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中文對話中的同意使用：語用學與社會語言學分析

Agreement in Mandarin Chinese: A Sociopragmatic Analysis

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AGREEMENT IN MANDARIN CHINESE: A SOCIOPRAGMATIC ANALYSIS



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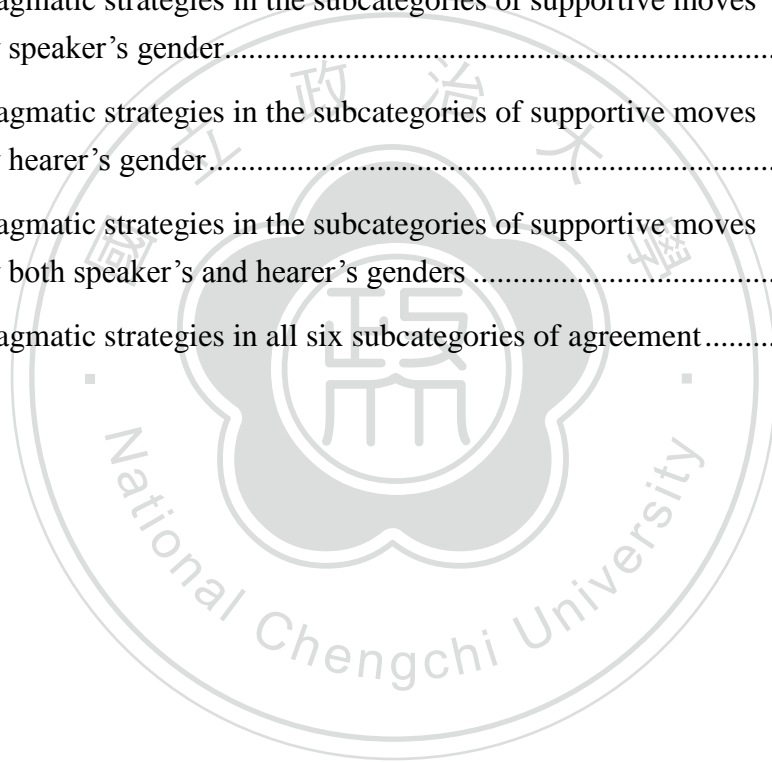
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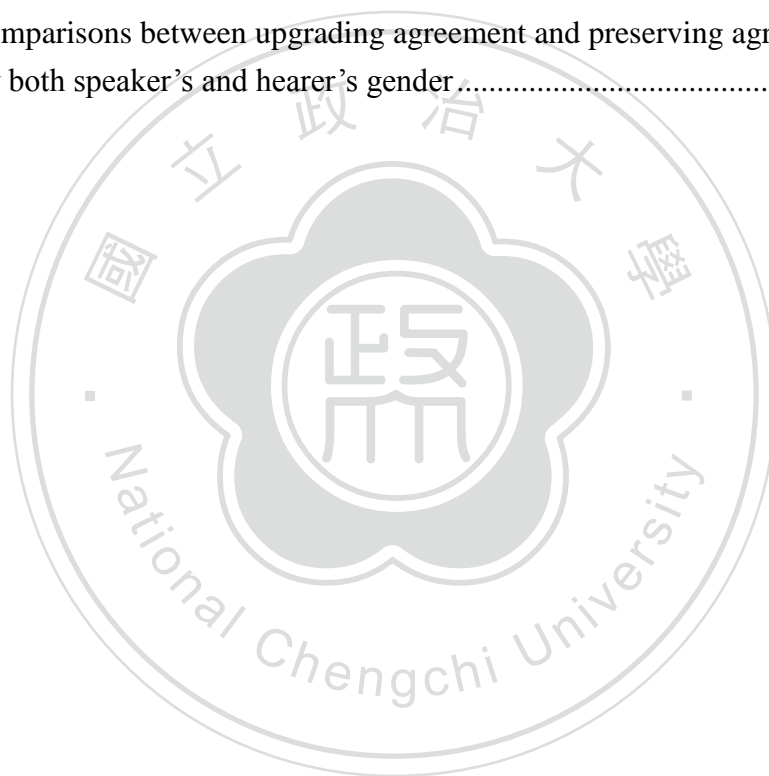
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LIST OF ABBRIVIATIONS

Gender

M = Male

F = Female

Roles in Conversation

S = Speaker

H = Hearer

Interlocutors by Gender

MM = Male Speaker and Male Hearer

MF = Male Speaker and Female Hearer

FF = Female Speaker and Female Hearer

FM = Female Speaker and Male Hearer

The Structure of Agreement

HA = Head Act alone

SM = Supportive Moves alone

HA+SM = Head Act with Supportive Moves

AM = Agreement Marker

APC = Agreed Propositional Content

EPC = Extra Propositional Content

AM+APC = Agreement Marker with Agreed Propositional Content

AM+EPC = Agreement Marker with Extra Propositional Content

APC+EPC = Agreed Propositional Content with Extra Propositional Content

Modification of Agreement

WOC = Without Contingency

WC = With Contingency

Up = Upgrading

Ps = Preserving

Dw = Downgrading

Pragmatic Strategies of Agreement

TRS = Textual Rhetoric Strategies

IRS = Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategies

EMP = Emphasis

ELA = Elaboration

ACC = Account

CLAR = Clarification

SUP = Supporting

CONC = Concession



國立政治大學語言學研究所碩士論文提要

研究所別：語言學研究所

論文名稱：中文對話中的同意使用：語用學與社會語言學分析

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論文提要內容：(共一冊，共六章)

本論文分析中文使用者如何選擇同意行為中相關之同意類別、同意程度、和語用策略。此外，本研究也檢視性別對人們同意使用的影響力。本論文採用言談分析(conversational analysis)作為研究框架。除此之外，本研究以言語行為理論(speech act theory)，合作原則(Cooperative Principles)及禮貌原則理論(Politeness Principles)作為理論基礎。

本篇論文調查八個雙人面對面的日常會話，其中同性別的會話共四份(包含男生和男生的會話兩份，以及女生和女生的會話兩份)，跨性別之間的會話共四份。在這八段會話當中，總共找到 152 筆語料。在分析的過程中，先將同意的語料做分類，進而分析同意的類別、程度、語用策略的使用、社會因素(性別)，以及這四者之間的互動。

研究結果顯示，(一) 同意類別方面，人們使用同意核心(Head act alone)和同意修飾語(Supportive moves alone)的頻率皆高於同意核心和修飾語的併用；(二) 六個同意支類別方面，同意表徵(Agreement marker)使用頻率顯著高於其他五個同意支類別；(三) 同意的強度方面，無條件同意(Agreement without contingency)的使用率顯著高於有條件同意(Agreement with contingency)；(四) 無條件同意的支類別方面，強化同意(Upgrading agreement)的使用率顯著高於持平同意(Preserving agreement)；(五) 語用策略方面，篇章修辭策略(Textual rhetoric strategies)的使用率顯著高於人際修辭策略(Interpersonal rhetoric

strategies);(六) 篇章修辭策略的支類別方面，強調策略 (Emphasis) 和闡述策略 (Elaboration) 是最常被使用的；(七) 修飾語的支類別和篇章修辭策略的互動方面，研究結果發現一項語用策略分工：強調策略通常使用於受同意的命題內容 (Agreed propositional content)，而闡述策略通常使用於新增的命題內容 (Extra propositional content)；(八) 人際修辭策略方面，研究結果也發現一項語用策略分工：讓步策略 (Concession) 通常使用於同意核心，而支持策略 (Supporting) 通常使用於同意修飾語；(九) 最後，研究結果顯示性別會影響人們的同意使用情形。特別是女性容易在同意類別、同意強度和語用策略的使用上，受到聽話者的性別的影響。



Abstract

This thesis investigates people's choice among categories of agreement construction, degrees of agreement, and pragmatic strategies in agreement. Also, the influence of gender is examined. Conversational analysis (CA) is taken as the framework of this thesis. Besides, speech act theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1975), Cooperative Principle (Grice, 1975), and Politeness Principles (Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987; Leech, 1983) are theoretical foundations of this study.

8 face-to-face conversations, including 4 same-gender groups and 4 cross-gender groups, which yield 152 tokens of agreement, were investigated. Related data are classified and analyzed by categories of agreement, degrees of agreement, and pragmatic strategies in agreement, social factor—gender in this study, and the interaction among the four.

The results of quantitative analyses confirm the following findings. (1) For categories of agreement, people apply both head act alone and supportive move alone more frequently than head act with supportive moves. (2) For the six subcategories of agreement, agreement marker overrides the other five. (3) For degrees of agreement, agreement without contingency emerges much more frequently than agreement with contingency. (4) For the subtypes of agreement without contingency, upgrading agreement is used significantly more than preserving agreement. (5) For pragmatic strategies, textual rhetoric strategies are applied much more frequently than interpersonal rhetoric strategies. (6) In textual rhetoric strategies, emphasis and elaboration are adopted most of the time. (7) For the interaction of subtypes of supportive moves and textual rhetoric strategies, a division of pragmatic labor

emerges: emphasis often occurs in agreed propositional content, while elaboration often occurs in extra propositional content. (8) For interpersonal rhetoric strategies, a division of pragmatic labor is also located: concession often appears in head act alone, whereas supporting often appears in supportive moves alone. Lastly, (9) Gender is an influential factor in the use of agreement. Women are the one who tend to be influenced by hearer's gender in their choice of categories of agreement, degree of agreement, and pragmatic strategies in agreement.



Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Agreement—as a response to other people’s opinion toward a person, an object, or an event—is common in daily conversation. Studies on agreement have received attention from many disciplines, including anthropology, psychology, linguistics, and language teaching. Agreement is often characterized as affiliating, preferred and unmarked action (Pomerantz 1984; Sacks 1987). Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that seeking agreement is one of the strategies to secure positive face in order to gain “common ground” with his/her hearer. Moreover, by agreeing, the speaker satisfies the hearer’s desire to be “right” and fulfills the purpose of coming closer to the hearer (Kuo, 1994). In the study of gender differences, Tannen (1990) proposed that agreeing and being the same with other people are the ways to create rapport for girls. In other words, why agreement is favored stems from fulfilling the hearer’s positive face.

1.2. The Problem

Many of the previous studies have investigated the ways to arrange message components of agreement and their related linguistic devices, but there are still gaps waiting to be bridged. First, the encoding of agreement may not be as simple as some scholars propose. Pomerantz (1984) suggests that agreements can be divided into upgrading agreement, agreements with same evaluation, and downgrading agreement. Blum- Kulka et al. (1989) indicate that agreement may compose of a head act and/or supportive moves, which include agreement markers and/or elaboration of the agreed propositional contents. However, no studies specifically aim at the interaction of what Pomerantz and Blum- Kulka et al. propose. Second, most of the studies have

concentrated on analyzing the linguistic forms of agreement, leaving pragmatic strategies of agreement unexamined. Third, the influence of social factors, such as gender, on the construction of agreement has long been ignored. Although women's social status has been raised in the modern era, Chinese society has long been patriarchal in the history; therefore, the impacts of gender on Chinese speakers' verbal performance (in this case, agreement) deserve closer examination.

1.3. Research Questions and Hypotheses

Based on the problems given above, three research questions are to be answered in this study.

(1) Categories of Agreement

Question A: Among the three categories of agreement content structure (namely, head act alone HA, supportive move alone SM, and head act with supportive move HA+SM), which type is more preferred by Mandarin speakers?

Hypothesis A-1: Head act alone (HA) would occur more frequently than supportive moves alone (SM).

Hypothesis A-2: Head act alone (HA) would occur more frequently than head act with supportive move (HA+SM).

Hypothesis A-3: Head act with supportive moves (HA+SM) emerges more frequently than supportive move alone (SM).

(2) Degrees of Agreement

Question B: Among the various kinds of agreement by degrees, which one is used more frequently, agreement without contingency (including upgrading and preserving agreement) or agreement with contingency (i.e. downgrading agreement)?

Hypothesis B-1: Agreement without contingency (WOC) would occur more frequently than agreement with contingency (WC).

Hypothesis B-2: Upgrading agreement is applied more frequently than preserving agreement.

(3) The Impact of Gender

Question C: Is gender an influential factor to the construction of agreement? If yes, how does it determine a Mandarin speaker's choice of pragmatic strategies of agreement?

Question C-1: Is speaker's gender an influential factor to the construction of agreement?

Hypothesis C-1: Speaker's gender is a significant factor to manipulate the construction and pragmatic strategies in the performance of agreement.

Question C-2: Is hearer's gender an influential factor to the construction of agreement?

Hypothesis C-2: Hearer's gender is a significant factor to influence people's construction and pragmatic strategies in agreement.

Question C-3: When both speaker's and hearer's genders are considered, is gender an influential factor to the construction of agreement?

Hypothesis C-3: When both speaker's and hearer's genders are considered, gender is a significant factor to manipulate the construction and pragmatic strategies in the performance of agreement.

1.4. Organization of This Thesis

This thesis is composed by six chapters: Chapter 1 introduces the purpose of this study and its hypotheses; Chapter 2 reviews related theories and studies on agreement;

Chapter 3 presents the resources of data as well as the methodology of examining the conversations; Chapter 4 presents data analyses and findings in construction of agreement; Chapter 5 discusses data results of pragmatic strategies in agreement; Chapter 6 makes the conclusion, limitation and suggestion of this study.



Chapter 2

Literature Review

In this chapter, theories and previous studies related to agreement are reviewed, including speech act theory, indirectness of speech, conversational structure, and pragmatic and social principles.

2.1. Speech Act Theory

Agreement as a speech act can be expressed directly and indirectly, which could influence the force of agreement. Thus, it is inevitable to review speech act theory and indirect speech act.

A speech act is a functional unit in communication which means people do something by saying something. The concept of speech act begins from Austin's (1962) *How to Do Things with Words*, which is later discussed and expanded by many scholars, especially by Searle (1969). Austin observes that under the appropriate circumstances, the words people uttered are not merely about the referential content of sentences, but also performing particular actions which aim at influencing the hearer simultaneously. For example, when a priest announces "I pronounce you husband and wife" to a wedding couple, he is doing the act of pronouncing. After these utterances are pronounced, the wedding couple has a new social relationship. Austin terms the utterances of this type "*Performative*," in contrast with "*Constatives*" which is used to denote the utterances that are employed for saying something but not doing something.

Considering the vague distinction between performative and constatives, Austin (1962) further brings out three essential components in speech act. According to Austin, utterances have three layers of actions: locutionary act, illocutionary act and

perlocutionary act. Locutionary act represents an act with a meaningful linguistic expression. Illocutionary act as Austin's central innovation carries the purposes or functions in the speaker's intention. It is performed by the conventional forces associated with them. Perlocutionary force denotes the result of effect which is produced by the context, whether intended or not. It means that in different socio-cultural contexts, the same utterances can derive various illocutionary forces. As a follower of Austin, Searle (1975) classifies illocutionary acts into the following five kinds, namely, representatives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations.

Nevertheless, the knowledge of speech act alone is not enough for the hearer to decode the speaker's intention successfully because the speaker's meaning and the sentence meaning usually come apart (Searle, 1975). It means that the speaker's true intention can be conveyed indirectly. According to Searle (1975), indirect speech act is that kind of illocutionary act that is performed by way of performing another act. In other words, indirect speech act is composed by two illocutionary acts: one Primary illocutionary act, which confers speaker's intention, in combination with a Secondary illocutionary act, which contributes literal meaning.

For the hearer to decode indirect speech acts, Searle further brings up four kinds of knowledge which are necessary. They are the theory of speech act, the Cooperative Principle (which is reviewed below), mutually shared factual background information and the ability of making inferences.

2.2. The Cooperative Principle

As indicated above, speech act theory is not the only background knowledge for the hearer to attain the message the speaker wants to send. Conversationalists assume that there should be a universal set of rule to guide how people communicate with each other (Levinson, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1987). One principle is the

Cooperative Principle (CP) proffered by Grice (1975). Following this principle, the speaker shapes their utterances and the hearer interprets the speaker's utterances, effectively and efficiently. The four maxims of CP and examples are given below.

1. Maxim of Quality:

Inaccurate messages and information without adequate evidences should not be conveyed. For instance, without the knowledge of where to go, people should not direct a stray to a wrong place to prevent from telling something false.

2. Maxims of Quantity:

In communication, the speaker should give as much information as needed, but no more than what is needed. For example, if people are asked for direction, it doesn't mean that they need to tell others the details about how to go to a place, because the quantity is too much, if they do so.

3. Maxim of Relevance:

The speech given by the interlocutors should be relevant to the topic of the communication. For example, when Speaker A says, "I want to buy a drink," and Speaker B replies, "Around the corner, there is a Seven-eleven," it is expected that beverages are available in that Seven-eleven.

4. Maxim of Manner:

The speaker's speech should be orderly, brief and without obscurity or ambiguity. For instance, a story should be told chronologically because orderly arrangement makes the story more understandable.

(Adaptation from Leech, 1983)

Although different societies or cultures do not use the above maxims in the same way, CP can be seen as an "unmarked' and social neutral presumptive" structure of conversation (Brown and Levinson, 1987:5). Interlocutors, both the speaker and the

hearer, would naturally abide by the principle in order to converse with each other in an efficient, rational, and co-operative way.

Moreover, Horn (1984) further proposes the Principle of Least Effort (and the Principle of Sufficient Effort) to revise Grice's Cooperative Principle. He suggests that CP can be reduced into two principles: The first one is the Q Principle-Make your contribution sufficient, and R Principle-Make your contribution necessary. From the works of Tannen (1975, 1979) mentioned in Horn (1984: 16), there is a tendency that female obeys the Q Principle more, while male obeys the R Principle more. In other words, female is considered more hearer-oriented, while male is considered more speaker-oriented.

However, in real conversation, Grice's Cooperative Principle is often found violated or flouted. People would rather take a risk of causing communication to fail down and break the rules which are universally known. It means that these principles mentioned above are still not enough to explain how people communicate with each other. Politeness Principle (PP) can be one of the probable explanations.

2.3. Politeness Principles

When people proffer agreement, the most efficient and effort-saving way is to utter a word, "yes" or "right." Nevertheless, in daily conversation, the agreeing party, not afraid of being considered flattering, usually adds similar experiences or gives a justification to strengthen their agreement. It means that people would rather violate CP (Quantity in this example) for politeness' sake. Leech (1983) suggests that when CP enables the speakers to communicate which is based on the assumption that all the interlocutors are cooperative, Grice overlooks the role of politeness in the social interactions. According to Leech (1983), being polite in words not only establishes and keeps "comity" among people, but also helps the interlocutors engaged in a

harmonious social interaction. When it comes to agreement, Brown and Levinson (1987) propose that agreement is a way to seek positive politeness because by agreeing, the speaker can claim common ground with the hearer. Therefore, briefly reviewing theories of politeness is necessary when conducting the analysis of agreement. The following paragraphs are about some major studies on politeness.

2.3.1. Politeness Principle by Lakoff (1973)

Lakoff (1973, 1975, 1977) is the first scholar to consider politeness from the conversational-maxim point of view. She suggests two rules of Pragmatic Competence: Be clear and Be polite. The first rule covers the maxims of the Gricean CP, while the second rule consists of three sub-rules: (a) don't impose (distance), (b) give option (deference), and (c) be friendly (camaraderie). Lakoff (1979) further claims that these politeness rules are not in a hierarchical relationship but are points on a continuum scale, with one end stood by the Gricean CP and the other end, camaraderie. People from different cultures have different priority among these rules which could cause stylistic differences or even communication breakdown.

2.3.2. Politeness Principle by Brown and Levinson (1978)

Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) politeness theory is derived from Goffman's (1967) notion of face. They propose that face, emotionally invested, is something that people can lose, maintain or enhance. In conversation, people cooperate with each other in order to maintain face in interaction. Brown and Levinson (1987: 61) further suggest that every individual has two faces: negative face and positive face. Negative face means the desire for freedom of action and freedom from being imposed, while positive face means the eager to be complimented and approved of in social interaction. Based on the concept of face, they find the intrinsic nature of the

addressee's and the speaker's face wants runs contradictory with each other. The contradiction inspires them the face-threatening acts (FTAs) which mean acts threatening face intrinsically. Figure 1 shows five strategies for dealing with FTAs.

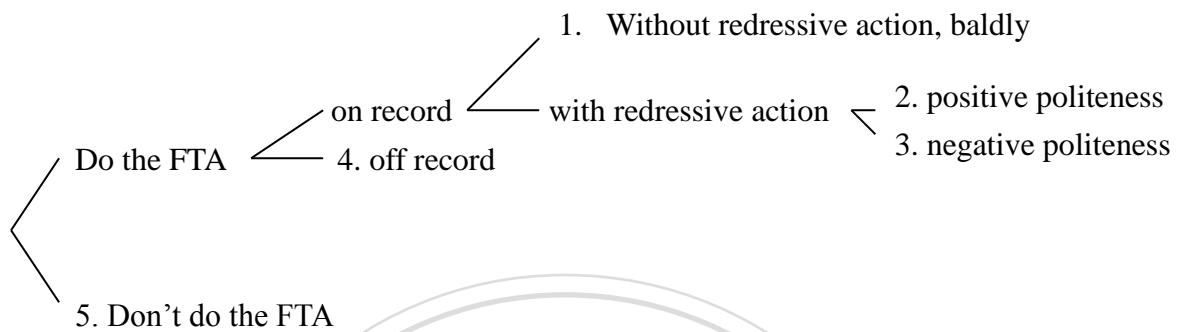


Figure 1. Possible strategies of dealing with FTAs

Among five possible responses to FTAs, positive politeness is highly related to this study. According to Brown and Levinson (1987: 70), positive politeness is oriented to the hearer's positive face which means the positive self-image that the hearer claims for self. Positive politeness is "approach-based;" When focusing on positive politeness to deal with FTAs, the speaker intends to express that he/she wants the hearer's want. For example, the speaker would treat the hearer as a friend or family member whose wants or personality are known and liked. And agreement is one of the sub-strategies of positive politeness for the speaker to claim common ground with the hearer (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 112). Agreeing with the evaluation which the hearer has made in the previous context satisfies the hearer's want to be "right" and to be verified in his/her opinions. Therefore, agreeing with others can be taken as a social accelerator which indicates the speaker wants to be more intimate with the hearer.

2.3.3. Politeness Principle by Leech (1983)

Another powerful Politeness Principle is brought up by Leech (1983). He proposed six maxims of his Politeness Principle (PP) (1983: 132) which are summarized below.

1. TACT MAXIM

(a) Minimize cost to other; (b) Maximize benefit to other

2. GENEROSITY MAXIM

(a) Minimize benefit to self; (b) Maximize cost to self

3. APPROBATION MAXIM

(a) Minimize dispraise of other; (b) Maximize praise of other

4. MODESTY MAXIM

(a) Minimize praise of self; (b) Maximize dispraise of self

5. AGREEMENT MAXIM

(a) Minimize disagreement between self and other

(b) Maximize agreement between self and other

6. SYMPATHY MAXIM

(a) Minimize antipathy between self and other

(b) Maximize sympathy between self and other

Among the six maxims, the first four are in pairs with bipolar scales, while the last two deal with unipolar scales. Leech (1983: 133) further suggests that not all of the maxims and sub-maxims are equally important. For example, Tact Maxim is more important than Generosity Maxim, while Approbation Maxim is more important than Modesty Maxim. Further, every sub-maxim (a) is more important than the sub-maxim (b). In other words, negative politeness is considered weightier than positive politeness. However, when it comes to socio-cultural differences, this unequal relationship may not be true in Chinese society. Chinese people are considered the group emphasizing both negative politeness and positive politeness. And when it comes to Agreement Maxim, the analysis of this research can provide some evidences that Chinese people use many strategies to maximize their agreement.

