow: S.D. ratio

M:S – 3:3

Mean $- \dfrac{27}{18} = 1.5$

M –– S to S –– M – 2

S –– M to M –– S $- \dfrac{2}{4}$

Male: A1(1) A4(1) A5(1)

B4(1) B6(1) B7(1)

C(1) C3(1) C5(1)

Sandra: A1(2) A2(3) A5(1)

B6(1) B7(1)

C(2) C5(1)

M S.D.

Y2B – 4   44%

1Y2B – 1   11%

2Y2B – 3   33%

3Y2B – 1   11%

— —

9 100%

M – Q –   55%

M Types

A – 3   33.3%

B – 3   33.3%

C – 3   33.3%

— ——

9   100%

P – 5

S – 4

—

9

S S.D.

Y2B – 1   11%

1Y2B – 2   22%

2Y2B – 5   56%

3Y2B – 1   11%

— —

9 100%

S – Q – 22%

S Types		Total %
A – 6 55%		45%
B – 2 18%		·25%
C – 3 27%		30%
— ——		——
11 100%		100%

P – 7

S – 4

—

11

Male -M (21) and Sandra -S (34)

p.91	M	X1	S		p.92	T	1Y2B	S
	N	V1 / 3Y2B	M			U	Y2C	M
	O	2Y2B / X2	S			V	1Y2B	S
	P	V1 / Y2B	M		p.93	A	Y2C	M
						B	Y2C	S
	Q	X2	S			C	Y2E	M
p.92	A	V1	M			D	2Y2B	S
	B	2Y2B	**S**					
						F	K1 / X1	S
						G	V1 / Y2B	M
	K	Y2E	M					
	L	2Y2B	S			J	X2	S
	M	Y1A	M			K	V1 / Y2B	M
	N	V1 / 3Y2B	S			L	X2	S
						M	V3/Y2B(K1/X1)	M
	P	V1	M					
	Q	2Y2B	S			M	K1 / X1	M
	R	2Y2B	M			N	X4 / V2/Y2B	S
						O	2Y2B	M

	Male		P	S		Sandra		P	S
p.91	N	V1 / 3Y2B			*M	X1		A1	
	P	V1 / Y2B			O	2Y2B / X2		B7.A2	
p.92	A	V1			*Q	(X2)		(A2)	
					B	2Y2B			B6
	*K	Y2E	B4		L	2Y2B			
	M	Y1A		A4	N	V1 / 3Y2B			
	*P	V1			Q	2Y2B			B6
	R	2Y2B		B7					
	U	Y2C	C3		*T	1Y2B	C		
p.93	A	Y2C			V	1Y2B	C		
	C	Y2E		C5	B	Y2C			
					D	2Y2B			
	G	V1 / Y2B			*F	K1 / X1	A5.A1		
	K	W6 / Y2B			*J	X2	A2		
	M	V3 / Y2B (K1/X1)			L	X2		A2	
	*M	K1 / X1	A5.A1		N	V1 / Y2B			
	O	2Y2B		B7					
	*S	1Y2B	C		T	Y2E	C5		
	U	2Y2B							

Male and Sandra

S Do you actually live in Ville d'Anjou?
M I live in Lanchine. My fiancée lives in Pierrefonds.
S Oh that's where I used to live.

These first instances of S.D. encompass the range of the subject
matter in this conversation. Sandra controls the flow of information
by one unit, and coincidentally, introduces all but one of the topics
discussed. The 55% question factor for Male implies that his S.D. is
A type related, while the figure for Sandra is only 22%. Because Sandra
picks up on Male's answers, (11% of which supply information not demanded),
and discloses information about herself, it is natural that her S.D. total
should be equal to his.

While bonding is an important facet of the dialogue, Sandra and
Male's C type self-disclosures contribute to its aspect. After situating
the area of Pierrefonds where she used to live, Sandra volunteers that she
was in Lachine that same day, collecting the make-up she sells to make
extra money to support her child. In her first C type she reveals that
she used to work on Montée de Liesse, and in a second, that she has a
cold. Male responds similarly to both instances; his C5 type following
the first S.D. keeps the flow going, as does his Y2C at p. 93 A.

When Sandra subsequently reintroduces the subject of Male's girlfriend
at p. 93 J, inquiring, "When are you going to get married?", he responds
they will be wed in Lachine. This misinterpretation might be an evasion
similar to the vague answer he supplies about how long he has known his
fiancée, at p. 93 M, which he follows with a K1. However, in his only
C type at p. 93 S, Male discovers that like Sandra, he too feels that he
is coming down with a cold and temperature. Situating where Sandra lives,
works and plays constitutes Male's interest in this conversation - he is
willing to discuss such basic details and picks up on those volunteered
by Sandra.

Eileen -E (45) and Susan -S (15)

	E – S	S – E	E S.D.	S S.D.
P. 94	–	10	5	5
95	4	4	3	3
96	3	5	6	3
97	9	–	6	–
98	–	11	2	9
99	–	9	7	3
100	1	2	1	2
	17	41	30	25

N – O

$E - \dfrac{58}{30} - 1.9$

$S - \dfrac{58}{25} - 2.3$

E S.D.		S.S.D.	
Y2B – 2	7%	Y2B – 13	52%
1Y2B – 9	30%	1Y2B – –	
2Y2B – 15	50%	2Y2B – 12	48%
3Y2B – 4	13%	3Y2B – ––	
30	100%	25	100%

Flow : S.D. ratio

E : S – 2:2

$\text{Mean} - \dfrac{58}{60} - .96(1)$

E – S to S – E – 3

$S - E \text{ to } E - S - \dfrac{4}{7}$

E – Q – 20%   S – Q – 52%

E Types		S Types		Total %
A – 19	48%	A – 7	27%	39%
B – 11	27%	B – 11	42%	33%
C – 10	25%	C – 8	31%	28%
40	100%	26	100%	100%

Eil: A1(6) A2(3) A4(6) A5(4)

B1(1) B2(1) B4(2) B7(7)

C(6) CO(4)

$P - 27$ $P - 14$

$S - \dfrac{13}{40}$ $S - \dfrac{12}{26}$

Sus: A1(2) A2(1) A4(1) A5(3)

B2(1) B4(2) B7(8)

C2(1) C3(1) C5(4) CB2(1) CB3(1)

Eileen -E (48) and Susan -S (15)

```
p.94  A  PS / X1          E      p.96  O  1Y2B         E     p.99  G  Y2D/1Y2B  E
      B  V1 /  Y2B        S            P  K1 / Y1A    S            H  2Y2B      S
      C  XE / 2Y2B        E            Q  V1 / 3Y2B   E            I  2Y2B      E
                                       R  Y2E         S            J  Y2C       S
      E  X1               E            S  2Y2BP       E            K  2Y2B      E
      F  V1 / Y2B         S      p.97  A  Y2E         S            L  2Y2B      S
      G  2Y2B / Y2A       E            B  2Y2BP       E
      H  2Y2B             S                                        Q  1Y2B      E
                                       C  X2          S            R  Y2E       S
      I  1Y2B             E            D  V1 / 3Y2B   E            S  2Y2B      E
      J  Y2E              S            E  Y2E         S
      K  1Y2B             E            F  2Y2BP       E     p.100 A  2Y2B      S
      L  Y2D              S            G  Y1A         S            B  X2        E
      M  2Y2B             E            H  V1 / Y2BP   E            C  V1/Y2B    S
                                       I  Y2E         S            D  2Y2B      E
      O  Y1A              E            J  2Y2BP       E
      P  V1 / Y2B         S
                                       P  1Y2B        E
      S  X1               E            Q  Y2E         S
      T  V1 / Y2B         S            R  2Y2BE       E
                                       T  V1/K1/X2    E
p.95  B  K1 / X1          S      p.98  A  V1 / Y2B    S
      C  V1/Y2B(K1/X1)    E            B  Y2E         E
                                       C  2Y2BP       S
      C  K1/X1            E
      D  V1 / Y2B         S            D  X1 / Y2E    E
      E  Y2C              E            E  V1 / Y2B    S
      F  2Y2BP            S            F  Y1A         E
                                       G  V1 / Y2B    S
      I  1Y2B             E            H  Y2E         E
      J  K1/XE            S            I  2Y2B        S
      K  V1 / 3Y2B        E
                                       N  Y1A         E
      S  K1 / X1          E            O  V1 / Y2B    S
      T  V1/ Y2B          S            P  2Y2B        E
                                       Q  2Y2B        S
p.96  B  K1 / X1          S            R  Y1B         E
      C  V3 / 3Y2B        E            S  V1 / Y2B    S
      D  2Y2B             S            T  2Y2B        E
                                       U  2Y2B        S
      E  K1 / X2/Y1A      E
      F  V1 / Y2B         S      p.99  A  1Y2B        E
                                       B  Y2C         S
      I  1Y2B             E            D  2Y2B        E
      J  Y2E              S            E  2Y2B        S
      K  2Y2B             E
      L  2Y2B             S

      M  Y2E / X1         E
      N  V1 / Y2B         S
```

	Eileen	P	S	Susan	P	S
p.94	*A PS / X1			B V1 / Y2B		
	C XE / 2Y2B		B7			
	*E X1	A1		F V1 / Y2B		
	G 2Y2B / Y2A		B7.B1	H 2Y2B		
	*I 1Y2B	C0		J Y2E	(C5)	
	K 1Y2B	C		L Y2D	CB3	
	M 2Y2B					
	*O Y1A	A4		P V1 / Y2B		
	*S X1	A1		T V1 / Y2B		
	C V1/Y2B(K1/X1)			p.95 *B K1 / X1	A5.A1	
	*C K1 / X1	A5.A1		D V1 / Y2B		
	E Y2C		B2	F 2Y2B		
	*J 1Y2B	C		J XE	C2	
	K V1 / 3Y2B					
	*S K1 / X1	A5.A1		T V1 / Y2B		
	C V3 / 3Y2B			p.96 *B K1 / X1	A5.A1	
				D 2Y2B		B7
	*E K1/X2/Y1A	A5.A2.A4		F V1 / Y2B		
	*I 1Y2B	C		J Y2E	C5	
	K 2Y2B			L 2Y2B		B7
	*M Y2E / X1	B4.A1		N V1 / Y2B		
	*O 1Y2B	C		P K1 / Y1A	A5.C3	
	Q V1 / 3Y2B			R Y2E		C5
	S 2Y2BP			p.97 A Y2E		C5
	B 2Y2BP					
	D V1 / 3Y2BP			*C X2	A2	
	F 2Y2BP			E Y2E		B4
	H V1 / Y2BP			G Y1A	A4	
	J 2Y2BP			I Y2E		B4
	*P 1Y2B	C		Q Y2E	C5	
	R 2Y2BE					

	Eileen (cont'd)		P	S		Susan (cont'd)		P	S
p.97	*T	K1 / X2	A5.A2		p.98 *A	V1/Y2B			
	B	Y2E		B4	C	C 2Y2B			
	*D	X1	A1		E	V1 / Y2B			
	F	Y1A		A4	G	V1 / Y2B			
	H	Y1A		A4	I	V1 / Y2B			
	*N	1Y1A	A4		O	V1 / Y2B			
	P	2Y2B		B7	Q	2Y2B			B7
	R	Y1A		A4	S	V1 / Y2B			
	T	2Y2B		B7	U	2Y2B			B7
p.99	*A	1Y2B	C		B	Y2C	CB2		
	C	2Y2B		B7	D	2Y2B			B7
	E	2Y2B							
	*G	(Y2D)/1Y2B	CO		H	2Y2B	B7		
	I	2Y2B		B7	J	Y2C			B2.
	K	2Y2B			L	2Y2B			B7
	*Q	1Y2B	CO		R	Y2E	(C5)		
	S	1Y2B	CO		p.100 A	2Y2B	B7		
	*B	X2	A2		C	V1 / Y2B			
	D	2Y2B		B7					

Eileen and Susan

```
E   Where do you live?
S   Côte St. Luc.
E   I live in Dollard.  You sound very young.
S   I'm fifteen.
E   I'm forty-eight.  I'm a widow.
```

A conversation for which the mean is .96 (1), well above the average mean of 2.1 indicates that a great deal of S.D. is being supplied by either one or both of the speakers. In this interaction, a comparison of Susan's personal ratio of 2.3 with that of Eileen's points to Eileen as the chief S.D.'er. When it is realized that she controls the flow of information, her particular manner of self-disclosing merits special attention.

The excerpt cited above is characteristic of the bonding which occurs throughout. Eileen asks a question, Susan answers, Eileen picks up on the answer and S.D.'s herself; forming a B7 pattern. Having established the bond, Eileen volunteers information unrelated to the subject under discussion. Combinations of B and C types occur throughout: at pp.95 GHI, 96 MNO, 97 NOP and 98 V-99A, A and B types lead into the C type S.D. The high incidence of B7, C2, C3 and C5 types implies that Susan shares her experiences with Eileen, as well as lending her a sympathetic ear.

Eileen's control of subject matter is consistent - there are two exceptions at pp. 95B and 96B when Susan gains the flow with an A5.A1 type. Eileen quickly reverses this control with a combination of A1 and C types. Despite the predominance of Eileen's S.D., there are five instances in which Susan's disclosures represent the only S.D. of the particular pattern, e.g. p.95 DF. Eileen requires little prompting to talk about herself; her marital status, age, job, leisure time and weight problems; and encourages Susan to divulge parallel information about herself. Eileen's free associations and persistant questioning guide the interaction, and define her S.D. as C type related.

André -A (28) and Jean -J (31)

	A -- J	J -- A	A S.D.	J S.D.
p. 101	6	3	4	3
102	8	1	6	-
103	8	-	4	-
104	9	-	8	1
105	10	-	5	1
106	1	7	3	6
107	5	3	5	-
108	9	-	6	-
109	8	-	5	-
110	-	2	1	-
	64	16	47	11

N - 6

$A - \dfrac{80}{47} - 1.7$

$J - \dfrac{80}{11} = 7.3$

Flow : S.D. ratio

A : J - 2:7

$Mean - \dfrac{80}{58} - 1.4$

J -- A to A -- J - 4

A -- J to J -- A - 4

8

Jean: Al(4) A2(7) AC2(2) A3(3)

A4(6) A5(3) 00(1)

Bl(3) B2(2) B4(10) B7(2)

Cl(1) C3(2) C4(2)

André: Al(3) A2(1) A3(1) A5(1)

Bl(1) B2(1) B4(2) B7(4) C(3)

	A S.D			J S.D.	
Y2B	- 19	40%	Y2B	- 4	36%
1Y2B	- 3	7%	1Y2B	- -	
2Y2B	- 19	40%	2Y2B	- 6	55%
3Y2B	- 6	13%	3Y2B	- 1	19%
	47	100%		11	100%

A - Q - 53%   J - Q - 45%

A Types		J Types		Total %
A - 6	35%	A - 26	54%	49%
B - 8	47%	B - 17	35%	39%
C - 3	18%	C - 5	10%	12%
17	100%	48	100%	100%

P - 11   P - 26

S - 6   S - 22

17   48

André -A (28) and Jean -J (31)

p.101
A X1   A
B V2 / Y2B   J
C Y2EE   A
D 2Y2BP   J

E Y2C   A
F 2Y2B   J
G 2Y2B   A

P (Y2SE)   J
Q 1Y2B   A
R Y1A   J
S V1 / Y2B   A

T Y1A   J
U V1 / 3Y2B   A

p.102
I (Y2E)   J
J 1Y2B   A
K Y2A   J
L 2Y2BP   A
M X2   J
N V1 / Y2B   A

Q K1/X1   J
R V1 / Y2B   A
S X2   J
T V2 / Y2B   A
U X4   J
V V1 / Y2B   A

p.103
C Y1A   J
D V1 / Y2B   A
E Y2E   J
F Y2E / 2Y2B   A

G Y1A   J
H V2   A
I XE   J
J V1 / Y2B   A
K XE   J
L V1 / Y2BP   A

S Y2E / X2   J
p.104
A V1 / Y2B   A
B Y2A   J
C 2Y2B   A
D 2Y2BP   J
E 2Y2BE   A

p.104
F Y2E   J
G 2Y2B   A
H Y2E   J
I 2Y2B   A

J X1   J
K V1 / 3Y2B   A
L Y2E   J
M 2Y2BP   A

N X1   J
O V2 / Y2B   A
P Y1A   J
Q V1 / Y2B   A

p.105
B X1   J
C V1 / Y2B   A
D X2   J
E V1 / 3Y2B   A

J X3   J
K V1 / Y2B   A
L X2   J
M V1 / Y2B   A

O Y2E   A
P Y2C / 2Y2B   J
Q 2Y2B   A

T Y2E   J
U 2Y2B/K1/X2   A
p.106
A V2 / Y2B   J
B 2Y2B   A
C Y2E / 2Y2B   J

D X1   A
E V1 / 3Y2B   J
F 2Y2B/ X1   A
G (X4)   J
H (X3)   A
I V1 / Y2B   J

L Y2A   A
M 2Y2B   J

N X1   A
O V2 / Y2B   J
   K1 / X2

p.106
P V1 / Y2B   A
Q Y2EE   J
p.107
A 2Y2BP   A

F X3 / Y1A   J
G V1 / 3Y2B   A
H Y2E   J
I 2Y2B/K1/Y1A   A
P K1 / X1   J
Q V1 / Y2B   A
R Y2E   J
S 2Y2B   A

p.108
C Y2C   J
D 2Y2B   A
E Y2E / X2   J
F XE/V1/Y2B   A
G Y2EE   J
H 2Y2B   A

L 1Y2B   A
M Y1A   J
N V3   A
O Y2A   J
P 2Y2B   A
Q Y1A   J
R V1 / Y2B   A

p.109
C X3   J
D XE/V1/Y2B   A
E Y2A   J
F 2Y2B   A

I Y1A   J
J V1 / 3Y2B   A
K Y1A   J
L V2 / 3Y2B   A
M Y2A   J
N 2Y2B   A

p.110
E V1   J
F Y2CB / 2Y2B   A

	Jean		P	S		André		P	S
p.101	B	V2 / Y2B				*A	X1	A1	
	D	2Y2BP				C	Y2EE		(B4)
						*E	Y2D	B2	
	F	2Y2B				G	2Y2B		B7
	P	(Y2SE)				*Q	1Y2B	C	
	R	Y1A	C3			S	V1 / Y2B		
	*T	1Y1A	A4			U	V1 / 3Y2B		
p.102	I	(Y2E)				*J	1Y2B	C	
	K	Y2A	C4			L	2Y2B		
	M	X2		C1		N	V1 / Y2B		
	*Q	K1/X1	A5.A1			R	V1 / Y2B		
	S	X2		A2		T	V2 / Y2B		
	U	X4		00		V	V1 / Y2B		
p.103	*C	Y1A	A4			D	V1 / Y2B		
	E	Y2E		B4		F	Y2E / 2Y2B		
	*G	X2 / Y1A	(A2.A4)			H	V2		
	I	XE	AC2			J	V1 / Y2B		
	K	XE		AC2		L	V1 / Y2BP		
	*S	Y2E / X2	B4.A2		p.104	A	V1 / Y2B		
	B	Y2A		B1		C	2Y2BP		
	D	2Y2BP		B7		E	2Y2BE		
	F	Y2E		B4		G	2Y2B		
	H	Y2E		B4		T	2Y2B		
	*J	X1	A1			K	V1 / 3Y2B		
	L	Y2E		B4		M	2Y2B		
	*N	X1	A1			O	V2 / Y2B		
	P	Y1A		A4		Q	V1 / Y2B		
p.105	*B	X1	A1			C	V1 / Y2B		
	D	X2		A2		E	V1 / 3Y2B		
	J	X3	A3			K	V1 / Y2B		
	L	X2		A2		M	V1 / 3Y2B		
	P	Y2C / 2Y2B				*O	Y2E	B4	
						Q	2Y2B		B7

	Jean (cont'd)	P	S		André (cont'd)	P	S
	*T	Y2E	B4		U	2Y2B / K1/X2 A5.A2	
p.106	A	V2 / Y2B			B	Y2E / 2Y2B	B4.B7
	C	2Y2B		B7			
	E	V1 / 3Y2B			*D	X1	A1
	G	(X4)			F	2Y2B / X1	B7.(A1)
	I	V1 / Y2B			H	(X3)	A3
	M	2Y2B			*L	Y2A	B1
	O	{V2 / Y2B			*N	X1	A1
		{K1 / X2	A5.A2		P	V1 / Y2B	
	Q	Y2EE	B4		p.107A	2Y2BP	
	*F	X3 / Y1A	A3.A4		G	V1 / 3Y2B	
	H	Y2E		B4	I	2Y2B/K1/Y1A (A5.A4)	
	*P	K1 / X2	A5.A2		Q	V1 / Y2B	
	R	Y2E		B4	S	2Y2B	
p.108	*C	Y2C	B2		D	2Y2B	
	E	Y2E / X2		B4.A2	F	XE/V1/Y2B	
	G	Y2EE		(B4)	H	2Y2BE	
	M	Y1A	(C3)		*L	1Y2B	C
	O	Y2A	C4		N	V3	
	Q	Y1A		C3	R	V1 / Y2B	
p.109	*C	X3	A3		D	V1 / Y2B	
	E	Y2A		B1	F	2Y2B	
	*I	Y1A	A4		J	V1 / 3Y2B	
	K	Y1A		A4	L	V2 / 3Y2B	
	M	Y2A		B1	N	2Y2B	
	*E	Y2C	B2		F	Y2CB / 2Y2B	

André and Jean

J That's good. And what kind of meals do you have? Like just hot dogs?