Besides Agreement Maxim, the other two relevant maxims for this paper are the Tact Maxim and the Generosity Maxim. When the speaker enforces their agreement by agreement markers and supportive moves, such as account or elaboration, he or she increases cost for self and benefit for other. The speaker makes effort to talk a lot, while the hearer is benefited because of receiving more information.

For politeness principles within the discussion of this study, Brown and Levinson's face theory and Leech's PP are taken into account because these principles are highly related to the agreement act. In addition, these two theories take both the speaker and the hearer into consideration. Lakoff's theory focuses more on the speaker's aspect so that it is excluded.

2.4. Conversational Structure: Adjacency Pairs

Before the introduction of preference organization, it is inevitable to discuss the concept of adjacency pairs first. Human conversation is not composed by random utterances; instead, it is systematically constructed. One of the most obvious evidence is "adjacency pairs." According to Schegloff and Sacks (1973), adjacency pairs are sequences of two utterances which are produced by different speakers and ordered as a "first part" and a "second part." It means that the current speaker who proffers the first part must stop somewhere, and next speaker must produce a second part to the same pair. Some prototypical pairs are question-answer, greeting-greeting and offer-acceptance, etc. However, not all of the second parts to a first part stand equally (Levinson, 1983: 307). In other words, there is at least one preferred and one dispreferred category of response. For example, granting a request is more preferred than rejecting a request.

The concept of preference is first proposed and expanded by Sacks (1973). He suggests that the preference of some responses rather than others should be taken as

part of the structural organization of talk. Levinson (1983:332) further demonstrates that the notion of preference is not intended as a psychological claim about speaker's or hearer's desires; instead, it is closely related to the linguistic concept of markedness. People try to give preferred response which is unmarked, simple and without delay, while they avoid proffering dispreferred action which is marked, complex and delayed. Levinson (1983: 336) gives the following table to illustrate some adjacency pairs with preferred and dispreferred second parts.

Table 1. Correlations of content and format in adjacency pair seconds
(Adapted from Levinson, 1983)

First Parts Second Parts	Request	Offer/Invite	Assessment	Question	Blame
Preferred responses	Acceptance	Acceptance	Agreement	Expected answer	Denial
Dispreferred responses	Refusal	Refusal	Disagreement	Unexpected answer or Non-answer	Admission

As indicated in Table 1, agreement and disagreement are not symmetrical, unprejudiced alternative responses. Instead, agreement is socially preferred to disagreement (Hayano, 2007). Pomerantz (1984) makes a deep research on the relationship between the preference organization and the structure of the turns expressing agreement as well as disagreement. Agreement/disagreement appears as the second part of the adjacency pair which is preferred or dispreferred according to the context. In a friendly talk, agreement is often as the preferred action because participants are oriented toward interpersonal coordination, and thus toward consensus (Baym, 1996). Pomerantz even terms agreement as a “preferred next action”. But when the first assessment is made to self-deprecate, agreement is as a dispreferred action because it would be interpreted as implicit criticism. When the agreement is preferred, because responses are organized to permit ‘stated

disagreements to be minimized and stated agreements to be maximized,' agreement is often stated strongly, simply and directly (Mulkay, 1985). In this study, the data of agreement as the preferred action are examined, while the data of dispreferred agreement are excluded.

2.5. Agreement as a Speech Act

In this section, agreement as a speech act would be introduced. Definition of Agreement, Speech Act Analysis of Agreement, Pragmatic Strategies and Social Constraint of Agreement, and Linguistic Features of Agreement would be presented.

2.5.1. Definitions of Agreement

Although many studies have discussed about the construction of agreement, few of them make definition of agreement (Pomerantz, 1984; Hornero et al., 2008). According to *Cambridge Dictionary* (2011), agreement occurs “when people have the same opinion, or when they approve of or accept something.” It means that when an agreement is made, two parties, who view the same referent in the same way, are needed. Pomerantz (1984) suggests that when a recipient agrees with the prior assessment, he or she shows his or her assessment which focuses on the same referent and the viewpoint is consistent with the first assessment. Hornero et al. (2008) adopts Tsui’s (1994) studies and defines agreement from the structure of discourse acts. Hornero et al. claim that agreement is a response produced after assessments, reports, elicitation of agreement as well as confirmation, and before follow-ups, such as endorsement, concession and acknowledgement. It means that Pomerantz’s agreement occurs as the second part of the adjacency pair of conversation mentioned above, while Hornero et al.’s agreement shows up in a three-turn organization.

In this study, Pomerantz's definition of agreement is adopted for several reasons. First, Pomerantz's definition is coordinated with the dual-turn organization mentioned by many scholars in the section of "Preference Organization," while Hornero et al.'s three-turn organization cannot fit in the concept of adjacency pairs. Second, after the examination of the data, the follow-ups do not always occur so that the third turn is not obligatory but optional. For example, it is optional for the speaker who gives the evaluation acknowledges that he/she hears agreement from the other speaker. Therefore, Pomerantz's definition of agreement which is in the structure of the adjacency pair is adopted, while Hornero et al.'s version is not.

2.5.2. Speech Act Analysis of Agreement

As what have been reviewed above, Austin (1962) proposes three essential components in speech act: locutionary act, illocutionary act, and perlocutionary act. As for illocutionary act, Searle (1975) classify it into five kinds: *representatives*, *directives*, *commissives*, *expressives*, and *declarations*. Agreement, accordingly, belongs to the category of "*expressives*" because the utterances of this kind "have the function of making known the speaker's psychological attitude towards a state of affairs which the illocution presupposes" (Leech, 1983: 106). In agreeing with others, the speaker reveals his/her compatible attitudinal judgment to the hearer to support them.

Nevertheless, not all of agreements are proffered directly. Agreements can be an indirect speech act. As for indirect speech act, two illocutionary act compose it: Primary illocutionary act, and Secondary illocutionary act. For example, the speaker can propose an account on the surface content to elaborate the previous speaker's evaluation. This account is as Secondary illocutionary act. The speaker's true purpose

of proffering the account is to agree with the previous speaker. In other words, agreement is Primary illocutionary act.

2.5.3. Pragmatic Strategies of Agreement

Among the studies related to agreement, few researchers list the linguistic strategies of agreement. Most of the studies only collect the “message components” of agreement or the “formats” of agreement (Baym, 1996; Mori, 1999). Nevertheless, some components which are listed as linguistic forms of agreement should be classified as pragmatic strategies because they demonstrate the ways of speaking. For instance, Mori (1999) finds that the Japanese speakers would reinforce their claim of agreement by using the strategy “elaboration”. Further developing the talk can demonstrate people’s alignment with the prior speaker beyond a mere claim of agreement. These elaborations are often found initiated by the causal markers, such as “*datte, dakara, and -kara.*”

Very few studies investigate the pragmatic strategies of agreement. Therefore, previous studies on pragmatic strategies of disagreement are reviewed first because although agreement and disagreement are contrary speech acts, the procedure of proffering either of two is similar. Liu (2009), in her investigation of how the social factor, age influences the interaction between the forms and the strategies of disagreement, finds that nine pragmatic strategies are applied in showing disagreement. These strategies of disagreement include correction, account, challenge, defense, partial disagreement, clarification, suggestion and confirmation. Yang (2010) observes how the EFL learners in Taiwan are affected by their gender and performs differently in the forms and the strategies when disagreeing with each other. She proposes seven strategy types by the combinations of with or without “head act” and “Supportive Move(s)” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). The supportive moves can further

be divided into mitigated disagreement and aggravated disagreement. The sub-strategies of mitigated disagreement include account, apology, gratitude, justification, partial agreement, persuasion, self-defense, and suggestion. Subcategories of aggravated disagreement contain accusation, confrontation, contradiction, request, rhetorical question, and moralizing. In the current study, pragmatic strategies mentioned above are adopted and adapted for data analysis.

2.5.4. Social Constraints: Power and Solidarity

Power and solidarity are also related to how people agree with each other when the social factor—gender is involved. In this section, the notion of power and solidarity, the general ideas of linguistic gender differences, and related works of gender differences in agreement are reviewed.

2.5.4.1. The Notion of Power and Solidarity

The concept of power and solidarity is initiated by Brown and Gilman (1968). They propose that linguistic strategies are governed by two forces, power and solidarity. Power can be related to the differences of physical strength, wealth, age, gender, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army or within the family. Tannen (1986) also defines power as “controlling others –an extension of involvement, and resisting being controlled – an extension of independence.” In his paper *The Concept of Power*, Dahl (1957) gives a similar definition that power is when person A has ability to get person B to do something that is against person B’s will. According to all the works above, power means people are in a hierarchical relationship with one dominating over the other.

As for solidarity, Tannen (1986) defines it as “the drive to be friendly, similar to what we have called rapport.” Later, Tannen (1994) further proposes that solidarity is

associated with symmetrical relationship and emphasizes on social equality and similarity. However, she also mentions that the concept of power and solidarity can be ambiguous and paradoxical. For instance, a linguistic form may serve the function of showing power, solidarity, or both, and it depends on the varieties of participants, topics, and settings.

Among all the social factors power appearing along with, gender is chosen to be analyzed in this study. Hence, it is necessary to consult related studies on gender differences.

2.5.4.2. Gender Differences in Power and Solidarity

In different cultures, people have different language “performance expectations” for each gender (James and Drakich, 1993: 286-301). How men and women speak is constrained by their cultural or social norms. Therefore, gender differences are recursively reinforced. For example, men are allowed to curse and cuss to show masculinity, while women who speak dirty words would be taken as the departed or even a person with lower social class. Consequently, men curse a lot in daily conversation, while women do not.

Many researchers find other general differences between men and women. For example, Woods (1997) noted that men emphasize more on competition and the ways of earning power and status; by contrast, female tends to be more cooperative, provides more support and solidarity. Besides, men are speaker-oriented, while women are listener-oriented. Similarly, Tannen (1990: 24) believes that for men, conversation is a way to negotiate for the upper status, and protect themselves from being put down. In contrast to men, women think that negotiation is for closeness and in which people try to exchange support and confirmation, and to reach consensus. It means that men value power more, while women value solidarity more. Tannen even

thinks that men and women are like speaking two different languages and having cross-cultural communications. To examine Tannen's theory of "double-track communication system" is one of the foci in this study.

For studies on gender difference of agreement, there are some evidences to support that women tend to seek agreement to a greater extent than men do, both in same-sex and mixed-sex contexts (Kalcik, 1975; Leet-Pellegrini, 1980; Edelsky, 1981; Coates, 1989; Holmes, 1995: 60). For instance, Coates (1989: 118) concludes that women like to build on each other's contribution, complete other's sentences and affirm other's opinions in a very cooperative state. Eckert (1990: 122) even comments that "not one topic is allowed to conclude without an expression of consensus" in her investigation on a group of adolescent girl. In their research on agreement markers, Guiller and Durndell (2006) also find that female are more likely to express agreement than men.

From the studies presented above, people can notice some inadequacies. First, it is not specifically pointed out that how men and women differentiate from each other in the usage of the agreement forms and pragmatic strategies. Second, there is a lack of Mandarin Chinese research on gender differences in agreement. Chinese people have lived in the patriarchal society for a long time. A similar result that women agree more and men agree less is expected because of their asymmetrical relationship as well as their different value toward power and solidarity. Nevertheless, it is still worthwhile to do this research on how Chinese proffer agreement because Chinese culture is distinct from Western culture. Through the analysis of this paper, people can know how different genders manipulate linguistic contents and strategies to agree with others in Mandarin Chinese.

2.5.5. Linguistic Features of Agreement

Pomerantz (1984) observes that agreement has some general features. For example, the agreement turn is occupied by agreement components in contrast with disagreement which is often prefaced. Agreement is often with agreement markers and with a minimization of gap between the prior assessment and the agreement turn. However, Kotthoff (1993) suggests and verifies that the performance of agreement or disagreement depends not only on the propositional content of the prior turn but also on contextual factors, such as genre, social factors, institutional situation, and culture.

Pomerantz (1984) divides agreement into three types: the upgrading agreement, the agreement with same evaluation, and the downgrading agreement. This classification has been adopted and adapted by most of the studies (Kuo; 1994; Mulkey, 1985; Baym, 1996; Rattai, 2003). Upgrading agreements often occur as parts of a cluster of agreements or agreement series. Two linguistic features, a stronger evaluative term and an intensifier, are found to mark upgrading agreements.

As for the agreement with same evaluation, the most common strategy used is repetition. Brown and Levinson (1987) indicate that agreement could be stressed by repeating part or all of the evaluation in the previous context. Repetition can stress the speaker's interest, surprise, or emotion.

As for downgrading agreements, using weaker evaluation term is their linguistic features. Pomerantz (1984) gives some "weaker" synonyms. For instance, substitute "beautiful" with "pretty."

Kuo (1994) investigates the procedures of showing agreement and disagreement in a 10-minute call-in radio program. In her data, Kuo finds three forms of agreement: repetition, upgrading agreement, and back-channel responses. As for upgrading agreement, two techniques, "stronger evaluative terms" and "intensifying modifiers" are used. As for back-channel responses, Kuo supports Pomerantz's (1975) claim that

these positive acknowledgement tokens (e.g., *mhm*, *yeah* and *right*) are weak agreement forms. It means that these tokens not only function as the reassurance of listenership but also show agreement. But in this study, the back-channel responses are not counted as agreement markers because it is difficult to prove these tokens function to agree with others or just to show listenership.

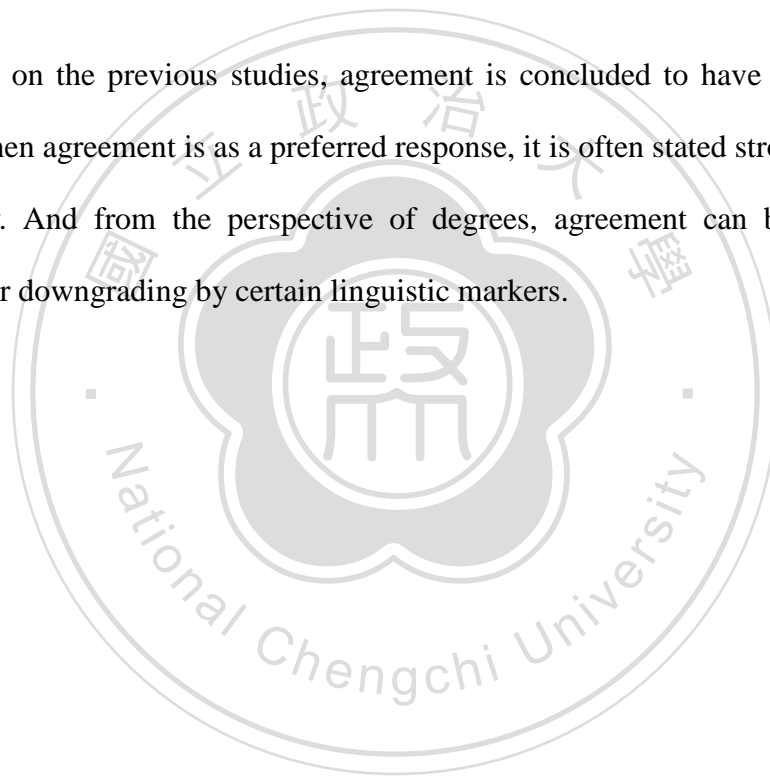
Baym (1996) takes Pomerantz's (1987) categorization as the base to investigate agreement and disagreement in the genre of computer-mediated communication. She finds three means to create agreement: explicit indicants of agreement, making an evaluation, and reasoning through elaboration. Explicit indicants of agreement contain two sub-types. They are explicit phrase "I agree" and strong agreement tokens such as "indeed" and "you said it." Making assessment, which is adopted from Pomerantz includes upgrades, downgrades, as well as matching agreements. Reasoning through elaboration as the third way to show agreement is a new category not included in Pomerantz's studies. By giving a reason, people are assumed to have the same viewpoint.

In analyzing Japanese conversations, Mori (1999) finds four features of agreement: the use of agreement tokens, repetition, early delivery of agreement (overlapping), and semantic or phonological intensification. Rattai (2003) consults Pomerantz's categorizations and investigates agreement as well as disagreement features in Russian News interviews. In Rattai's classification, agreement is divided into strong agreement and weak agreement. According to Rattai, strong agreement has three subcategories—direct agreement, upgrading, and same evaluation, while weak agreement has agreement via interviewer, affiliation, token agreement, and downgrade. Rattai's biggest contribution is that she expands the meaning of upgrading agreement and includes some implicit agreements that Pomerantz does not classify. Rattai indicates that by doing upgrading, the speaker not only agrees with his/her

interlocutors but also add new but relevant information to the prior evaluation. Nevertheless, Rattai does not further specify what the new information means; therefore, it is not clear whether the new information means a reason of agreement, a new angle of the topic, or something else.

Gao et al. (2006) investigate the structure of agreement in Mandarin Chinese, and discover six linguistic features: agreement token, repetition, explanation/addition, concluding for the prior turn, silence, and repair. Among all, data of silence and repair are few.

Based on the previous studies, agreement is concluded to have some general patterns. When agreement is as a preferred response, it is often stated strongly, shortly, and directly. And from the perspective of degrees, agreement can be upgrading, preserving or downgrading by certain linguistic markers.



Chapter 3

Methodology

This section is divided into four parts: data collection, procedures of data analysis, classification of agreement, and pragmatic strategies in agreement. First, data collection is to indicate where the data come from and the restriction of the data. Second, procedures of data analysis are provided. Then, the structure of agreement will be first classified into a head act and supportive move(s) (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). And according to degree of agreeing, agreements can also be classified into upgrading, preserving, and downgrading agreements. Finally, pragmatic functions in agreement with some examples will be presented.

3.1. Data Collection

In this section, data resource and the delimitation of data are introduced first. Then, social distribution of subjects is provided.

3.1.1. Data Resource

The data of agreement analyzed in this thesis was collected from The NCCU Corpus of Spoken Mandarin (2011). Eight face-to-face conversations lasting from 15 to 20 minutes long were used as the data base of this thesis. Among them, two conversations are Male to Male, two are Female to Female, and four are Male to Female. Participants in these conversations are either friends or couples. The topics of these conversations are all about daily life.

For the restrictions of data, first, only the agreement based on personal judgments was included, while the agreement based on a fact or content was excluded. For example, data were included when the previous speaker says, “The flower is

beautiful,” and the speaker agrees on the opinion. By contrast, when the previous speaker says, “Today is Tuesday,” and the speaker agrees on the fact, this kind of data was excluded. Second, only substantial linguistic forms are investigated in this study. Therefore, silence, overlapping and phonological intensification not included in data. Among them, sound aspects are only taken as probes to locate substantial forms of agreement.

3.1.2. Social Distribution of Subjects

The 8 conversations are randomly chosen. However, under the consideration of the impacts of gender, three types of interlocutor combination were included: male-male (MM, hereafter), female-female (FF, hereafter) and male-female (MF, hereafter). Also, all the subjects age between 20 and 33 years old.

3.2. Procedures of Data Analysis

All the agreement data were first located in the 4 conversations. Afterwards, the structure of agreement (i.e. the head act and supportive move) is determined. Then, the linguistic features of each agreement are identified. To be specific, a head act is the one which is composed of an explicit Agreement Markers (and marked as “AM”); the Supportive Move is further divided into supporting by repeating Agreed Propositional Content (and marked as “APC”) and supporting by adding Extra Propositional Content (marked as “EPC”). Next, the head act and the two subcategories of supportive move are further differentiated by the strength of modifications attributed to them. Then, their pragmatic strategies are labeled.

3.3. Classification of Agreement

This section discusses about how agreements can be classified. Agreements will be divided into head act and supportive move(s) first. Then, according to with or

without contingency, agreements can be further classified into upgrading agreements, preserving agreements, and downgrading agreements.

3.3.1. The Structure of Agreement

In the research of disagreement, Yang (2010) discovers that not all parts of the disagreement utterance are of equal importance. According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), the structure of disagreement has two components: the head act and supportive move(s). Nevertheless, in many studies of agreement (Pomerantz, 1984; Kuo; 1994; Mulkay, 1985; Baym, 1996; Rattai, 2003), none of them discuss the different “weight” in the internal structure of agreement. Although agreement and disagreement are contrary speech acts, the procedure of proffering either of these two responses is similar. Thus, the way of classification in Yang (2010) and Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) is adopted and adapted in this study.

Following Blum-Kulka et al.’s concept in this thesis, a head act stands for the core of a speech act sequence, while a supportive move is the adjuncts used to modify the force of the speech act. In other words, the force of agreement can be strengthened or weakened by the supportive move(s). To locate the head act in a speech act sequence, Yang (2010) proposes that finding the explicit illocutionary force indicating device (IFID) (Searle, 1969) is the top priority, because, according to Searle, the most direct realization of a speech act is accomplished by the application of an IFID.

Moreover, in this study, supportive moves of agreement are further divided into two parts: the Agreed Propositional Content (i.e. the agreed opinion) and the Extra Propositional Content (i.e. some elaboration of the agreed evaluation). Example (1)¹ below is used to illustrate them.

¹ Example (1) is a fabricated example. In the database of this thesis, combination of AM, APC, and EPC never co-occurs.

(1)

T1A: ..那雙鞋好醜喔

→T2B: ..(AM)對啊..(APC)那雙鞋真醜..(EPC)因為上面的裝飾太俗氣了

In example (1), when speaker A proffers an evaluation on shoes in the first turn (T1), Speaker B agrees with him/her in the second turn (T2). In T2, the agreement marker “對啊” is used to show direct agreement on the content of T1. The term “那雙鞋真醜” is a repetition of the agreed propositional content. And “因為上面的裝飾太俗氣了” is an EPC used to justify why the shoes’ ugliness is true. The APC and the EPC together modify the illocutionary force given by the head act.

However, people do not always agree with each other directly. The head act of the speech act sequence is found missing oftentimes, while the illocutionary force of agreement is actually fulfilled by those adjuncts (Yang, 2010). Hence, how these adjuncts are formed to support the agreement act and their strategies are one of the foci of this study.

According to the criteria summarized above, in this study, the structure of agreement includes six combinations: AM alone, APC alone, EPC alone, AM+APC, AM+EPC, and APC+EPC. However, as mentioned above, AM, APC, and EPC never show up simultaneously in the current data. Table 2 presents the six combinations of agreement with examples.