A Oh no!

J No?

A I like to cook elaborate meals ... For about three years now I've been eating horsemeat.

The kind of S.D. which André conveys to Jean is characteristically A and B type related. As the example above illustrates, the patterns which emerge from Jean's search for information are distinguished by Primary A types and Secondary A or B types. Of these distinct groupings, the A2, A4 and B4 reappear most often, indicating Jean's speech and linguistic preferences.

By picking up on all of André's S.D. with further questions or reinforcement, Jean discovers that he is a single 28 year old French Canadian who, among other things, enjoys being alone, and talking on the phone. In an example of a B1 type at p. 109N he says, "Sometimes I feel alone and I call the phone, The Line, like or a friend, or somebody to talk." His statistics, moreover, bear out this case in the conversation; he volunteers unsolicited information on nine occasions. Jean is attentive to this type of S.D. and follows up the initial disclosures with A, B, C1, C3 and especially C4 types. Thus, between Jean's A1 types and André's A1 and C types, a balance in subject control is maintained.

André's willingness to converse is all the more evident in those eleven instances in which Jean S.D.'s; five of her S.D.'s spur André to S.D. and they bond together in B7 patterns. As André says at p. 110F "I can talk as much as a woman." In Jean he finds a woman who likes to listen.

Joan -J (31) and Male -M (25)

	J — M	M — J	J S.D.	M S.D.
p. 111	5	–	–	–
112	3	2	–	1
113	9	–	5	–
114	2	1	1	1
115	–	4	–	1
116	–	3	–	1
	—	—	—	—
	19	10	6	4

N – 4

$J - \dfrac{29}{6} - 4.8$

$M - \dfrac{29}{4} - 7.3$

Flow: S.D. ratio

J:M – 5:7

$Mean - \dfrac{29}{10} - 2.9$

J — M to M — J – 3

M — J to J — M – 2

—

5

Joan: OO(1) B4(2) B6(2)

Male: A2(2) A3(2)

B4(1) B7(1)

J S.D.		M S.D.	
Y2B – 3	50%	Y2B – –	
1Y2B – –		1Y2B – –	
2Y2B – 2	33%	2Y2B – 4	100%
3Y2B – 1	17%	3Y2B – –	
—	——	—	——
6	100%	4	100%

J– Q – 67%   M – Q – 0%

J Types		M Types		Total %
A – –		A – 4	71%	45%
B – 4	100%	B – 2	29%	55%
C – –		C – –		–
—	——	—	——	——
4	100%	6	100%	100%

P – 4		P – 3	
S – –		S – 3	
—		—	
4		6	

Joan –J (28) and Male –M (25)

p.112	D	V2	J		p.113	P	Y2E	M	p.115	H	Y2D	M
	E	Y2D/2Y2B	M			Q	Y2D/2Y2B	J		I	Y2E	J
									p.116	A	2Y2B	M
p.113	B	X3	M		p.114	E	X2	M				
	C	V1/Y2B	J			F	N	J				
						G	N	M				
	H	V1	M			H	Y2D/2Y2B	J				
	I	2Y2B	J			I	Y2D/2Y2B	M				
	J	X2	M									
	K	W6/3Y2B	J		p.115	B	Y2D	M				
	L	X3	M			C	Y2E	J				
	M	V1/Y2B	J			D	2Y2B/Y2D	M				

		Male	P	S			Joan	P	S
p.112	E	Y2D/2Y2B	B6			*D	V2		
p.113	*B	X3	A3			C	V1/Y2B		
	*H	V1				I	2Y2B	B6	
	J	X2		A2		K	W6/3Y2B		
	L	X3		A3		M	V1/Y2B		
	*P	Y2E	B4			Q	Y2D/2Y2B	(B3)	
p.114	*E	X2	A2			F	N		
	G	N				H	Y2D/2Y2B/Y1D	(B3).00	
	I	Y2D/2Y2B		B7					
p.115	*B	Y2D	(B3)			C	Y2E	B4	
	D	2Y2B/Y2D							
	*H	Y2D	(B3)			I	Y2E	B4	
p.116	A	2Y2B							

Joan and Male

J ...But there are people in all areas that don't do nothing with
   their life, I don't know how come.
M Right, well you can't legislate excellence in life ...

It is not surprising that a conversation which deals with social
stratification should yield self-disclosures that are meta-related. In
other words, the patterns which recur most often are comprised of cate-
gories which are cited above; i.e. Y2D, and/or Y2E-induced B types.
For example, Male, who controls the flow, S.D.'s twice in identical pat-
terns at pp.129 BCD, 129 HI-130A. In each case he makes a point about
the purpose of life (Y2D), is given reinforcement (Y2E) and subsequently
S.D.'s (2Y2B). His initial S.D., a B6 type, reveals that when he was
sixteen, "he didn't know what (he) was doing". In a subsequent CO type
he reveals that he has a degree in sociology, establishing the basis upon
which to build his argument.

The conversation progresses from the particular - (Joan) to the
general and back to the particular - (Male). The shape of the conversa-
tion is dictated by Male's initiative: he asks Joan questions at the
outset, she relates her ideas and personal information, he offers some
generalization, and in the course of these generalizations self-discloses.
His S.D., concentrated in the latter part of the dialogue, expands upon
what he, a man of twenty-five, feels he should be doing. In effect, it
becomes less of a chat and more of a lecture. As Male speaks with greater
lucidity and candor, Joan retreats into monosyllabic responses and fin-
ally leaves The Line entirely.

Peggy -P (49) and Girl -G (16)

	P -- G	G -- P	P S.D.	G S.D.
p. 117	-	9	1	5
118	-	9	5	2
119	-	11	-	2
120	-	10	1	10
121	-	6	1	2
	—	—	—	—
	-	45	8	21

N - 1

$P - \dfrac{45}{8} - 5.6$

$G - \dfrac{45}{21} - 2.1$

Flow: S.D ratio

P:G - 6:2

Mean $- \dfrac{45}{29} - 1.6$

Pe: A1(4) A2(1) A3(1) A04(1) A4(1)

B3(1) B4(6) B7(4) C1(2) C3(1)

C0(1)

Girl: B4(1) B5(2) B7(2)

C(1) C0(1)

No changeovers.

	P S.D.		G S.D.	
Y2B	- -		Y2B - 8	38%
1Y2B	- 1	12.5%	1Y2B - 2	10%
2Y2B	- 7	87.5%	2Y2B - 8	38%
3Y2B	- -		3Y2B - 3	14%
	—	—	—	—
	8	100%	20	100%

P - Q - 0%   G - Q - 62%

	P Types		G Types		Total %
A	- 8	35%	A - -		27%
B	- 11	48%	B - 5	71%	53%
C	- 4	17%	C - 2	29%	20%
	—	—	—	—	—
	23	100%	7	100%	100%

P - 11		P - 4
S - 12		S - 3
—		—
23		7

Peggy -P (49) and Girl -G (16)

p.117	B	1Y2B	G		p.120	K	X1	P
	C	X2	P			L	V2 / Y2B	G
	D	V1 / Y2B	G			M	Y2E	P
	E	X2 / Y1A	P			N	2Y2B	G
	F	V1 / Y2B	G			O	Y2E	P
	G	2Y2B	P			P	2Y2B	G
						Q	Y1A	P
	I	X1	P			R	V1 / Y2BP	G
	J	V2 / 3Y2B	G			S	Y2E	P
						T	2Y2B	G
	Q	Y2E	P		p.121	A	Y2E	P
	R	2Y2B	G			B	2Y2BP	G
p.118	A	Y1A	P			E	X3	P
	B	V2 / 3Y2B	G			F	V2 / Y2B	G
	C	2Y2B	P			G	1Y2B	P
	D	2Y2BP	G					
	E	2Y2B	P					
	J	Y2F	G					
	K	2Y2B (Y1B)	P					
	N	Y2E	G					
	O	2Y2B	P					
	P	Y2F	G					
	Q	2Y2BP	P					
p.119	Q	Y2C / X1	P					
	R	V1 / Y2B	G					
	S	Y2E	P					
	T	1Y2B	G					
p.120	A	X2	P					
	B	V2 / 3Y2B	G					
	C	X1	P					
	D	V1 / Y2B	G					
	E	2Y2B	P					
	F	2Y2B	G					
	G	Y2D	P					
	H	2Y2B	G					
	I	Y1D	P					
	J	V2/Y2B	G					

Peggy			P	S	Girl		P	S
p.117	C	X2	C1		*B	1Y2B	C	
	E	X2 / Y1A		C1.C3	D	V1 / Y2B		
	G	2Y2B		B7	F	V1 / Y2B		
	*I	X1	A1		J	V2 / 3Y2B		
	*Q	Y2E	B4		R	2Y2B		
p.118	*A	Y2E	B4		B	2Y2B		
	C	2Y2B		B7	D	2Y2BP		B7
	G	2Y2B		B7				
	K	2Y2B / (Y1B)			*J	Y2F	B5	
	O	2Y2B			*N	Y2E	B4	
	Q	2Y2B			P	Y2F		B5
p.119	*Q	X1	A1		R	V1 / Y2B		
	S	Y2E		(B4)	T	1Y2B	CO	
p.120	*A	X2	A2		B	V1 / 3Y2B		
	*C	X1	A1		D	V1 / Y2B		
	E	2Y2B		B7	F	2Y2B		B7
	*G	Y2D	B3		H	2Y2B		
	I	Y1D		A04	J	V2/Y2B		
	*K	X1	A1		G	V2 / Y2B		
	M	Y2E		B4	N	2Y2B		
	O	Y2E		B4	P	2Y2B		
	Q	Y1A		A4	R	V1 / Y2BP		
	S	Y2E		B4	T	2Y2B		
	U	Y2E		B4	V	2Y2BP		
p.121	*F	X3	A3		F	V2 / Y2B		
	G	1Y2B	CO					

Peggy and Girl

G Just washed my hair.
P Oh is it long?
G Oh no. Used to be but it gets so tangled.

The opening C1 type signifies the kind of interaction Peggy and Girl entertain; one which is predominantly B and C type. Because Girl volunteers additional S.D. which Peggy picks up on, she is able to introduce new subjects into the conversation, despite Peggy's total control of the flow. On p. 119T, in a B type, Girl introduces the subject of school. Peggy prolongs this sort of S.D. with an A2 type and Girl volunteers the unsolicited information that she attended school in Switzerland. The older woman continues the subject of education by asking Girl if she has thought of a career. This topic is maintained for the duration of the dialogue: through A and particularly secondary B4 types, Girl S.D.'s about her future plans.

Since Girl asks no questions, save those requesting repetition (X4's), Peggy's S.D. is mostly B type. Specifically, her S.D. consists of two B7, two B5 and one B4 type and one C type. Her final S.D. in which she admits to living alone and hints at being bored, meets with Girl's suggestion that she "get out of the house." While Girl does not pick up on this S.D. by asking further questions, she does encourage Peggy earlier to try her hand at needlepoint and socializing. For her part, Peggy is attentive to Girl's complaints about high school and worries about a career. This conversation provides an example of how two individuals from different generations interact in a supportive way.

Linda -L (19) and Jim -J (20)

	L — J	J —L	L S.D.	J S.D.
P. 122	3	3	2	2
123	7	3	5	3
124	6	4	4	2
125	3	5	3	3
126	2	7	–	1
127	5	4	3	5
128	9	–	6	2
129	9	–	7	–
130	10	–	4	1
	—	—	—	—
	54	26	34	19

N – 8

$L - \dfrac{80}{34} - 2.3$

$J - \dfrac{80}{19} - 4.2$

L S.D.

Y2B	– 14	41%
1Y2B	– 3	9%
2Y2B	– 16	47%
3Y2B	– 1	3%
	—	—
	34	100%

J S.D.

Y2B	– 8	42%
1Y2B	– 3	16%
2Y2B	– 8	42%
3Y2B	–	
	—	—
	19	100%

Flow: S.D.ratio

L:J – 2:4

$\text{Mean} - \dfrac{80}{53} - 1.5$

L — J to J — L – 5

J — L to L — J – 5

—

10

L – Q – 44%   J – Q – 42%

	L Types		J Types		Total %
A	– 8	40%	– 19	44%	43%
B	– 7	35%	– 17	41%	39%
C	– 5	25%	– 6	15%	18%
	—	—	— —	—	—
	20	100%	42	100%	100%

Lin: A1(2) A2(2) A3(1) A4(1) A5(2)

B2(1) B4(2) B6(1) B7(3)

CO(2) C(1) C1(1) C3(1)

P – 14   P – 24

S – 6   S – 18

—   —

20   42

Jim: A1(6) A2(5) A3(1) A4(3) A5(2)

00(1) B2(2) B3(1) B4(9) B6(1) B7(4)

CO(2) C(1) C4(1) C5(1) CB2(1)

Linda -L (19) and Jim -J (20)

p.	ID	Code	Spk
p.122	A	Y2E / X1	J
	B	V1 / Y2B	L
	C	X2	J
	D	V1/Y2B	L
	E	X2	J
	F	V1/Y2B	L
	G	2Y2B	J
	Q	X1	L
	R	V1/Y2B/ K1/X2	J
p.123	A	V2 / Y2B	L
	B	X2	J
	C	V1 / Y2B	L
	F	1Y2B	J
	G	K1 / X2	L
	H	V1 / Y2B	J
	I	Y1A	L
	J	V1 / Y2B	J
	K	1Y2B	L
	N	K1/Y1A	J
	O	V1 / Y2B	L
	P	Y2C	J
	Q	X4	L
	R	Y2SE	J
	S	2Y2B	L
p.124	A	X3	J
	B	V1 / Y2B	L
	E	Y2E	J
	F	2Y2B	L
	G	Y2E	J
	H	1Y2B	L
	I	X1	J
	J	V1 / Y2B	L
	P	X3	L
	Q	V1 / Y2B	J
	R	X2	L
	S	V1 / Y2B	J
	V	X1	L
p.125	A	V1 / Y2B	J
	C	Y2C	J
	D	2Y2B	L

p.	ID	Code	Spk
p.125	I	X1	J
	J	V1 / Y2B	L
	K	2Y2B	J
	M	W5 / X1	J
	N	V1	L
	O	2Y2B	J
	P	2Y2B	L
p.126	K	Y2C	L
	L	1Y2B	J
	V	X1	J
p.127	A	V3 / Y2B	L
	B	2Y2B	J
	C	Y2E	L
	D	2Y2B	J
	E	K1 / X2	L
	F	V2 / Y2B	J
	G	Y1A	L
	H	V2 / Y2B	J
	K	X1	L
	L	V1	J
	M	2Y2B	L
	N	(XE)	J
	O	(V1)	L
	P	Y2E	J
	Q	2Y2BP	L
	R	2Y2B	J
	V	Y2E	L
p.128	A	2Y2B	J
	B	Y2E	L
	C	1Y2B	J
	D	2Y2B	L
	G	Y2E / X1	J
	H	V1 / Y2B	L
	I	X2	J
	J	V1 / Y2B	L
	L	Y2D	L
	M	Y2E	J
	N	2Y2B	L
	O	X1	J
	P	XE/V2/Y2B	L
	Q	Y2E/Y1A	J
	R	V1/Y2B	L
	S	Y2E	J
p.129	A	2Y2BP	L

p.	ID	Code	Spk
p.129	B	Y2E	J
	C	2Y2B	L
	D	Y2D	J
	E	2Y2B	L
	F	(laugh)	J
	G	2Y2BE	L
	J	X3	J
	K	V1 / 3Y2B	L
	M	1Y2B	L
	N	Y2A	J
	O	2Y2B	L
	P	Y2E	J
	Q	2Y2B	L
p.130	A	Y2C	J
	B	2Y2BP	L
	E	Y1A	J
	F	V1 / Y2B	L
	G	Y2E	J
	H	2Y2B	L
	L	Y2C	L
	M	2Y2B	J
	N	2Y2B	L

Linda	P	S	Jim	P	S
p.122 B	V1 / Y2B		*A	Y2E / X1	B4.A1	
D	V1 / Y2B		C	X2	A2
F	V1 / Y2B		E	X2	A2
			G	2Y2B	B7
*Q	X1	A1	R {	V1 / Y2B	
p.123 A	V2 / Y2B		{	K1 / X2	A5.A2
C	V1 / Y2B		B	X2	A2
G	K1 / X2	A5.C1	*F	1Y2B	C
I	Y1A	C3	H	V1 / Y2B	
K	1Y2B	CO	J	V1 / Y2B	
O	V1 / Y2B		*N	K1/Y1A	A5.A4
Q	(X4)		P	Y2C	B2
S	2Y2B		R	(Y2SE)	00
B	V1 / Y2B		p.124 *A	X3	A3
F	2Y2B		*E	Y2E	B4
H	1Y2B	CO	G	Y2E	
J	V1 / Y2B		*I	X1	A1
*P	X3	A3	Q	V2 / Y2B	
R	X2	A2	S	V1 / Y2B	
*V	X1	A1	p.125 A	V1 / Y2B	
D	2Y2B		C	Y2C	B2
J	V1 / Y2B		*I	X1	A1
			K	2Y2B	B7
N	V1		*M	W5 / X1	(A5.A1)
P	2Y2B	B7	O	2Y2B	B6
p.126 *K	Y2C		L	1Y2B	CO
p.127 A	V3 / Y2B		*V	X1	A1
C	Y2E	B4	B	2Y2B	B7
			D	2Y2B	
*E	K1 / X2	A5.A2	F	V2 / Y2B	
G	Y1A	A4	H	V2 / Y2B	

	Linda (cont'd)		P	S		Jim (cont'd)		P	S
p.127	*K	X1	(A1)			L	V1		
	M	2Y2B	B6			N	(XE)		
	O	(V1)				P	Y2E		B4
	Q	2Y2B				R	2Y2B		B7
	*V	Y2E	B4		p.128	A	2Y2B		
	B	Y2E				C	1Y2B	CO	
	D	2Y2B		B7					
	H	V1 / Y2B				*G	Y2E /X1	B4.A1	
	J	V1 / Y2B				I	X2		A2
	*L	Y2D	(B3)			M	Y2E	B4	
	N	2Y2B							
	P	XE/V2/Y2B				*O	X1	A1	
	R	V1 / Y2B				Q	Y2E / Y1A		B4.A4
p.129	A	2Y2B				S	Y2E		B4
	C	2Y2B				*B	Y2E	B4	
	E	2Y2B				D	Y2D		B3
	G	2Y2BE				F	(Laugh)		
	K	V1 / 3Y2B				*J	X3	A3	
	*M	1Y2B	C			N	Y2A	C4	
	O	2Y2BP				P	Y2E		C5
	Q	2Y2BP			p.130	A	Y2C		CB2
	F	V1 / Y2B				*E	Y1A	A4	
	H	2Y2B				G	Y2E		B4
	*L	Y2C	B2			M	2Y2B		
	N	2Y2B		B7					

Linda and Jim

"Do you usually call this number?"
"What part of town are you calling from?"

The two A1 types quoted above represent the most popular questions posed by callers to The Line. Jim's answer to the second leads him to S.D. in the first of his three C types. It is this conversation's abundance of these types which provides an interesting study of one person's reactions to another's unsolicited S.D.

Linda picks up on the fact that Jim has travelled and volunteers that although she is sick she would also like to travel. Jim evades the subject of Linda's health, and regains the flow with a combination A5, A4 type at p. 123N. Similarly at p.118H when Linda confides in a CO type that she fears being alone, Jim changes the subject, asking her whether or not she is a student. In the midst of a discussion about loop lines, Jim himself volunteers, in a CO type, that he has a summer job; information which is superceded by "Line Talk".

In the final examples of this type, at p.123KEM, Linda's admission that she lives with her boyfriend elicits a laugh from Jim, while her description of a nightmare she has had that night, sparks his C5 type. Of the six subjects which might have stemmed from the unsolicited disclosures, only two are picked up; one by Linda and one by Jim.

Apart from this lack of response, there are four cases in which Jim bonds with Linda in B7 patterns pp.116F, 119K, 121B, 121R; and three instances in which Linda bonds with Jim pp. 119P, 122D and 124N. The dialogue, for which Jim controls most of the flow, thus offers a variety of A, B and C type combinations which results in Jim self-disclosing half as much as Linda.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS OF 12 CONVERSATIONS OF

HIGH SELF-DISCLOSURE

Two men may talk and one may hear, but three cannot
take part in conversation of the most sincere and
searching sort.

> Ralph Waldo Emerson
> Essays: First Series:
> Friendship 1841

There are two kinds of people
who blow through life like a breeze
and one kind is gossipers
and the other kind is gossipees.

> Ogden Nash
> I'm a stranger here myself 1938

Total Number of Types:(High)		A	B	C		A	B	C	Aspect
1 Jack (28) & Heidi (16)	J:	11	2	2	H:	5	3	0	A
2 Dan (30) & Lynn (63)	D:	7	5	2	L:	4	1	1	A
3 Nobody (18) & Charles (36)	N:	5	3	3	C:	16	13	5	A
4 Wendy (26) & Mo (32)	W:	2	4	0	M:	5	13	2	B
5 Greg (28) & Pam (49)	G:	0	4	2	P:	8	12	1	B
6 Andrea (16) & Deb (13)	A:	19	20	4	D:	10	14	4	B
7 Rose (56) & Susan (26)	R:	7	2	5	S:	0	3	0	C
8 Paula (16) & Steve (30)	P:	2	1	3	D:	9	9	5	C
9 Mary (49) & Stan (16)	M:	11	10	1	S:	12	5	1	A & B
10 Sheila (26) & Alice (72)	S:	12	12	1	A:	4	2	0	A & B
11 Mildred (71) & Ian (22)	M:	3	3	5	I:	21	10	6	A & C
12 Olive (71) & Marg (37)	O:	4	3	2	M:	5	6	3	A B C

Total Percentages of Types: A		A	B	C		A	B	C	A	B	C
1 Jack (28) & Heidi (16)	J:	74	13	13	H:	71	29	0	70	22	8
2 Dan (30) & Lynn (63)	D:	50	36	14	L:	66	17	17	55	30	15
3 Nobody (18) & Charles (36)	N:	46	27	27	C:	47	38	15	47	36	17
4 Wendy (26) & Mo (32)	W:	33	67	0	M:	25	65	10	27	65	8
5 Greg (28) & Pam (49)	G:	0	67	33	P:	38	57	5	30	60	10
6 Andrea (16) & Deb (13)	A:	44	47	9	D:	36	50	14	41	48	11
7 Rose (56) & Susan (26)	R:	50	14	36	S:	0	100	0	42	29	29
8 Paula (16) & Steve (30)	P:	33	17	50	S:	39	39	22	38	34	28
9 Mary (49) & Stan (26)	M:	50	45	5	S:	67	28	5	57	38	5
10 Sheila (26) & Alice (72)	S:	48	48	4	A:	67	33	0	52	45	3
11 Mildred (71) & Ian (22)	M:	27	27	46	I:	57	27	16	50	27	26
12 Olive (71) & Marg (37)	O:	44	33	23	M:	36	43	21	39	39	22

Jack -J (28) and Heidi -H (16)

	J -- H	H -- J	J S.D.	H S.D.
p. 133	–	9	–	2
134	4	6	–	4
135	3	6	1	3
136	6	4	5	1
137	–	6	–	4
	13	31	6	14

N – 13

$J - \dfrac{44}{6} - 7.3$

$H - \dfrac{44}{14} - 3.1$

Flow: S.D. ratio

J: H – 7:3

$Mean - \dfrac{44}{20} - 2.2$

J -- H to H -- J – 3

H -- J to J -- H – 3

$\overline{}$

6

Jack: A1(3) A2(4) A3(1) A4(1) A5(2)

B1(1) B2(1) CO(2)

Heidi: A1(1) A2(3) A3(1) A5(2)

B6(3)

	J S.D.		H S.D.	
Y2B	– 4	67%	Y2B – 9	64%
1Y2B	– 2	33%	1Y2B – –	
2Y2B	– –		2Y2B – 5	36%
3Y2B	– –		3Y2B – –	
	6	100%	14	100%

J – Q – 67%   H – Q – 64%

J Types		H Types		Total
A – 11	74%	A – 5	71%	70%
B – 2	13%	B – 3	29%	22%
C – 2	13%	C – –		8%
15	100%	8	100%	100%

P – 12   P – 4

S – 3   S – 4

15   8

Jack -J (28) and Heidi -H (16)

p.133	A	X1	J
	B	V1 /Y2B	H
	I	X1	J
	J	V1 / Y2B	H
p.134	A	XE	H
	B	V1	J
	C	2Y2B	H
	N	Y2A	J
	O	2Y2B	H
	P	K1 / X2	J
	Q	V2 / Y2B	H
	R	X2	J
	S	V1 / Y2B	H
p.135	C	X3	J
	D	V2 / Y2B	H
	E	X2	J
	F	V1 / Y2B	H
	G	XE	J
	H	W5 /Y1A	H
	I	V1	J
	J	2Y2B	H
	S	1Y2B / X1	J
	T	X4	H
	U	V1	J
p.136	A	2Y2B	H
	I	K1 / X1	H
	J	V2 / Y2B	J
	K	X2	H
	L	V1 / Y2B	J
	M	X2	H
	N	V1 / Y2B	J
	Q	X3	H
	R	V2 / Y2B	J
	S	Y2E	H
	T	1Y2B-H	J
p.137	B	K1 / X2	J
	C	V1 / Y2B	H
	H	Y2C	J
	I	2Y2B	H

p.137	L	X1	J
	M	V1 / Y2B	H
	N	XE / Y1A	J
	O	V1 / Y2B	H

	Jack		P	S		Heidi	P	S
p.133	*A	X1	A1		B	V1 / Y2B		
	*I	X1	A1		J	V1 / Y2B		
p.134	*B	V1			(A	XE)		
					C	2Y2B	B6	
	*N	Y2A	B1		O	2Y2B		
	P	K1 / X2	A5.A2		Q	V2 / Y2B		
	R	X2		A2	S	V1 / Y2B		
p.135	*C	X3	A3		D	V2 / Y2B		
	E	X2		A2	F	V1 / Y2B		
	G	XE			H	W5 / Y1A		
	I	V1			J	2Y2B		B6
	*S	1Y2B / X1	CO		(T	X4)		
	U	V1			p.136 A	2Y2B		B6
	J	V2 / Y2B			*I	K1 / X1	A5.A1	
	L	V1 / Y2B			K	X2		A2
	N	V1 / Y2B			M	X2		A2
	R	V2 / Y2E			*Q	X3	A3	
	T	1Y2B-H	CO		S	Y2E		(B4)
p.137	*B	K1 / X2	A5.A2		C	V1 / Y2B		
	*H	Y2C	B2		I	2Y2B		
	*L	X1	A1		M	V1 / Y2B		
	N	XE / Y1A		A4	O	V1 / Y2B		

Jack and Heidi

J I'm a floating balloon. Just float from one place to another.
   Same life, no goals, nothing. Ah, that's terrible. Ahhhh!
   You know what I want to do? I want to go somewhere and have
   some coffee.

H (Screams at cat).

The statistics for this conversation reflect the high incidence
of question-related self-disclosure - 67% for Jack and 64% for Heidi.
Closer analysis shows that these types are predominantly of a direct
nature e.g. Jack totals three A1, four A2 and one A3 types, while Heidi
totals one A1, three A2 and one A3 types. There is but one A4 type in
the whole exchange - Jack's last question.

If we examine p.133-134, it is clear that Heidi is hesitant in
giving out any information about herself. Of the ten questions that
Jack asks Heidi all he learns are her name, her age and her penchant
for "doing nothing." It is evident that she does not really listen to
Jack and is more interested in talking to someone else; viz. her K1/X1
at p.134G, "somebody got on?" Jack's persistence in this direct line of
questioning provokes Heidi to self-disclose that she enjoys movies "with
a demon in them". Moreover, she not only has a predilection for violent
films but amuses herself by torturing her "crazy" Siamese cat.

Jack's first C type at p.135S reveals what he really has on his
mind: he wishes to go out for a walk and, because he asks Heidi where
she lives, he conveys his desire to meet her. Heidi quickly counters by
asking him the question at p.136I, in which she gains control of the flow.

The conversation takes a quite unexpected turn at this point. Per-
haps because there is a trace of a West Indian accent in his voice, Heidi
phrases her first question, "Where do you come from?". Heidi picks up on
Jack's response, "I used to live in the States before. I lived there for
seven years. I came to Montreal in September," and asks two consecutive
A2 type questions. While most people on the line would have answered
Heidi's initial question in terms of the area of the city they live in,
Jack has interpreted the question in terms of his origins and his life.
The subsequent CO type at p.136T quoted above is high because

Jack and Heidi

Jack reflects on his condition. His words fall on deaf ears; Heidi does
not follow up with a C5 type; but rather deals a cruel blow by laughing
at the image of a floating balloon. She continues to abuse her cat -
a subject which Jack then pursues. Jack regains the flow at p.137B and
discovers in an A1 Type, that she lives with her family of eleven. The
importance of this conversation is that it illustrates two things clearly:
first, it is deceptive to interpret Jack's questioning as a model of male
aggression, and second, the price of not listening deprives Heidi of
learning from another's experiences. This conversation also embodies
one of the daily ironies of the human condition in that the very moment
Jack pours out his soul, Heidi plays with her cat and laughs at him.

Dan -D (30) and Lynn -L (63)

	D — L	L --D	D S.D.	L S.D.
p. 138	3	4	5	3
139	-	5	1	1
140	-	10	-	2
141	-	3	-	1
	—	—	—	—
	3	22	6	7

N - 5

D - $\frac{25}{6}$ - 4.2

L - $\frac{25}{7}$ - 3.6

Flow: S.D. ratio

D:L - 4:4

Mean - $\frac{25}{13}$ - 1.9

D -- L to L -- D - 2

L -- D to D -- L - 2

—

4

Dan: A1(1) A2(1) A4(3) A5(2)

B4(3) B6(2) C(1) CB3(1)

Lynn: A2(2) A5(2)

B6(1) C5(1)

D S.D.			L S.D.	
Y2B	- 2	33%	Y2B - 5	71%
1Y2B	- 1	17%	1Y2B - -	
2Y2B	- 3	50%	2Y2B - 2	29%
3Y2B	- -		3Y2B - -	
	—	—	—	—
	6	100%	7	100%

D - Q - 33%   L - Q - 71%

D Types		L Types		Total %
A - 7	50%	A - 4	66%	55%
B - 5	36%	B - 1	17%	30%
C - 2	14%	C - 1	17%	15%
—	—	—	—	—
14	100%	6	100%	100%

P - 8   P - 5

S - 6   S - 1

—   —

14   6

Dan -D (30) and Lynn -L (63)

p.138	G	K1/Y1A	D
	H	V1/Y2B	L
	I	2Y2B	D
	J	K1/X2	L
	K	V1/Y2B	D
	L	2Y2B	L
	M	1Y2B	D
	N	Y2E	L
	O	2Y2B/K1/Y1A	D
	P	V1/Y2B	L
	Q	2Y2BP	D
p.139	F	K1/X2	L
	G	V3/Y2B	D
		K1/X2	
	H	V1/Y2B	L

p.139	Q	Y2E/Y1A-H	D
p.140	A	V1/Y2B	L
	T	Y2E/X1	D
	U	V2/Y2B	L
	V	Y2E/Y1D	D
p.141	A	K/2Y2B	L

	Dan		P	S
p.138	*G	Y1A	A4	
	I	2Y2B	B6	
	K	V1/Y2B		
	*M	1Y2B	C	
	O	2Y2B/K1/Y1A		A5.A4
	Q	2Y2BP	B6	
	G	V3/Y2B/K1/X2	A5.A2	
	*Q	Y2E/Y1A-H	B4.A4	
	*T	Y2E/X1	B4.A	
	V	Y2E/Y1A		B4.A4

	Lynn		P	S
	H	V1/Y2B		
	*J	K1/X2	A5.A2	
	L	2Y2B		B6
	N	Y2E	C5	
	P	V1/Y2B		
p.139	*F	K1/X2	A5.A2	
	H	V1/Y2B		
p.140	A	V1/Y2B		
	U	V2/Y2B		
p.141	A	K/2Y2B		

Dan and Lynn

L   I don't think I'm on the phone to try to find a bed partner.

Because the focus of the conversation pivots around Dan's desire
to "make a sex show" with Lynn, the exchange is one of High self-dis-
closure. Although the ratio for self-disclosure is quite similar - D:L -
4:4 -- it is interesting to note that 89% of information flow is direc-
ted to Dan. It is therefore not surprising that 71% of Lynn's self-dis-
closure is category A related, while Dan's is 33%.

Dan's initial question, "Would you like to get together sometime?"
is repeated as an A4 type at p.138C and prompts Lynn's response, "Oh, you're
too young for me." Indeed, Lynn reiterates at p.138H, "You could be my
son." This last bit of information does little to dissuade Dan in his
efforts; in fact, he reveals that he is presently involved with a woman
older than he in the form of a B6 type. Lynn K1's to establish Dan's
age--he is thirty-one--and mirrors his B6 type of self-disclosure with
one of her own: she has a daughter his age.

At p.138M Dan expresses what is uppermost in his mind; that he is
"in the mood." This opening admission takes the form of a C5 type in
which he goes on to tell Lynn of his frustration over missing a "sex
show" on television. Lynn K1's and discovers that Dan is evasive about
his feelings about such shows, but he does indicate that he is curious,
whereas Lynn is not, in seeing one. Dan persists in his quest and asks
an A4 type at 30D, "you wouldn't want to make a sex show with me?"
Even after he has been told that Lynn's health is poor, he suggests that
maybe he could revive her interest. At this point, Lynn emphasizes that
her motives for calling The Line are incompatible with Dan's, which in
effect is a K, (cf. quote at top of page).

The inability to pick up on another person's interests, and, most
importantly feelings on potentially loaded topics; i.e., sex, religion,
politics, results in this instance, in embarrassment, disappointment and
insult. Indeed, in a telephone situation this kind of sensitivity is
crucial to the successful realization of Dan's desires.

Nobody -N (18) and Charles -C (36)

	N — C	C — N	N S.D.	C S.D.
p. 142	5	3	1	2
143	10	-	3	-
144	8	-	2	-
145	9	-	4	-
146	7	1	5	1
147	10	-	6	-
148	10	-	-	-
149	10	-	4	-
150	9	1	-	2
151	-	11	3	-
152	5	4	-	3
153	8	2	3	1
154	2	6	-	1
155	6	4	-	1
156	6	-	-	-
	——	——	——	——
	105	32	31	11

N - 8

N - $\frac{132}{31}$ - 4.4

C - $\frac{132}{11}$ - 12.4

Flow: S.D ratio

N:C - 4:12

Mean - $\frac{132}{42}$ - 3.3

C -- N to N -- C - 6

N -- C to C -- N - $\frac{5}{11}$

No.: A1(2) A4(2) A5(1)

B4(1) B6(1) B7(1)

C(1) C3(1) CO(1)

Cha.: A1(6) A2(6) A3(2) A5(1) OO(1)

B2(3) B3(3) B4(3) B5(3) B6(1)

CO(4) C3(1)

N S.D.		C S.D.	
Y2B - 13	43%	Y2B - 2	18%
1Y2B - 2	6%	1Y2B - 4	37%
2Y2B - 15	48%	2Y2B - 3	27%
3Y2B - 1	3%	3Y2B - 2	18%
— ——		— ——	
31	100%	11	100%

N - Q - 46%   C - Q - 36%

N Types		C Types		Total
A - 5	46%	A - 16	47%	47%
B - 3	27%	B - 13	38%	36%
C - 3	27%	C - 5	15%	17%
— ——		— ——		——
11	100%	34	100%	100%

P - 8   P - 27

S - 3   S - 7

—	—
11	34

Nobody -N (18) and Charles -C (36)

p.142	J	1Y2B	C
	K	Y2E	N
	L	1Y2B	C
	M	K1 / Y1A	N
	N	V1 / Y2BP	C
	O	2Y2B	N
	V	V1	C
p.143	A	2Y2B	N
	D	X2	C
	E	V2 / Y2B	N
	J	Y2D	C
	K	2Y2B	N
p.144	F	Y2D	C
	G	2Y2BH	N
	P	X2	C
	Q	V1 / Y2B	N
p.145	D	X1	C
	E	V1 / Y2B	N
	F	X3	C
	G	V2 / Y2B	N
	J	X2	C
	K	V2 / Y2B	N
	Q	1Y2BH	N
	R	(Y1A)	C
	S	(X4)	N
	T	(V4)	C
p.146	A	2Y2BP	N
	B	X2	C
	C	V1 / Y2B	N
	D	X1 / 1Y2B / Y2F	C
	E	Y2E	N
	F	Y2C	C
	G	K1 / X1/2Y2B	N
	J	K1 / X1	C
	K	V1/Y2B	N

p.146	P	X2	C
	Q	V1 / Y2B	N
p.147	C	Y2F	C
	D	2Y2BP	N
	E	Y2D	C
	F	2Y2BP	N
	I	X1	C
	J	V1 / Y2B	N
	K	Y2E	C
	L	2Y2B	N
	Q	Y2C	C
	R	2Y2B	N
	S	Y2E	C
	T	2Y2BP	N
p.149	A	Y2C	C
	B	2Y2B	N
	C	Y2E	C
	D	2Y2BP	N
	K	X2	C
	L	V1 / Y2B	N
	Q	X1	C
	R	V1 /3Y2B	N
p.150	G	X1 / 1Y2B	C
	H	V1	N
	I	2Y2B/(Y1A)	C
	U	(Y2C)/X1	C
	V	(X4)	N
p.151	A	(V1)	C
	B	2Y2B	N
	I	Y2D	C
	J	2Y2B	N
	O	X4	C
	P	V1 / Y2B	N
p.152	I	Y1A	N
	J	V1 / Y2B	C
	O	Y1A	N
	P	V1 / 3Y2B	C
	Q	Y2E	D
	R	2Y2BP	C

p.153	H	Y2F/X3	C
	I	V3 / Y2B	N
	J	Y1A	C
	K	V3 / Y2BE	N
	L	X2	C
	M	V1 / Y2BP	N
	N	Y2F	C
	O	1Y2B	N
p.154	O	W5/X1	N
	P	V1 / 3Y2B	C
p.155	H	X1	N
	I	V1 / Y2B	C

	Nobody		P	S		Charles		P	S
p.142	K	Y2E				*J	1Y2B	CO	
	M	K1 / Y1A	C3			*L	1Y2B	CO	
	O	2Y2B		B7		N	V1 / Y2BP		
p.143	A	2Y2B		B6		*V	V1		
	E	V2 / Y2B				*D	X2	A2	
	K	2Y2B				*J	Y2D	B3	
	G	2Y2BH			p.144	*F	Y2D	B3	
	Q	V1 / Y2B				*P	X1	A1	
	E	V1 / Y2B			p.145	*D	X1	A1	
	G	V2 / Y2B				*F	X3	A3	
	K	V2 / Y2B				*J	X2	A2	
	*Q	1Y2BH	C			R	(Y1A)	C3	
	S	(X4)				T	(V4)		
p.146	A	2Y2BP							
	C	V1 / Y2B				*B	X2	A2	
	E	Y2E				*D	X1/1Y2B/Y2F	CO	
	G	K1 /X1/2Y2B				*F	Y2C	B2	
	K	V1/ Y2B				*J	K1 / X1	A5.A1	
	Q	V1 / Y2B				*P	X2	A2	
	D	2Y2BP			p.147	C	Y2F		B5
	F	2Y2BP				E	Y2F		B5
	J	V1 / Y2B				*I	X1	A1	
	L	2Y2B				K	Y2E		B4
	R	2Y2B				*Q	Y2C	B2	
	T	2Y2BP				S	Y2E		B4
	B	2Y2B			p.149	*A	Y2C	B2	
	D	2Y2BP				C	Y2E		B4

	Nobody (cont'd)	P	S		Charles (cont'd)	P	S
p.149	L V1 / Y2B				*K X2	A2	
	R V1 / 3Y2B				*Q X1	A1	
	H V1			p.150	*G X1 / 1Y2B	CO	
					I 2Y2B (Y1A)		B6
	V (X4)				*U (Y2C)X1	A1	
	B 2Y2B			p.151	A (V1)		
	J 2Y2B				*I Y2D	B3	
	P V1 / Y2B				*O X4	00	
p.152	*I Y1A	A4			J V1 / Y2B		
	*O Y1A	A4			P V1 / 3Y2B		
	Q Y2E		B4		R 2Y2BP		
	I V3 / Y2B				*H Y2C / X3	B5.A3	
	K V3 / Y2BE			p.153	J Y1A		
	M V1 / Y2BP				L X2	A2	
	O 1Y2B	CO			N Y2F	(B5)	
p.154	*O W5 / X1	A5.A1			P V1 / 3Y2B		
p.155	*H X1	A1			I V1 / Y2B		

Nobody and Charles

```
C  Hey!  I enjoy life!
N  You do?
C  You're damn right I do.
N  I hate life.
```

The conversation between Nobody and Charles captures vividly how
a topic of High self-disclosure can be triggered off by a conflicting
reaction to another's comment. Nobody's suicidal inclinations rise to
the surface as a result of Charles' sudden exclamation about life. (cf.
above). It is this seeming polarity between their outlooks on life which
affects Nobody; in his own words, "Completely different from you, eh?
Like you like life. I hate life." (p.142S). Charles picks up on No-
body's despair and proceeds to question him directly about his situa-
tion. His technique of employing Al and A2 types yields little real
information about Nobody: he is eighteen years old, a high school drop-
out, evasive, confused and inarticulate. By pushing him to his limits by
throwing a K at p.144F, Charles discovers Nobody's feelings about sui-
cide; "I was still trying to decide whether if I should or not."