Table 2. Six combinations of agreement by the head act and the supportive move
(AM= Agreement Marker, APC= Agreed Propositional Content, EPC= Extra Propositional Content)

Combinations of Agreement	Examples
AM alone	T1A: ..這樣買照相機還蠻方便的耶 →T2B: ... <u>(0.9)(AM)是啊</u>
APC alone	T1A: ..反正她超酷的啊 →T2B: .. <u>(APC)她超..超酷的啊</u>
EPC alone	A: ..um...你要去看那個嗎..梵谷嗎 T1B: ..還在考慮耶...(1.3)我覺得人可能會很多 →T2A: .. <u>(EPC)因為才展幾天而已</u>
AM+APC	T1A: ..對啊他自己太偏激了 →T2B: .. <u>(AM)對啊(APC)他自己蠻偏激</u>
AM+EPC	T1A: ..竹壽司..景美有點麻煩..還是去瞞著爹 ² 好了 →T2B: .. <u>(AM)對啊..(EPC)和平東路一直走就到了</u>
APC+EPC	T1A: ..而且他..我覺得他很煩 →T2B: .. <u>(APC)他真的很煩啊..(EPC)他現在每天在..就是..辦公室都會被所有的人噏..他只要講一句話..然後就有兩三個人回噏他..你就知道他的那個..人緣就是</u>

Nevertheless, the above classification of the structure of agreement is not enough. No matter in the head act or the supportive move(s), there are many modifications to adjust the degrees of agreement. Henceforth, it is necessary to make further categorization on these modifications.

3.3.2. Agreements with vs. without Contingency

Pomerantz (1984) proposes that agreements can be divided into upgrading agreement, preserving agreement, and downgrading agreement according to the strength of agreement. In this thesis, these three types of agreement are grouped into agreement without contingency and agreement with contingency (as indicated in Figure 2).

²竹壽司和瞞著爹 are Japanese food restaurants.

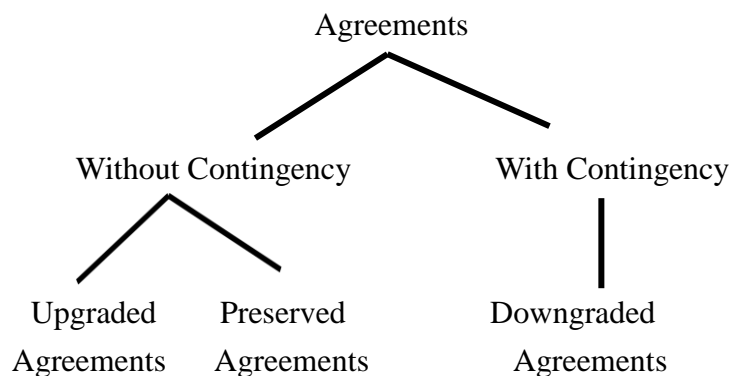


Figure 2. Decision tree of agreement

In using the former, the speaker shows complete agreement to the hearer; in using the latter, the speaker yields only partial agreement. In other words, when people agree without any hesitation, they choose upgrading agreement or preserving agreement as the first assessment. When people partially agree with the hearers, they choose downgrading agreements to indicate that their agreement to the hearer is under certain condition and/or to certain degree.

The following examples are used to illustrate the differences among upgrading, preserving, and downgrading agreements.

3.3.2.1. Upgrading Agreement

Upgrading agreement, which is often realized by intensifiers and stronger evaluative terms, occurs when people strengthen the force of agreement (Pomerantz, 1984; Kuo, 1994; Mulkay, 1985; Baym, 1996; Rattai, 2003). Example (2) below is one of the examples of this kind.

(2)

A: ..eh 爲什麼這種事情...(0.6)然後..那我如果講你<L2 care L2>嗎

B: ...(0.6)是不會很<L2 care L2>可是沒有很想講就是了

T1A: ..不是啊譬如說我..我如果碰到<L2 Febe L2>然後我就丟..eh..那那個我猜牙套美少女..她就會說<L3 khaupe L3>喔

→T2B: (0)她當然會說<L3 khaupe L3>啊

In example (2), Speaker B agrees that the girl about whom they are discussed would become angry when people make fun of her by mentioning her experience of joining in a TV show. Speaker B adds the intensifier “當然” when repeating the assumed reaction in order to strengthen his agreement. Because of the intensifier, Speaker A is assured of Speaker B’s opinion as same as his own. And the second turn (T2) is as an upgrading agreement in this thesis.

3.3.2.2. Preserving Agreement

A preserving agreement, which is often realized by repeating or completing the previous speaker’s turn, is used to express evaluation of equal strength toward the referent (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Coates, 1989). It can be illustrated by example

(3).

(3)

T1A: ..反正她超酷的阿

→T2B: ..她超..超酷的阿³

Speaker A and Speaker B talk about a super star named Beyonce. After speaker A describes Beyonce as a cool woman, speaker B agrees with speaker A by repeating his contribution “她超酷的阿” with no other modifiers. By the repetition in T2, the

³ According to phonological evidence of data, the terms “超” in T2 by speaker B is “pure” repetition which is not phonologically intensified.

agreeing party expresses the same opinion toward the super star. Thus, T2 is a preserving agreement because the degree of agreement is neither strengthened nor weakened.

3.3.2.3. Downgrading Agreement

Downgrading agreement, which is often realized by alleviators or weaker evaluative terms, occurs when the strength of agreement is weakened (Pomerantz, 1984; Baym, 1996; Rattai, 2003). Two kinds of downgrading agreement are found in this thesis. The first one occurs when speakers make agreement under a condition with substantial propositional content. If without this condition, speakers may not agree with the previous speakers. The other kind of downgrading agreement occurs when no condition with substantial propositional content is found. People just make weakened agreement without any reason to show partial agreement. Example (4) is one example of agreement with substantial condition in which many alleviators are applied to perform a downgrading agreement.

- (4)
- A: (0)可是大家不會怕吧..愛校服務就去愛校服務..反正他也不要..他也不想睡午覺...(1.2)[他就]覺得[[說]]
- B: [對啦]..[[沒有沒有]]
- A: ..[[上課再補回來@@]]
- T1B: [[[可是他..有一個更]]]更猛的是..叫他們禮拜六來愛校服務
- T2A: ..喔..那可能就會比較害怕一點

Speaker A originally maintains that students are not afraid of being punished and assigned to do Love-for-school service at midday. Speaker A thinks that the students would be happy to be punished because they do not need to take a nap, which they are not willing to do. Speaker B tries to persuade Speaker A that students will be afraid of being punished if the punishment is to be implemented on Saturdays, days for

students to relax and to play. In T2, even though Speaker A makes a concession and agrees on Speaker B's evaluation, Speaker A modifies T2 with alleviators, “可能,” “比較,” and “一點” to weaken the agreement force to show partial agreement. In other words, it is because the condition that punishment may be implemented on weekends, Speaker A agrees with Speaker B.

Example (5) is used to illustrate an downgrading agreement without a substantial condition.

(5)

A: (0)她超偏激的

T1B: ..唉唷她長大了啦..有啦她比較[[長大了]]

→T2A: [[也是啦]][[有啦]]

In example (5), Speaker A considers their friend as “super” ultra at first. But after the persuasion from Speaker B in T1, Speaker A concedes and partially admits that the friend grows mature by the term “也是啦” without any other reasons or under any condition.

3.4. Pragmatic Strategies in Agreement

After the agreement activities are divided according to how the modifications influence the strength of agreement act, a further classification is made based on what pragmatic strategies involve in agreement. After the investigations of the pragmatic performances, how pragmatic strategies are performed in each type of agreement can be explored.

According to Leech (1983), pragmatic strategies can be divided into textual rhetoric strategies (TRS, hereafter) and interpersonal rhetoric strategies (IRS, hereafter) according to different pragmatic principles. In this study, pragmatic strategies of agreement are divided into IRS and TRS first. And under these rhetorics,

six pragmatic strategies are found. They are emphasis, elaboration, account, and clarification under TRS, and supporting and concession under IRS as what are shown in Table 3. Definition and examples of these pragmatic strategies are presented below.

Table 3. Pragmatic strategies in agreement

Textual Rhetoric Strategies	Emphasis
	Elaboration
	Account
	Clarification
Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategies	Supporting
	Concession

3.4.1. Emphasis

Emphasis is served when people agree with others by emphasizing their point of view. Emphasis is realized by modifying agreement markers or repeating the content of the evaluation with intensifiers. Repeating the previous utterance has been found as an important strategy to agree with others in previous studies (Pomerantz, 1984; Kuo, 1994; Mori, 1999; Gao et al., 2006). For example, the agreeing party is found used to put intensifiers to modify the repeated propositional content in this study. In example (6), Speaker B emphasizes on how ultra a girl is by the intensifiers, such as the adverb “超” as well as “蠻” and the particle “啊.” Because of the strategy, emphasis, Speaker B strengthens the degree of agreement.

(6)

T1A: ..有啊他是很偏激
 →T2B: ..他..超偏激啊他從以前就蠻偏激

3.4.2. Elaboration

Agreement can also be performed by the strategy of elaboration which has been discovered in many previous reports (Baym, 1996; Mori, 1999). Elaboration is often performed by Addition on the semantic level. By extending each other’s contributions

or adding relevant information, the speaker reveals their agreement because only when people view the things in the same perspective can they elaborate the evaluation in T1. Example (7) is a good illustration of this type. Speaker B agrees with Speaker A that one friend of them is suitable to be a professor. He further elaborates on his appearance and the effect that every student would admire him if the friend becomes a professor one day. By the application of elaboration, Speaker B extends his agreement in many turns on their shared opinions toward the friend.

(7)

- T1A: (0)我真的覺得劉貫南..蠻適合那個 eh
B: ..當教授喔
A: ..對啊不覺得嗎..[如果是學生我一定會]喔
B: [他他蠻適合的啊]
→T2B: ..喔超帥
A: ..帥炸
→T2B: ..然後結果收考卷的時候..考卷上都不是答案都是學生的那個<L2
MSN L2>跟電話這樣
A: ..@@@
→T2B: ..還有家裡住址

3.4.3. Account

Account has been taken as a crucial strategy in various studies (Baym, 1996)⁴. In conversation, Account occurs when the speaker explains why he/she agrees on the evaluation in conversations. Hence, Account is often performed by Explanation on semantic level. An account often begins with a causal marker, such as “因為” or a conjunction “而且”. T2 of example (8) illustrates an account which is initiated by “因為.” In this conversation, Speaker A suggests that all the bad students should be taught

⁴ Baym (1996) calls Account as “Reasoning” or “Elaboration” in her study. In this study, they are separated into two pragmatic strategies.

by physical education teachers. It is very proper for the teacher to give more physical exercises to punish the students in the class of physical education. In T2, Speaker B agrees on how reasonable the evaluation is by adding a reason. Because the physical exercise is given in the physical education class, no one can claim that is a kind of physical punishment. In other words, Speaker B makes an account to show her agreement.

(8)

T1A: (0)而且是...(1.0)堂而皇之的..[就是]你..你不能說我體罰啊

B: [um]

A: ..[[對]]

→T2B: [[因為那個]]是體育課

3.4.4. Clarification

Clarification is the strategy applied when an unclear message needs to be clarified. In the previous studies (Liu, 2009), clarification is also a strategy to express disagreement. In disagreement, it functions to clarify the mismatching between the speaker's real intention and the hearer's received meaning. In the present study of agreement, clarification also includes self-clarification besides clarification for previous speaker's information. Self-clarification is as the strategy applied when the agreeing party rephrases their turns and makes the information in T2 clearer. Example (9) is one example of self-clarification. Speaker A and Speaker B talk about a thick notebook produced very long time ago. In T1, Speaker B personifies the thick notebook as a fat guy. Then, Speaker A proffers a paraphrase to agree on the personification. After the paraphrase “肥子,” Speaker A adds “一樣的” to clarify that her response is a repetition for T1. And it should be taken as an agreement not an argument. By the clarification in T2, the agreeing party expresses the same opinion toward the notebook.

(9)

- A: ...(0.4)只能說它是...<L2 Note [boo]k L2>界的老大了@..它已經...
就是
- B: [筆]
- T1B: ..是胖子吧⁵
- T2A: ...是肥子@..一樣的
- B: ..是個胖子
- A: ..因為它年代最久遠啊

3.4.5. Supporting

The strategy of supporting occurs when the agreement involves in a strong personal judgment. In other words, when the speaker in T2 agrees with a strong bias or applies a personal view to agree on T1, he or she is supporting the agreed party through agreement and showing empathy. In example (10), Speaker B in T2 uses a personal judgment on the different preferences between Speaker A and boys to agree on Speaker A's decision. By the application of a strong bias in T2, Speaker B supports Speaker A's opinion through agreement.

(10)

- T1A: ..沒有..後來就說..就聽到這麼貴啊..那就不要買啦
- B: ..也對啦
- A: ..後來就..改買御守
- B: ..um
- A: ..對啊
- T2B: ..而且男生也不是這麼重造型..你看了可愛..人家也不一定喜歡

3.4.6. Concession

The strategy Concession applied when the agreeing party who has the opposite view at first concedes that the other speaker is totally or partially correct. In example (5), repeated here as example (11), Speaker A considers their friend is “super” ultra at

⁵ This is a metaphor to visualize how thick the notebook is.

first. But after the persuasion from Speaker B in T1, Speaker A concedes and partially admits that the friend grows mature by the term “也是啦.” By the application of concession, the original confrontation is averted.

(11)

A: (0)她超偏激的

T1B: ..唉唷她長大了啦..有啦她比較[[長大了]]

→T2A: [[也是啦]][[有啦]]

Base on the previous studies, several linguistic features can be found frequently occurred in the structure of agreement, while some features which were considered as forms or structures are more like pragmatic strategies. For example, reasoning through elaboration in Baym’s study (1996) are more like the ways of speaking so that it is taken as pragmatic strategies in this study.

After the general patterns of linguistic features and pragmatic strategies of agreement are analyzed, how social constraint—gender can influence categories of agreement and pragmatic strategies of agreement would also be investigated. Three kinds of gender constraints would be examined: speaker’s gender only, hearer’s gender only, and both speaker’s and hearer’s gender.

Chapter 4

Data Analysis (1): Constructions of Agreement

This chapter presents the results of the quantitative analyses of agreement collected from the 8 conversations. In this chapter, general findings of constructions of agreement and the influence of gender are provided and analyzed. They can be generally divided into the following three parts: agreement tokens, categories of agreement, and degrees of agreement. Additionally, because in the previous studies (Pomerantz, 1984; Kotthoff, 1993; Kuo, 1994; Mulkay, 1985; Baym, 1996; Rattai, 2003), how the social factor—gender influences people’s constructions of agreement is left unexamined; the influences of gender will be presented after each single discussion on the usage of agreement. Three kinds of influences of gender are made: by speaker’s gender, by hearer’s gender, and by both speaker’s and hearer’s gender.

4.1. Agreement Tokens as a Whole

152 tokens of agreement are found in the collected data. When the influence of gender is taken into consideration on agreement tokens, the following sections present some findings.

4.1.1. Agreement Tokens as a Whole by Gender

This section is divided into three parts: agreement tokens by speaker’s gender, by hearer’s gender, and by both speaker’s gender and hearer’s gender. The distributions of the 152 tokens of agreement by gender are summarized in Table 4. In this table, “MM” stands for Male to Male, “MF” stands for Male to Female, “FF” stands for Female to Female, and “FM” stands for Female to Male. Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 4

Table 4. Agreement tokens as a whole by gender

(MM= Male to Male; MF= Male to Female; FF= Female to Female; FM= Female to Male; -=No significant difference found in any two of these four gender groups.)

Gender orientation		Agreement	% (Frequency)	P
Speaker's Gender Only	Male		50.7% (77)	.928
	Female		49.3% (75)	
	Total		100.0% (152)	
Hearer's Gender Only	Male		47.4% (72)	.717
	Female		52.6% (80)	
	Total		100.0% (152)	
Speaker's and Hearer's Gender	MM		27.6% (42)	-
	MF		23.0% (35)	
	FF		29.6% (45)	
	FM		19.7% (30)	
	Total		100.0% (152)	

4.1.1.1. Agreement Tokens as a Whole by Speaker's Gender

In Table 4, results of the statistic tests indicate that speaker's gender is not a significant factor that would determine the emergence of agreement in face-to-face conversation. This result is against the findings in many previous studies, which claim that women would agree with their interlocutors more frequently than men do (Kalcik, 1975; Leet-Pellegrini, 1980; Edelsky, 1981; Coates, 1989; Holmes, 1995: 60). It seems that superficially, male and female speakers do not differentiate from each other on the tokens of agreement. However, when the investigation goes deeper on how the two genders construct agreement (see section 4.2 and 4.3), gender differences are revealed.

4.1.1.2. Agreement Tokens as a Whole by Hearer's Gender

Like the consequence of speaker's gender, Table 4 also indicates that hearer's gender is not a significant factor to influence speakers' production of agreement. In other words, despite of hearer's gender, the subjects yield similar amount of

agreement tokens. However, the influence of hearer's gender is located in speakers' choice of linguistic devices and pragmatic strategies (see section 4.2, 4.3, and chapter 5).

4.1.1.3. Agreement Tokens as a Whole by Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender

Although FM, on the surface, seems to use less agreement than the other three groups as what are shown in Table 4, according to the results of statistic tests, no significant gender difference is located in any two of the four gender groups. Neither in same gender groups (i.e. MM and FF) nor in cross gender groups (i.e. MF and FM) is gender found to be an influential factor. However, again, it is the ways which the groups choose their linguistic devices and pragmatic strategies that show significant gender difference.

4.2. Categories of Agreement

In the following sections, agreement structure and comparisons among these categories of agreement are examined. One by one, the categories of agreement are presented first, followed by comparisons among these categories of agreement, and in turn followed by comparisons among their subcategories. To be specific, this section includes: (1) Head Act Alone (HA), (2) Supportive Moves Alone (SM), (3) Head Act with Supportive Moves (HA+SM), (4) Comparisons among Head Act Alone (HA) vs. Supportive Moves Alone (SM) vs. Head Act with Supportive Moves (HA+SM), (5) Subcategories of Supportive Moves (SM), (6) Subcategories of Head Act with Supportive Moves (HA+SM), and (7) Inventory of All Six Subcategories of Agreement. Besides, the influence of gender will be presented after each of the section above.

Because the terminology of these categories of agreement is very copious, in the following sections, their abbreviations are used to replace them. For reader's reference, please see List of Abbreviations in page xvi.

4.2.1. HA (Head Act Alone)

This section presents how many tokens of HA are found and its gender distributions.

4.2.1.1. HA by Subjects as a Whole

In this study, 65 tokens of HA are found in the collected data. The following sections introduce how gender influences HA's distribution.

4.2.1.2. HA by Gender

In this section, the usages of HA by speaker's gender, by hearer's gender, and by the four gender matrix are analyzed. Table 5 below shows the distributions of HAs by gender. Following Table 5, related analyses and discussions are given.

Table 5. Head acts alone by gender
(Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; -=No significant difference found in any two of these four gender groups.)

Gender orientation		Head Act	% (Frequency)	P
Speaker's Gender Only	Male		53.8% (35)	.670
	Female		46.2% (30)	
	Total		100.0% (65)	
Hearer's Gender Only	Male		50.8% (33)	.932
	Female		49.2% (32)	
	Total		100.0% (65)	
Speaker's and Hearer's Gender	MM		29.2% (19)	-
	MF		24.6% (16)	
	FF		24.6% (16)	
	FM		21.5% (14)	
	Total		100.0% (65)	

4.2.1.2.1. HA by Speaker's Gender

According to statistic results shown in Table 5, speaker's gender is not an influential factor to people's choice of using HA to express agreement. It seems that both male speakers and female speakers consider using agreement marker alone as the most conventional way or most efficient way to make agreement. The pragmatic goal and the social goal of making agreement are convivial. It means that there is no threat to hearer's positive face (Brown and Levinson, 1978), and thus, it is appropriate for people to abundantly express agreement with a direct speech act. Therefore, male and female speakers do not differentiate from each other on frequently proffering HAs.

4.2.1.2.2. HA by Hearer's Gender

In Table 5, statistic results indicate that hearer's gender alone is not a significant factor to influence the frequencies of the speakers' use of HA. As mentioned above in 4.2.1.2.1, when it comes to Brown and Levinson's face theory (1978), agreement is as a speech act with no harm to hearer's face so that people can perform it directly and simply. AM is the type which express agreement efficiently and effectively. Therefore, people's preference of applying AM is not affected by hearer's gender, either.

4.2.1.2.3. HA by Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender

According to statistic results given in Table 5, no significant gender difference is found in any two of the four gender groups. It means that when both speaker's and hearer's genders are taken into consideration at the same time, the speakers, male as well as female, use similar amounts of HA to show consensus to their interlocutors despite their gender. Like what have been discussed above, it is probably because that HA is the most efficient way to express agreement and to fulfill hearers' positive face wants (Brown and Levinson, 1978), so that all four gender groups apply it frequently.

4.2.2. SM (Supportive Moves Alone)

In this section, tokens of SM and how gender influences distributions of SM are investigated.

4.2.2.1. SM by Subjects as a Whole

54 tokens of SM are found in 8 conversations collected in this study.

4.2.2.2. SM by Gender

After the discussion on the usage of HA, this section introduces the frequencies of using supportive moves by speaker's gender, by hearer's gender, and by both speaker's and hearer's genders. The distributions of supportive moves as a whole by gender are presented in Table 6. Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 6.

Table 6. Supportive moves alone by gender
(SM= Supportive Moves; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; *=P<.05)

Gender Orientation		SM Alone	%	(Frequency)	P
Speaker's Gender Only	Male		42.6%	(23)	.357
	Female		57.4%	(31)	
	Total		100.0%	(54)	
Hearer's Gender Only	Male		40.7%	(22)	.245
	Female		59.3%	(32)	
	Total		100.0%	(54)	
Speaker's and Hearer's Gender	MM		22.2%	(12)	FF:FM=.032*
	MF		20.4%	(11)	
	FF		38.9%	(21)	
	FM		18.5%	(10)	
	Total		100.0%	(54)	

4.2.2.2.1. SM by Speaker's Gender

Statistic result in Table 6 shows that men and women do not differ from each other on their choices of SM. Agreement made by SM is as an indirect speech act. Because the interlocutors in this study are either close friends or couples, both male

and female speakers may think hearers can receive their intention of agreement based on much of shared background knowledge and the knowledge of CP through inference (Grice, 1975; Searle, 1975). Thus, male and female speakers both frequently apply SM.

4.2.2.2.2. SM by Hearer’s Gender

According to Table 6, statistic results indicate that, when hearer’s gender alone is considered, no significant difference is found between the SMs received by male and those by female hearers. Like what have been mentioned above, people may think that as close friends or lovers to themselves, male and female hearers have ability to make inference based on mutually shared background knowledge. Hence, both male and female hearers frequently receive SM.

4.2.2.2.3. SM by Both Speaker’s and Hearer’s Gender

When both speaker’s and hearer’s genders are considered, Figure 3 below shows percentages of SMs used by four gender groups.