Toward the end of the conversation Nobody gains the flow and asks
Charles about himself. In his A5 and A2 types p.152G "Okay, what is
your problem?" —followed by an A4 type, Charles admits having "trouble
getting together" in the morning because of the side effects of being
a "controlled drinker." (p.152 J,R) The occasions or opportunities
in which such a conversation can evolve are few. That two absolute
strangers meet, share experiences, and then part with the feeling that
both have benefitted from the interaction, while maintaining anonymity,
is rare. Charles who at thirty-six is exactly twice Nobody's age, rea-
lizes and appreciates this chance to understand "what touches one gen-
eration to the other." (p.155G) At an earlier point in the conversation
he went so far as to expound, "You know we are the most fortunate peo-
ple in Canada to be able to use the communications systems at our will
with no one to interrupt us, you know, and I think we should be reason-
ably grateful for that." (p.146F) Nobody's closing remarks, "Okay,
thanks a lot . . . . Take care," imply that he is in accord with Charles'
opinion.

Wendy -W (26) and Mo -M (32)

	W — M	M — W	W S.D.	M S.D.
p. 157	4	-	3	1
158	6	-	4	-
159	6	-	1	1
160	5	1	5	-
161	7	-	4	1
	——	——	——	——
	28	1	17	2

N - 10

$W - \dfrac{29}{17} - 1.7$

$M - \dfrac{29}{2} - 14$

Flow: S.D. ratio

W:M - 2:14

$Mean - \dfrac{29}{19} - 1:5$

W — M to M — W - 1

$\dfrac{M - W \text{ to } W - M - 1}{2}$

Wendy: A0(1) A5(1)

00(1) B6(2) B7(1)

Mo: A2(3) A5(1)

B1(1) B2(1) B3(4) B4(4) B5(1)

00(2)

C0(1) C5(1)

W S.D.   M S.D.

	W S.D.		M S.D.	
Y2B -	3	18%	Y2B -	
1Y2B -	-		1Y2B - 1	50%
2Y2B -	13	76%	2Y2B - 1	50%
3Y2B -	1	6%	3Y2B -	-
	——	——	—	——
	17	100%	2	100%

W - Q - 24%   M - Q - 0%

	W Types		M Types		Total %
A -	2	33%	A - 5	25%	27%
B -	4	67%	B - 13	65%	65%
C -	-		C - 2	10%	8%
	—	——	——	——	——
	6	100%	20	100%	100%

P - 3   P - 14

S - 3   S - 6

—   —

6   20

Wendy -W (26) and Mo -M (32)

p.157	C	Y2D / X2	M
	D	V1 / Y2B	W
	E	Y2E	M
	F	2Y2B	W
	G	Y2E	M
	I	2Y2BP	W
	L	1Y2B-H	M
p.158	A	V3	W
	F	Y2D	M
	G	2Y2B	W
	H	Y2E / Y2D	M
	I	2Y2B	W
	J	Y2F	M
	K	2Y2BP	W
	L	Y2D	M
	M	2Y2BP	W
p.159	D	Y2C / Y2SE	M
	E	2Y2B	W
	N	Y2SE	W
	O	2Y2B-H / Y2C	M
p.160	A	2Y2B-H	W
	B	Y2E	M
	C	2Y2B / K1/Y1B	W
	D	V1	M
	E	2Y2BP	W
	F	Y2E /K1/Y1A	M
	G	V2 / Y2BP	W
	J	X2	M
	K	V2 / 3Y2B-H	W
p.161	A	Y2EE / X2	M
	B	V2 / Y2B	W
	K	Y2A	M
	L	2Y2B	W
	O	Y2SE	M
	P	2Y2B / X4	W
	Q	V1	M
	R	2Y2B	W

	Wendy	P	S			Mo	P	S
	D	V1 / Y2B			p.157	*C	Y2D / X2	B3.A2
	F	2Y2B				E	Y2E		B4
	I	2Y2BP				G	Y2E		B4
p.158	A	V3				*L	1Y2BH	C0
	G	2Y2B				*F	Y2D	B3
	I	2Y2B				H	Y2E / Y2D		B4.B3
	K	2Y2BP				J	Y2F		B5
	M	2Y2BP				L	Y2D		B3
	E	2Y2B			p.159	*D	Y2C / Y2SE	B2.00
	*N	Y2SE	00					
p.160	A	2Y2B-H		B7		O	2Y2B-H/Y2C	
	C	2Y2B/K1/Y1B		A5.00		B	Y2E	C5
	E	2Y2BP		B6		D	V1	
	G	V2/Y2BP				F	Y2E/K1/Y1A	B4.A5.A4
	K	V2 / 3Y2B-H				*J	X2	A2
	B	V2 / Y2B			p.161	*A	Y2EE / X2	(B4).A2
	L	2Y2B				*K	Y2A	B1
	P	2Y2B / X4				*O	Y2SE	00
	R	2Y2B		B6		Q	V1	

Wendy and Mo

W   (Crying) Things just are, believe me.....
M   You know when I committed suicide, or attempted suicide....
W   (Crying) Than what I did to him.

Mo, a resident doctor and Wendy, an alcoholic housewife with only 4% vision, exchange experiences of High S.D. which form four distinct patterns. Mo's first disclosure , reproduced above, represents the only 1Y2B of the conversation. Moreover, it reflects Wendy's preoccupation with relating the details of her dreams, in which she has sex with her four year old son, and her physical abuse of that child. Because Mo is willing to play the role of active therapist, offering advice and sharing personal experiences, he gives up on this subject and allows Wendy to continue her story.

Mo's second High S.D. is met with greater response: he states at p.1590 in a B type, that he is guilty of battering a "little baby." To this, Wendy discloses in a High B7 type; her son had to be taken from her for his well-being. This example of bonding and the C types mentioned above, describe Mo's total number of S.D., i.e., all Mo's S.D. is High.

Wendy, who self-discloses every second speaking turn, as opposed to Mo's every fourteenth, reveals in her second High S.D. at p.160K, that she once beat up her son until he was "black and blue ...with supper on top of his head." This High 3Y2B accentuates her desperation since she provides Mo with a complete picture of her condition so that he might counsel her. For his part, Mo interprets her dreams and tries to alleviate her guilt with analogies to his own life. This kind of reinforcement induces Wendy to S.D. most often in B types (76%).

Greg -G (28) and Pam -P (49)

	G -- P	P -- G	G S.D.	P S.D.
p. 162	10	-	7	1
163	99	-	7	-
164	10	-	1	1
165	˙4	-	4	2
	——	——	——	——
	33	-	19	4

N - 0

$G - \dfrac{33}{19} - 1.7$

$P - \dfrac{33}{4} - 8.2$

Flow: S.D. ratio

G:P - 2:8

$Mean - \dfrac{33}{23} - 1.4$

Greg: B2(1) B4(1) B7(2)

C(1) CO(1)

Pam: A1(3) A2(4) A4(1)

B2(2) B3(2) B4(6) B6(1)

C5(1)

B7 (1) C5(11)

No changeovers.

G S.D.			P S.D.		
Y2B	-	5 26%	Y2B	-	-
1Y2B	-	2 11%	1Y2B	-	-
2Y2B	-	9 47%	2Y2B	-	4 100%
3Y2B	-	3 16%	3Y2B	-	-
		—— ——			— ——
		19 100%			4 100%

G - Q - 42%   P - Q - 0%

G Types		P Types		Total %
A	- -	A	- 8 38%	30%
B	- 4 67%	B	- 12 57%	60%
C	- 2 33%	C	- 1 5%	10%
	— ——		— ——	——
	6 100%		21 100%	100%
P	- 4	P	- 12	
S	- 2	S	- 9	
	—		——	
	6		21	

Greg -G (28) and Pam -P (49)

p.162	D	Y2C	G
	E	2Y2B	P
	H	1Y2B	G
	I	Y2E	P
	J	2Y2B	G
	K	Y1A	P
	L	V1/Y2B-H	G
	M	Y2C	P
	N	2Y2B	G
	O	X2	P
	P	V1 / Y2B	G
	Q	Y2E / X2	P
	R	V1 / 3Y2B	G
	S	Y2E / X2	P
	T	V2 / 3Y2B	G
p.163	A	X2	P
	B	V2 / Y2B	G
	E	Y2C	P
	F	2Y2BP	G
	G	Y2E	P
	H	2Y2B	G
	I	(X4)	P
	J	(V1 / Y2BE)	G
	K	Y2E	P
	L	1Y2B	G
	M	Y2D	P
	N	2Y2B	G
	O	Y2E	P
	P	2Y2B	G
	Q	Y2D	P
	R	2Y2B-H	G
p.164	C	Y2E / X1	P
	D	V2 / Y2BP	G
	H	Y2E	G
	I	Y2C / 2Y2B	P

p.164	U	Y2E / X1	P
p.165	A	V1 / 3Y2B	G
	B	2Y2B	P
	C	2Y2B	G
	D	2Y2B	P
	E	2Y2B-H	G
	F	X1	P
	G	V1 /Y2B	G

	Greg	P	S		Pam	P	S
p.162	*D Y2C	B2			E 2Y2B		
	*H 1Y2B	C			I Y2E	C5	
	J 2Y2B						
	L V1 / Y2B-H				*K Y1A	A4	
	N 2Y2B				M Y2C		B2
	P V1 / Y2B				*O X2	A2	
	R V1 / 3Y2B				*Q Y2E / X2	B4.A2	
	T V2 / 3Y2B				S Y2E / x2		B4.A2
	B V2 / Y2B			p.163	A X2		A2
	F 2Y2BP				*E Y2C	B2	
	H 2Y2B				G Y2E		B4
	J (V1 / Y2BE)				I (X4)		
	L 1Y2B	CO			K Y2E		(B4)
	N 2Y2B				*M Y2D	B3	
	P 2Y2B				O Y2E		B4
	R 2Y2B-H				Q Y2D		B3
	D V2 / Y2B			p.164	*C Y2E / X1	B4.A1	
	*H Y2E	B4			I Y2C / 2Y2B		
p.165	A V1 / 3Y2B				*U Y2E / X1	B4.A1	
	C 2Y2B		B7		B 2Y2B		B6
	E 2Y2B-H		B7		D 2Y2B		B7
	G V1 / Y2B				*F X1	A1	

Greg and Pam

P Oh, nothing too serious I hope?
G Open heart surgery.
P Oh, that's pretty bad

This conversation's most outstanding, and immediately recognizable,
feature is the control which Pam exerts throughout - she controls 100%
of the flow of information. Greg's level of self-disclosure is very high,
considering the length of the exchange, and is first evidenced by his
1Y2B at p.162H, in which he hints at having been in the hospital. This
C5 type develops the nature of his illness and the tone of the conversa-
tion. (cf. quote above). The figures for Greg's self-disclosure rate
illustrate his high volunteer potential (three 3Y2B, two 1Y2B, nine 2Y2B
as opposed to only five Y2B's). Pam on the other hand proves herself
a good listener and picks up the thread of Greg's admissions. Her pri-
mary C5 type is consistent with her supportive role and is further exem-
plified by six B4 types. The many varieties of patterns that identify
Pam's participation are set against Greg's reluctance to ask any direct
or indirect questions to form an interesting contrast. While Greg in-
troduces the subject that acts as a springboard for the ensuing conver-
sation, it is Pam's responses which define its shape.

Because of their greater incidence, Greg's S.D. patterns are of
especial interest. As mentioned above, Greg drops the clue that he was
"laid up" in his first 1Y2B (C type) which Pam follows up with an A4
and B2. In this case it is the A4 type which induces Greg to reveal
that he has undergone open heart surgery. The second C type occurs
when Greg confesses that he was, "close to suicide at one time." This
instance is triggered by a B3 type in which Pam compares Tel-Aid and
The Line. Instead of pursuing the suicide issue with an A4, she chooses
to change the subject with an A1, and asks if Greg has a girlfriend.

The third and last example is found at the close of the conversa-
tion. Here, Greg reveals that his father tried to teach him French be-
fore he died (p.165E). This entire sequence of interaction is notable
for a number of reasons. The fact that it is a B6 followed by three
consecutive B7 types indicates the degree of bonding between the two -

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Greg and Pam

based on what they share in common, a French surname. However, what
contributes to the High self-disclosure at p.165E is the fact that
Greg had previously referred to his father in the present tense (p.165C):
"My father speaks French." The effect of this slip is re-emphasized by
Greg's avowal that he has not learned French despite his father's wishes.
Once again, Pam chooses not to pick up on this point (perhaps with her
previous confusion at p.163I concerning Greg's mother and whether or
not she is still alive) and steers the conversation to safer ground with
an Al type: "Did you always live in Montreal?"

Andrea - A (16) and Debbie -D (13)

	A — D	D — A	A S.D	D S.D.
p. 166	2	7	–	6
167	2	8	4	4
168	5	6	1	3
169	7	–	1	1
170	9	–	–	1
171	6	1	–	3
172	4	3	2	4
173	3	5	2	1
174	5	3	–	–
175	6	2	–	2
176	6	3	–	–
177	5	4	–	–
178	8	1	3	1
179	7	–	3	1
180	4	4	–	2
181	7	–	–	1
182	4	2	–	1
183	3	2	2	–
184	4	–	1	1
185	2	6	–	4
186	2	8	–	–
187	5	2	–	1
188	1	7	–	2
	—	—	—	—
	107	74	19	39

N - 17

A - $\frac{181}{19}$ - 9.5

D - $\frac{181}{39}$ - 4.6

Flow: S.D. ratio

A:D - 10:5

Mean - $\frac{181}{58}$ - 3.1

A — D to D — A - 15

D — A to A — D - $\frac{15}{30}$

A S.D.		D S.D.	
Y2B – 6	32%	Y2B – 10	26%
1Y2B – –		1Y2B – 3	8%
2Y2B – 12	63%	2Y2B – 23	58%
3Y2B – 1	5%	3Y2B – 3	8%
— —		— —	
19	100%	30	100%

A – Q – 37%   D – Q – 34%

Andrea -A (18) and Debbie -D (13)
(cont'd)

	A Types		D Types		Total %
A -	19	44%	A - 10	36%	41%
B -	20	47%	B - 14	50%	48%
C -	4	9%	C - 4	14%	11%
	43	100%	28	100%	100%

P - 30		P - 19
S - 13		S - 9
43		28

Andrea: A1(5) A2(4) A4(4) A5(5) AO(1)

B1(1) B2(2) B3(1) B4(1) B5(6) B6(1) B7(7) OO(1)

CB2(1) CB5(1) C3(1) C5(1)

Debbie: A2(5) AO4(1) A4(1) A5(3)

B2(1) B3(2) B4(1) B6(6) B7(4)

C(4)

Andrea -A (16) and Debbie -D (13)

p. 166	B	1Y2B	D
	C	Y2E	A
	D	2Y2BE	D
	E	X1	A
	F	V2/Y2B	D
	G	Y1A	A
	H	V1/Y2B	D
	I	X1	A
	J	V1/3Y2B	D
	O	V1	A
	P	2Y2B	D
	Q	Y2E	A
	R	2Y2B	D
p. 167	I	X1	A
	J	V1/Y2B	D
	K	2Y2B	A
	L	2Y2B	D
	M	Y2C	A
	N	2Y2B	D
	O	2Y2B/Y2D	A
	R	K1/Y1B	D
	S	V1/Y2BP	A
	T	2Y2BP	D
	U	2Y2BP	A
p. 168	H	Y1A	A
	I	V1/3Y2B	D
	J	Y1A	A
	K	V1/3Y2B	D
	L	2Y2B/X2	A
	M	V1/Y2B	D
p. 169	E	X2	D
	F	V1/Y2B/Y2D	A
	N	V1	A
	O	2Y2B	D
p. 170	Q	Y2F	A
	R	2Y2B	D

p. 171	B	1Y2B	D
	C	Y2C	A
	D	2Y2BPH	D
	E	K1/X1	A
	F	V1/Y2B	D
p. 172	F	Y2F	A
	G	2Y2B	D
	H	Y2F/2Y2B	A
	I	2Y2B	D
	L	Y2A	A
	M	2Y2B	D
	N	2Y2B	A
	O	2Y2B	D
p. 173	B	X2/Y2C	A
	C	V1/Y2B	D
	G	Y2D	D
	H	2Y2B	A
	I	Y2E	D
	J	2Y2BP	A
p. 175	N	Y2F	A
	A	2Y2B	D
	B	Y2F	A
	C	2Y2B	D
p. 177	U	K1/X1	A
p. 178	A	V1/Y2B	D
	C	K1/Y1A	D
	D	V1/3Y2B	A
	E	X2	D
	F	V1/Y2B	A
	K	X2	D
	L	V1/Y2B	A

p. 179	F	V1/Y2BE	A
	G	2Y2B	D
	H	2Y2B	A
	I	Y2D	D
	J	2Y2B	A
	K	2Y2BE	D
	L	2Y2B	A
p. 180	N	1Y2BH	D
	O	Y2F	A
	P	2Y2B	D
p. 181	F	V1	A
	G	2Y2B	D
p. 182	H	K1/X2	A
	I	V1/Y2B	D
		(K1/X2)	
p. 183	B	X2	D
	C	V1/Y2B	A
	J	Y2C	D
	K	Y1D/2Y2B	A
p. 184	B	K1/X2	D
	C	V1/Y2B	A
	D	2Y2B	D
p. 185	B	Y2CB	A
	C	2Y2B	D
	F	K1/X4	A
	G	V1/Y2B	D
	J	Y2F	A
	K	2Y2B	D
	P	X2/Y1A	A
	Q	V1/Y2B	D
p. 187	N	Y2F	A
	O	2Y2B	D
	P	Y2D	A
	A	2Y2BP	D
p. 188	I	1Y2B	D
	J	K1/Y1A	A
	K	2Y2B	D

	Andrea	P	S	Debbie	P	S
				*B 1Y2B	C	
				D 2Y2B		
p.166	C Y2E	C5		F V2/Y2B		
	*E X1	A1		H V1/Y2B		
	G Y1A		A4			
	*I X1	A1		J V1/3Y2B		
	*O V1			P 2Y2B	B6	
	Q Y2E	B4		R 2Y2B		
p.167	*I X1	A1		J V1/Y2B		
	K 2Y2B		B7	L 2Y2B		B7
	*M Y2C	B2		N 2Y2B		
	O 2Y2B/Y2D		B7			
	S V1/Y2B			*R K1/Y1B	A5.A04	
	U 2Y2BP		B7	T 2Y2BP		B6
p.168	*H Y1A	A4		I V1/3Y2B		
	J Y1A		A4	K V1/3Y2B		
	L 2Y2B/X2		B6.A2	M V1/Y2B		
p.169	F V1/Y2B/Y2D			*E X2	A2	
	*N V1			O 2Y2B	B6	
p.170	*Q Y2F	B5		R 2Y2B		
	C Y2C	CB2		p.171 *B 1Y2B	C	
				D 2Y2BPH		
	*E K1/X1	A5.A1		F V1/Y2B		
p.172	*F Y2F	B5		G 2Y2B		
	H Y2F/2Y2B		B7	I 2Y2B		B7
	*L Y2A	B1		M 2Y2B		
	N 2Y2B		B7	O 2Y2B		B7
p.173	B X2/Y2C	A2.B2		C V1/Y2B		
	H 2Y2B			G Y2D	B3	
	J 2Y2BP			I Y2E		B4

Andrea (cont'd)		P	S		Debbie (cont'd)		P	S
p.174	*N Y2F	B5		p.175	A	2Y2B		
	B Y2F		B5		C	2Y2B		
p.177	*U K1/X1	A5.A1		p.178	A	V1/Y2B		
	D V1/3Y2B				*C	K1/Y1A	A5.A4	
	F V1/Y2B				E	X2		A2
	L V1/Y2B				*K	X2	A2	
p.179	*F V1/Y2BE				G	2Y2B	B6	
	H 2Y2B		B7		I	Y2D		B3
	J 2Y2B				K	2Y2BE		B7
	L 2Y2B		B7					
p.180	O Y2F	CB5			*N	1Y2B-H	C	
					P	2Y2B		
p.181	*F V1				G	2Y2B	B6	
p.182	*H K1/X2	A5.A2			I	V1/Y2B(K1/X2)		
	C V1/Y2B			p.183	*B	X2	A2	
	K Y1D/2Y2BP				*J	Y2C	B2	
	C V1/Y2B			p.184	*B	K1/X2	A5.A2	
					D	2Y2B		B6
p.185	*B Y2CB	OO			C	2Y2B		
	*F K1/X4	A5.AO			G	V1/Y2B		
	*J Y2F	B5			K	2Y2B		
	*P X2/Y1A	A2.A4			Q	V1/Y2B		
p.187	*N Y2F	B5			O	2Y2B		
	P Y2D		B3	p.188	A	2Y2BP		
	J K1/Y1A	A5.C3			*I	1Y2B	C	
					K	2Y2B		

Andrea and Debbie

A   Hello?
D   Oh, hello. There's this party tonight and I wasn't invited
    so I'm feeling depressed.
A   Oh that's too bad.

The conversation between Andrea and Debbie enables us to study
the progress of a fairly lengthy interaction from beginning to end,
and see how two young girls are very supportive of one another over
their common problem of being overweight. Although the younger Debbie
controls the flow more than Andrea, she nevertheless S.D.'s three
times as much as she, and reveals the anguish she has of being a "shrimp"
and so fat that "people practically run away from (her) when they see
(her)."

The statistics reveal the degree of bonding in their interaction-
while Andrea and Debbie have seven B7 and four B7 types respectively,
their Q factor is only 39% and 34% respectively; Andrea's role of
giving advice is clearly in evidence with her six B5 types, whereas
Debbie's bonding approach of reacting to Andrea's answers with personal
S.D. is indicated by her six B6 types. It is interesting to note, more-
over, that their supportive behaviour for one another takes the form of
bonding through B7 and B6 types rather than the more frequent B4 types -
for they only share two B4 types between them.

Not only is Andrea sensitive to Debbie's problems from her own
experiences, but she shows herself to be a good listener and teacher,
which is unusual for teenage callers to The Line. Andrea picks up
three of Debbie's four C types and gives her good advice, ranging from
changing her bad habit of constantly "putting herself down", to see-
ing about changing her doctor who scares her and screams at her for be-
ing overweight. Likewise, all of the advice concerning her diet and
joining Weight Watchers is both constructive and supportive, and it is
a fitting end to the conversation that they exchange phone numbers, as
friends, with Andrea pledging to take an interest in Debbie's progress.

Rose -R (56), Susan -S (26) and Mary -M (50)

	R — S	S — R	R S.D.	S S.D.
p. 189	6	–	2	–
190	5	2·	3	–
191	1	–	1	–
192	–	2	1	–
193	–	1	1	–
	12	5	8	–

	R — M	M — R	R S.D.	M S.D.
p. 189	–	–	–	–
190	–	–	–	–
191	–	7	–	5
192	–	4	–	3
193	–	–	–	–
	–	11	–	8

Susan S.D
    -0

N – 2

$R - \dfrac{17}{8} - 2.1$

$M - \dfrac{11}{8} - 1.4$

Flow: S.D. ratio

R:S – 2:0

M:R – 1:0

Mean – Mary 1.4, Rose – 2.1

Rose: A1(2) A2(3) A4(2)

        B1(1) B4(1)

        CO(5)

Susan: B2(1) B5(2)

R S.D.		M S.D.	
Y2B – –		Y2B – 7	87.5%
1Y2B – 5	62.5%	1Y2B – –	
2Y2B – 3	37.5%	2Y2B – 1	12.5%
3Y2B – –		3Y2B – –	
8	100%	8	100%

R – Q – 0%   M – Q – 87.5%

R Types		S Types		Total %
A – 7	50%	A – –		42%
B – 2	14%	B 3	100%	29%
C – 5	36%	C – –		29%
14	100%	3	100%	100%

P – 8	P – 3
S – 6	S – –
14	3

Rose -R (56),   Susan -S (27) and Mary -M (50)

p.189	E	Y2C	S
	F	W6	R
	G	N	S
	H	2Y2B	R
	O	Y2D	S
	P	1Y2B-H	R
p.190	C	Y2D	S
	D	1Y2B-H	R
	E	Y2F	S
	F	2Y2B	R
	O	Y2F	S
	P	2Y2B	R
	Q	Y2D	S
p.191	A	1Y2B-H	R

Rose and Mary

p.191	G	X2	R
	H	V1 / Y2B	M
	I	Y1A	R
	J	V1 / Y2B	M
	K	Y2A / X1	R
	L	V1 / Y2B	M
	M	X2	R
	N	V1 / Y2B	M
	O	X2	R
	P	V2 / Y2B	M
	Q	X2	R
p.192	A	V2 / Y2B	M
	B	Y1A	R
	C	V2 / Y2B	M
	D	Y2E	R
	G	2Y2BP	M

Rose and Susan

p.192	J	V1	S
	K	1Y2BP-H	R
p.193	A	V1	S
	B	1Y2BP-H	R

	Rose		P	S		Susan		P	S
p.189	F	W6				*E	Y2C	B2	
	H	2Y2B				G	N		
	P	1Y2B-H	CO			*O	Y2D		
	D	1Y2B-H	CO		p.190	*C	Y2D		
	F	2Y2B				*E	Y2F	B5	
	P	2Y2B				*O	Y2F	B5	
p.191	A	1Y2B-H	CO			Q	Y2D		

	Rose		P	S		Mary		P	S
p.191	*G	X2	A1			H	V1 / Y2B		
	I	Y1A		A4		J	V1 / Y2B		
	*K	Y2A / X1	B1.A1			L	V1 / Y2B		
	M	X2		A2		N	V1 / Y2B		
	O	X2		A2		P	V2 / Y2B		
	Q	X2		A2	p.192	A	V2 / Y2B		
	B	Y1A		A4		C	V2 / Y2B		
	D	Y2E		B4		E	2Y2BP		

	Rose		P	S		Susan		P	S
p.192	K	1Y2BP-H	CO			*J	V1		
p.193	B	1Y2BP-H	CO			*A	V1		

Rose, Susan and Mary

> R "God is with those little children. I'm a staunch believer
> in God...I almost fell down a spiral staircase, ...That year
> we moved out of the house....I use a knife every day....I open
> my own chicken."

This conversation illustrates how one person responds to two dif-
ferent people on The Line. Although there are three speakers, Rose
treats Susan and Mary individually; that is, she addresses each separately.
The effect of Mary's nonparticipation during Rose's outpourings to Susan,
and Susan's absence during Rose's conversation with Mary, is one of two
individual dyadic interchanges. While Rose self-discloses to Susan
without being asked a single question, Mary self-discloses to Rose be-
cause of persistent interrogation—there is but one instance of a B type
throughout her talk with Rose. Susan, who does not self-disclose at all,
controls the flow for most of the time she speaks with Rose - a High self-
discloser who chooses to volunteer in the form of C types (63% of her
total). The contrast in Rose's behaviour toward Susan and Mary can best
be examined through an analysis of the conversations.

Rose's habit of self-disclosing in a manner which can be likened
to a narrative monologue, intimates her need for a sympathetic listener.
While Susan is not without compassion for Rose's condition, she is intent
on impressing Rose about the problems of another, younger blind woman.
Rose, rather than offering to contact the latter, begs a comparison be-
tween the two. Rose responds to Susan's concerns about the other woman's
difficulties with raising a four year old son, by freely associating
and self-disclosing (cf. excerpt above). In one speaking turn, Rose man-
ages to change the topic from "God being with the little children" to
"opening a chicken". This process is replicated to a lesser extent in
each of the four other C types which are all examples of unsolicited, un-
restrained self-disclosure. If one reads the first and last sentences of
each C type in a consecutive fashion, the monologue effect is evident—
the brief exchanges between Susan and Rose in the interim are irrelevant

Rose, Susan and Mary

since each 1Y2B flows into the next as an extended narrative stream.
Just as Rose embarks on another facet of her life--how she met her se-
cond husband, their twelve year courtship over the telephone, his heart
condition - Susan leaves The Line for a short interval.

Rose's approach toward Mary is radically different from that
described above. Instead of relating her story to Mary, she makes pol-
ite conversation, controlling the flow entirely with four A2, two A4,
one A1 and one B4 types. The moment Susan returns, she resumes her
narrative self-disclosure where she had left off. The degree of Rose's
self-disclosure is considerable; she nearly died on two occasions, she
is blind, has no toes, cooks for and lives with a retarded brother who
gets in her way. Since her husband's death, her isolation has been in-
tensified. It is clear that The Line provided a viable means for her
to communicate with other people if only for a brief period of time.

Paula -P (16) and Steve -S (30)

	P — S	S — P	P S.D.	S S.D.
p. 194	10	-	7	-
195	6	1	5	5
196	2	3	4	1
197	7	-	2	-
198	4	-	2	-
	—	—	—	—
	29	4	20	6

N - 0

$P - \dfrac{33}{20} - 1.7$

$S - \dfrac{33}{6} - 5.5$

Flow: S.D. ratio

P:S - 2:5

$Mean - \dfrac{33}{26} - 1.3$

P — S to S — P - 2

S — P to P — S - 2

—

4

Paula: A4(1) A5(1)

B7(1) CO(1) C(2)

Steve: A2(6) A4(1) A5(2)

B4(5) B6(2) B7(2)

C4(2) C5(2) CO(1)

P S.D.		S S.D.	
Y2B -	6 30%	Y2B - 1	17%
1Y2B -	3 15%	1Y2B - 1	17%
2Y2B -	10 50%	2Y2B - 4	66%
3Y2B -	1 5%	3Y2B - -	
	— —	—	—
	20 100%	6	100%

P - Q - 35%   S - Q - 17%

P Types	S Types	Total %
A - 2 33%	A - 9 39%	38%
B - 1 17%	B - 9 39%	34%
C - 3 50%	C - 5 22%	28%
— —	— —	—
6 100%	23 100%	100%

P - 5   P - 12

S - 1   S - 11

—   —

6   23

Paula -P (16) and Steve -S (30)

p.194	E	Y2D	S
	F	1Y2B	P
	G	Y2E	S
	H	2Y2B	P
	I	Y2A	S
	J	2Y2B	P
	M	X2	S
	N	V2 / Y2B	P
	O	X2	S
	P	V2 / Y2B	P
	Q	Y2E	S
	R	2Y2BP	P
	S	Y2EE	S
	T	2Y2BP	P
p.195	A	X2	S
	B	V1 / Y2B	P
	C	Y2E	S
	D	2Y2BP	P
	E	2Y2B	S
	F	K1 / Y1A	P
	G	V1 / Y2BP	S
	H	1Y2B	P
	I	K1 / X2	S
	J	V1 / Y2B	P
	K	2Y2BP	S
	L	Y2C	P
	M	1Y2BP-H / X2	S
	N	V1	P
	O	2Y2BP	S
	P	2Y2BP	P
p.196	A	2Y2BP	S
	E	V1	S
	F	1Y2B	P
	G	Y2A	S
	H	2Y2BP	P
	I	Y2E	S
	J	2Y2BP-H	P

p.196	K	K1 / Y1A	S
	L	V1 / Y2BP	P
p.197	C	X2	S
	D	V1 / Y2B	P
	E	X2	S
	F	V1 / 3Y2B	P
p.198	C	Y2E	S
	D	2Y2BP	P
	E	Y2E	S
	F	2Y2BP	P

	Paula		P	S		Steve		P	S
p.194	F	1Y2B	C			*E	Y2D		
	H	2Y2B				G	Y2E	C5	
	J	2Y2B				I	Y2A		C4
	N	V2 / Y2B				*M	X2	A2	
	P	V2 / Y2B				O	X2		A2
	R	2Y2BP				Q	Y2E		B4
	T	2Y2BP				S	Y2EE		B4
	B	V1 / Y2B			p.195	*A	X2	A2	
	D	2Y2BP				C	Y2E		B4
	F	K1 / Y1A	A5.A4			E	2Y2B		B7
	H	1Y2B	CO			G	V1 / Y2BP		
	J	V1 / Y2B				*I	K1 / X2	A5.A2	
						K	2Y2BP		B6
	*L	Y2C				M	1Y2B-H /X2	CO	
	N	V1				O	2Y2BP		B6
	P	2Y2B		B7	p.196	A	2Y2BP		B7
	F	1Y2B	C			*E	V1		
	H	2Y2BP				G	Y2A	C4	
	J	2Y2BP-H				I	Y2E		C5
	L	V1 / Y2BP				*K	K1 / Y1A	A5.A4	
	D	V1 / Y2B			p.197	*C	X2	A2	
	F	V1 / 3Y2B				*E	X2	A2	
	D	2Y2BP			p.198	*C	Y2E	B4	
	F	2Y2BP				E	Y2E		B4

Paula and Steve

Steve: Two years ago I went to something called "the Encounter Session." ...It's a group of men and women who meet in a room with no clothes .... At first you wear goggles.

The figures for this interchange point to a high degree of volunteered self-disclosure for each person; specifically 67% for Paula, and 61% for Steve. Steve's question types are mainly direct —there are six A2 types —and these often combine with a B4 type to form a recurring pattern. When Paula self-discloses in a C type, Steve is quick to follow up with a C4 and C5 types, thus proving himself a good listener. He uses such opportunities to self-disclose about his own experiences, creating a bond which is often repeated.

Steve picks up on the fact that Paula's boyfriend has gone away (p.194 F) and pursues the topic with consistent A2 and B4 types. At p. 195 D, however, after Paula reveals that both she and her boyfriend are sixteen years old, Steve who is thirty, volunteers that he met his frist girlfriend just two years before. Paula further self-discloses about her boyfriend's past and present: in a C type, she confides that she is not allowed to have any boy-friends, but her "dad knows—doesn't phase him too much. He advises me and if I don't take his advice it's an insult. Well not an insult, but he's European so you know, it hurts him." One can perceive this particular exchange in terms of bonding centering around the resonance of shared experience. Steve's A5 and A2 types at p.195 I mirror Paula's A5 and A4 types at p. 195 F. Similarly, Steve's B6 type at p.195 K is a response to Paula's self-disclosure A type at p.195 J.

Steve's 1Y2B at p.195 M is High since he discloses that he had been a "loner" up until he was twenty-eight and only treatment through an encounter group session helped him overcome his shyness (cf. excerpt above). This inter-play about nudity is an excellent example of bonding - a B6 type followed by two consecutive B7's. Steve picks up on Paula's story about one of her class-mates semi-exposing himself in front of her, with C4 and C5 types which replicate his pattern at p.194 F. In the last four S.D. sequences, two A2 types reveal that Paula is the only girl in a professional cooking class, and two B4 types, that she teased her boyfriend when she first learned that he was in the Home Economics Programme.

Paula and Steve

The reciprocal or bonding-related self-disclosure serves to bolster each speaker and encourage greater confidence. That Steve should choose to "open up" to a girl so many years his junior, and that his extraordinary story is met with such understanding, is testament to the most favourable aspects of The Line.

Mary -M (49) and Stan -S (26)

	M — S	S — M	M S.D.	S S.D.
p. 199	9	–	3	–
200	7	2	2	3
201	7	–	4	–
202	4	1	5	1
203	–	7	3	8
204	4	4	2	3
205	1	–	–	–
	——	——	——	——
	32	14	19	15

N – 2

$M - \dfrac{46}{19} - 2.4$

$S - \dfrac{46}{15} - 3.1$

Flow: S.D. ratio

M : S – 2:3

$Mean - \dfrac{46}{34} - 1.4$

M — S to S — M – 4

S — M to M — S – 4

—

8

Mary: A1(1) A2(2) A4(4) A5(4)

B4(7) B6(1) B7(2) C(1)

Stan: A1(1) A2(4) A3(2) A4(3) A5(2)

B2(1) B3(1) B4(1) B6(2)

C3(1)

M S.D.		S S.D.	
Y2B – 8	42%	Y2B – 7	47%
1Y2B – 1	5%	1Y2B – –	
2Y2B – 7	37%	2Y2B – 7	47%
3Y2B – 3	16%	3Y2B – 1	6%
— ——		— ——	
19	100%	15	100%

M – Q – 58%   S – Q – 53%

M Types		S Types		Total %
A – 11	50%	A – 12	67%	57%
B – 10	45%	B – 5	28%	38%
C – 1	5%	C – 1	5%	5%
— ——		— ——		——
22	100%	18	100%	100%

P – 14   P – 12

S – 8   S – 6

——   ——

22   18

Mary -M (49) and Stan -S (26)

p.199	G	X3	S		p.202	O	Y2C	M
	H	V2/Y2B	M				K1/X1	
	I	Y2E	S		p.203	A	V2/Y2B	S
	J	2Y2BP	M			B	2Y2B	M
						C	K1/X2	S
	M	Y1A	S			D	V1/Y2BP	M
	N	V1/Y2B	M			E	2Y2B	S
						F	2Y2BP(K1/X1)	M
p.200	G	Y2E	S					
	H	Y2C/2Y2B	M			F	K1/X1	M
	I	X2	S			G	V2/Y2B	S
	J	V2/Y2B	M			H	Y1A	M
						I	V1/Y2B	S
	K	XE	S			J	Y2E	M
	L	V1/Y2BE	M			K	2Y2B	S
	M	2Y2B	S					
						L	Y2E/X2	M
	P	K1/Y1A	M			M	V3/Y2B	S
	Q	V1/3Y2B	S			N	Y2E	M
						O	2Y2B	S
	T	Y1A	M			P	XE	M
	U	V1/Y2B	S			Q	V1/Y2BP	S
p.201	I	1Y2B-H	M			R	Y2E	M
	J	Y1A	S		p.204	A	2Y2BP	S
	K	V1/Y2B	M			B	Y2E	M
						C	2Y2BP	S
	L	X2	S					
	M	V2/Y2B	M			F	Y2E	M
	N	X2	S			G	2Y2B	S
	O	V1/3Y2B	M			H	2Y2B	M
	R	X3	S			Q	Y1A	S
p.202	A	V1/Y2B	M			R	V1/3Y2B	M
	C	Y2E/K1/Y1A	M					
	D	V1/Y2B	S					
	E	2Y2B	M					
	F	K1/X1	S					
	G	XE/V2/Y2B	M					
	H	Y1A	S					
	I	V1/3Y2B	M					
	J	Y2D	S					
	K	2Y2BP	M					

	Mary	P	S		Stan	P	S
p.199	H V2/Y2B				*G X3	A3	
	J 2Y2BP				I Y2E		B4
	N V1/Y2B				*M Y1A	A4	
	H Y2C/2Y2B			p.200	*G Y2E	B2	
	J V2/Y2B				I X2		A2
	L V1/Y2BE				*K XE	(BC2)	
					M 2Y2B		B6
	*P K1/Y1A	A5.A4			Q V1/3Y2B		
	*T Y1A	A4			U V1/Y2B		
p.201	*I 1Y2B–H	C					
	K V1/Y2B				J Y1A	C3	
	M V2/Y2B				*L X2	A2	
	O V1/3Y2B				N X2		A2
p.202	A V1/Y2B				*R X3	A3	
	*C Y2E/K1/Y1A	B4.A5.A4			D V1/Y2B		
	E 2Y2B		B6				
	G XE/V2/Y2BP				*F K1/X1	A5.A1	
	I V1/3Y2B				*H Y1A	A4	
	K 2Y2BP				J Y2D		B3
	*O Y2C/K1/X2	(B2)A5.A2		p.203	A V2/Y2B		
	B 2Y2B				C K1/X2	A5.A2	
	D V1/Y2BP				E 2Y2B		B6
	F 2Y2BP (K1/X1)		B7				
	*F K1/X1	A5.A1			G V2/Y2B		
	H Y1A		A4		I V1/Y2B		
	J Y2E		B4		K 2Y2B		
	*L Y2E/X2	B4.A2			M V3/Y2B		
	N Y2E		B4		O 2Y2B		
	P XE		(BC2)		P V1/Y2BP		
	R Y2E		B4	p.204	A 2Y2BP		
	B Y2E		B4		C 2Y2BP		
	*F Y2E	B4			G 2Y2BP		
	H 2Y2B		B7				
	R V1/3Y2B				*Q Y1A	A4	

Mary and Stan

M   Yes, I dread the weekends. I find them so long and when you
    can't get on The Line, it makes it worse. You feel you haven't
    a soul in the world.

The statistics for Mary and Stan's conversation, which is predomina-
antly A and B type, yield -- 19 S.D. for Mary and 15 for Stan. In res-
pective A4 and A2 types, Mary first discloses where she lives and her
age. Stan, in a B6 type, states his age, and in a subsequent 3Y2B, the
fact that he is tired. This last bit of unsolicited information is not
picked up; instead, Mary introduces the subject of weekends which eli-
cits varying patterns from both speakers.

Stan, who at p.200s gives an inadequate reply to Mary's question
about his plans for the weekend, gives an equally evasive answer when
the same question is repeated at p.201H - the point that he gains con-
trol of the flow with a W5/X4. At p.201I, excerpted above, Mary reveals
the High S.D. that she is painfully lonely on weekends. Stan picks up
on this High disclosure with a succession of C3, A2 and A3 types. Simil-
arly, with a combination of B2.A5.A2 types, Mary regains control and with
follow-up B6 and B7 types discovers that Stan lives in the same area of
Montreal in which she once lived, and that he is an artist who prefers to
work at night. A B7 type at p.204H reveals that Mary appreciates land-
scape art, and her 3Y2B A type at p.204R offers more detailed informa-
tion about her sojourns along McGill College, where she enjoys watching
the street artists at work. Stan does not pick up on the discussion of
art, and the conversation terminates when he leaves Mary alone on The
Line.