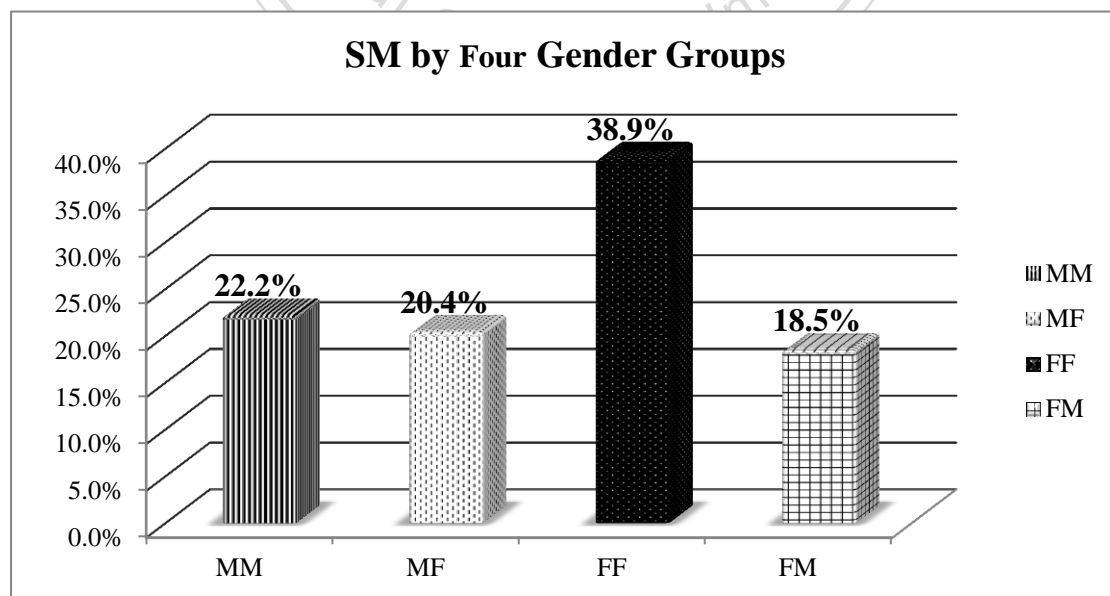


Figure 3. Percentages of supportive moves by both speaker’s and hearer’s gender

According to Table 6 and Figure 3, FF uses SM more frequently than the other three gender groups. Furthermore, Table 6 reveals that the only significant gender difference is located in FF's and FM's frequencies of using SM ($P=.032$). It means that female speakers' usage of SM is significantly influenced by hearer's gender. In other words, women are more willing to use SM to show agreement in same-sex conversations than in cross-sex conversations. Perhaps it is because that for women, the purpose of using SM is to show involvement in conversations. Female speakers may want to express because they fully comprehend what the previous speaker says, they can build on the previous context by SM (such as by extension, specification, explanation and so on). By showing involvement and support, women could establish solidarity between selves and other (Tannen, 1986). In same-sex contexts, women presume that their interlocutors, like themselves, would put emphasis on establishing solidarity and avoiding disagreement (Tannen, 1990). By contrast, women may think that male hearers may not value solidarity as much as female hearers do. According to Tannen, solidarity is a drive to be friendly, and is related to symmetrical relationship. It means that in female-female conversations, women's tendency to show social equality and similarity between self and other is stronger than in cross-sex conversations. Therefore, female speakers use more SM to agree with female hearers than with male hearers.

4.2.3. HA+SM (Head Act with Supportive Moves)

In this section, the findings of HA+SM are presented by subjects as a whole and by the influence of gender.

4.2.3.1. HA+SM by Subjects as a Whole

In the collected data, 33 tokens of HA+SM are found.

4.2.3.2. HA+SM by Gender

Table 7 below presents the distributions of HA+SM by speaker's gender alone, by hearer's gender alone, and by both speaker's and hearer's genders. Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 7.

Table 7. Head act with supportive moves by gender
(HA+SM= Head Act with Supportive Moves; -=No significant difference found in any two of the four gender groups)

Gender Orientation		HA+SM	% (Frequency)	P
Speaker's Gender Only	Male		57.6% (19)	.445
	Female		42.4% (14)	
	Total		100.0% (33)	
Hearer's Gender Only	Male		51.5% (17)	.880
	Female		48.5% (16)	
	Total		100.0% (33)	
Speaker's and Hearer's Gender	MM		33.3% (11)	-
	MF		24.2% (8)	
	FF		24.2% (8)	
	FM		18.2% (6)	
	Total		100.0% (33)	

4.2.3.2.1. HA+SM by Speaker's Gender

Distributions of statistic test indicate that speaker's gender is not an influential factor that would affect their use of HA+SM. To be specific, both male speakers and female speakers apply few HA+SMs. When speech act theory is considered (Searle, 1975), HA is a direct manifestation of the illocutionary force of agreement. Perhaps this is because once HA, which is already a clear indication of agreement, emerges, the addition of SM to HA is redundant, for both male and female speakers.

4.2.3.2.2. HA+SM by Hearer's Gender

When hearer's gender is examined, the pattern similar to those in the preceding section is found. That is, no significant difference is located. In other words, HA+SMs received by male hearers and female hearers are equally few. Like what have been

mentioned above, people may think for their interlocutors no matter as male or female, SM behind HA sounds redundant. Thus, HA+SMs are not very frequently received by both male and female hearers.

4.2.3.2.3. HA+SM by Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender

When both speaker's and hearer's genders are taken into consideration, again, no significant differences are located in the comparison between any two of the four gender groups. In other words, for the use of HA+SM, gender is not an influential factor. Again, it is probably because that HA alone is clear enough to express agreement, and thus, it is not necessary to have SM behind.

4.2.4. HA vs. SM vs. HA+SM (Head Act alone vs. Supportive Moves Alone vs. Head Act with Supportive Moves)

This section compares distributions of HA, SM, and HA+SM to see which one is preferred by Mandarin speakers. And this section can be divided into the following three sub-sections: (1) HA vs. SM, (2) HA vs. HA+SM, and (3) SM vs. HA+SM. After each comparison among HA, SM, and HA+SM by subjects as whole, the influence of gender is discussed. And because HA alone by gender, SM alone by gender, and HA+SM by gender have been discussed in the previous sections, they are not repeated in this section.

4.2.4.1. HA vs. SM

This section depicts comparisons between HA versus SM. After the discussion of HA vs. SM by subjects as a whole, the influence of gender is examined.

4.2.4.1.1. HA vs. SM by Subjects as a Whole

Table 8 presents the comparisons between HA and SM and the related statistic result. Following Table 8, related analyses and discussions are given.

Table 8. Comparisons between head act alone and supportive moves alone (HA= Head Act; SM=Supportive Moves; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

HA	SM	TOTAL	P
54.6% (65)	45.4% (54)	100.0% (119)	.333

According to the data in Table 8, over half of data are AMs. However, according to statistic results, HA is not significantly different from SM ($P=.333$). It means that HA and SM are both frequently applied to make agreement. It is an unexpected result. In this study, it is hypothesized that HA is more preferred than SM (see Hypothesis A-1 in page 2). This result indicates that Hypothesis A-1 is not verified.

HA, as the core of agreement act, is more explicit and more effective, while SMs are only adjuncts to modify the force of agreement. At first, it is presumed that people should have applied much more HA than SM. One possible reason to explain why this presumption is overruled is that SM, although indirect, could still effectively express agreement through inference. As mentioned in 4.2.2.2, when the speaker makes an agreement by repeating the agreed evaluation, by reasoning, or by adding extra information for the discussed referent, the hearer can receive the speaker's intention based on their mutually shared background knowledge, the knowledge of CP, and the ability to make inference (Grice, 1975; Searle, 1975). Because interlocutors in 8 conversations are either close friends or couples, they must have shared much background knowledge. Thus, even though agreement is frequently sent by SM, which is more indirect than HA, hearers can receive speakers' intention through inference.

4.2.4.1.2. HA vs. SM by Gender

This section discusses the comparisons between HA and SM by speaker's gender, by hearer's gender, and by both speaker's and hearer's genders.

1. HA vs. SM by Speaker's Gender

Table 9 presents the distribution of the frequencies of HA and SM by speaker's gender alone, by hearer's gender alone, and by both speaker's and hearer's genders.

Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 9.

Table 9. Head act alone and supportive moves alone by gender

(HA= Head Act; SM=Supportive Moves; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; *= $P < .05$; -=No significant difference found in comparison between HA versus SM or in any two of the four gender groups.)

Gender Orientation		Categories	HA	SM	P
Speaker's Gender Only	Male		29.4% (35)	19.3% (23)	.033*
	Female		25.2% (30)	26.1% (31)	.922
Hearer's Gender Only	Male		27.7% (33)	18.5% (22)	.083
	Female		26.9% (32)	26.9% (32)	1.000
Speaker's And Hearer's Gender	MM		16.0% (19)	10.1% (12)	-
	MF		13.4% (16)	9.2% (11)	
	FF		13.4% (16)	17.6% (21)	
	FM		11.8% (14)	8.4% (10)	

- (1) According to Table 9, significant difference is located in the comparison between men's HA and SM ($P = .031$). To be specific, men use significantly much more HA than SM. For men, efficiency of information exchange seems to be the first priority for communication. Additionally, men may not put much emphasis on interpersonal relationship rhetoric. Hence, male speakers prefer to use HA which expresses agreement directly and simply.
- (2) When HA and SM are compared, no significant difference is found in women's usage. It means that women frequently apply both HA and SM. Perhaps for

women, HA and SM, which are both important, serve different functions. HA can be used to express agreement efficiently. By contrast, as mentioned in 4.2.2.2.3, SM may be taken as a special way to show involvement and thus to establish solidarity or rapport. Women may want to express that because they listen carefully to what the previous speakers say, they can repeat or elaborate the previous contexts by SM. Thus, female speakers frequently use either HA or SM for efficiency of showing agreement and for showing involvement to establish solidarity which is revered by women, according to Tannen (1990).

2. HA vs. SM by Hearer's Gender

When the social factor changes to hearer's gender, as Table 9 indicates, no significant difference is located. To be specific, when talking to men as well as women, the amount of HA and that of SM used by the speakers are not significantly different. Perhaps it is because in this study, interlocutors are close friends or couples who share lots of background information with each other; therefore, hearers in both genders could receive the message of agreement clearly either directly (i.e. through HA) or indirectly (i.e. through SM).

3. HA vs. SM by Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender

When both speaker's and hearer's genders are taken into consideration, as shown in Table 9, no gender groups' HA and SM is significantly different from each other. To be specific, the frequencies of HA and those of SM used by four gender groups are not significantly different. Like what have been mentioned in 2, interlocutors in the collected data are all acquaintances; and thus, whether the message of agreement is proffered directly or indirectly, people can receive it clearly based on mutually shared background knowledge.

4.2.4.2. HA vs. HA+SM

In the section, HA and HA+SM are compared. After the discussion of HA vs. HA+SM by subjects as a whole, the influence of gender is examined.

4.2.4.2.1. HA vs. HA+SM by Subjects as a Whole

When HA+SM and HA are compared, Table 10 reveals that over 60% data are HA alone.

Table 10. Head act with supportive moves versus head act without supportive moves (HA= Head Act; SM = Supportive Moves; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; *=P<.05)

HA	HA+SM	TOTAL	P
66.3% (65)	33.7% (33)	100.0% (98)	.002*

According to statistic results, HA is significantly different from HA+SM (P=.002). To be specific, HA is much more frequently applied than HA+SM, which confirms Hypothesis A-2 in this study (see Hypothesis A-2 in page 2). This result is also in accordance with the findings in many previous studies (Pomerantz, 1984; Mulkay, 1985). In other words, this result supports the conclusion in previous studies that direct and simple method to show agreement is preferred. People may think that HAs' illocutionary force of agreement is clear enough; and thus, it is not necessary to add SM behind.

Even though percentage of HA+SM take 33.7% of the data, their importance cannot be neglected. According to this part of data, some people may consider that HA alone is not strong enough to show agreement; therefore, after giving HA, they add old or new information to strengthen the force of agreement. By making more effort and adding SM behind, according to the Generosity Maxim and the Tact Maxim of politeness principle (Leech, 1983), speakers cost self and benefit other by more

forceful agreement. In other words, people do so may want to serve social purpose, such as solidarity, rapport, and politeness.

4.2.4.2.2. HA vs. HA+SM by Gender

In this section, HA and HA+SM by gender are compared with each other. Table 11 offers the gender distributions of HA and HA+SM and related statistic results.

Following Table 11 , related analyses and discussions are given.

Table 11. Head act with supportive moves versus head act without supportive moves by gender
(SM= Supportive Moves; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; *= $P < .05$; -=No significant difference found in any two of these four groups.)

Gender		Categories	HA	HA+SM	P
Speaker's Gender Only	Male		35.7% (35)	19.4% (19)	.033*
	Female		30.6% (30)	14.3% (14)	.046*
Hearer's Gender Only	Male		33.7% (33)	17.3% (17)	.033*
	Female		32.7% (32)	16.3% (16)	.046*
Speaker's And Hearer's Gender	MM		19.4% (19)	11.2% (11)	.295
	MF		16.3% (16)	8.2% (8)	.016*
	FF		16.3% (16)	8.2% (8)	.332
	FM		14.3% (14)	6.1% (6)	.016*

1. HA vs. HA+SM by Speaker's Gender

Both male and female speakers use significantly more HA than SM (for male speakers, $P = .033$; for female speakers, $P = .046$). This result is in accordance with the findings in the previous studies (Pomerantz, 1984; Mulkay, 1985). In other words, direct and simple method to show agreement is preferred by both men and women.

2. HA vs. HA+SM by Hearer's Gender

Patterns similar to those in the preceding section are found. When HA+SM and HA are compared, both male hearers and female hearers receive significantly more

HA than HA+SM (for male speakers, $P=.033$; for female speakers, $P=.046$). Like what have been discussed above, people may think that no matter their hearers are men or women, they prefer to be agreed directly and simply; therefore, HA is applied much more than HA+SM.

3. HA vs. HA+SM by Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender

When HA and HA+SM are compared, in MF conversation as well as in FM conversations, HA is used significantly more often than HA+SM (for MF, $P=.016$; for FM, $P=.016$). That is, in agreeing with hearers of opposite sex, men and women would rather apply HA than HA+SM; whereas, in same-sex conversations, HA and HA+SM are used equally often. In other words, when agreeing with opposite-sex hearers, efficiency of information seems to be the first priority for both male and female speakers. By contrast, when talking to same-gender hearers, both men and women are more willing to use HA+SM, which is a structure more complicate and costs speakers more effort to build and benefits hearers for additional information, according to the Generosity Maxim and the Tact Maxim of politeness principle (Leech, 1983). And thus, FF and MM may probably want to serve some social functions, such as solidarity, supporting, or rapport. In this study, FF's tendency to establish solidarity by linguistic devices and pragmatic strategies in agreement occurs repetitively. By contrast, it is rare for MM to do so.

4.2.4.3. SM vs. HA+SM

This section compares the distributions of SM and HA+SM. After SM and HA+SM are compared by subjects as a whole, whether men and women differentiated from each other on the usage of SM versus HA+SM is investigated.

4.2.4.3.1. SM vs. HA+SM by Subjects as a Whole

In Table 12, SM and HA+SM are compared. It shows that SM (62.1%) are much more than HA+SM (37.9%). Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 12.

Table 12. Comparisons between supportive moves with head act and supportive moves without head act
(SM= Supportive Moves; HA+SM= Head Act with Supportive Moves; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

SM	HA+SM	Total	P
62.1% (54)	37.9% (33)	100.0% (87)	.022*

Statistic results show that SM is used significantly more often than HA+SM (P=.022). Like what have been mentioned in the section 4.2.4.2 above, people may think that HA is clear enough to show agreement, and thus, it is not necessary to add SM behind. Hence, few data of HA+SM can be found.

Another possible explanation is that people may take SM alone as a way to show involvement. The speakers may want to express that they listen carefully to the agreed party so that they can repeat the old information by APC alone or elaborate more by EPC alone. That is, speakers can play the previous speaker's role by building on what they contributed in the last turn.

4.2.4.3.2. SM vs. HA+SM by Gender

This section discusses the comparisons between SM and HA+SM by gender.

Table 13 below demonstrates the statistic results. Following Table 13, related analyses and discussions are given.

Table 13. Supportive moves with head act versus supportive moves alone by gender (SM= Supportive Moves; HA+SM= Head Act with Supportive Moves; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies. *=P<.05; -=All P>.05)

Gender		Categories	SM	HA+SM	P
Speaker's Gender Only	Male		26.4% (23)	21.8% (19)	-
	Female		35.6% (31)	16.1% (14)	.034*
Hearer's Gender Only	Male		25.3% (22)	19.5% (17)	-
	Female		36.8% (32)	18.4% (16)	.046*
Speaker's and Hearer's Gender	MM		13.8% (12)	12.6% (11)	-
	MF		12.6% (11)	9.2% (8)	
	FF		24.1% (21)	9.2% (8)	
	FM		11.5% (10)	6.9% (6)	

1. SM vs. HA+SM by Speaker's Gender

When SM and HA+SM are compared, only female speakers, not male speakers, show significantly higher frequency in using SM than in using HA+SM (P=.034). This result suggests that although SM is more indirect in expressing agreement, women choose to use them much more than HA+SM, the type showing agreement directly and efficiently. As what have been mentioned above, redundancy is a possible reason to explain this result. Since HA is clear enough to show agreement, the addition of SM in HA+SM is redundant, and thus HA+SM is used less frequently. .

Another possible reason is that using SM alone can show both listenership and high involvement at the same time. Therefore, women, who always emphasize interpersonal rapport, are more likely to build on each other's contribution to make agreement.

2. SM vs. HA+SM by Hearer's Gender

When SM and HA+SM are compared, it is female hearers, not male hearers, that receive more SM than HA+SM (P=.046). That is, when people agree with female hearers, they use SM much more than HA+SM. A possible explanation is that people

think that SM is quite enough to fulfill women's wants to be agreed with, no need to add HA into it.

3. SM vs. HA+SM by Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender

When both speaker's and hearer's genders are considered, no significant difference is found between SM and HA+SM by all of the four gender groups. In other words, four gender groups use SM and HA+SM equally frequently.

4.2.5. Subcategories of SM (Supportive Moves)

In this section, different types of SMs are compared together. After the general discussion of subcategories of SM, the influence of gender is analyzed. Subcategories of SM include: Agreed Propositional Content (APC), Extra Propositional Content (EPC), and Agree Propositional Content with Extra Propositional Content (APC+EPC).

4.2.5.1. Subcategories of SM by Subjects as a Whole

Table 14 shows comparisons among subcategories of SM. According to this table, the elements of SMs can be single (namely, APCs and EPCs) and multiple (namely, APC+EPCs). Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 14.

Table 14. Comparisons among different subcategories of supportive moves
(APC = Agreed Propositional Content; EPC = Extra Propositional Content;
*=P<.05; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

APC	EPC	APC+EPC	Total	P
42.6% (23)	40.7% (22)	16.7% (9)	100.0% (54)	APC:APC+EPC=.014* EPC:APC+EPC=.038*

According to Table 14, speakers chose almost equal amounts of APC and EPC (42.6% and 40.7%, respectively). Speakers use APCs, as the repetition of old

information, to agree with their interlocutors, and use EPCs, as new information provided to elaborate what the previous speakers contribute, to make agreement.

As for APC+EPC, which scores much lower than the other two subcategories of SMs, the statistic result seems to suggest that, in showing agreement, it is unnecessary to use both old information and new information. Instead, repetition of old information alone or addition of new information alone would be quite enough.

In addition, statistic results indicate that APC and EPC are both significantly different from APC+EPC ($P=.014$ and $P=.038$, respectively), but not significantly different from each other ($P=.910$).

4.2.5.2. Subcategories of SM by Gender

In this section, the influence of gender is examined for the use of the subcategories of SMs. The distributions of SM by gender are presented in Table 15. Following Table 15, related analyses and discussions are given.

Table 15. Subcategories of supportive moves by gender

(SM= Supportive moves; APC= Agreed Propositional Contents; EPC= Extra Propositional Contents; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; *=P<.05; -= no significant difference found in any two subcategories of SM or in any two of four gender groups.)

SM's Subcategories		APC	EPC	APC+EPC	P
Speaker's Gender Only	Male	24.1% (13)	14.8% (8)	3.7% (2)	APC:APC+EPC =.014* EPC:APC+EPC =.020*
	Female	18.5% (10)	25.9% (14)	13.0% (7)	
	P	.571	.355	.009*	
Hearer's Gender Only	Male	24.1% (13)	9.3% (5)	7.4% (4)	-
	Female	18.5% (10)	31.5% (17)	9.3% (5)	EPC:APC+EPC =.020*
	P	.573	.048*	.642	
Speaker's And Hearer's Gender	MM	13.0% (7)	7.4% (4)	1.9% (1)	<u>MF's</u> APC:APC+EPC =.015*
	MF	11.1% (6)	7.4% (4)	1.9% (1)	
	FF	7.4% (4)	24.1% (13)	7.4% (4)	
	FM	11.1% (6)	1.9% (1)	5.6% (3)	
	P	-	FF: FM =.015*	-	

4.2.5.2.1. Subcategories of SM by Speaker's Gender

- (1) According to Table 15, speaker's gender does not influence their usage of either APC or EPC.
- (2) Significant gender difference is shown only when APC is used together with EPC (P=.009). Furthermore, female speakers use APC+EPCs significantly more than men do. The statistic result seems to indicate that women consider using multiple elements in SM (i.e. APC+EPC) to make agreement as appropriate, whereas, for men, it may sound verbose to make agreement by multiple elements in SM. In other words, female speakers show agreement to their interlocutors by flouting the Quantity Maxim of Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP), while male speakers choose to conform the Quantity Maxim.

(3) Another pattern is found in Table 15: Men's APC and EPC are both significantly different from APC+EPC ($P=.014$ and $P=.020$, respectively). It means that when men choose to use SMs to make agreement, they either choose APC or EPC, but rarely APC+EPC. It is likely that, to men, proffering multiple elements in agreement is verbose. For efficiency of information exchange, as long as APC or EPC alone is sufficient to secure the clarity of the message, there is no need to use APC+EPC. By contrast, in women's group, no significant difference is located between any two of the three subcategories of SMs.

4.2.5.2.2. Subcategories of SM by Hearer's Gender

(1) As indicated in Table 15, no significant difference by hearer's gender is found when APC is used with or without EPC. However, significant gender difference is found in the comparison of EPC's received by male and female hearers ($P=.048$). To be specific, female hearers receive more EPCs than male hearers do. It may be because speakers think female hearers prefer to be agreed by EPC which is often constructed by the ways, such as specifying or extending what they have contributed to. In this way, people show listenership and empathy at the same time.

(2) When APC, EPC, and APC+EPC are compared, the only significant gender difference is found on the comparison between EPCs and APC+EPCs when the speakers talk to female hearers ($P=.020$). To be specific, female hearers receive much more EPCs than APC+EPCs. It means that people like to support female hearers by using EPC alone. After all, using multiple elements in SMs are redundant.

4.2.5.2.3. Subcategories of SM by Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender

(1) As indicated in Table 15, no significant difference by any two of the four gender groups is found when APC is used with or without EPC. Among the three subcategories of SMs, significant gender difference is only found in the usage of EPC, which is between the comparison of FF and FM ($P=.015$). According to Table 15, female speakers use EPCs to female hearers more often than to male hearers. In other words, women are significantly influenced by hearer's gender on the usage of EPCs. EPCs, which build on the previous interlocutor's turn with further elaboration, are meant to fulfill the functions of politeness, solidarity, and rapport, which, according to Tannen (1990), are highly revered by women. Therefore, in FF conversation, since both interlocutors are female, EPCs are used more frequently than in other situations.