Sheila -S (26) and Alice -A (72)

	S — A	A — S	S S.D.	A S.D.
p. 206	-	9	2	5
207	-	9	-	7
208	-	9	-	4
209	6	2	1	2
210	4	3	2	3
	—	—	—	—
	0	32	5	21

N - O

S - $\underline{42}$ - 8.4
    5

A - $\underline{42}$ - 2
    21

Flow: S.D. ratio

S:A: - 8:2

Mean - $\underline{42}$ - 1.6
       26

S — A to A — S - 2

A — S to S — A - 2
                —
                4

Shei.: A1(1) A2(6) A4(3) A5(2)

   B2(1) B3(2) BO4(1) B4(7)

   B6(1) C(1)

Alice: A1(1) A2(1) A5(1) OO(1)

   B4(1) B7(1)

S S.D.		A S.D.	
Y2B - 1	20%	Y2B - 8	38%
1Y2B - 1	20%	1Y2B --	
2Y2B - 2	40%	2Y2B - 11	52%
3Y2B - 1	20%	3Y2B - 2	10%
—	—	—	—
5	100%	21	100%

S - Q - 40%   A - Q - 48%

	S Types		B Types		Total %
A -	12	48%	A - 4	67%	57.5%
B -	12	48%	B - 2	33%	40.5%
C -	1	4%	C - -		2%
	—	—	—	—	—
	25	100%	6	100%	100%

P - 12   P - 3

S - 13   S - 3
    —   —
   25   6

Sheila -S (26) and Alice -A (72)

p.206	B	X1	A
	C	V2 / Y2B	S
		K1 / Y1A	
	D	XE/V1/Y2B	A
	E	Y2E / X2	S
	F	V2 / Y2B	A
	G	Y2E	S
	H	2Y2BP	A
	I	X2	S
	J	V1/3Y2B-H	A
	O	X2	S
	P	V1 / Y2B	A
	R	V1	A
	S	2Y2B	S
p.207	A	X2	S
	B	V1 / Y2B	A
	C	Y2E	S
	D	2Y2BP	A
	E	X2	S
	F	V2 / Y2B	A
	G	Y1A	S
	H	V1 / Y2B	A
	I	Y2E	S
	J	2Y2B	A
	K	Y2E	S
	L	2Y2B	A
	Q	Y2SE	S
	R	2Y2B	A
	S	Y2E	S
p.208	A	2Y2BP-H	A
	D	Y2D	S
	E	2Y2B	A
	H	Y2C	S
	I	2Y2B-H	A
	J	Y2E	S
	K	2Y2BP	A
p.209	N	K1 / X1	S
	O	V2 / Y2B	A
	P	Y2D	S
	Q	2Y2B	A

p.209	R	Y2E/X1/1Y2B	S
p.210	A	X4	A
	B	V1/Y2BE/X2	S
	C	V1/Y2B/K1/X4	A
	E	X2	A
	F	V2 / 3Y2B	S
	I	Y2E	A
	J	2Y2BP	S
	K	2Y2B	A
	N	Y1A	S
	O	V2 / 3Y2B	A

	Sheila		P	S		Alice	P	S
p.206	C	V2 / Y2B			*B	X1	A1	
		K1 / Y1A	A5.A4		D	XE/V1/Y2B		
	E	Y2E / X2		B4.A2	F	V2 / Y2B		
	G	Y2E		B4	H	2Y2BP		
	I	X2		A2	J	V1 / 3Y2B--H		
	*O	X2	A2		P	V1 / Y2B		
	S	2Y2B	B6		*R	V1		
p.207	*A	X2	A2		B	V1 / Y2B		
	C	Y2E		B4	D	2Y2BP		
	E	X2		A2	F	V2 / Y2B		
	G	Y1A		A4	H	V1 / Y2B		
	I	Y2E		B4	J	2Y2B		
	K	Y2E		B4	L	2Y2B		
	*Q	Y2SE	B04		R	2Y2B		
	S	Y2E		B4 p.208	A	2Y2BP-H		
	*D	Y2D	B3		E	2Y2B		
	*H	Y2C	B2		I	2Y2B-H		
	J	Y2E		B4	K	2Y2BP		
p.209	*N	K1 / X1	A5.A1		O	V2 /Y2B		
	P	Y2D		B3	Q	2Y2B		
	*R	Y2E/X1/1Y2B C		A2	p.210 A	X4		
	B	V1/Y2BE/X2			C	V1 / Y2B/K1/X4		A5.00
	F	V2 / 3Y2B			*E	X2	A2	
	J	2Y2BP			*I	Y2E	B4	
					K	2Y2B		B7
	*N	Y1A	A4		O	V2 / 3Y2B		

Sheila and Alice

A   I said, "For people like me," I says, "they should give them a
    pill and put them to sleep" . . . (The doctor) said, "We can't
    do that".
S   They do to animals, though.

As the first examples of S.D. on p.206 imply, Alice supplies most
of the S.D. in the conversation. In fact, she S.D.'s four times as much
as Sheila, who controls the flow three times as often as Alice. It is
the latter's answer, "I have a broken shoulder," to Sheila's polite ope-
ner at p.206C which introduces the subject of her physical condition;
the topic which dominates the interaction. Sheila, a much younger wo-
man, is supportive - she has seven B4 types. Although this kind of re-
inforcement assumes a negative quality in the instance excerpted above,
Sheila is sympathetic to Alice's many ailments (cf. pp.206M, 207C, I,K
and 298H). Alice's S.D. can be compared to Rose's in that both are
akin to monologues: Alice's 2Y2B's total 52% of her S.D., and her 3Y2B's
10%, indicating her readiness to volunteer information.

Sheila changes the subject at p.209R with a combination of B4.A1.C
types. Alice answers, and regains the flow by asking Sheila an X4. She
learns, in an A2 type, that Sheila is new to St. Laurent, the district
in which she has been living for two years. For Alice, a senior citizen
who feels she should be "put to sleep" so that "the healthy and starving"
should have more food (p.208I), the opportunity to phone The Line and
chat with others must have been welcome.

Mildred - M (71) and Ian -I (22)

	M — I	I -- M	M S.D.	I S.D.
p. 211	10	-	5	-
212	5	-	3	-
213	5	-	4	-
214	6	-	5	-
215	8	-	6	-
216	9	-	-	-
217	8	1	5	1
218	10	-	8	-
219	2	3	1	-
220	2	4	2	-
221	-	5	-	3
	65	13	39	6

N - 4

$M - \dfrac{78}{39} - 2$

$I - \dfrac{78}{6} - 13$

Flow: S.D. ratio

M:I - 2:13

$Mean - \dfrac{78}{45} - 1.7$

M -- I to I -- M - 3

I -- M to M -- I - 2

5

Mil.: A4(3) B2(2) B6(1) C(5)

Ian: A1(5) A2(7) A4(5) A5(1)

B1(4) B2(2) B3(1) B4(2) B6(1)

C1(2) C2(1) C3(1) C4(1) C5(1)

M S.D.		I S.D.	
Y2B - 17	44%	Y2B - 1	17%
1Y2B - 5	13%	1Y2B - -	
2Y2B - 11	28%	2Y2B - 3	50%
3Y2B - 6	15%	3Y2B - 2	33%
39	100%	6	100%

M - Q - 59%   I - Q - 50%

M Types	I Types	Total %
A - 3 27%	A - 21 57%	50%
B - 3 27%	B - 10 27%	27%
C - 5 46%	C - 6 16%	23%
11 100%	37 100%	100%

P - 8   P - 24

S - 3   S - 13

11   37

Mildred -M (71) and Ian -I (22)

Page				Page				Page			
p.211	A	X2	I	p.215	D	X1	I	p.220	B	Y2D	I
	B	V1 / 3Y2B	M		E	V1 / Y2B	M		C	2Y2B	M
	C	X2	I								
	D	V3 / Y2B	M		J	Y1A	I		D	K1 / X1	I
					K	V1/Y2B	M		E	V1 / Y2B	M
	M	Y2C	I		L	Y1A	I				
	N	2Y2B	M		M	V1/Y2B	M		G	V1	M
									H	2Y2B	I
					N	X1	I				
	P	1Y2B-H	M		O	V1 / Y2B	M	p.221	D	Y1A	M
	Q	Y2E	I						E	V1 / 3Y2B	I
	R	X4	M	p.217	F	Y1A	I		F	Y1A	M
	S	V1	I		G	V1 / Y2B	M		G	V1 / Y2B	I
	T	Y2D/2Y2B-H	M		H	Y1A	I		H	Y1A	M
					I	V1 / Y2B	M		I	V1 / 3Y2B	I
p.212	C	Y1A	I								
	D	V1 / 3Y2B	M		J	Y1A	I				
					K	V1 / Y2B	M				
	G	Y2E	I								
	H	2Y2BP	M		L	Y2C	I				
	I	X2	I		M	2Y2B	M				
	J	V1 / 3Y2B	M		N	Y2E	I				
					O	2Y2BP	M				
p.213	B	1Y2B	M								
	C	XE	I		Q	Y2C	M				
	D	V1 / Y2BE	M		R	2Y2B	I				
	E	X2	I								
	F	V1/Y2B	M	p.218	C	1Y2B	M				
	G	X2	I		D	X2	I				
	H	V1 / 3Y2B	M		E	W6	M				
	K	X1	I		F	Y1A	I				
	L	V1 / Y2B	M		G	V2 / Y2B	M				
					H	X2	I				
p.214	B	(Y2D)	I		I	V1 / Y2B	M				
	C	1Y2B	M		J	Y1A	I				
	D	Y2A	I		K	V1 / 3Y2B	M				
	E	2Y2B	M								
					L	X2	I				
	F	X1	I		M	V1 / Y2B	M				
	G	V1 / 3Y2B	M		N	Y2A	I				
	H	Y2A	I		O	2Y2BP	M				
	I	2Y2B	M								
	J	Y2A	I		P	X2	I				
	K	2Y2BP	M		Q	V1 / Y2B	M				
					R	Y2A	I				
p.215	A	1Y2B	M		S	2Y2B	M				
	B	Y1A	I	p.219	C	X2	I				
	C	W6 / 3Y2B	M		D	V1 / Y2B	M				
					J	Y2C	M				
					K	Y2C / 2Y2B	I				

	Mildred	P	S		Ian	P	S
p.211	B V1 / 3Y2B				*A X2	A2	
	D V3 / Y2B				C X2		A2
	N 2Y2B				*M Y2C	B2	
	*P 1Y2B-H	C			Q Y2E	C5	
	R (X4)				S (V1)		
	T Y2D / 2Y2B-H	B6					
	D V1 / 3Y2B			p. 212	*C Y1A	A4	
	H 2Y2BP				*G Y2E	B4	
	J V1 / 3Y2B				I X2		A2
p.213	*B 1Y2B	C					
	D V1 / Y2BE				C XE	C2	
	F V1 / Y2B				E X2		C1
	H V1 / 3Y2B				G X2		C1
	L V1 / Y2B				*K X1	A1	
p.214	*C 1Y2B	C			D Y2A	C4	
	E 2Y2B						
	G V1 / 3Y2B				*F X1	A1	
	I 2Y2B				H Y2A		B1
	K 2Y2BP				J Y2A		B1
p.215	*A 1Y2B	C			B Y1A	C3	
	C W6 / 3Y2BP						
	E V1 / Y2B				*D X1	A1	
	K V1 / Y2B				*J Y1A	A4	
	M V1 / Y2B				L Y1A		A4
	O V1 / Y2B				*N X1	A1	
	G V1 / Y2B				*F Y1A	A4	
	I V1 / Y2B				H Y1A		A4
	K V1 / Y2B				*J Y1A	A4	
	M 2Y2B				*L Y2C	B2	
	O 2Y2BP				N Y2E		B4

	Mildred (cont'd)		P	S		Ian (cont'd)		P	S
p.217	*Q	Y2C	B2			R	2Y2B		
p.218	*C	1Y2B	C			D	X2	(C1)	
	E	W6							
	G	V2 / Y2B				*F	Y1A	A4	
	I	V1 / Y2B				H	X2		A2
	K	V1 / Y2B				J	Y1A		A4
	M	V1 / Y2B				*L	X2	A2	
	O	2Y2BP				N	Y2A		B1
	Q	V1 / Y2B				*P	X2	A2	
	S	2Y2B				R	Y2A		B1
	D	V1 / Y2B			p. 219	*C	X2	A2	
	*J	Y2C	B2			K	2Y2B/Y2C		
	C	2Y2B			p. 220	*B	Y2D	B3	
	E	V1 / Y2B				*D	K1 / X1	A5.A1	
	*G	V1				H	2Y2B	B6	
p.221	*D	Y1A	A4			E	V1 / 3Y2B		
	F	Y1A		A4		G	V1 / Y2B		
	H	Y1A		A4		I	V1 / 3Y2B		

Mildred and Ian

I Are you still a religious person?
M Yeah, I'm not a church goer, I'm too old and I'm not well enough
  to go.

Mildred's self-disclosures, which punctuate this conversation once
every four turns, are 59% question-related: 17 Y2B's and 6 3Y2B's. When
this last figure is combined with the total number of her C types, producing
a 28% total, it is apparent that Mildred volunteers unsolicited infor-
mation which is both highly personal and frequent.

In the first A type of the interchange, quoted above, Mildred's
answer includes her self-image as old and sick. Ian picks up on the sub-
ject of her age, and after a guessing game - a popular pattern on The
Line, which is repeated later in the conversation as a means of find-
ing out where Mildred lives - is surprised to learn that Mildred is sev-
enty-one. In response to Ian's reaction she explains, in her first C
type, that in spite of sounding "spry" she, "feels so miserable sometimes",
especially since her "darling husband died three years ago". From this
point, Ian serves as reinforcer and questioner. Mildred's contribution
to the greater part of the conversation consists of indepth descriptions
of her late husband's illness, their life together, their inability to
have children, and her fears of having to leave her home and being "put
out to pasture."

On the subject of the house, Ian offers a comparison with his grand-
mother, whose house was built by his grandfather, thus creating a bond
with Mildred. Ian's patterns, which are 33% 3Y2B's, indicate that he,
too, is prone to give more information than is actually requested.
While Mildred picks up on Ian's mother not "killing" him for being on
the phone, and the fact that he has his own telephone number in two A4
types, she does not question him about his girlfriend. Instead, she
turns the topic away from Ian, onto more general "Line talk," and soon
after, excuses herself from the conversation.

Olive -O (71) and Marg -M (37)

	O — M	M -- O	O S.D.	M S.D.
p. 222	2	6	2	5
223	10	-	7	-
224	1	7	1	3
225	4	-	2	-
	—	—	—	—
	17	13	12	8

N - 0

Olive - $\frac{30}{12}$ - 2.5

Marg - $\frac{30}{8}$ - 3.8

Flow: S.D. ratio

O: M - 3:4

Mean - $\frac{30}{20}$ - 1.5

O — M to M -- O - 1

M -- O to O — M - 2

$\frac{}{3}$

Olive: A1(2) A2(1) A4(1)

B2(1) B3(1) B6(1)

C(1) C5(1)

Marg: A1(1) A2(1) A4(1) A5(2)

B1(1) B4(4) B6(1)

C3(1) C5(1) CB5(1)

O S.D.

			M S.D.		
Y2B	- 2	17%	Y2B	- 2	25%
1Y2B	- 1	8%	1Y2B	-	-
2Y2B	- 8	67%	2Y2B	- 4	50%
3Y2B	- 1	8%	3Y2B	- 2	25%
	—	——		—	——
	12	100%		8	100%

Mary - Q - 25%   Marg - Q - 50%

O Types		M Types		Total %
A - 4	44%	A - 5	36%	39%
B - 3	33%	B - 6	43%	39%
C - 2	23%	C - 3	21%	22%
—	——	—	——	——
9	100%	14	100%	100%

P - 5   P - 7

S - 4   S - 7

$\frac{}{9}$ $\frac{}{14}$

Olive –O (71) and Marg –M (37)

p.222	A	X1	O
	B	V2/3Y2B	M
	C	X1	O
	D	V1/3Y2B	M
	E	Y2E	O
	F	2Y2BP	M
	G	2Y2B	O
	H	2Y2BP	M
	K	Y2D	O
	L	2Y2B	M
	N	K1/X1	M
	O	V2/Y2B	O
p.223	A	Y1A	M
	B	V1/3Y2B	O
	E	Y2A	M
	F	2Y2BP	O
	K	Y2F	M
	L	2Y2B	O
	M	X2	M
	N	V1/Y2B–H	O
	O	Y2E	M
	P	2Y2BP–H	O
	Q	Y2E	M
	R	2Y2BP	O
	S	Y2E	M
	T	2Y2BP	O
p.224	D	X2	O
	E	V1/Y2B	M
	F	Y1A	O
	G	V1/Y2B	M
	H	Y2C	O
	I	2Y2B	M
	P	1Y2B	O
	Q	K1/Y1A	M
	R	V1/Y2BE	O
	S	Y2E	M
p.225	A	2Y2B	O
	B	Y2F	M
	C	2Y2BP	O

	Olive	P	S			Marg	P	S
p.222	*A X1	A1				B V2/3Y2B		
	*C X1	A1				D V1/3Y2B		
	E Y2E		C5			F 2Y2BP		
	G 2Y2B		B6			H 2Y2BP		B6
	*K Y2D	B3				L 2Y2B		
	O V2/Y2B					*N K1/X1	A5.A1	
	B V1/3Y2B			p.223		*A Y1A	A4	
	F 2Y2BP					*E Y2A	B1	
	L 2Y2B					*K Y2F	B5	
	N V1/Y2B-H					M X2		A2
	P 2Y2BP-H					O Y2E		B4
	R 2Y2BP					Q Y2E		B4
	T 2Y2BP					S Y2E		B4
p.224	*D X2	A2				E V1/Y2B		
	F Y1A		A4			G V1/Y2B		
	H Y2C		B2			I 2Y2B		
	*P 1Y2B	C				Q K1/Y1A	A5.C3	
	R V1/Y2BE					S Y2E		C5
p.225	A 2Y2B					B Y2F		CB5
	C 2Y2BP							

Olive and Marg

O No, no. I wish I were younger and that I could go out and uh, meet more people....
M It's better if you could go out.

The statistics for this conversation show that question-related self-disclosure for Olive totals 25%, while that for Marg is 50%. Although this disparity implies that Olive volunteers information more readily than does Marg, it should be noted that two of Marg's A types are 3Y2B's; that is, in answering a question she divulges information that was not requested specifically.

Marg's susceptibility to speaking freely about herself is apparent in her responses to Olive's A1 type questions about what she plans to do that evening, and if she is married and has a family. Marg's answer that she goes to work every day and does not have time to cook is followed by Olive's self-disclosing about her mother's cooking habits. When Olive chooses not to pursue the subject of Marg's family, Marg seizes the opportunity to gain the flow of information by asking, "What do you do, Olive?"--an A5 and A1 type at p. 222N. This last question can be interpreted as reciprocal to Olive's A1 type at p.222C, "Do you have a family? Are you married?" since it represents Marg's attempt to find out about Olive. The sequence which follows this opening question comprises a combination of A and B types that is interesting to examine because of Olive's subsequent High self-disclosures.

Marg's direct line of questioning prompts Olive's 3Y2B about what she does during the day. Instead of answering to the point, however, she states that she is a widow. An A4 type expands upon her conception about her condition: "I don't have to (work), I was left... Anyway, I'm not young anymore." (p.223B). Olive's hesitance in giving out any precise information about what it is she does during the day, is sensed by Marg and expressed in her B type assertion at p.223C, "I don't want to sound like I'm prying into your life." Olive voices her concern that there are listeners on The Line, and therefore, is

Olive and Marg

evasive on that issue. She goes on to say that she wishes she could go
to work and would even offer services voluntarily were it not for her
poor health--she has high blood pressure and suffers from dizzy spells.
Moreover, in a B type at p. 223R she claims that she only travels by
taxi and "wouldn't go out on the street alone." She learns, by means
of an A5 and A4 type at p. 224E that Marg is in her thirties. Two
successive A types and one B type find Marg to be a woman who does not
think she sounds or looks as old as she is, and one who must work for
her morale, as well as for the money. While both women belong to dif-
ferent economic groups and generations, each agrees that being part of
the labour force is beneficial to one's mental outlook. In fact, Marg
encourages Olive to actively realize her goal by offering advice and
support.

The conversation takes a dramatic turn at the point when Marg
explains her reasons for working; a listener has hung up, causing Olive
to react emotionally and in a manner that completely counters her ear-
lier resolution to remain silent about her private affairs. Olive re-
veals that she encountered someone on The Line who correctly identified
her as, "the lady who lives . . . in a house by herself." (p.224P).
Marg's advice not to answer in detail only serves to defeat her purpose;
Olive continues her story of having talked to this person a month after
she had spoken to him the first time, and expresses surprise that some-
one could recognize her voice. She discloses very personal information
without much provocation from Marg or wisdom on her part.

CONCLUSION

Fifty years ago, most of the words heard by an American were personally spoken to him as an individual, or to somebody standing nearby. Only occasionally did words reach him as an undifferentiated member of a crowd - in the classroom or church, at a rally or a circus ....
Today, words that are directed to one person's attention have become rare.

> Ivan Illich
> The Right to Useful
> Unemployment 1978

Action carried out through conversation concerns all matters from the gravest to most trivial, and all levels from the conference rooms of government and industry to the family home. (...) Disciplines to which the effects of conversation are immediately relevant include sociology, social psychology, psychology, language, speech, speech therapy, psychiatry, anthropology, and social work.

> Donald E. Allen and
> Rebecca F. Guy
> Conversation Analysis:
> The Sociology of Talk 1974

In addition to the specific individual patterns of self-disclosure for each speaker, which we have analyzed in the two previous chapters, there seems to be some general conclusions that we can draw on the basis of the data of these 24 conversations:

Comparison Between the Flow Changes in the Low and High Conversations

The following table delineates the number of flow changes in each of 24 conversations. The two columns of numbers i.e. 1) to 12) correspond to the same ordering of these Low and High conversations as represented in the tables on pages 160 and 213.

FLOW CHANGES

	LOWS Total Flow	Total Changeovers		HIGHS Total Flow	Total Changeovers
1)	46	4	1)	44	6
2)	48	10	2)	25	4
3)	90	14	3)	132	11
4)	90	13	4)	29	2
5)	50	2	5)	33	0
6)	81	7	6)	181	30
7)	27	4	7)	17	2
8)	58	7	8)	33	4
9)	80	8	9)	46	8
10)	29	5	10)	42	4
11)	45	0	11)	78	5
12)	80	10	12)	30	3
	724	84		690	79

$$\frac{\text{Total flow}}{\text{Total changeovers}} = \frac{724}{84} = 8.62 \qquad \frac{\text{Total flow}}{\text{Total changeovers}} = \frac{690}{79} = 8.73$$

As we can see the mean for the Low flow changes is 8.6, while the mean for the Highs is 8.7. The similarity of these totals indicate an important finding in the field of conversation analysis; it suggests that in any given conversation, the flow will change, on average, from one speaker to the other every eighteenth speaking turn, irrespective of whether it is a Low or High conversation. It might be useful in future research of open conversations to use this figure (18) as a reference point for measuring the control factor in verbal interactions between two people. Whether this figure holds true for three or four person interactions might be verified in the light of future research.

Comparison Between the Mean for Low and High S.D.

In accordance with the ordering of the conversations described above, the tables on the opposite page represent the individual flow and S.D. totals and the resultant mean for each of the twenty-four conversations.

By adding the mean totals for each of the Low conversations and dividing that number by twelve we can arrive at the average mean for the Lows:

$$\frac{25.4}{12} = 2.1 \text{ Mean for the Lows}$$

The same procedure for the twelve High conversations reveals the following:

$$\frac{23}{12} = 1.9 \text{ Mean for the Highs}$$

The differential for the mean between the Low and High conversations is 0.2 which shows that quantitatively speaking there is very little difference between the average self-disclosure in a Low S.D. conversation and that of a High S.D. conversation. The distinction between a Low and a High is a qualitative one (cf. definition p. 122). It does not seem to be

determined by a greater density of S.D. in High conversations which one might
have hypothesized, although the frequency of S.D. is marginally higher for
the High conversations than for the Lows. However, the fact that the mean
for the Lows and Highs are so similar suggest that our methodology for
calculating the ratios of flow to S.D. for forty-eight speakers is both
consistent and accurate throughout. The mean for S.D. for all the conversa-
tions is 2 (2 flow units). This important finding would suggest that when
two strangers talk anonymously on such a phone line they tend to self-
disclose, on average, every fourth or fifth[1] speaking turn. This represents
one of the first research findings of "natural" turn-taking behavior between
strangers based on an open information system. As such, this observation
might be a useful guideline for those investigating self-disclosure between
strangers in closed information systems.

Comparison Between the A B C Types for the Low and High Conversations

If we turn to the statistics pages for the Low and High S.D. conversations
(cf. p.160and p.213) and add the total number of A B C types for the speakers
in each conversation, it is possible to compare the grand total of these types.
Using the same format as these statistics pages, we obtain the following
totals:

TOTALS

	A	B	C	Grand Total
Lows	213	190	53	456
Highs	182	159	58	399
	395	349	111	855

[1] Since in our calculations for the flow, changeovers and noise were not
included the average is marginally higher than every fourth turn.

The corresponding percentages for the total number of types in the columns above are the following:

	A	B	C	Total%
Lows	46.7%	41.6%	11.7%	100%
Highs	45.6	39.8	14.6	100%
Mean	46.2	40.8	12.98	100%

The implications of this data are significant for the following reasons:

1) They illustrate how, quantitatively speaking, the ratio of distribution of types between Low and High conversations are similar for each A B C type and deviate at the most by only 2.9 per cent. Although this compares with our finding above that the ratio of flow to S.D. is similar between Low and High conversations, this clarifies the extent to which the process of self-disclosure in natural dialogue follows a consistent pattern.

2) This pattern of 46% A types, 41% B types and 13% C types, takes on a stronger significance when one takes into consideration the distorting effect of the inclusion of A5's as separate types in A type totals.[2] If we eliminate these, then clearly we have an equal proportion of A and B types for both the Low and High conversations, with the mean totals corresponding to 42.5% A's, 42.5% B's and 15% C's. What this means in concrete terms is that on average, for every 10 instances of S.D. between strangers, 4 are question-induced, 4 are volunteered as a result of assertions or reinforcements, and 1 is volunteered "out of the blue" which is sometimes picked up by the other speaker, usually inducing one further S.D.

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[2]It was decided to include A5's in the totals for all A types as a matter of consistency. Although the A5 is a hybrid type and is used in combination with any of the other four A types to denote flow change only, it should not strictly be counted or considered as an independent type of its own.

3) This pattern of the proportion of A B and C totals for both Low and High conversations seems moreover to be reflected in the composite breakdown of the primary aspects for each conversation. From our sampling of 12 Low S.D. and 12 High S.D. conversations, the breakdown into aspects is similar. For instance, in each case, three conversations are primary A type, three are B type, two are C type and the remaining four are composite A B C types. Thus the overall percentage patterns of these types seem to be reflected in the natural distribution of individual conversation aspects for both the High and Low conversations.

4) The significance here is that the equal proportion of A and B types in the final total for the 24 conversations almost suggests a causal relationship in the form of the following one-to-one ratio. One might generalize that in the normal flow of a conversation a consistent pattern would be a question-induced S.D. followed by a volunteered S.D. On the basis of this we can make three generalizations:

i) The conditions of controlling the flow in a conversation between strangers suggest that in general a question-induced S.D. will be followed by volunteered S.D.

ii) In general, in conversations between strangers, for every question-induced S.D. there is a volunteered S.D., and vice versa; for every volunteered S.D. there is a question-induced S.D.

iii) In general, in conversations between strangers, for every S.D. volunteered "out of the blue" that is picked up, another S.D. will follow.

5) The similarity between the A B and C totals in both the High and Low conversations would also seem to reflect the consistency and accuracy of our methodology and would suggest that it may be used as an effective tool

for future research to analyze self-disclosure patterns in either "open" or "closed" environments. Furthermore, the results of our findings, e.g. the percentage mean of A B C types for both High and Low S.D. conversations, mark an important step in the field by providing a norm from which to judge the S.D. interactions of our own data and to compare with that of current and future research.

Thus we can conclude that there is, quantitatively speaking, no great difference between A B and C types in the High and Low conversations. It is in fact interesting to find that there are a parallel number of C types in both the Low and High conversations. However, although we have emphasized the quantitative implications of our research findings, it is still as yet not possible to determine with any precision why a person's self-disclosure is qualitatively different under various circumstances. What is certain is the fact that the same proportion of A B and C types are found in both Low and High conversations. Since, as mentioned previously, the difference between Low and High S.D. is a qualitative one, the question of High S.D. is primarily a function of subject matter. On the other hand, the slightly higher percentage of C types in the High conversations - 14.6% to 11.7% for the Lows--does give an indication, on a quantitative basis, of what is frequently also a qualitative indicator of High S.D.

Review of the 12 High Conversations

Accordingly, we have reviewed each of the 12 High conversations to examine what pattern types immediately precede the qualitatively High instances of S.D. for that conversation. Of the 16 cases of high self-disclosure, 9 of these are C types; i.e. the speaker introduces a new subject to the conversation,

and that subject contains an element of high self-disclosure. In three of the conversations, Andrea & Debbie, Paula & Steve and Wendy & Mo, both parties reveal highly personal aspects of their lives or feelings, and so bond together. Of the remaining interactions, four represent conversations between "contact self-disclosers" - one who confides very personal information to anyone who will listen- and sympathetic reinforcers. These four women, Alice, Rose, Mary and Mildred, are elderly, and by their own admission, lonely and ailing. Little prompting is necessary for them to expand upon their initial high disclosures; two of which are question-related, and two are spontaneous C types. The other five conversations, Mary & Stan, Jack & Heidi, Greg & Pam, Nobody & Charles and Dan & Lynn, which are either predominately A or B types, illustrate the consequences of one person willing to self-disclose and the reactions of the particular speaking partner. While Jack and Dan are desperate to find comfort in another's voice—or, more specifically in Dan's case, another's body—neither of the people they speak to is interested in listening to what they have to say. Stan, Pam and Charles, on the other hand, offer sympathy to those concerned and indeed, in the latter case, constructive advice.

As we have seen, instances of High self-disclosure occur within any kind of conversation—A B C or composite types. As in Low conversations, ideas which are presented in C types may or may not be picked up by the other speaker in the particular conversation. However, because of the more personal nature of the High S.D., those outpourings which are not picked up are felt more acutely by the high self-discloser and this is perceived in the subsequent dialogue—neither Jack nor Dan continue in the same vein for much longer after their respective rejections. When a subject is picked up, it is that subject

that dominates the duration of the conversation. The fact that C types predominate points to the very nature of a High S.D.: it is something that the speaker _must_ convey to the person on the other end of the line. It is a matter of luck to encounter someone disposed to listening and willing to give advice.

General S.D. Rule

It is possible to formulate a general rule for self-disclosure sequencing which tends to be borne out by the figures tabulated in the flow to S.D. charts found on the statistics page for each conversation (cf. Chapters 5 & 6): A person's self-disclosure tends to be in direct proportion to the other person's control of the flow: i.e., whoever controls the flow tends not to self-disclose. Clearly one would expect this formulation to be the case in the traditional psychotherapy context in which the information flow is usually one-way—the patient responds to the questions and assertions of the therapist. However, in the context of the phone line, strangers talk to one another as equals and hence, a two-way conversation is the norm, and it is normal in the course of such conversations for the flow to change back and forth several times. This formulation is significant since it suggests that, on balance, the extent of one person's S.D. is related to the other person's flow control. Again, one might hypothesize that this formulation would tend to hold true more for A type conversations than B & C type etc., on the basis that question-induced S.D is directly related to flow control. However, our findings would indicate that this formulation is equally valid for both B, C and composite type conversations.

To illustrate this, we have drawn up two graphs representing each of

the 12 Low and 12 High conversations, cf. p. 280. The flow to S.D. ratios for
the two speakers in each conversation are plotted accordingly, with each
speaker's initials placed next to his respective points. A line joining these
points delineates the mean progression for that conversation. The number of
the conversation is placed next to the speaker with the higher flow count,
so that comparison between conversations is more easily identifiable, especially
with regard to their aspects.

To give a concrete example, let us examine the highest A type conversation
for the Lows (no. 1): Don & Jean. On their statistics sheet (p. 161), their
individual flow to S.D. figures are, for Jean, 4 flow units and 30 S.D., and
for Don, 42 flow units and 2 S.D. In terms of our formulation—a person's S.D.
is in direct proportion to the other person's control of the flow—we would
plot on the graph, then, that for Don's 42 units of flow control, Jean self-
discloses 30 times, and for Jean's 4 units of flow, Don's count is 2. On the
graph, which plots flow units against S.D. units, we have indicated with a
letter "J" Jean's ratio of 4 to 2 in the appropriate position, and likewise,
marked Don's ratio of 42 to 30. The conversation's number—in this case, 1—is
opposite Don's initial since he has the higher flow count. A line joining the
two points between J & D delineates the progression of these flow to S.D.
ratios for that conversation and thus, illustrates the extent to which our
formulation holds true for that particular conversation. In this case, Jean
and Don's conversation does correspond quite accurately with our formulation;
as is evident by a comparison with the mean for all the Low conversations,
which is plotted along the dotted line.

As can be seen from the graph, not all the conversations conform so
accurately with this formulation. In the Lows, for instance, two

HIGH CONVERSATIONS

FLOW

MEAN

70

I 11

A 6   C 3

60

50

D

40

P s
S 9 S 10

J 1   S 8

30

M 4

2 D

20

M 12

N
H
M   O 7
       S

A

10

R

L

W

G

0   10   20   30   40   50

SELF-DISCLOSURE
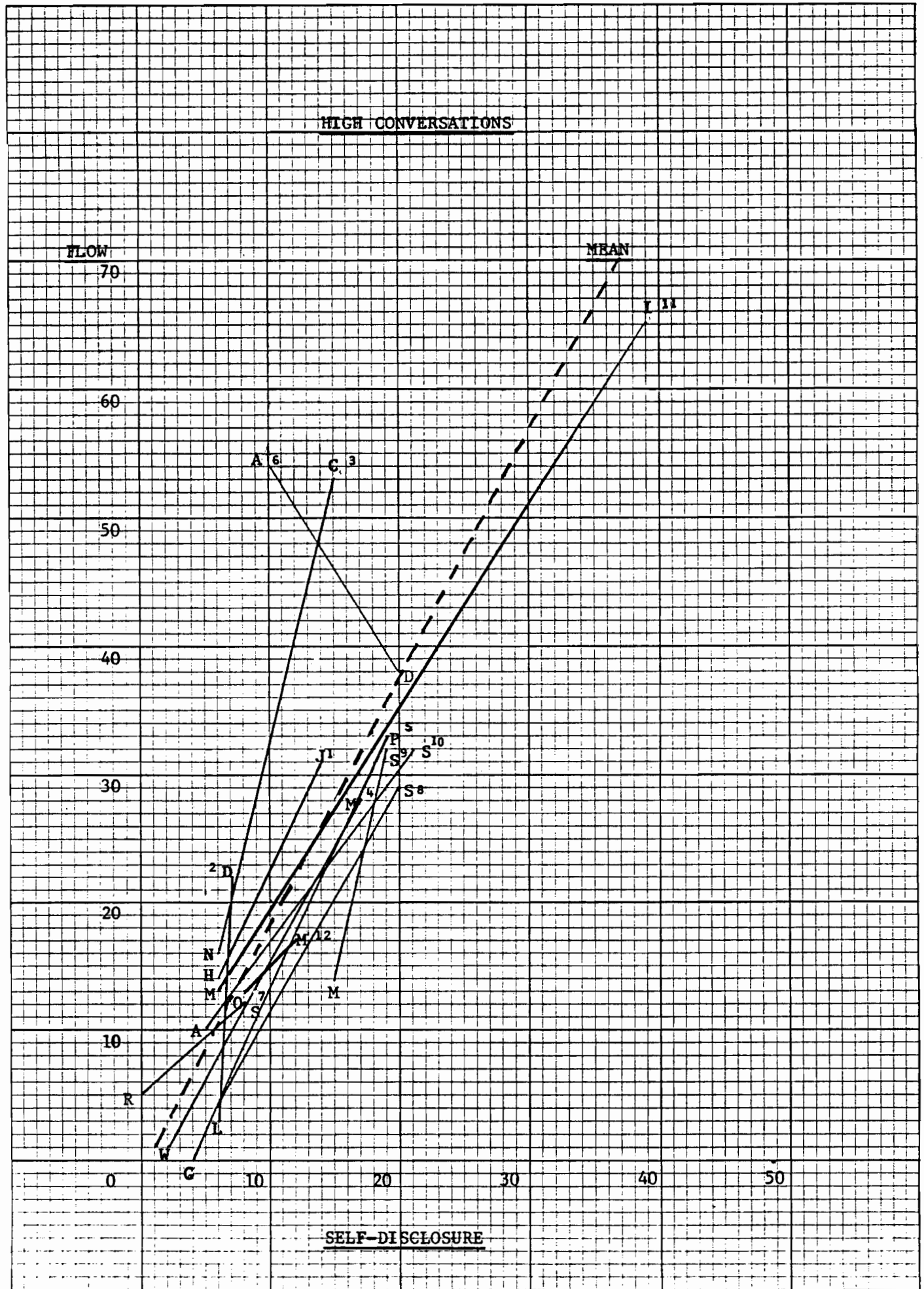
conversations (nos. 4 and 8)   deviate radically from this formulation to the extent that the speakers with the higher flow count also have the higher S.D. count. In the Highs there is only one such deviant case (no. 6) and two other marginal deviants (nos. 2 and 3). The exceptions to this formulation are contingent upon the individual characteristics of the speakers in these interactions rather than the general aspect of the conversation per se; i.e., in the Lows the deviant cases 4 and 8   are respectively B and C type conversations; whereas in the Highs the deviant cases 2, 3 and 6 are respectively 2 A types and a B type. Clearly, then, the formulation transcends the distinction between A B and C types.

The significance of this formulation lies in the fact that since it seems to apply equally to A B and C type conversations it does provide us with a further methodological tool for examining interactions between strangers. This tool could equally be used as a measure for reference for any research investigation concerned with self-disclosure between dyads. Its usefulness, moreover, would lie in helping to define those interactions which deviate from the rule and consequently help focus on the reasons for such deviations. This in turn may lead one to hypothesize certain personality types of behavior consistent with certain S.D. patterning. We have already mentioned on p. 73 the ineffective attempts of clinical psychologists to link personality traits with JSDQ scores. The time may have come, if such a thing is to be attempted, to explore "real life" self-disclosure patterning, and from this to hypothesize certain personality types.

Areas for Future Research: General

Two of the primary contributions we feel this thesis may have made towards

future research in the field is, <u>first</u>: the setting up of an open information

system generating free-form natural dialogue which may be used from an

objective standpoint as data. Second: the creation of a methodology which

may be applied to the analysis of conversation in general and which we have

adapted to analyze self-disclosure sequencing in particular. In other words,

it is hoped that we helped to lay the groundwork for research in the area of

"natural" or "real life" interaction, particularly in the fields of conversa-

tion and self-disclosure analysis. Hitherto, as Roger Lupei points out,

research orientations were designed to suit traditional approaches:

> In keeping with the traditions of rigorous experimental design,
> many researchers have employed maximum experimental constraints
> in order to control all "extraneous variables." Although this
> research strategy lends itself to the isolation of specific
> effects of various factors within conversation, moving from
> this oversimplified and controlled laboratory setting back to
> the real world is not without complications.
>   The present author has argued in favor of a more "naturalistic
> observational" approach to conversational research. In allowing
> dyadic members to interact with a minimal amount of limitations
> and constraints the subjects respond to each other and to the
> full richness of variables that may arise within the dyadic
> encounter. [3]

The twenty-four conversations which form the substance of the data for

this dissertation would seem to reveal "the richness of variables" that is

immanent in real life interactions. Our 28 categories, on the other hand,

which evolved as a means of analyzing the conversational data, are both a

versatile and precise methodological tool. The category system, although

designed specifically to analyze telephone conversations, is equally adaptable

to the analysis of face-to-face interaction.

Although we indicate that the structure of these 28 categories, as such,

would be complete as a methodology for conversation analysis in any context,

we make no claim that there is no room for modification of the system in the

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[3] Lupei, Roger. op cit. p. 49.

future. In fact, the reader should take into consideration that Bales took

over eight years to complete the final version of his category system for

interaction analysis. However, this system which took two years to develop,

has already proven itself to be capable of precision in both the quantitative

and qualitative senses. The versatility of the system is evident by the fact

that each category is capable of further modification to suit a research

orientation. We have shown in Chapter 4 how the Y2B category may be modified

and how, as a result, 17 primary patterns of S.D. were revealed from our data.

Furthermore, the patterns of individual speakers of the 24 conversations could

be selectively analyzed qualitatively, and moreover, it was possible to draw

general conclusions from the overall data on the basis of a quantitative analysis.

It should be made clear that each of the 27 other categories can be

tailored to suit specific research orientations, in the same way that the Y2B

category was expanded. For instance, a researcher may wish to explore the

qualitatively different Y1A questions between a psychotherapist and his

patients. One example might be a 1Y1A, corresponding to our X1 category in

which a new subject is introduced in a question form. Other researchers might

wish to modify the X2 category in an effort to distinguish some of the legal

cross-examination practices arising from direct questioning of witnesses.

Throwbacks—K, K1 and W5 categories—provide a wealth of possibilities for

research: for instance, the way politicians deal with questions at press con-

ferences is frequently in the form of a throwback and some politicians, such

as Pierre Elliot Trudeau are masters of the art.

The versatility of this category system is exemplified by the fact that

it can be used to analyze all types of conversation interaction, whether it

be the transcripts of Nixon's tapes or Hansard's published debates in the

House of Commons or the taped interaction of four year olds in a playground. A further degree of versatility inherent in this methodology is that the methods of applying the category system need not be limited to the analysis of data on transcripts. With sufficient familiarization with the category system over a period of time, one develops the ability to apply it to simultaneous speech interaction. Once this ability is acquired with the necessary precision, it would be possible to analyze simultaneous speech interaction using numbers (i.e., a prescribed numeral for each category), and to code the interaction on an apparatus similar to either Bales' Interaction Recorder or to a court stenographer's key punch machine as used in the law courts of today. In this manner, it would be possible to have an accurate coded analysis of a simultaneous event. A key punch system, in turn, could easily be integrated with computer cards and patterns of interaction could be more readily analyzed according to specific computer programs. There is no doubt that large amounts of data could be stored in this way and the laborious work of quantifying data manually would be replaced by instant feedback according to the particular research objective of the program.

Thus, the fact that the category system may be coded for computer analysis makes the potential for this methodological approach seem quite favourable for future research orientation purposes. Ultimately, it may be possible to combine Allen and Guy's methodological approach for analysis of verbal behaviour (cf. Conversation Analysis: The Sociology of Talk, pp. 181-3 examples of syllograms), using digital computers, with our own methodological approach in which the categories may be coded and likewise computerized. In this way, it would be possible, for the first time, to examine comprehensively many of the variables of a dyadic interaction in real time: temperal structure, syllabic

structure, somatic behaviour, intensity and energy investment, and categorization of each speaking turn according to our schema in terms of information flow.

A cross-synthesis of these two methodological approaches would thus complement Donald E. Allen's theoretical framework for conversation analysis, and thereby permit a greater and more comprehensive degree of analysis than has hitherto been possible.