(2) When APCs, EPCs, and APC+EPCs are compared, significant difference is only located in the comparison between APC and APC+EPC by MF group, with APC overriding APC+EPC ($P=.015$). It means that when agreeing with others, men put emphasis on efficiency of information, and the addition of EPC is redundant to them.

4.2.6. Subcategories of HA+SM (Head Act with Supportive Moves)

This section presents results of the subcategories of HA+SM. The subcategories of HA+SM are AM+EPC (Agreement Marker with Extra Propositional Content) and AM+APC (Agreement Marker with Agreed Propositional Content).

4.2.6.1. Subcategories of HA+SM by Subjects as a Whole

The distributions of subcategories of HA+SM by subjects as a whole are presented in Table 16, Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 16.

Table 16. Subcategories of head act with supportive moves
(AM = Agreement Marker; APC = Agreed Propositional Content; EPC = Extra Propositional Content; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; *= $P < .05$)

AM+EPC	AM+APC	TOTAL	P
72.7% (24)	27.3% (9)	100.0% (33)	.020*

When AM+EPCs and AM+APCs are compared, Table 16 shows that AM+EPCs (72.7%) are much more than AM+APCs (27.3%). Statistic result also indicates that they are significantly different from each other ($P = .020$). Contrary to AM+EPCs and AM+APCs, EPC alone and APC alone show no significant differences between each other according to Table 14 above. In other words, with AM in front or not, EPC and APC are with different discrepancies between each other.

Similar to what have been mentioned, people may think that once the HA is given, to propose extra idea about the discussed referent (i.e. new information by EPC) is less redundant than to repeat the agreed evaluation (i.e. old information by APC). Hence, AM+EPCs are applied much more frequently than AM+APCs are.

The last interesting point is about the ordering of HA and SM. It is observed that, in all the data from the eight conversations, HA always comes prior to SM (i.e. AM+APC and AM+EPC). After all, it is HA that is the core of an agreement. Therefore, showing HA first is more efficient and more effective.

4.2.6.2. Subcategories of HA+SM by Gender

Table 11 shows subcategories of HA+SM by the influence of speaker's gender alone, hearer's gender alone, and both speaker's and hearer's genders. Following Table 11, related analyses and discussions are given.

Table 17. Subcategories of Head act with supportive moves by gender
(AM+APC= Agreement Marker with Agreed Propositional Content;
AM+EPC= Agreement Marker with Extra Propositional Content;
Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; -=No significant difference found
in any two of these four groups.)

Subcategories		AM+APC	AM+EPC	P
Speaker's Gender Only	Male	21.2% (7)	36.4% (12)	.217
	Female	6.1% (2)	36.4% (12)	.060
	P	.085	1.000	
Hearer's Gender Only	Male	18.2% (6)	33.3% (11)	.180
	Female	9.1% (3)	39.4% (13)	.072
	P	.319	.718	
Speaker's And Hearer's Gender	MM	15.2% (5)	18.2% (6)	.638
	MF	6.1% (2)	18.2% (6)	.308
	FF	3.0% (1)	21.2% (7)	.215
	FM	3.0% (1)	15.2% (5)	.252
	P	-	-	

According to Table 11, no significant difference is found no matter when speaker's gender alone, hearer's gender alone, or both speaker's and hearer's genders are considered. It means that gender has no impact on people's choice of AM+APC and AM+EPC. Besides, data are in low frequency, especially data of AM+APC. Thus, the subcategories of HA+SM are not analyzed further in this section.

4.2.7. All Six Subcategories of Agreement

In this section, all six subcategories are compared by subjects as a whole and by gender. As for the six subcategories, AM is as the subcategory of HA; APC, EPC, APC+EPC as the subcategories of SM; AM+EPC and AM+APC as the subcategories of HA+SM.

4.2.7.1. All Six Subcategories of Agreement by Subjects as a Whole

Side by side, all six subcategories are compared in Table 18 below. Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 18.

Table 18. All six subcategories of agreement

(AM = Agreement Marker; APC = Agreed Propositional Content; EPC = Extra Propositional Content; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

AM	APC	EPC	AM+EPC	AM+APC	APC+EPC	Total
42.8% (65)	15.1% (23)	14.5% (22)	15.8% (24)	5.9% (9)	5.9% (9)	100.0% (152)

For the statistic results of comparisons among six subcategories of agreement, Table 19 below shows statistic significances in details.

Table 19. Significant differences shown among comparisons of six categories of agreement

(AM = Agreement Marker; APC = Agreed Propositional Content; EPC = Extra Propositional Content; *= $P < .05$)

Pairs	P
AM-- APC	.000*
AM--EPC	.005*
AM--AM+EPC	.001*
AM--AM+APC	.000*
AM--APC+EPC	.000*
APC--EPC	.910
APC--AM+EPC	.843
APC--AM+APC	.008*
APC--APC+EPC	.014*
EPC--AM+EPC	.809
EPC--AM+APC	.091
EPC--APC+EPC	.038*
AM+EPC--AM+APC	.020*
AM+EPC--APC+EPC	.011*
AM+APC--APC+EPC	1.000

Based on all statistic results above, subcategories of agreement can be classified appropriately into three major groups:

$$AM > \left\{ \begin{array}{c} APC \\ EPC \\ AM+EPC \end{array} \right\} > \left\{ \begin{array}{c} AM+APC \\ APC+EPC \end{array} \right\}$$

This priority order means that the subcategory of HA alone (i.e. AM) is the primary choice, two subcategories of SM alone (i.e. APC and EPC) and one of HA+SM (i.e. AM+EPC) are the secondary, and the remained subcategories of HA+SM (i.e. AM+APC) and SM (i.e. APC+EPC) are the tertiary.

Originally, HA alone, compared with SM alone, shows no significant difference in section 4.2.4.1.1. But the priority order above shows that people, in fact, use the subcategory of HA significantly more frequently than the other subcategories of SM. In other words, Hypothesis A-1 (see this hypothesis in page 2) is verified when subcategories of HA and SM are compared. Obviously, direct and efficient method to show agreement is preferred.

For subcategories of SM, this priority order also indicates that using either APC or EPC alone is much more frequently than using APC+EPC. Like what have been mentioned in 4.2.5, using multiple elements of SMs seems to be redundant.

For subcategories of HA+SM, the priority order means that people apply AM+EPC significantly more than AM+APC. As what have been discussed in 4.2.6.1, behind an HA, to provide extra information about the discussed referent (by EPC) is less redundant than to repeat the agreed evaluation (by APC).

4.2.7.2. All Six Subcategories of Agreement by Gender

This section discusses the distributions of six agreement subcategories by gender. Table 20 shows the inventory of agreement categories by speaker's gender, by hearer's gender, and by both speaker's and hearer's genders. After divided into six

subcategories of agreement by genders, data in each cell become low in frequency, especially AM+APC and APC+EPC. Additionally, significant differences are hard to found among any two of subcategories which are in low frequency. Therefore, it is difficult to arrange the priority order of these subcategories by gender, and thus, only comparisons between AM and the other five subcategories are discussed below.

Besides, because each subcategory by gender has been discussed in section 4.2.1.2, 4.2.5.2, and 4.2.6.2, those discussions are not repeated here.

Table 20. Inventory of agreement categories by speaker's gender versus by hearer's gender
(AM=Agreement Marker; APC=Agreed Propositional Content; EPC=Extra Propositional Content; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

Subcategories		AM	APC	EPC	AM+APC	AM+EPC	APC+EPC
Speaker's Gender Only	M	23.0% (35)	8.6% (13)	5.3% (8)	4.6% (7)	7.9% (12)	1.3% (2)
	F	19.7% (30)	6.6% (10)	9.2% (14)	1.3% (2)	7.9% (12)	4.6% (7)
	Total	42.8% (65)	15.1% (23)	14.5% (22)	5.9% (9)	15.8% (24)	5.9% (9)
Hearer's Gender Only	M	21.7% (33)	8.6% (13)	3.3% (5)	3.9% (6)	7.2% (11)	2.6% (4)
	F	21.1% (32)	6.6% (10)	11.2% (17)	2.0% (3)	8.6% (13)	3.3% (5)
	Total	42.8% (65)	15.1% (23)	14.5% (22)	5.9% (9)	15.8% (24)	5.9% (9)
Speaker's and Hearer's Gender	MM	12.5% (19)	4.6% (7)	2.6% (4)	3.3% (5)	3.9% (6)	0.7% (1)
	MF	10.5% (16)	3.9% (6)	2.6% (4)	1.3% (2)	3.9% (6)	0.7% (1)
	FF	10.5% (16)	2.6% (4)	8.6% (13)	0.7% (1)	4.6% (7)	2.6% (4)
	FM	9.2% (14)	3.9% (6)	0.7% (1)	0.7% (1)	3.3% (5)	2.0% (3)
	Total	42.8% (65)	15.1% (23)	14.5% (22)	5.9% (9)	15.8% (24)	5.9% (9)

4.2.7.2.1. All Six Subcategories of Agreement by Speaker's Gender

Table 21 below shows statistic results of the comparison between AM and five other subcategories of agreement by male speakers and by female speakers, respectively. Following Table 21, related analyses and discussions are given.

Table 21. Significant differences among categories of agreement by speaker's gender
 (*= P<.05)

Pairs	Speaker's Gender	
	Male	Female
AM--APC	.007*	.026*
AM--EPC	.017*	.159
AM--AM+APC	.009*	.006*
AM--AM+EPC	.021*	.017*
AM--APC+EPC	.005*	.012*

This table indicates that for male speakers, AM is used significantly more often than the other five subcategories of agreement.

By contrast, women apply both AM and EPC frequently. Like what have been mentioned before, EPCs, such as specifying or extending the discussed evaluation, seem to be an important way how women make agreement. In this way, people show listenership and consensus at the same time.

When AM is compared with the other five subcategories of agreement, male and female speakers share the same pattern in general: AM is the most preferred one. Like what have been discussed above, AM alone is the most direct and simplest type to satisfy hearer's wants to be agreed with. Thus, men and women do not differentiate from each other on the preference of applying AM.

4.2.7.2.2. All Six Subcategories of Agreement by Hearer's Gender

When hearer's gender alone is examined, Table 22 below lists statistic results, which are similar to those by speaker's gender. Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 22.

Table 22. Significant differences among categories of agreement by hearer's gender
 (*= P<.05)

Pairs	Hearer's Gender	
	Male	Female
AM--APC	.017*	.012*
AM--EPC	.015*	.176
AM--AM+APC	.010*	.006*
AM--AM+EPC	.024*	.016*
AM--APC+EPC	.013*	.005*

According to Table 22, male hearers receive significantly more AM than the other five subcategories of agreement.

When speaking to female hearers, AM is also significantly different from other categories of agreement, except from EPC. It means that besides AM, women frequently receive EPC as well. As what have been mentioned many times, one possible reason for frequent occurrences of EPC is that people may think female hearers like to be agreed by building on each other's contribution to show listenership, intimacy, and agreement at the same time.

Based on the results above, when AM is compared with the other five subcategories of agreement, men and women share the pattern of receiving AM mostly. AM as the efficient and simple way to show agreement may be the reason why both male and female hearers receive them mostly.

4.2.7.2.3. All Six Subcategories of Agreement by Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender

When both speaker's and hearer's genders are examined, statistic results between four gender groups' AM and other five categories of agreement are listed in Table 23 below. Following Table 23, related analyses and discussions are given.

Table 23. Significant differences among categories of agreement by both speaker's and hearer's genders
 (*= P<.05)

Gender Orientation Pairs	MM	MF	FF	FM
AM--APC	.124	.030*	.164	.116
AM--EPC	.200	.005*	.783	.007*
AM--AM+APC	.182	.012*	.141	.007*
AM--AM+EPC	.198	.030*	.229	.018*
AM--APC+EPC	.131	.004*	.182	.022*

According to Table 23, both MF's and FM's AMs are significantly different from other categories of agreement, except FM's AM from APC. By contrast, no significant difference is located in MM's and FF's usage of these six subcategories of agreement. In other words, in cross-sex conversations, both men and women rely heavily on AM. It seems that both male and female speakers think that efficiency of information is the first priority when agreeing with the opposite-sex hearers.

4.2.8. Summary of 4.2.

In this section, a summary of a formula to describe the subcategories of agreement and the priority order of these subcategories of agreement is given. Then, the influence of gender comes later.

(1) Base on the data collected in this thesis, the various patterns of agreement can be conflated into the following formula:

$$\left\{ \left(\text{AM} \left(\begin{matrix} \{ \text{APC} \} \\ \{ \text{EPC} \} \end{matrix} \right) \right) \right. \\ \left. \text{APC+EPC} \right\}$$

AM+APC+EPC is a possibility of logical combination, but it is not found in the data. It is very likely that AM+APC+EPC is too inefficient for information processing, or the "trinity" structure may sound so redundant and thus induce over-politeness,

which may threaten sincerity of agreement. For these reasons, no AM+APC+EPC shows up in the current data.

(2) Based on the statistic results, the priority order of subcategories of agreement is described as followed:

$$AM > \left\{ \begin{array}{c} APC \\ EPC \\ AM+EPC \end{array} \right\} > \left\{ \begin{array}{c} AM+APC \\ APC+EPC \end{array} \right\}$$

The above scale indicates that AM is adopted most frequently, followed by APC, EPC, and AM+APC and APC+EPC the least. Related explanations have occurred in the section 4.2.7.1. AM, as subcategory of HA, is the primary choice because it expresses agreement directly and efficiently. Compared with SM with multiple elements (i.e. APC+EPC), APC and EPC seem less redundant so that they are secondary. Similarly, compared with HA with repetition of old information behind (i.e. AM+APC), HA with extra information (i.e. AM+EPC) seems less redundant, and thus, AM+EPC is secondary.

(3) For the influence of gender in agreement tokens, no significant differences are found when speaker's gender only, hearer's gender only, or both speaker's and hearer's genders are considered. In other words, gender is not an influential factor to control people's use of agreements.

(4) For the influence of gender in categories of agreement, it is found that gender does not influence the formula of agreement, either. Each type of agreement is used by men as well as women.

(5) However, when the priority order of agreement by gender is considered, a different picture is revealed.

For male speakers and female speakers: Men and women resemble each other in the high frequency of their uses of AMs. Also, both genders use AM significantly higher than APC, AM+EPC, AM+APC, and APC+EPC. The only difference by speaker's gender lies in the use of EPC: EPC's status is higher in women's usage than in men's usage. In other words, besides making agreement by AM, women also prefer to use EPC to share with their interlocutors new but relevant information about the discussed referents. Through providing extra information about the discussed referent, female speakers show high involvement and listenership and thus develop solidarity and rapport which they value a lot.

For male hearers and female hearers: when AM is compared with the other five subcategories of agreement, the priority order is exactly the same as that of considering speaker's gender alone. In other words, the only difference between male hearers and female hearers lies on the receipt of EPC. To be specific, besides AM, female hearers also frequently receive EPC. Similar to the reason given above, people may think that building on each other's contributions by EPC is a good way to show involvement, support and solidarity to female hearers. And since people may think female hearers value solidarity much more than male hearers do, they provide EPC more to female hearers.

For four gender groups (i.e. MM, MF, FF, and FM): MM and FF have no significant difference found in any comparison between AM and the other five subcategories of agreement. It means that in same-sex conversations,

people use six subcategories with no difference, and thus, no priority order is made.

For MF and FM, in general, AM is the subcategory they both prefer to use. It means that in cross-sex conversations, both male speakers and female speakers may think that efficiency of information processing is the first priority. Besides AM, when female speakers agree with male hearers, they also frequently use APC. Perhaps female speakers may think that male hearers like to be agreed by repetition of what they have proposed in the previous contexts. Thus, APC is also frequently found in FM's conversations.

4.3. Degrees of Agreement

After divided into different categories, agreement tokens can be further divided by degrees of agreeing. Degrees of agreement include: Agreement with contingency or (with upgrading agreement and preserving agreement as its subtypes), Agreement with contingency (with downgrading agreement as its subtype), and Agreement with mixing degrees. In the following sections, "WOC" stands for agreement without contingency, while "WC" stands for agreement with contingency. WOC is used when speakers completely agree with what the previous speaker says. By contrast, WC is used when speakers make agreement with condition. In other words, speakers only partially agree on the previous contexts. Agreement by degrees in general is discussed first. Then, in the following sections, the interaction between agreement categories and degrees are examined. Next, the impact of gender is examined.

4.3.1. Agreement by Degrees

Before the interaction of categories and degrees of agreement, agreement by degrees in general is discussed first.

4.3.1.1. Agreement by Degrees with Subjects as a Whole

Table 24 presents the distributions of agreement with subjects as a whole by degrees. “Mixed Agreement” in Table 24 stands for the agreements turn with modifiers more than two degrees, which will be analyzed further in Table 25.

Table 24. Agreement by degrees
(WOC= Without Contingency; WC= With Contingency; Mx= Mixed Agreement; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; *=P<.05)

WOC				WC		Mixed Agreement	TOTAL	P
Upgrading Agreement	Preserving Agreement	total	P	Downgrading Agreement				
74.2% (89)	25.8% (31)	79.0% (120)	.001*	9.9% (15)	11.1% (17)	100.0% (152)	WOC:WC =.000* WOC:Mx =.000*	

(1) According to Table 24, when making agreement, people mostly provide WOC (79.0%). Statistic results show that WOC is significantly higher than WC (P=.000) and mixed agreement (P=.000). These findings confirm Hypothesis B-1 in this study (see page 2 for details). It means that when making agreement, people often show fully consensus to fulfill hearers’ positive face wants (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Besides, people may avoid using downgrading agreement which may be mistaken as disagreement and cause conflict.

(2) In the usage of WOC, upgrading agreement scores the highest (74.2%), and followed by preserving agreement (25.8%). The difference between them is significant (P=.001). This pattern confirms Hypothesis B-2 in this study (see page 2 for details). Besides, this pattern supports the findings in many previous studies

(Kuo, 1994; Baym, 1996; Rattai, 2003) on people's preference of upgrading agreement. The Politeness Principles proposed by Leech (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1987) seem to provide a plausible explanation. That is, the speakers' desire to show positive politeness seems to lead the speakers to upgrade agreements. The speakers may think their interlocutors like to be proved right on their evaluation, so they maximize agreement to satisfy their interlocutors' face wants.

- (3) For downgrading agreements, even though it only scores 9.9% of data, they are not too infrequent. Perhaps it is because downgrading agreements can be used to serve the functions, such as partial agreement and concession. Therefore, even though downgrading agreements are much fewer than upgrading agreements, they are still adopted.
- (4) For Mixed Agreement, Table 25 shows distributions of each subtype. In this table, "Up" stands for "Upgrading," "Ps" stands for "preserving," and "Dw" stands for "Downgrading." Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 25.

Table 25. Subtypes of mixed agreement
 (Up= Upgrading Agreement, Ps= Preserving Agreement, Dw= Downgrading Agreement, Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; *=P<.05)

Up+Ps Agreement	Dw+Up Agreement	P
88.2% (15)	11.8% (2)	Up+Ps:Dw+Up=.014*

According to Table 25, significant difference occurs between Up+Ps agreement and Dw+Up agreement (P=.034). Data of mixed agreement suggest that people may change degrees of agreement during conversations. Furthermore, when the speakers change degrees of agreement, they change from "preserving" to "upgrading" degree, or from "upgrading" to "preserving" degree most of time. By contrast, people rarely

apply downgrading degree in mixed agreement. Like what have been mentioned above, people may try to satisfy hearer's positive face wants and thus make agreement more forceful. Hence, even in the mixed agreements, downgrading degree is rare.

4.3.1.2. Impacts of Gender on Agreement by Degrees

The following sections describe and interpret the statistic results of agreement of different degrees by speaker's gender, by hearer's gender, and by both speaker' and hearer's genders. Table 26 presents the data related. In each following section, after data are divided by gender, data of mixed agreement become in low frequency. Therefore, the discussions below only focus on WOC and WC. Following Table 26, related analyses and discussions are given.

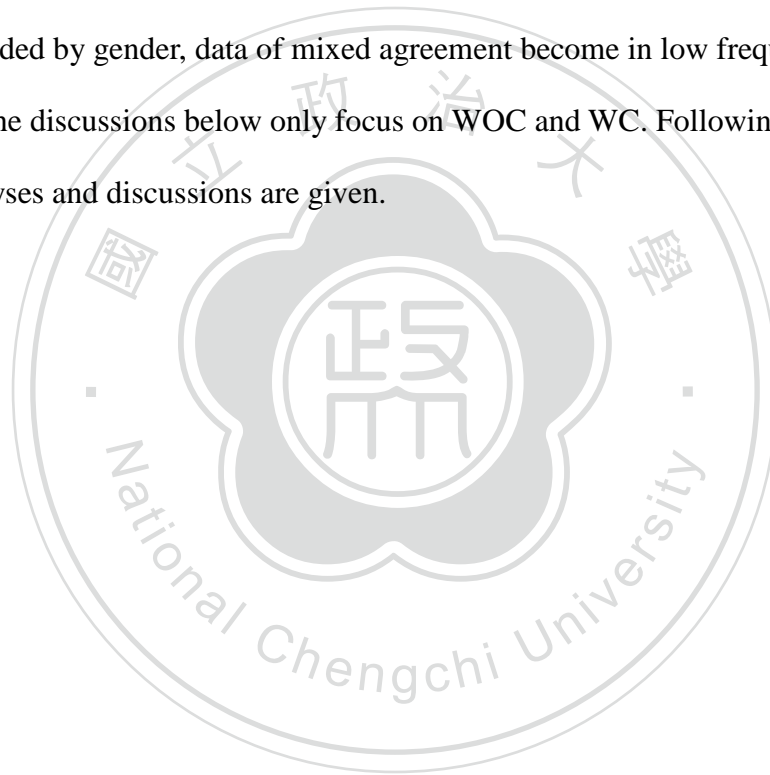


Table 26. Agreement by degrees by gender

(WOC= Without contingency; WC= With contingency; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

Gender Orientation		Types	WOC				WC	Mixed Agreement	P
		Upgrading Agreement	Preserving Agreement	total	P	Downgrading Agreement			
Speaker's Gender Only	Male	34.2% (41)	10.8% (13)	35.6% (54)	.015*	7.2% (11)	7.9% (12)	WOC:WC=.012* WOC:Mx=.007*	
	Female	40.0% (48)	15.0% (18)	43.4% (66)	.026*	2.6% (4)	3.3% (5)	WOC:WC=.001* WOC:Mx=.002*	
	Total	58.6% (89)	20.4% (31)	79.0% (120)		9.8% (15)	11.2% (17)		
	P	-	-	-		-	-		
Hearer's Gender Only	Male	30.8% (37)	13.3% (16)	34.8% (53)	.029*	5.9% (9)	6.6% (10)	WOC:WC=.004* WOC:Mx=.007*	
	Female	43.3% (52)	12.5% (15)	44.1% (67)	.010*	3.9% (6)	4.6% (7)	WOC:WC=.003* WOC:Mx=.002*	
	Total	58.6% (89)	20.4% (31)	79.0% (120)		9.8% (15)	11.2% (17)		
	P	-	-	-		-	-		
Speaker's and Hearer's Gender	MM	17.5% (21)	4.2% (5)	21.7% (26)	-	5.9% (9)	4.6% (7)	-	
	MF	16.7% (20)	6.7% (8)	23.3% (28)	-	1.3% (2)	3.3% (5)	-	
	FF	26.7% (32)	5.8% (7)	32.5% (39)	.032*	2.6% (4)	1.3% (2)	WOC:WC=.049* WOC:Mx=.031*	
	FM	13.3% (16)	9.2% (11)	22.5% (27)	-	0.0% (0)	2.0% (3)	WOC:WC=.022*	
	Total	58.6% (89)	20.4% (31)	78.9% (120)		9.9% (15)	11.2% (17)		
	P	-	-	-		-	-		

4.3.1.2.1. Impacts of Speaker's Gender on Agreement by Degrees

- (1) According to Table 26, speaker's gender has no impact on the use of each subtype of WOC, WC, and the use of mixed agreement.
- (2) But men and women both have significant differences in comparisons between WOC versus WC and between upgrading agreement and preserving agreement. It means that male speakers and female speakers share similar patterns of the occurrence of significant differences. In other words, men and women do not differ from each other on the preference of using WOC (compared with WC) and upgrading agreement (compared with preserving one). Politeness is a possible cause to explain why for both men and women incline toward strengthening instead of weakening the agreement. According to Leech's Agreement Maxim of politeness principle (1983), people, men as well as women, should maximize agreement between self and other to show politeness.