Areas for Future Research: Self-Disclosure

A seminal direction for future research in this field would seem to lie in a synthesis of our own research data and methodological approach with that of Jourard and his school. As Jourard points out in this work - Self-Disclosure: An Experimental Analysis of the Transparent Self, "Advances in any new field for scientific investigation are made when suitable techniques for measurement are discovered."[4] The precision of our category system has already been demonstrated, and on the basis of this, we believe that a correspondence could be made between dyadic patterns of self-disclosure sequencing behaviour and JSDQ scores. Although Cozby has specified, - "It is clear that the JSDQ does not accurately predict actual self-disclosure,"[5] a viable comparison could begin to be made by comparing respondent's S.D. behaviour on an open information system and their JSDQ scores taken at a later time.

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[4] Jourard Sidney   Self-Disclosure: An Experimental Analysis of the Transparent Self (John Wiley & Sons Inc.) 1971 p. V.

[5] Cozby P.C.   "Self-Disclosure: A review of the literature." Psychological Report 1973 35 p. 151.

By extension, it should be possible to correlate certain personality traits with individual self-disclosure sequencing patterns <u>and</u> JSDQ scores. Although our research provides a framework with which to investigate this further, it is still premature to make specific correlations between sequencing patterns and personality types. However, this should be a long term research objective. Once sufficient data have been analyzed a clear composite picture should emerge correlating S.D. sequencing behaviour with distinct personality traits. Moreover, control groups could be set up to explore the variables of S.D. patterns between specific age groups and a comparison could be made between same sex and mixed two-, three- and four-way interactions. In this way, a quantitative survey detailing the form and content of the S.D. sequencing habits of a specific age group could be established for adolescents, for instance, and thereby provide a comparison with other age groups; for example, pre-adolescents or senior citizens. The benefits of establishing such a method for measuring and typing interpersonal behaviour extends far beyond the immediate concerns of theoretical research into such diverse fields as traditional psychotherapy, marriage counselling, counselling of juvenile delinquents etc. Our hypothesis that self-disclosure sequencing patterns reflect psychological traits, if proven correct, could prove an important research tool in assessing interpersonal behaviour in widely different contexts e.g. the classroom, the witness stand, the job interview or the context of the family unit.

Even in the area of behaviour modification therapy in which verbal modelling has been successful in improving a person's willingness to self-disclose, our methodological approach could be useful as a means of coding the verbal interaction itself, and providing a comparative basis for measurement between

different participants. The effects of such verbal modelling in relation to
self-disclosure levels have been described in Kanfer and Goldstein's Helping
People Change, and in the work of Bandura (1968), Marlatt (1971), Kaplan (1971),
and recently H.L. Hall (1973) in his unpublished doctoral dissertation, The
effect of personal and impersonal participant models in interpersonal openness
in same and mixed sex groups.

Another area in which future research in self-disclosure could be concen-
trated on is outlined by Cozby in Psychological Report (1973). Possibly
because most of the research has concentrated on questionnaires Cozby points
out, "Little work has been done on the content of information disclosed,
although there is some research on the positive or negative aspects of the
information."[6] Our raw data (200 hours on tape) is readily analyzable in
terms of the content of information disclosed.

Sociolinguistics and Sociology

The work of Hymes, Labov, Lambert, Pride and Holmes, Jacobson, Fishman
and Ervin-Tripp among others each represent a specific sociolinguistic
research orientation and methodological approach which was reviewed in Chapter
Two (cf. Model p. 53). However, in accordance with the interdisciplinary
research goals of the field of sociolinguistics, we believe that our category
system for analyzing conversations could usefully complement the above method-
ological approaches in their research endeavours. Likewise in sociology and
ethnomethodology the methodological approaches of Goffman, and the Sacks and
Schegloff school of conversation analysis might find the theoretical framework

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[6] Op. cit. p. 156.

of Allen and Guy, and our own, complementary to their approaches. We will not
discuss this at great length since we have already reviewed in Chapter Two the
extent to which our data and methodology are both different from and of
significance to the research orientation of each of the above.

However, we will focus briefly on one area in sociolinguistics to give a
specific example of how our research data and methodology can be of use to
another research orientation. In Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance,
the editors, Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley, have compiled most of the relevant
work in this new field and have pinpointed certain areas of research which are
weaker than others - for instance, content analysis and control of topics.
Very little research on the topics of everyday conversations has been made
since the pioneer work of Carney Landis National Differences in Conversations,
Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 21 (1927), and M.H. Landis and
H.E. Burtt A Study of Conversations - Journal of Comparative Psychology 4
(1924). Exceptions to this are Susan Hardings' Women and Words in a Spanish
Village (1975) and J. Klein's The Family in Traditional Working Class England
(1970), and Mirra Komarovsky's Blue Collar Marriage (1962). The only study
based on a taped naturalistic setting is William Soskin and John P. Vera's
The Study of Spontaneous Talk (1963) - the taping was of a husband and wife's
conversation during only one 16 hour day. Again little research has been made
on how topics are raised, dropped, developed and changed etc. with the exception
of Phyllis Chesler's Marriage and Psychotherapy, Vera P. John's study above
and Don Zimmerman and Candace West's Sex Roles, Interruptions and Silences in
Conversation. West and Zimmerman's results are based on only 31 segments of
a few minutes each; their results must thus seem subjective, and their
conclusion is:

> This collection of conversations does not, of course constitute
> a probability sample of conversationalists or conversations. Hence
> simple projections from findings based on this collection to
> conversationalists or conversations at large cannot be justified
> by the usual logic of statistical inference. (...) More systematic
> research should settle the question of the stability and generality
> of our findings.[7]

The sample of random hours from our tapes could provide enough data for the kind of statistical inference required. It should be clear, then, that our framework for collecting data and the data itself (200 hours) could contribute substantially to such areas of research focusing on content analysis. Moreover, our category system could provide a suitable methodology for the further investigation of topic control.

Finally the telephone data could also provide a source of verification for much of the recent research in the area of sex differences in word choice, syntactic usage and language e.g. Lakoff (1973) that women use more tag question formations than men; Kester's findings that in a mixed group of people it is the men who talk more than women; Labov (1966) and Trugill (1972) found that women "informants ... use forms associated with the prestige standard more than men." Hirshman's sample of six dyadic conversations in Female and Male Differences in Conversational Interaction found sex specific speech patterns e.g. ratio of female to male mm hmmms etc..

Evaluation of the Telephone Project

Judging from the apprehension which a number of people held concerning the project at the outset - that it would be a problem to get people to use the service - that only bizarre people would end up using it etc., the success of the project can be said to have exceeded all expectations. From a statistical standpoint over 67,000 calls were recorded during this eight month

7 Zimmerman, Don. "Sex Roles, Interruptions and Silences in Conversation." Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance (Mass. Newburg House Pub. Inc.)p.113.

period and several thousand people met and interacted on this four-way conference line. The lines were open 24 hours a day, and rarely was there longer than a 30 second interval between an open line and a new caller.

The following graphs on p. 291 illustrate over a period of four months the total number of calls on a daily basis. The first graph details the daily calls over the two month period from October 28th 1975 to December 27th 1975, when The Line operated without any controls from our home terminal. The second graph illustrates the two month period from March 10th 1976 to May 9th 1976 when a control button was installed in our home terminal enabling one to clear the lines periodically.

As can be seen from graph 1 during the period when we had no control over the lines, the number of calls on a daily basis is quite erratic depending upon whether a line was tied up in some manner or whether "Canadian roulette" was popular on that day. The swing for the daily number of calls deviates from a low of 140 to a high of 390. The mean for Oct-Nov. was 235 and for Nov.-Dec. 260, making the total mean 248 for the two month period. This implies that the average interaction on the line for four speakers lasted 21 minutes.

For a corresponding two month period from March to May 1976, when we did have control to clear the lines, the daily figures can be seen to be much less erratic. The margin of the swing from the lowest count 285 to the highest 355 is quite evenly balanced indicating a more efficient use of the lines. The mean for both months is 320, which implies that the average time of interaction between the four speakers on The Line was 18 minutes.

The postal strike of Sept.-Oct. 1975, as mentioned, did prevent us from reaching most of the handicapped and blind members of the Montreal community. Despite this a sizeable number did eventually succeed in using the service.
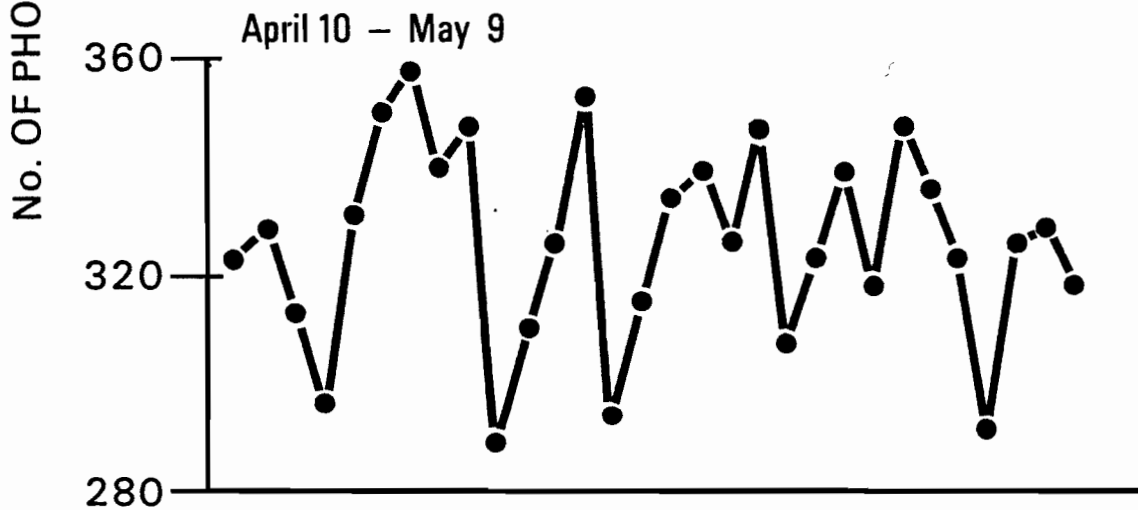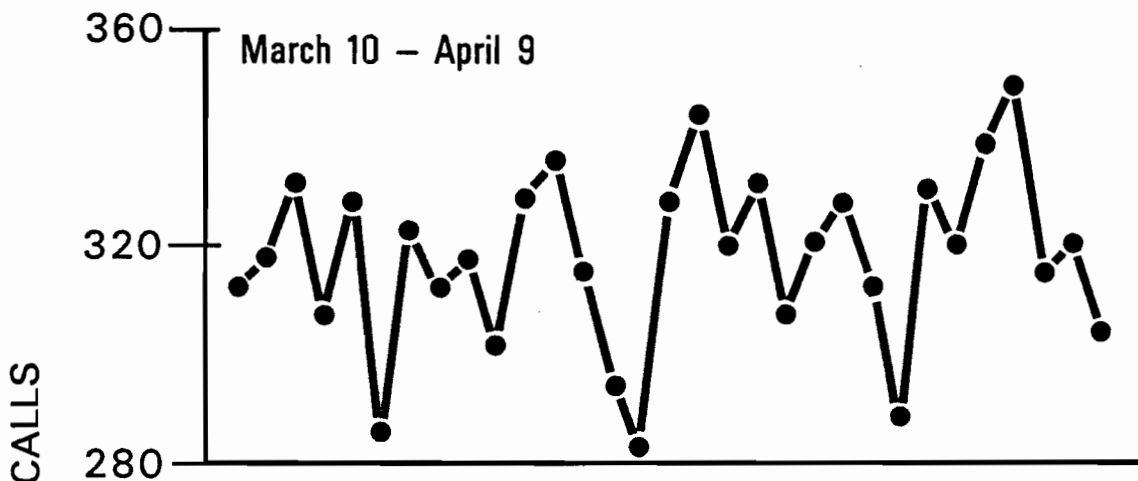
During the period from mid-October to March 1975 the lines continued to function well with the occasional disruptions. However, by the time the control button was installed in March, the ratio of older to younger callers had gradually reversed itself from the initial mean of 70% older and 30% younger callers. Although the subsequent ratio of 70% young and 30% older callers does not indicate that the young had completely taken over The Line as we had feared, they were nevertheless clearly in the majority.

This should not be surprising in view of how word of the telephone number spread. Although the number of regular elderly and handicapped callers never actually diminished over this period time, the fact that these people were predominantly shut ins, meant that word of the phone number did not pass beyond their limited network of friends. For the younger generation the number could be passed more readily through the large network of friends at high school, CEGEP, and university, much as in the pyramid fashion of a chain letter. The factor of a prolonged teacher's strike during these months also induced students to call during the day when otherwise they would have been in school.

In retrospect, for many people, both young and old, The Line became an integral part of their lives. In a great number of cases it changed their lives completely as a result of the relationships that grew out of these early acquaintances. One phenomenon of The Line was that a fair porportion of callers under twenty and over forty went on to meet one another in person, developing permanent friendships. The success of The Line cannot be evaluated in a more meaningful way than by relating the story of one such person whose life was radically changed as a result of the friends she made on The Line. Lucy, a sixty year old widowed French Canadian is representative of many of these callers and her letter, written in English, to the editor of The Montreal Star is best left to speak for itself:

To the Editor,   - 293 -

Dear Sir,   Montreal, April 27th 1977.

      I was reading the Montreal Star, dated March 29th, when I noticed
an article about Tel-Aid and Dial-A-Chat and saw the names of Robert Moir
and Ron Blumer. I was very happy to see it, because I have been trying to
get in touch with them, and was even happier when I learned that they were
still trying to get help to re-open a Dial-A-Chat service, like the one
that helped so many people while it was on. And I know what I am talking
about, because I was one of the many people that used that line and had
their life changed 100% through the new friends they made.

      Well here is my story. Shortly after the opening of Dial-A-Chat in
October 1975, I wanted to telephone CKVL radio station and I misdialed. I
heard people talking so I excused myself, when someone said, "Hey Lady wait!
Do you know what this is?" I didn't know, so I said no, and a man explained
to me all about the line, and then every night I dialed that number and
talked to Susan, Freda & Ronnie, to Helen, Mary, Doug, Jim, George, Judy,
Joan, Francis, Lilian and many many more. We really had fun, and talked
about nearly everything under the sun. I was alone, sick, no friends, all
by myself with no one to talk to till then. Many used false names, and
Freda and I one night got on a loop line and exchanged our real names and
phone numbers and I did the same thing with Francis, Judy, Helen and Mary.
I have met Freda and her husband Ronnie whom I found out was a blind man.
We invited each other over, and got into the habit of having supper on Sun-
day at their place or mine. We found out that it was Judy's birthday, so
we had a small party, with cake and presents and friends for her. Then
they took me to the Federation for the Blind, and I was accepted as an
associate member. I also joined a second club for the blind called the
C.C.B., and found to my surprise that I was so involved with my clubs that
I didn't have time anymore to feel lonely or in need of friends. I had
so many, I couldn't even take time off to be sick, so my health, to my
doctor's surprise, improved more than 80% - it's not fantastic it's the
truth - and all that thanks to Dial-A-Chat and to Robert Moir and Ron Blumer.

      One night I happened to dial that number and a voice was saying that
it was the end of Dial-A-Chat line; the message was from Robert and Ron
themselves. Well believe it or not, now that night I cried.

      I do wish that the government, the Bell Telephone and any big com-
pany would do everything possible to help these two men to re-open that
line. Tel-Aid is doing a great job with emergency calls - sometimes stop-
ping people who want to kill themselves, but don't you think that the help
should come before a person gets desperate to a point that she wishes to die?
That's what Dial-A-Chat was doing, helping so many people help themselves
before they got desperate.

      I'm leaving the Province soon to live out West, and my biggest wish
or should I say dream is to get the financial help from government or large
companies there, so that I can continue their work in another Province, and
if I do succeed, Canada will have invested in the best cause of all - the
welfare of those who are alone with no one to talk to. For example, one
person on the line was drinking to a point of insanity - with the help of
people she met on the Line that person is now leading a good life, is
happy, sober and sane. So it is worth fighting for - you don't win any-
thing unless you fight for it - and if Quebec doesn't want to subsidize it,
I will try in another province where they might understand the need of the
population, and help us help others.

                             Thanking you very much,

                               Lucie F.

Future Development of Dial-a-Chat

A new revised system of Dial-a-Chat has been designed by Bell engineers
according to our specifications. This proposed new model for Dial-a-Chat is
four times as ambitious as the pilot project of The Line and should prove to
be even more efficient than this earlier model since it was designed to overcome
the few problem areas (notably control) encountered during the eight month
experiment. The newer model will have sixteen lines - eight for the English
and eight for the French populations of Montreal - each of which are capable
of being conferenced on a two- three- four or five-way interaction. To
eliminate abuse of the system, for instance, by high school students looking
to use it as a dating service, a switchboard operator will briefly screen each
caller before conferencing he or she automatically into a conversation. This
can be done simply by pressing the appropriate buttons on an electronic
switchboard panel. In this way, a switchboard operator can screen and conference
callers in a matter of seconds, and still be able to monitor the progress of
the four or five separate conversations. Anyone attempting to disrupt a
conversation may thus be screened out and disconnected from the conference line
immediately, which should discourage repeat occurences. Rather than have
recourse to "loop lines" callers could ask to be conferenced in pairs for
greater intimacy, which because of the electronic conferencing system would
present little effort for the switchboard operator to rearrange the conference
circuit accordingly. The versatility in conferencing combinations of the
switchboard panel and the speed with which such conferencing can be made,
combine to make this newer model of Dial-a-Chat extremely efficient, easy to
monitor and operate. Furthermore, only one person at a time is needed to

operate the system, and with a large volunteer force at Tel-Aid the 16 lines of Dial-a-Chat should be open 24 hours a day, in the near future.

An important aspect of this use of telephone technology, an aspect which this dissertation clearly demonstrates is that we are dealing here with two-way communication interchanges. It is important to emphasize the obvious in this respect in terms of the future of this type of telephone experimentation because this is one of the few ways in which communications becomes an anti-centralizing force. Most other forms of communications are one-way and centrally controlled. Even pseudo two-way interchanges such as radio hot line shows and letter-to-the-editor sections of newspapers are highly selective processes with the so called gatekeeper tightly controlling the form and content of the infor-mation flow. With these exceptions, the mass media themselves are entirely one-way, with the public as individuals being talked to as a collectivity. In a less technological society than our own, this fact would have little consequen-ce, but its implication is astounding when one realizes that many members of our society, particularly Canadian society with its long winters,are partially or totally reliant on the media for any communications experience at all. Old people, the handicapped, the housewife in the suburbs, even we have discovered the teenager, are consumers of an ever increasing diet of this one-way communica-tions experience.

The hunger for two-way communication is reflected in many ways in our society. Some people turn to the psychiatrist for "someone that will listen to them". The lines of the hot line radio shows, unsatisfactory as they are, are frequently jammed; services such as Tel-Aid are heavily used (up to 40%) by people desperate for someone to talk to, and the recent explosion of CB sets can be attributed in part to this need. It is our belief that a communication

service of this type, somewhat regulated in terms of the large number of people having access to it, would serve an important and unique function to a sizeable proportion of society. The simple fact is that many people in our society are isolated from each other - often through no fault of their own. Two-way communication is the casual non-threatening form that this service takes, and would provide the seed for many to expand their circle of friendship and develop meaningful and continuing relationships far beyond the scope of the telephone lines. The Line, technologically far from perfect as it was, provided ample proof of this throughout the short term experiment.

The great power of the telephone is its neutrality as a transmitter; it works in any language and any emotional idiom. Most of the time we use it to talk to people we already know and build our relationships with it, even to the extent that recent statistics suggest the average Canadian spends two hours every day on the phone. This thesis has thus dealt with some aspects of the question of how the telephone can be used to make contact with those we do not know. The following statistics would indicate that this service could serve a large number of people at relatively low cost.

The impact which this system of interaction could have on an urban community, if properly controlled and if social isolants can be reached and encouraged to call, can only begin to be imagined if we estimate the numbers of calls and callers which sixteen lines would handle over a period of time. Our experiment has shown that 18 minutes is the four-way conferencing mean for a total of 320 calls a day. If we extrapolate from this to the conditions of 16 operational lines, then the number of calls registered would be - 1280 per day, 38,400 per month and 467,200 per year. This implies that 10,000 people could make close to one call every week of the year, or looked at

another way, 40,000 people could make twelve calls on an annual basis.
Assuming that each caller met three new people each time he called, the
possibility of permutations for a single person making new friends is
remarkable - e.g. each of the 10,000 callers would have a chance to meet
150 different people throughout the year; or, each of the 40,000 people
would talk to up to 36 different people. The impact of this is still hard
to imagine but judging from the experiment there is every reason to
believe that the demand is there, and that it would not be long before the
circuits would be jammed.

Claims to Originality

1) A new method of telephone communication was set up whereby
four-way conferencing between strangers could be monitored 24 hours
a day. This open information system provides a unique framework
for studying natural data useful for objective research in inter-
personal communication.

2) A new methodology comprising of 28 categories was developed
which can be applied to conversation analysis in general.

3) The self-disclosure patterns of 48 speakers have been
specifically analyzed and the foundation for future research in
this area has been established.

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