4.3.1.2.2. Impacts of Hearer's Gender on Agreement by Degrees

- (1) Exactly the same patterns found in the preceding section are repeated in this section. First, when hearer's gender is examined, no significant gender difference is found in the subtype of WOC, WC, and in mixed agreement.
- (2) Second, statistic results indicate that the WOCs received by male hearers and female hearers are significantly more than the WCs that they receive. Also, among the WOCs, upgrading agreements are found significantly more often than preserving agreement. Like the explanation given above, people may think that since hearers, no matter as a male or a female, want to be supported and proved to be right on the discussed evaluation, they may choose to use more forceful agreement, i.e. the upgrading agreement. And since male hearers' and female

hearers' patterns are similar to each other, the impact of hearer's gender on people's choice of agreement degrees is not obvious.

4.3.1.2.3. Impacts of Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender on Agreement by Degrees

- (1) When both speaker's and hearer's genders are taken into consideration, again, gender has no impact on the use of each subtype of WOC, WC, and the use of mixed agreement.
- (2) When both the speaker's and hearer's genders are considered, Figure 4 below shows the comparisons between WOC and WC by four gender groups.

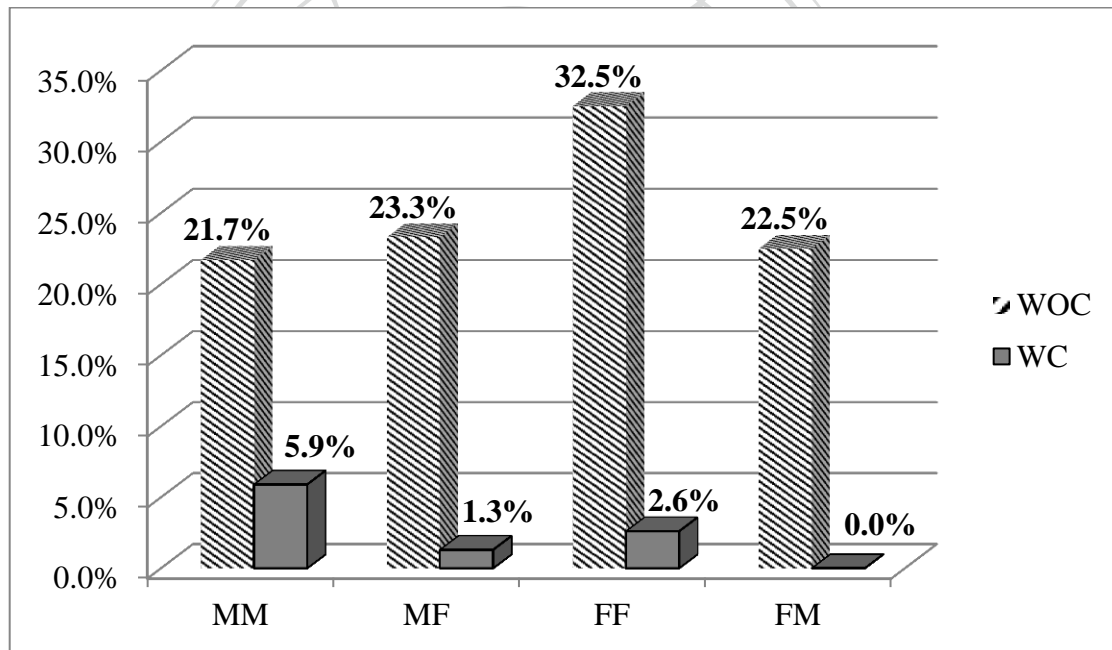


Figure 4. Comparisons between WOC and WC by both speaker's and hearer's genders

According to Table 26 and Figure 4, among the four gender groups, FF and FM are the groups with highest disparity when WOC and WC are compared (for FF, 29.9%; for FM, 22.5%). To be specific, according to Table 26, only FF and FM groups show significant differences in their use of WOC and WC ($P=.049$ and

P=.022, respectively). By contrast, no significant difference is found by either MM or MF group. In other words, speaker's gender has impact on people's degrees of agreement. Furthermore, female speakers, different from male speakers, despite their interlocutors' gender, choose to use more forceful agreement. This pattern is expected because female is the one who revere solidarity and provide more support in communication (Wood, 1997). Furthermore, according to Tannen (1990), women's goal of communication is to reach consensus and to establish /enhance closeness in interpersonal relationship. Thus, women may try harder than men to maximize agreement and to avoid using downgrading agreements.

(3) When upgrading and preserving agreements are compared, Figure 5 below shows those comparisons by four gender groups.

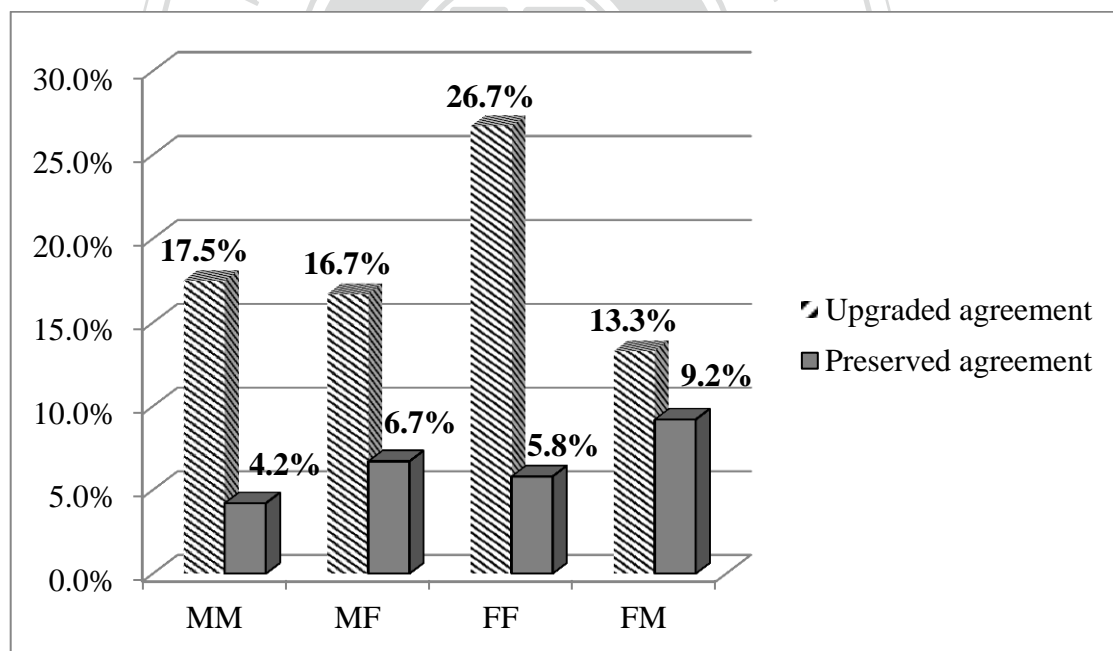


Figure 5. Comparisons between upgrading agreement and preserving agreement by both speaker's and hearer's gender

According to Table 26 and Figure 5, among four gender groups, FF is the one with highest disparity between the use of WOC and WC (20.9%). To be specific, Table 26 shows that only FF group has significant difference in its use of upgrading and preserving agreement ($P=.032$). It means that in female-female conversations, women try even harder to maximize the degrees of agreement. In this aspect, women are influenced by hearer's gender on their choice of upgrading agreement and preserving agreement. In FF conversations, since both of the two interlocutors are women, who revere solidarity and are hearer-oriented (Tannen, 1990; Wood, 1997), it is not unusual that maximizing agreements are applied most frequently.

4.3.2. HA (Head Act Alone) by Degrees

In this section, related findings in HA by degrees are presented. HA with subjects as a whole by degrees is discussed first. Then, the impact of gender will be examined.

4.3.2.1. HA by Degrees with Subjects as a Whole

Table 27 presents the distributions of HA by degrees. Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 27.

Table 27. Head act with subjects as a whole by degrees
(WOC= Without Contingency; WC= With Contingency; Mx= Mixed Agreement; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; *= $P<.05$)

WOC				WC	Mixed Agreement	TOTAL	P
Upgrading Agreement	Preserving Agreement	total	P	Downgrading Agreement			
71.2% (37)	28.8% (15)	80.0% (52)	.021*	18.5% (12)	1.5% (1)	100.0% (65)	WOC:WC =.003* WOC:Mx =.000*

According to statistic results, when people make agreement by HA, they use WOC significantly more than WC ($P=.003$) and Mixed agreement ($P=.000$). It means that when using HA, most of people would avoid using downgrading one which may

have the implication of disagreement. Table 27 also shows that upgrading HA is used significantly more than preserving HA. Like what have been mentioned in the above section, according to Brown and Levinson's face theory (1978), speakers' desire to fulfill hearers' wants of positive face seem to lead the speakers to maximize the use of agreement.

4.3.2.2. Impacts of Gender on HA by Degrees

Table 28 shows HA with degrees by gender. One by one, the influences of speaker's gender alone, hearer's gender alone, and both speaker's and hearer's genders will be discussed. Following Table 28, related analyses and discussions are given.

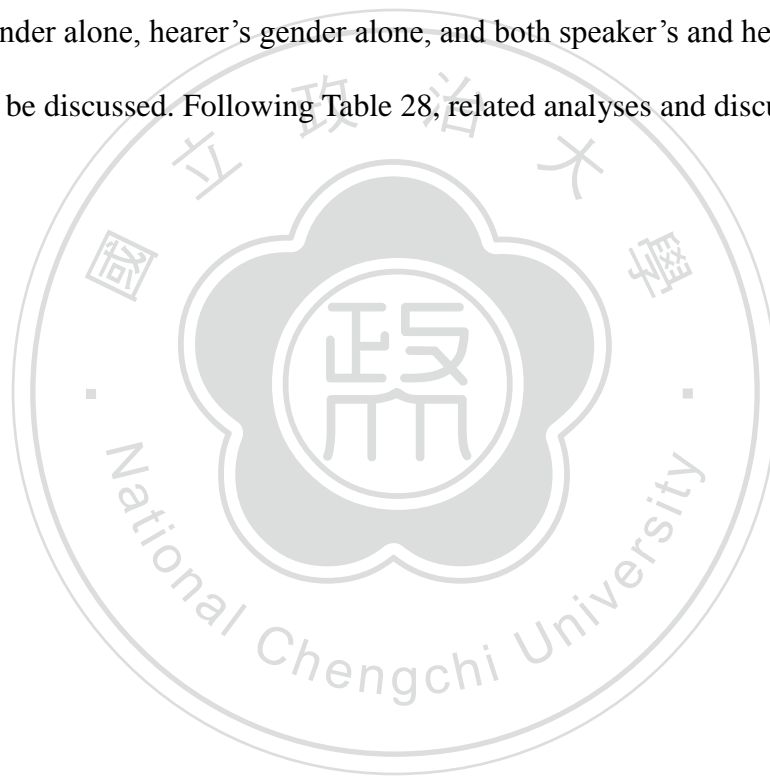


Table 28. Head act alone with degrees by gender

(WOC= Without Contingency; WC= With Contingency; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

Gender Orientation		Head Act	WOC				WC	Mixed	P
			Upgrading	Preserving	total	P	Downgrading		
Speaker's Gender Only	Male		36.5% (19)	9.6% (5)	46.2% (24)	.006*	15.4% (10)	1.5% (1)	WOC:Mx=.006*
	Female		34.6% (18)	19.2% (10)	53.8% (28)	-	3.1% (2)	0.0% (0)	WOC:WC=.012* WOC:Mx=.006*
	Total		56.9% (37)	23.1% (15)	80.0% (52)		18.5% (12)	1.5% (1)	
	P		-	-	-		-	-	
Hearer's Gender Only	Male		28.8% (15)	17.3% (9)	46.2% (24)	-	12.3% (8)	1.5% (1)	WOC:Mx=.002*
	Female		42.3% (22)	11.5% (6)	53.8% (28)	-	6.2% (4)	0.0% (0)	WOC:WC=.035* WOC:Mx=.009*
	Total		56.9% (37)	23.1% (15)	80.0% (52)		18.5% (12)	1.5% (1)	
	P		-	-	-		-	-	
Speaker's and Hearer's Gender	MM		15.4% (8)	3.8% (2)	19.2% (10)	-	12.3% (8)	1.5% (1)	-
	MF		21.2% (11)	5.8% (3)	26.9% (14)	-	3.1% (2)	0.0% (0)	WOC:Mx=.044*
	FF		21.2% (11)	5.8% (3)	26.9% (14)	-	3.1% (2)	0.0% (0)	-
	FM		13.5% (7)	13.5% (7)	26.9% (14)	-	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	WOC:WC=.006* WOC:Mx=.006*
	Total		56.9% (37)	23.1% (15)	80.0% (52)		18.5% (12)	1.5% (1)	
	P		-	MM:FM=.017* FF:FM=.030*	-		-	-	

4.3.2.2.1. Impacts of Speaker's Gender on HA by Degrees

- (1) According to Table 28, speaker's gender has no impact on the use of WOC, WC, mixed HA, and each subtype of WOC.
- (2) But when different degrees of agreement are compared, male speakers show significant difference between upgrading HA and preserving HA. According to Table 28, men use significantly more upgrading agreement than preserving agreement ($P=.006$). The usage of upgrading agreement may mean that men obey the Agreement Maxim of politeness principles (Leech, 1983) by maximizing agreement between other and self.

But at the same time, unlike women who rarely apply downgrading degree in agreement, men frequently apply downgrading HA as well. And that's why WC is not significantly different from WOC. The usage of downgrading agreement may indicate that when male speakers only partially agree on the discussed view, men would show agreement with condition by HA. By contrast, women's tendency to avoid using downgrading HA is more obvious than men's one, which is discussed below.

- (3) In women's speech, significant difference is found between WOC and WC ($P=.012$). It means that female speakers rarely express partial agreement by HA. Most of the time, they try to make agreement forceful to be hearer-oriented and satisfy hearer's want to be agreed with.

4.3.2.2.2. Impacts of Hearer's Gender on HA by Degrees

- (1) When hearer's gender is examined, Table 28 also shows that hearer's gender has no impact on people's use of WOC, WOC, mixed agreement, and those subtypes of WOC.

Results of statistic tests indicate that only the difference between WOC and WC received by female hearers are significant ($P=.035$). Also, based on the results above, women rarely receive downgrading HAs. Perhaps it is because women put more emphasis on solidarity and harmony in verbal communication (Tannen, 1990). Since partial agreement may be mistaken for disagreement, cause conflict, or even threaten hearer's positive face (Brown and Levinson, 1978), it is used less frequently by speakers and thus less frequently received by hearers. Therefore, women's HAs are mostly WOC, not WC.

4.3.2.2.3. Impacts of Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender on HA by Degrees

- (1) When both speaker's and hearer's genders are considered, significant differences occur in the use of preserving HA. To be specific, FM applies preserving HA significantly more than MM and FF do ($P=.017$ and $P=.030$, respectively). It means preserving HA occurs most frequently in cross-sex conversations, especially when female speakers agree with male hearers. Women may think that male hearers put less emphasis on establishing solidarity than female hearers do in verbal communication, and thus, the strength of preserving HA may be enough for male hearers to be agreed with.
- (2) When WOC and WC are compared, only one significant difference is found: FM uses WOC significantly more than WC. According to Table 28, FM only applies WOC (26.9%) but they never use WC. To be specific, FM's WOCs are equally divided into upgrading HA and preserving HA. Based on the results above, it can be inferred that there is a "limit" for female speakers to show politeness to male hearers. That is, FM only avoids using downgrading HA which may cause misunderstanding or conflict. But women do not try hard to make HA maximum.

It seems that FM group only tries to maintain “performance expectation” (James and Drakich, 1993) toward women which is constrained by social norms.

4.3.3. SM (Supportive Moves Alone) by Degrees

This section presents the results of SM by degrees. First, SM with subjects as a whole by degrees is analyzed. Then, how gender influences people’s use of SM by degrees is investigated.

4.3.3.1. SM by Degrees with Subjects as a Whole

In Table 29, the distributions and the related statistic results of SM by degrees are presented. After the presentation of Table 29, related analyses are shown.

Table 29. Supportive moves alone with subjects as a whole by degrees
(WOC= Without Contingency; WC= With Contingency; Mx= Mixed Agreement; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; *=P<.05)

WOC				WC		Mixed Agreement	TOTAL	P
Upgrading Agreement	Preserving Agreement	total	P	Downgrading Agreement				
71.7% (33)	28.3% (13)	85.2% (46)	.030*	3.7% (2)	11.1% (6)	100.0% (54)	WOC:WC =.000* WOC:Mx =.000*	

- (1) Like the results of HA above, in Table 29, WOC is significantly higher than WC (P=.000) and mixed agreement (P=.000). It means that when making agreement, people avoid making SM with downgrading degrees. It may be because SM expresses agreement indirectly, people may mistake downgrading SM as a kind of disagreement easily. Therefore, people use much SM as WOC, but not WC.
- (2) In the usage of subtype of WOC, upgrading SM is used significantly more than preserving SM (P=.030). Like what are explained above, people may think their interlocutors like to be proved to be right on their evaluation, so they make agreement maximum to fulfill their interlocutors’ faces wants.

4.3.3.2. Impacts of Gender on SM by Degrees

Table 30 shows the results of SM by degrees when speaker's gender alone, hearer's gender alone, and both speaker's and hearer's genders are considered. Besides SM with mixing degrees, downgrading SMs are also rarely applied. Therefore, in this section, statistic test is only made for the comparison between upgrading and preserving SMs.



Table 30. Supportive moves alone with degrees by gender

(SM= Supportive Moves; WOC= Without Contingency; WC= With Contingency; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

Gender Orientation		SM	WOC			P	WC		Mixed	P
		Upgrading	Preserving	total	Downgrading					
Speaker's Gender Only	Male	30.4% (14)	13.0% (6)	37.0% (20)	-	0.0% (0)	5.6% (3)	WOC:WC=.003* WOC:Mx=.001*		
	Female	41.3% (19)	15.2% (7)	48.1% (26)	-	3.7% (2)	5.6% (3)	WOC:WC=.003* WOC:Mx=.008*		
	Total	61.1% (33)	24.1% (13)	85.2% (46)		3.7% (2)	11.1% (6)			
	P	-	-	-		-	-			
Hearer's Gender Only	Male	28.3% (13)	10.9% (5)	33.3% (18)	-	0.0% (0)	7.4% (4)	WOC:WC=.008* WOC:Mx=.021*		
	Female	43.5% (20)	17.4% (8)	51.9% (28)	-	3.7% (2)	3.7% (2)	WOC:WC=.001* WOC:Mx=.001*		
	Total	61.1% (33)	24.1% (13)	85.2% (46)		3.7% (2)	11.1% (6)			
	P	-	-	-		-	-			
Speaker's and Hearer's Gender	MM	19.6% (9)	2.2% (1)	18.5% (10)	-	0.0% (0)	3.7% (2)	-		
	MF	10.9% (5)	10.9% (5)	18.5% (10)	-	0.0% (0)	1.9% (1)	WOC:WC=.030* WOC:Mx=.018*		
	FF	32.6% (15)	6.5% (3)	33.3% (18)	-	3.7% (2)	1.9% (1)	WOC:WC=.022* WOC:Mx=.011*		
	FM	8.7% (4)	8.7% (4)	14.8% (8)	-	0.0% (0)	3.7% (2)	-		
	Total	61.1% (33)	24.1% (13)	85.2% (46)		3.7% (2)	11% (6)			
	P	-	-	-		-	-			

4.3.3.2.1. Impacts of Speaker's Gender on SM by Degrees

- (1) When speaker's gender is considered, speaker's gender has no impact on the use of either upgrading SM or preserving SM. Even though the percentages of female speakers' upgrading SM and preserving SM are both higher than male speakers' ones, no significant difference between men and women is located.
- (2) When upgrading and preserving SMs are compared, they are not significantly different from each other no matter in the use of male or female speakers. In other words, speaker's gender has no impact on people's choice between upgrading SM and preserving SM.

4.3.3.2.2. Impacts of Hearer's Gender on SM by Degrees

According to statistic results, the pattern of hearer's gender is in accordance with speakers' results. First, hearers' gender has no impact on either the use of upgrading SM or preserving SM. Second, no significant difference is found in the comparison between upgrading and preserving SMs no matter in the receipt of male or female hearers. It means that hearer's gender alone is not an influential factor to manipulate people's choice of upgrading or preserving SMs, either.

4.3.3.2.3. Impacts of Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender on SM by Degrees

- (1) When four gender groups are compared, no significant difference is located in any two of the four groups in the use of either upgrading or preserving SM. Even though in the use of upgrading SM, FF seems to have high percentage (32.6%), FF's upgrading SM is not significant different from any one in the other three groups.
- (2) When upgrading and preserving SM are compared, no significant differences are located in the usage of any group. In other words, the frequencies of applying

upgrading and preserving SMs by four gender groups are similar. And both speaker's and hearer's genders are not significant factor to influence people's choice of upgrading and preserving SMs.

4.3.4. HA+SM (Head Act with Supportive Moves) by Degrees

In this section, how people apply HA+SM by degrees is introduced. After the discussion of HA+SM with subjects as a whole by degrees, the impact of gender is examined.

4.3.4.1. HA+SM by Degrees with Subjects as a Whole

Table 31 presents the results of HA+SM by degrees. Following Table 31, related analyses and discussions are given.

Table 31. Head act with supportive moves by degrees
(WOC= Without Contingency; WC= With Contingency; Mx= Mixed Agreement; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; *=P<.05)

Upgrading Agreement	WOC			Downgrading Agreement	Mixed Agreement	TOTAL	P
	Preserving Agreement	total	P				
86.4% (19)	13.6% (3)	66.7% (22)	.008*	3.0% (1)	30.3% (10)	100.0% (33)	WOC:WC =.002*

- (1) According to Table 31, WOC is significantly more than WC (P=.002), but not significantly more than mixed agreement. It means that people make HA+SM as WOC most of time, but they also frequently make HA+SM with mixing degrees. It is expected because the strength of HA, which is as the core of agreement, is modified by SM behind. Therefore, the force of agreement in HA+SM is unstable and easy to change.
- (2) In the usage of subtypes of WOC, upgrading HA+SM is used significantly more than preserving HA+SM (P=.008). According to the section discussed about

categories of agreement, HA+SM is taken as a very polite form because HA is clear enough to express agreement, and adding SM behind is redundant. It seems that even using HA+SM, such a polite form, people still make it upgrading frequently. After all, HA+SM with upgrading degree should be the preference type of HA+SM to hearers, so people frequently make HA+SM upgrading to maximize agreement between self and other.

4.3.4.2. Impacts of Gender on HA+SM by Degrees

This section discusses the impacts of gender on HA+SM by degrees. The discussion is sequentially by speaker's gender alone and by hearer's gender alone. Because when both speaker's and hearer's genders are considered, data become extremely low in frequency, so the influence of four gender groups is not discussed here. The distributions of HA+SM by degrees with gender influence are presented in Table 32.

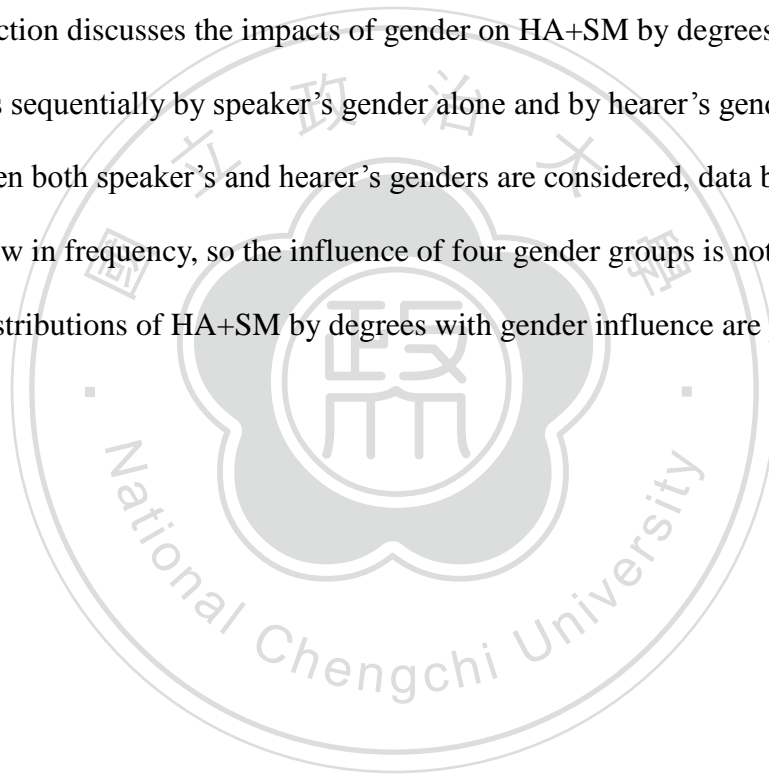


Table 32. Head act with supportive moves with degrees by gender

(SM= Supportive Moves; WOC= Without Contingency; WC= With Contingency; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

Gender Orientation		HA+SM	WOC			WC		Mixed	P
		Upgrading	Preserving	total	P	Downgrading			
Speaker's Gender Only	Male	36.4% (8)	9.1% (2)	30.3% (10)	-	3.0% (1)	24.2% (8)	WC:MX=.041*	
	Female	50.0% (11)	4.5% (1)	36.4% (12)	.049*	0.0% (0)	6.1% (2)	WOC:WC=.033*	
	Total	57.6% (19)	9.1% (3)	66.7% (22)		3.0% (1)	30.3% (10)		
	P	-	-	-		-	-		
Hearer's Gender Only	Male	40.9% (9)	9.1% (2)	33.3% (11)	-	3.0% (1)	15.2% (5)	WOC:WC=.038*	
	Female	45.5% (10)	4.5% (1)	33.3% (11)	-	0.0% (0)	15.2% (5)	WOC:WC=.045* WC:MX=.011*	
	Total	57.6% (19)	9.1% (3)	66.7% (22)		3.0% (1)	30.3% (10)		
	P	-	-	-		-	-		
Speaker's and Hearer's Gender	MM	18.2% (4)	9.1% (2)	18.2% (6)	-	3.0% (1)	12.1% (4)	-	
	MF	18.2% (4)	0.0% (0)	12.1% (4)	-	0.0% (0)	12.1% (4)	-	
	FF	27.3% (6)	4.5% (1)	21.2% (7)	-	0.0% (0)	3.0% (1)	-	
	FM	22.7% (5)	0.0% (0)	15.2% (5)	-	0.0% (0)	3.0% (1)	-	
	Total	57.6% (19)	9.1% (3)	66.7% (22)		3.0% (1)	30.3% (10)		
	P	-	-	-		-	-		

4.3.4.2.1. Impacts of Speaker's Gender on HA+SM by Degrees

- (1) When speaker's gender is examined, speaker's gender has no impact on the use of WOC, WOC, mixed agreement, and WOC's subtypes in HA+SM.
- (2) Significant difference is only located in female speakers' use. That is, women's WOC is used significantly more than their WC ($P=.033$). Additionally, when the subtypes of WOC are compared, women's upgrading HA+SM is significantly more than preserving HA+SM. In other words, speaker's gender is a significant factor to influence their use of HA+SM by degrees. For the use of HA+SM by degrees, women, but not men, are those who try to maximize agreement to fulfill hearers' wants to be agreed with (Brown and Levinson, 1978; Leech, 1983).

4.3.4.2.2. Impacts of Hearer's Gender on HA+SM by Degrees

- (1) Similar to the results of speaker's gender, hearer's gender has no impact on the use of WOC, WOC, mixed agreement, and WOC's subtypes in HA+SM, either.
- (2) When WOC and WC are compared, significant differences occur in both male hearers' and female hearers' data. That is, both men and women receive significantly more WOC than WC (for male hearers, $P=.038$; for female hearers, $P=.045$). Because male and female hearers share similar pattern of comparison on WOC and WC, the impact of hearer's gender on people's choice of WOC and WC is not very obvious in HA+SM.

4.3.5. HA vs. SM vs. HA+SM (Head Act vs. Supportive Moves vs. Head Act with Supportive Moves) by Degrees

In this sections, the applications of difference degrees of agreement in HA, SM, and HA+SM are compared. The following discussions can be divided into three parts:

HA vs. SM by degrees, HA vs. HA+SM by degrees, and SM vs. HA+SM by degrees.

Behind each part, the impact of gender is presented.

4.3.5.1. HA vs. SM by Degrees

In this section, HA and SM are compared by degrees. After the discussion of HA vs. SM by degrees with subjects as a whole, the influence of gender is examined.

4.3.5.1.1. HA vs. SM by Degrees with Subjects as a Whole

Table 33 presents the comparisons between HA and SM by degrees. After the presentation of Table 33, related analyses are shown.

Table 33. Head act alone versus supportive moves alone with degrees
(WOC= Without Contingency; WC= With Contingency; HA= Head Act;
SM= Supportive Moves; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

Degrees \ Categories		HA	SM	P
WOC	Upgrading	37.8% (37)	33.7% (33)	.728
	Preserving	15.3% (15)	13.3% (13)	.544
	total	43.7% (52)	38.7% (46)	.594
	P	.021*	.030*	
WC	Downgrading	10.1% (12)	1.7% (2)	.136
Mixed Agreement	0.8% (1)	5.0% (6)	.020*	
TOTAL		54.6% (65)	45.4% (54)	
P		WOC:WC=.003* WOC:Mx=.000*	WOC:WC=.000* WOC:Mx=.000*	

- (1) According to Table 33, the agreement of both HA and SM are mostly the types of WOC (43.7% and 38.7%), rather than WC or mixed agreements. Statistic results show the amount of WOCs is significantly higher than WCs (for HA, $P=.003$; for SM, $P=.000$).
- (2) Furthermore, a large of proposition of both HA and SM are upgrading (37.8% and 33.7%), which are quantitatively higher than preserving agreements (15.3% and 13.3%), and the differences are statistically significant ($P=.021$ and $P=.030$),

respectively). Again, it is upgrading agreement that is preferred, no matter when people make agreement directly (i.e. HA) or indirectly (i.e. SM).

- (3) In making downgrading agreement, even though people choose more HA than SM, HA and SM do not differ from each other significantly.

4.3.5.1.2. Impacts of Gender on HA vs. SM by Degrees

In this section, impacts of gender on HA and SM by degrees are compared. Table 34 presents the statistic results. In the following sections, because subtypes are in low frequency and with little significance, tables are simplified and only the comparison between WOC and WC is made.

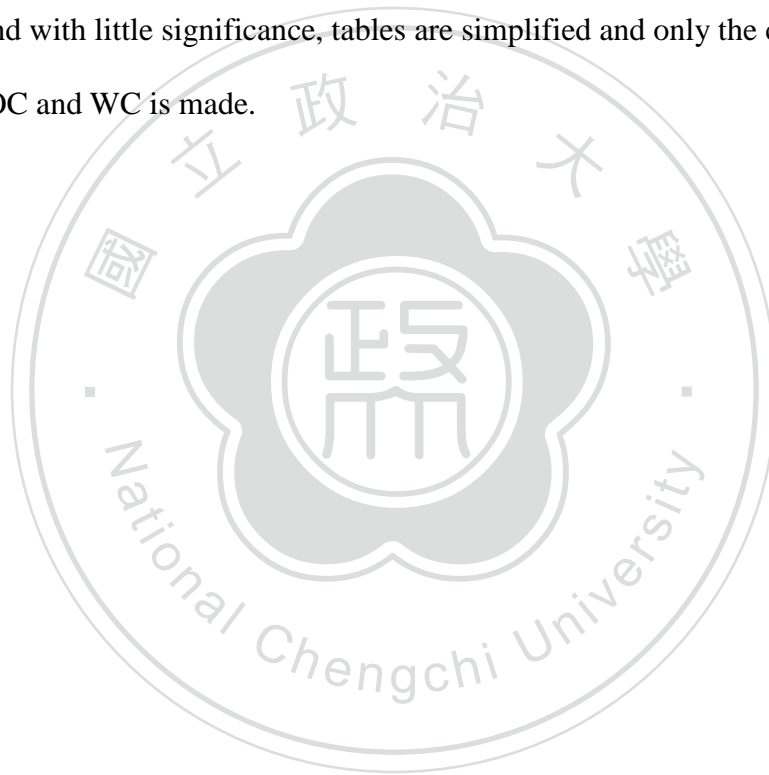


Table 34. Head act alone versus supportive moves alone with degrees by gender
 (Con= Contingency; HA= Head Act; SM= Supportive Moves; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

Gender Orientation		Types	HA				SM				P
			WOC	WC	Mixed	P	WOC	WC	Mixed	P	
Speaker's Gender Only	Male	46.2% (24)	15.4% (10)	1.5% (1)	WOC:Mx=.006*	37.0% (20)	0.0% (0)	5.6% (3)	WOC:WC=.003* WOC:Mx=.001*	-	
	Female	53.8% (28)	3.1% (2)	0.0% (0)	WOC:WC=.012* WOC:Mx=.006*	48.1% (26)	3.7% (2)	5.6% (3)	WOC:WC=.003* WOC:Mx=.008*	-	
	Total	80.0% (52)	18.5% (12)	1.5% (1)		85.2% (46)	3.7% (2)	11.1% (6)			
	P	-	-	-		-	-	-			
Hearer's Gender Only	Male	46.2% (24)	12.3% (8)	1.5% (1)	WOC:Mx=.002*	33.3% (18)	0.0% (0)	7.4% (4)	WOC:WC=.008* WOC:Mx=.021*	-	
	Female	53.8% (28)	6.2% (4)	0.0% (0)	WOC:WC=.035* WOC:Mx=.009*	51.9% (28)	3.7% (2)	3.7% (2)	WOC:WC=.001* WOC:Mx=.001*	-	
	Total	80.0% (52)	18.5% (12)	1.5% (1)		85.2% (46)	3.7% (2)	11.1% (6)			
	P	-	-	-		-	-	-			
Speaker's and Hearer's Gender	MM	19.2% (10)	12.3% (8)	1.5% (1)	-	18.5% (10)	0.0% (0)	3.7% (2)	-	-	
	MF	26.9% (14)	3.1% (2)	0.0% (0)	WOC:Mx=.044*	18.5% (10)	0.0% (0)	1.9% (1)	WOC:WC=.030* WOC:Mx=.018*	-	
	FF	26.9% (14)	3.1% (2)	0.0% (0)	-	33.3% (18)	3.7% (2)	1.9% (1)	WOC:WC=.022* WOC:Mx=.011*	-	
	FM	26.9% (14)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	WOC:WC=.006* WOC:Mx=.006*	14.8% (8)	0.0% (0)	3.7% (2)	-	-	
	Total	80.0% (52)	18.5% (12)	1.5% (1)		85.2% (46)	3.7% (2)	11% (6)			
	P	-	-	-		-	-	-			

1. Impacts of Speaker's Gender on HA vs. SM by Degrees

This section indicates the influence of speaker's gender in the comparison between HA and SM by degrees. Table 34 presents related statistic results.

- (1) In the use of either HA or SM, the use of WOC has no significant gender difference. Similarly, in the use of either HA or SM, the use of WC has no significant gender difference.
- (2) When HA and SM are compared by degrees, for male speakers, significant difference is only located between WOC and WC of SM ($P=.003$), not between those of HA. It means that men use SM's WOC much more than SM's WC. As mentioned previously, in men's use of HA, downgrading HAs are frequently used to express partial agreement, so WOC and WC of HA are not significantly different from each other. Men choose to use HA, not SM, to express partial agreement for the sake of directness. And directness of AM could prevent men from being misunderstood as making disagreement and causing conflict in negotiation.
- (3) Different from men's patterns, women, according to statistic results, use significantly more WOC than WC of HA and of SM. In other words, no matter women apply HA or SM to make agreement, they try to make agreement more forceful by upgrading and preserving degrees and avoid using downgrading degrees, which carries connotation of disagreement, which may bring forth misunderstanding or conflict.

Based on the statistic results above, speaker's gender is an important factor on speakers' choice of degrees of agreement in HA and SM because men's and women's patterns are different from each other. WOC and WC in men's HA have no significant difference, but those in women's HA do.

2. Impacts of Hearer's Gender on HA vs. SM by Degrees

- (1) In the receipt of either HA or SM, the receipt of WOC has no significant gender difference. Similarly, in the receipt of either HA or SM, the receipt of WC has no significant gender difference.
- (2) When HA and SM by degrees are compare, for male hearers, significant difference only occurs between WOC and WC of SM ($P=.008$), not between those of HA. It means that men receive SM's WOC much more than SM's WC. As mentioned previously, downgrading HAs are frequently used to express partial agreement, and it seems that people think male hearers put less emphasis on solidarity and harmony in verbal communication, so WOC and WC of HA are not significantly different from each other. But when HA and SM are compared, people choose to use HA, not SM, to express partial agreement for the sake of directness. And directness of AM could prevent men from being misunderstood as making disagreement and causing conflict in negotiation.
- (3) Different from male hearers' patterns, female hearers, according to statistic results, receive significantly more WOC than WC of HA and of SM. In other words, no matter when people agree with female hearers by HA or by SM, people try to make agreement more forceful by upgrading and preserving degrees and avoid using downgrading degree, which carries connotation of disagreement and may thus bring forth conflict.

3. Impacts of Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender on HA vs. SM by Degrees

- (1) For the use of WOC in either HA or SM, no significant difference is located in any two of the four gender groups. Similarly, for the use of WC in either HA or SM, no significant difference is found in any two of the four gender groups, either.

- (2) When MM and MF are compared by the comparison between WOC and WC in HA and SM, significant difference between WOC and WC is only found in MF's SM. It means that male speakers may be influenced by female hearers' gender and make SM more forceful. Compared with HA, which makes agreement directly, SM may express agreement more indirectly. Male speakers, to prevent their SMs from being mistaken for disagreement, they make much more WOC than WC to female hearers, because they may think that women dislike conflict and inharmonic communication.
- (3) The most interesting finding locates on the comparisons between FF and FM whose significant differences are in a complementary distribution. FF's significant differences occur in SM, while FM's significant differences occur in HA. The results suggest that women maximize the degrees of SM in same-sex conversations, while they maximized the degrees of HA in cross-sex conversations. In other words, hearer's gender is a significant factor to influence women's usage of HA and SM. For FF, because the interlocutors are both women who may obey Q-Principle (Horn, 1984), they may keep building on each other's contribution by adding intensifiers, explanation, and specification...etc. in the usage of SM to make agreement more forceful in order to show politeness and solidarity. But for FM, female speakers mainly rely on HA, but not SM, to make agreement. Thus, the maximization of agreement is mostly done in HAs in cross-sex contexts.

4.3.5.2. HA vs. HA+SM by Degrees

In this section, comparisons between HA+SM with degrees and HA with degrees are made.

4.3.5.2.1. HA vs. HA+SM by Degrees with Subjects as a Whole

Table 35 shows the results of HA and HA+SM with subjects as a whole by degrees. Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 35.

Table 35. Head act with supportive moves versus head act without supportive moves with degrees
(WOC= Without Contingency; WC= With Contingency; HA= Head Act; SM= Supportive Moves; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

Degrees \ Categories		HA	HA+SM	P
WOC	Upgrading	50.0% (37)	25.7% (19)	.011*
	Preserving	20.3% (15)	4.1% (3)	.006*
	total	53.1% (52)	22.4% (22)	.001*
	P	.021*	.008*	
WC	Downgrading	12.2% (12)	1.0% (1)	-
Mixed Agreement		1.0% (1)	10.2% (10)	.003*
TOTAL		66.3% (65)	33.7% (33)	
P		WOC:WC=.003* WOC:Mx=.000*	WOC:WC=.002* WC:Mx=.014*	

(1) Table 35 shows that in HA and HA+SM, WOCs are significantly different from WCs (P=.003 and P=.002, respectively). It means that no matter HA with or without SM behind, people use WOC to make agreement most of time. In addition, no matter in HA or HA+SM, upgrading degree is used significantly more than preserving degree (for HA, P=.021; for HA+SM, P=.008). Like what have been mentioned above, through obeying politeness principles (Brown and Levinson, 1978), people may strengthen the degree of agreement in order to satisfy hearer's want to be supported and agreed with.

(2) When HA and HA+SM are compared, upgrading HA is significantly more than upgrading HA+SM (P=.011). Also, preserving HA is significantly more than preserving HA+SM (P=.006). Perhaps it is because that basically, tokens of HA are much more than tokens of HA+SM (65 to 33). In other words, this pattern is caused by extremely different frequencies of HA and HA+SM.

(3) An interesting finding is located in the use of mixed agreement. HA+SM with mixing degree is significantly more than HA with mixing degree ($P=.003$). It seems that when people apply HA, they rarely change degrees of agreement. In other words, when agreement is made by HA which is as the core of agreeing, the inner degrees of agreement are stable and rarely changed. By contrast, HA+SM is made as mixed agreement more than HA is. It may be because SM behind are as adjuncts to modify the strength of agreement in HA, the core of agreement. Hence, the degrees of agreement on HA+SM would be more unstable and changeable.

4.3.5.2.2. Impacts of Gender on HA vs. HA+SM by Degrees

This section presents comparisons between HA+SM and HA with degrees by gender. Table 36 shows the results by speaker's gender and by hearer's gender. When both speaker's and hearer's genders are concerned, significant differences are hardly found. Therefore, they are not analyzed here.

Table 36. Head act with supportive moves versus head act without supportive moves with degrees by speaker's gender and by hearer's gender (WOC= Without Contingency; WC= With Contingency; HA= Head Act; SM= Supportive Moves; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

Gender Orientation		HA				HA+SM				P
		WOC	WC	Mixed	P	WOC	WC	Mixed	P	
Speaker's Gender Only	Male	46.2% (24)	15.4% (10)	1.5% (1)	WOC:Mx=.006*	30.3% (10)	3.0% (1)	24.2% (8)	WC:Mx=.041*	WOC=.013* Mx=.006*
	Female	53.8% (28)	3.1% (2)	0.0% (0)	WOC:WC=.012* WOC:Mx=.006*	36.3% (12)	0.0% (0)	6.1% (2)	WOC:WC=.033*	WOC=.025*
	Total	80.0% (52)	18.5% (12)	1.5% (1)		66.6% (22)	3.0% (1)	30.3% (10)		
	P	-	-	-		-	-	-		
Hearer's Gender Only	Male	46.2% (24)	12.3% (8)	1.5% (1)	WOC:Mx=.002*	33.4% (11)	3.0% (1)	15.2% (5)	WOC:WC=.038*	WOC=.010*
	Female	53.8% (28)	6.2% (4)	0.0% (0)	WOC:WC=.035* WOC:Mx=.009*	33.3% (11)	0.0% (0)	15.2% (5)	WOC:WC=.045* WC:Mx=.011*	WOC=.024* Mx=.011*
	Total	80.0% (52)	18.5% (12)	1.5% (1)		66.7% (22)	3.0% (1)	30.4% (10)		
	P	-	-	-		-	-	-		

1. Impacts of Speaker's Gender on HA vs. HA+SM by Degrees

- (1) No matter in the use of HA or HA+SM by degrees, speaker's gender has no impact on the use of either WOC or WC. In other words, male speakers and female speakers have similar frequencies on the use of HA's WOC, of HA's WC, of HA+SM's WOC, and of HA+SM's WC.
- (2) When WOC and WC are compared, significant differences are only found in data of female speakers. No matter in the use of HA or in the use of HA+SM, women's WOCs are significantly more frequently performed than their WCs (for HA, $P=.012$; for HA+SM, $P=.033$). The discussion from categories of agreement mentioned above concludes that HA should be clear enough to show agreement. People who add SMs behind may consider that they are not polite enough if they make agreement by using HA only. In other words, the structure of HA+SMs is a very polite form because speakers maximize their effort to fulfill hearers' wants to be agreed by adding SMs behind. That is, according to the Generosity Maxim and the Tact Maxim of politeness principle (Leech, 1983), a way to show politeness is to maximize self's cost and other's benefit. This table shows that female speakers, not afraid of HA+SMs' structurally high redundancy, frequently make HA+SMs more forceful, and avoid making HA+SMs weakened. This pattern is expected because in many previous studies (Tannen, 1994; Woods, 1997), it is verified that women, not men, are concluded as the one who are more hearer-oriented and who emphasizes on solidarity and rapport in verbal exchange. By contrast, for the comparison between WOC and WC, no significant difference is located in men's data, either in HA or in HA+SM. It means that WOC and WC make no difference to male speakers.

2. Impacts of Hearer's Gender on HA vs. HA+SM by Degrees

- (1) No matter in the data of HA or HA+SM by degrees, hearer's gender has no impact on people's use of either WOC or WC. In other words, male hearers and female hearers receive similar frequencies on the data of HA's WOC, of HA's WC, of HA+SM's WOC, and of HA+SM's WC.
- (2) Statistic results of hearer's gender are similar to those of speaker's gender. However, there is an exception. That is, male hearers have significant difference between WOC and WC of HA+SM ($P=.038$). It means that when people make agreement by HA+SM, they rarely make it downgrading.
- (3) For female hearers' pattern, repeating female speaker's results, no matter HA with SM behind or not, WOC is significantly different from WC. In other words, women rarely provide and receive downgrading HA+SM and HA. Like what have been mentioned above, people may think that female hearers do not like weakened agreements which may cause conflict or even communication broken-down.

4.3.5.3. SM vs. HA+SM by Degrees

This section shows the comparisons between SM and HA+SM by degrees. After the comparisons between SM and HA+SM by degrees with subjects as a whole, how gender influence the comparisons is investigated.

4.3.5.3.1. SM vs. HA+SM by Degrees with Subjects as a Whole

Table 37 presents the comparison between SM and HA+SM with subjects as a whole by degrees. After the presentation of Table 37, related analyses are shown.

Table 37. Supportive moves with head act vs. supportive moves alone with degrees (WOC= Without Contingency; WC= With Contingency; HA= Head Act; SM= Supportive Moves; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

Categories		SM	HA+SM	P
WOC	Upgrading	48.5% (33)	27.9% (19)	-
	Preserving	19.1% (13)	4.4% (3)	.036*
	total	52.9% (46)	25.3% (22)	.005*
	P	.030*	.008*	
WC	Downgrading	2.3% (2)	1.1% (1)	-
Mixed Agreement		6.9% (6)	11.5% (10)	-
TOTAL		62.1% (54)	37.9% (33)	
P		WOC:WC=.000* WOC:Mx=.000*	WOC:WC=.002* WC:Mx=.014*	

- (1) No matter in the use of SM or HA+SM, WOCs are significantly different from WCs (for SM, $P=.000$; and for HA+SM, $P=.002$). Furthermore, in the subtypes of WOC, SM and HA+SM are both significantly more upgrading than preserving (for SM, $P=.030$; and for HA+SM, $P=.008$). It means that whether SM is with HA in front or not, it does not influence people's preference on using upgrading degrees.
- (2) When SM and HA+SM are compared, significant differences are only found in preserving degree ($P=.036$). To be specific, preserving SM is used significantly more than preserving HA+SM. Like what have been mentioned above, HA, in HA+SM, has SM behind which may modify the degrees of agreement. Thus, the degrees of agreement in HA+SM is unstable and easy to change. By contrast, the structure of SM is simpler than the structure of HA+SM. Therefore, preserving SM occurs much more frequently than preserving HA+SM.

4.3.5.3.2. Impacts of Gender on SM vs. HA+SM by Degrees

In this section, the comparisons between HA+SM and SM with degree by gender are made. Table 38 presents data by speaker's gender and by hearer's gender. The

influence of both speaker's and hearer's genders will not be examined below because of little significance found.



Table 38. Supportive moves with head act versus supportive moves alone with degrees by speaker's gender and by hearer's gender
 (Con= Contingency; SM= Supportive Moves; HA= Head Act; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

Gender Orientation		Categories		SM				HA+SM				P
		WOC	WC	Mixed	P	WOC	WC	Mixed	P			
Speaker's Gender Only	Male	37.0% (20)	0.0% (0)	5.6% (3)	WOC:WC=.003* WOC:Mx=.001*	30.3% (10)	3.0% (1)	24.2% (8)	WC:Mx=.041*	WOC=.028* Mx=.011*		
	Female	48.1% (26)	3.7% (2)	5.6% (3)	WOC:WC=.003* WOC:Mx=.008*	36.3% (12)	0.0% (0)	6.1% (2)	WOC:WC=.033*	-		
	Total	85.2% (46)	3.7% (2)	11.1% (6)		66.6% (22)	3.0% (1)	30.3% (10)				
	P	-	-	-		-	-	-				
Hearer's Gender Only	Male	33.3% (18)	0.0% (0)	7.4% (4)	WOC:WC=.008* WOC:Mx=.021*	33.4% (11)	3.0% (1)	15.2% (5)	WOC:WC=.038*	-		
	Female	51.9% (28)	3.7% (2)	3.7% (2)	WOC:WC=.001* WOC:Mx=.001*	33.3% (11)	0.0% (0)	15.2% (5)	WOC:WC=.045* WC:Mx=.011*	WOC=.028*		
	Total	85.2% (46)	3.7% (2)	11.1% (6)		66.7% (22)	3.0% (1)	30.4% (10)				
	P	-	-	-		-	-	-				

1. Impacts of Speaker's Gender on SM vs. HA+SM by Degrees

- (1) No matter in the use of SM or HA+SM, speaker's gender has no impact on the use of either WOC or WC.
- (2) When WOC and WC are compared, male speakers have significant difference only in the comparison between WOC and WC of SM ($P=.003$). For HA+SM by male speakers, no significant difference is found between WOC and WC. Perhaps it is because that HA+SM, with the core of agreement in front, expresses agreement clearly enough. Therefore, men may think that it is not necessary to try hard to maximize degrees of HA+SM. By contrast, they may think that SM, which is more indirect than HA+SM, needs to be strengthened to show agreement clearly.
- (3) In women's data, no matter SM with HA in front or not, WOCs are performed significantly more frequently than WCs (for SM, $P=.003$; and for HA+SM, $P=.033$). Although HA+SM should be clear enough on expressing agreement, women still make it forceful. It seems that women flout the Quantity Maxim in CP (Grice, 1975) in order to show politeness and establish solidarity.

2. Impacts of Hearer's Gender on SM vs. HA+SM by Degrees

- (1) No matter in the data of SM or HA+SM, hearer's gender has no impact on the people's use of either WOC or WC.
- (2) No matter the data of SM or HA+SM, both male hearers and female hearers receive WOC significantly more than WC. In other words, male hearers and female hearers share similar patterns on the comparisons between SM and HA+SM by degrees. This result is reasonable because hearers, of either gender, may prefer to be agreed by upgrading or preserving agreements. In this way,

according to face theory by Brown and Levinson (1978), hearers' want of positive face can be fulfilled.

There should be sections called “comparisons among different subcategories of SM with degrees” and “comparisons among different subcategories of HA+SM with degrees.” However, after data are divided into those subcategories, data with downgrading and mixing degrees are in low frequency. Thus, they are not analyzed further.

4.3.6. All Six Subcategories of Agreement by Degrees

In this section, all six subcategories of agreement with degrees are examined together. The six subcategories include: AM (Agreement Marker), APC (Agreed Propositional Content), EPC (Extra Propositional Content), AM+APC, AM+EPC, and APC+EPC. Table 39 presents the statistics of all kinds. Because data of AM+APC and APC+EPC are few, only the other four subcategories of agreement are discussed: AM, APC, EPC, and AM+EPC. Besides, because data of six subcategories of agreement divided by gender become low in frequency, they are not discussed by influence of gender here.

Table 39. Inventory of agreement categories with degrees

(AM = Agreement Marker; APC = Agreed Propositional Content; EPC = Extra Propositional Content; WOC= Without Contingency; WC= With Contingency; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

Subcategories		AM	APC	EPC	AM+EPC	AM+APC	APC+EPC	P
Degrees								
WOC	Upgrading	30.8% (37)	6.7% (8)	17.5% (21)	14.2% (17)	1.7% (2)	3.3% (4)	AM:APC=.003* AM:AM+EPC=.007*
	Preserving	12.5% (15)	10.8% (13)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	2.5% (3)	0.0% (0)	AM:EPC=.000* AM:AM+EPC=.000* APC:EPC=.001* APC:AM+EPC=.001*
	total	34.2% (52)	13.8% (21)	13.8% (21)	11.2% (17)	3.3% (5)	2.6% (4)	AM:APC=.001* AM:EPC=.019* AM:AM+EPC=.000*
	P	.021*	-	.003*	.003*	-	.041*	
WC	Downgrading	7.9% (12)	0.7% (1)	0.7% (1)	0.7% (1)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	-
Mixed Agreement		0.7% (1)	0.7% (1)	0.0% (0)	3.9% (6)	2.6% (4)	3.3% (5)	AM:AM+EPC=.020* APC:AM+EPC=.020* EPC:AM+EPC=.029*
TOTAL		42.8% (65)	15.1% (23)	14.5% (22)	15.8% (24)	5.9% (9)	5.9% (9)	
P		WOC:WC =.003* WOC:Mx =.000*	WOC:WC =.001* WOC:Mx =.000*	WOC:WC =.004* WOC:Mx =.003*	WOC:WC =.006*	WC:Mx =.041*	WOC:WC =.041* WC:Mx =.020*	

- (1) Table 39 shows that WOCs of AM, APC, EPC, and AM+EPC are all significantly different from WC (for AM, $P=.003$; for APC, $P=.001$; for EPC, $P=.004$; and for AM+EPC, $P=.006$, respectively). In other words, people prefer to use WOC no matter when they apply which categories of agreement.
- (2) When upgrading and preserving degrees of agreement are considered, a different picture is revealed. Except for APC, the other subcategories are upgrading mostly. Upgrading AM, EPC, and AM+EPC are significantly different from preserving ones ($P=.021$, $P=.003$, and $P=.003$, respectively). As what have been discussed above, perhaps it is because APCs are the repetition of the discussed evaluation so that they are relevant, and thus clear enough for the hearers to decode the meaning of agreement. Therefore, it is unnecessary to upgrade APCs.

Another possible explanation about APC's highest percentage with preserving degree is on the phonological perspective. Unlike the other subcategories which are upgrading on the surface structure, perhaps APCs are also upgrading but on the phonological level which is not the main point in this thesis. Therefore, data only shows that APCs are preserving on the syntactic and semantic levels.

- (3) For different degrees of agreement, AM is the subcategory of agreement which is mostly upgrading, preserving, and downgrading. Upgrading, besides AM, is also often used on EPC. That's why upgrading EPC is not significantly different from upgrading AM. And for preserving, besides AM, it is also often used on APC, and thus, preserving APC is not significantly different from preserving AM. Lastly, for downgrading, no other subcategory of agreement is downgrading as frequently as AM is.

4.3.7. Summary of 4.3.

This section summarizes major findings of agreement by degrees.

- (1) For degrees of agreement in general, WOC is applied significantly more than WC.

For subtypes of WOC, upgrading agreement is more frequently used than preserving agreement.

- (2) For the influence of gender in degrees of agreement, men and women show similarities on the preference of WOC, which is often significantly different from WC. And when upgrading and preserving degrees are compared, they both prefer to make upgrading agreements. When speaker's gender only or hearer's gender only is considered, gender is not an influential factor to manipulate people's degrees of agreement. However, when both speaker's and hearer's genders are concerned, gender difference occurs. That is, significant differences are only found in the FF and FM groups. Furthermore, it is found that women are easily influenced by hearer's gender on the comparisons between WOC vs. WC and upgrading vs. preserving degree. In same-sex conversation, women try harder to maximize agreement than they are in cross-sex conversation.

- (3) When categories of agreement with degrees are considered, most of time, WOC is still significantly different from WC. And, upgrading degree is also applied significantly more than preserving degree.

- (4) For the impact of gender in categories of agreement by degrees, major findings are listed below:

In HA by degrees, male speakers, besides upgrading HA, also frequently apply downgrading HA. By contrast, women rarely use downgrading HA.

Perhaps it is because that women put more emphasis on solidarity and harmony in verbal communication. And because partial agreement may be mistaken for

disagreement and cause conflict, it is used less frequently by female speakers than by male speakers.

When HA and SM by degrees are compared, an interesting finding locates on the comparisons between FF and FM. For FF, WOC is used significantly more than WC in the usage of SM; whereas, for FM, WOC is used significantly more than WC in the usage of HA. It means that in same-sex conversations, women put emphasis on strengthening the degrees of SM, while in cross-sex conversations, women put emphasis on strengthening the degrees of HA.

When HA and HA+SM by degrees are compared, female speakers use WOC significantly more than WC no matter in HA or HA+SM. By contrast, no significant difference is found in male speakers' HA or HA+SM by degrees. It means that no matter HA with SM behind or not, women try to strengthen the agreement degrees of it.

- (5) When six subcategories of agreement are considered, a different picture is revealed. Patterns of AM, EPC, and AM+EPC are similar to the pattern of agreement in general. That is, WOC is used significantly more than WC. And upgrading degree is used significantly more than preserving degree. However, the pattern of APC is different from other subcategories of agreement. Frequency of preserving APC is more than frequency of upgrading APC.

Chapter 5

Data Analysis (2): Pragmatic Strategies in Agreement

This section presents how pragmatic strategies involve in each category and their subcategories of agreement, including: (1) Pragmatic Strategies in HA, (2) Pragmatic Strategies in SM, (3) Pragmatic Strategies in HA+SM, (4) Pragmatic Strategies in Subcategories of SM, and (5) Pragmatic Strategies in All Six subcategories of Agreement. Afterwards, as in the preceding chapters, the influence of gender on pragmatic strategies will be analyzed.

5.1. Amounts of Pragmatic Strategies in Agreement

This section shows the amount of pragmatic strategies found in agreement. In this study, pragmatic strategies are first divided into textual rhetoric strategies (TRS) and interpersonal rhetoric strategies (IRS). Under TRS and IRS, six subtypes of strategies are found in the collected data. But because the strategies “account” and “clarification” found in the collected data are few, only emphasis, elaboration, supporting, and concession are discussed in the following sections.

5.1.1. Pragmatic Strategies in Agreement with Subjects as a Whole

Before pragmatic strategies are divided into different categories of agreement, this section discusses pragmatic strategies in agreement as a whole first. The distribution is revealed in Table 40. Following Table 40, related analyses and discussions are given.

Table 40. Pragmatic strategies in agreement by subjects as a whole
 (TRS= Textual Rhetoric Strategy; IRS= Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategy;
 EMP= Emphasis; ELA=Elaboration; ACC=Account; CLAR=Clarification;
 SUP=Supporting; CONC=Concession; *=P<.05)

Pragmatic strategies		%	(Frequency)	P
TRS	Emphasis	60.9%	(112)	EMP:ELA=.003*
	Elaboration	32.1%	(59)	EMP:ACC=.000*
	Account	4.9%	(9)	EMP:CLAR=.000*
	Clarification	2.2%	(4)	ELA:ACC=.000*
	Total	100.0%	(184)	ELA:CLAR=.000*
IRS	Supporting	50.9%	(27)	-
	Concession	49.1%	(26)	
	Total	100.0%	(53)	
P	TRS:IRS=.000*			

- (1) When TRS and IRS are compared, significant difference occurs (P=.000). To be specific, TRS is performed significantly more frequently than IRS. In other words, when making agreement, pragmatic strategies are primarily used to meet the end of clearness and sufficiency of information but not interpersonal relationship.
- (2) According to Table 40, for TRS, emphasis and elaboration are the strategies used mostly. It means that people often make agreement through strengthening what they are agreed with and making information of the discussed evaluation sufficient.
- (3) Between emphasis and elaboration, emphasis is used mostly (60.9%), which is significantly different from elaboration (P= .003). It is because that emphasis is the strategy which can directly strengthen the illocutionary force of agreement. Speakers may want to efficiently fulfill hearers' positive face wants, namely, to be proved "right" in their evaluation, so that speakers apply emphasis to maximize the force of agreement.

(4) Based on the results above, strategies in TRS can be classified into three groups:

$$\text{EMP} > \text{ELA} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ACC} \\ \text{CLAR} \end{array} \right\}$$

In the priority order, “EMP” stands for emphasis, “ELA” stands for elaboration, “ACC” stands for account, and “CLAR” stands for clarification. It means that people’s priority order of applying TRS in agreement is emphasis, followed by elaboration, and which in turn followed by account and clarification.

(5) For IRS, both supporting and concession are frequently applied, which are not significantly different from each other ($P=.911$).

5.1.2. Pragmatic Strategies in Agreement by Gender

This section presents the result on how gender influences pragmatic strategies in agreement, which is rarely examined in the previous studies of agreement (Pomerantz, 1984; Kotthoff, 1993; Kuo, 1994; Mulkay, 1985; Baym, 1996; Rattai, 2003). In the following sections of pragmatic strategies by gender, because account and clarification are rarely applied, statistic test mainly focuses on the comparison between emphasis versus elaboration in TRS, and on the comparison between supporting and concession in IRS. In Table 41, pragmatic strategies in agreement by gender are presented with statistic results.

Table 41. Pragmatic strategies in agreement by gender
 (TRS=Textual Rhetoric Strategy; IRS= Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategy;
 EMP= Emphasis; ELA=Elaboration; ACC=Account; CLAR=Clarification;
 SUP=Supporting; CONC=Concession; Numbers in parentheses are
 frequencies; -=P>.05; *=P<.05)

Prag. Strategies \ Gender		Speaker's Gender				P				
		Male		Female						
TRS	EMP	(61) 70.1%	54.5%	(51) 52.6%	45.5%	-				
	ELA	(24) 27.6%	40.7%	(35) 36.1%	59.3%	-				
	ACC	(2) 2.3%	22.2%	(7) 7.2%	77.8%	-				
	CLAR	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(4) 4.1%	100.0%	-				
	P	EMP:ELA=.014*		-						
IRS	SUP	(12) 42.9%	44.4%	(15) 60.0%	55.6%	-				
	CONC	(16) 57.1%	61.5%	(10) 40.0%	38.5%	-				
	P	-		-						
Prag. Strategies \ Gender		Hearer's Gender				P				
		Male		Female						
TRS	EMP	(57) 67.9%	50.9%	(55) 55.0%	49.1%	-				
	ELA	(23) 27.4%	39.0%	(36) 36.0%	61.0%	-				
	ACC	(2) 2.4%	22.2%	(7) 7.0%	77.8%	-				
	CLAR	(2) 2.4%	50.0%	(2) 2.0%	50.0%	-				
	P	EMP:ELA=.027*		-						
IRS	SUP	(13) 46.4%	48.1%	(14) 56.0%	51.9%	-				
	CONC	(15) 53.6%	57.7%	(11) 44.0%	42.3%	-				
	P	-		-						
Prag. Strategies \ Gender		Speaker's and Hearer's Gender								P
		MM		MF		FF		FM		
TRS	EMP	(33) 73.3%	29.5%	(28) 66.7%	25.0%	(27) 46.6%	24.1%	(24) 61.5%	21.4%	-
	ELA	(12) 26.7%	20.3%	(12) 28.6%	20.3%	(24) 41.4%	40.7%	(11) 28.2%	18.6%	-
	ACC	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(2) 4.8%	22.2%	(5) 8.6%	55.6%	(2) 5.1%	22.2%	-
	CLAR	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(2) 3.4%	50.0%	(2) 5.1%	50.0%	-
	P	-		EMP:ELA =.016*		-		-		
IRS	SUP	(9) 37.5%	33.3%	(3) 75.0%	11.1%	(11) 52.4%	40.7%	(4) 100.0%	14.8%	-
	CONC	(15) 62.5%	57.7%	(1) 25.0%	3.8%	(10) 47.6%	38.5%	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	-
	P	-		-		-		-		

5.1.2.1. Pragmatic Strategies in Agreement by Speaker's Gender

- (1) For TRS and IRS by speaker's gender, statistic results indicate that gender does not significantly influence the usage of any strategy. It means that men use every strategy as frequently as women do.
- (2) But when gender by strategies are considered, statistic results indicate the only significant difference occurs on the comparison between male speakers' emphasis and elaboration ($P=.014$). Emphasis is often realized by adding intensifiers to strengthen what people agree with. In other words, emphasis can be used to strengthen the force of agreement efficiently. By contrast, elaboration may take people much effort to perform it. And male speakers may think that when agreeing with others, efficiency of information exchange is important, so emphasis is used much more than elaboration by male speakers.
- (3) Female speakers frequently apply both emphasis and elaboration, which without significant difference found. Based on the statistic results above, the priority orders of strategies in TRS for male and female speakers are listed below.

For male speakers:

$$\text{EMP} > \text{ELA} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ACC} \\ \text{CLAR} \end{array} \right\}$$

For female speakers:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{EMP} \\ \text{ELA} \end{array} \right\} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ACC} \\ \text{CLAR} \end{array} \right\}$$

The priority orders show that for men, TRS can be grouped into three categories; whereas, TRS can only be grouped into two categories for women. In other words, the priority order of TRS for male and female speakers is different on the order of elaboration. The reason for women to frequently apply elaboration is probably

because they think it is also a good way to make agreement by adding related information. In this way, female speakers show politeness because they cost selves more and benefit others who receive extra information, according to the Generosity Maxim and the Tact Maxim of Leech's politeness principle (1983).

5.1.2.2. Pragmatic Strategy in Agreement by Hearer's Gender

- (1) The result of pragmatic strategies in agreement by hearer's gender is in accordance with the result by speaker's gender. When strategies by gender are compared, no significant differences are found in each use of TRS and IRS. It means that men receive every strategy as frequent as women do.
- (2) However, when men and women by strategies are compared, significant differences emerges. Similar to the speaker's perspective, emphasis and elaboration by male hearers also show significantly difference (P=.027), but not those by female hearers (P=.077). Then, women's account is significantly different from clarification (P=.049), but not those for men. Based on the statistic results above, the priority orders of TRS for male and female hearers are listed below.

For male hearers:

$$\mathbf{EMP} > \mathbf{ELA} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \mathbf{ACC} \\ \mathbf{CLAR} \end{array} \right\}$$

For female hearers:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \mathbf{EMP} \\ \mathbf{ELA} \end{array} \right\} > \mathbf{ACC} > \mathbf{CLAR}$$

The results above suggest that hearer's gender is an influential factor on people's performance of elaboration and account. When talking to male hearers, people mostly perform emphasis in agreement. But when talking to female hearers, besides the usage

of emphasis, people's priority order of elaboration and account is advanced. Therefore, gender is a factor influencing hearer's receipt of TRS. In most cases, the strategies of elaboration and account are used to deal with insufficiency of information. When it comes to the Quantity Maxim in Cooperative Principle (Grice, 1975), it means that people may think female hearers' upper bound of Quantity Maxim is higher than male hearers'. Female hearers may prefer to be agreed by the benefit of receiving extra information. Therefore, to fulfill female hearers' positive face wants, people could make an agreement by extending more about the discussed referents.

5.1.2.3. Pragmatic Strategy in Agreement by Both Speaker's and Hearer's

Gender

- (1) For pragmatic strategies by four gender groups, statistic results indicate no significant differences are located in the usage of every strategy. In other words, when four gender groups are compared, no strategy is specifically performed by a certain group. Both speaker's and hearer's genders are not significant factors here.
- (2) When different strategies are compared, the only significant difference is found between MF's emphasis and elaboration ($P=.016$). It means that when talking to female hearers, male speakers rely on emphasis most of time. Emphasis, which is often realized by intensifiers, could be efficiently added in agreement without much effort. Thus, it can be inferred that when making agreement, when agreeing with female hearers, men put emphasis on the efficiency of expression.

5.2. Pragmatic Strategies in HA (Head Act Alone)

This section presents pragmatic strategies found in HA. After the discussion of pragmatic strategies in HA by subjects as a whole, the impacts of gender on it are examined.

5.2.1. Pragmatic Strategies in HA by Subjects as a Whole

In this section, pragmatic strategies found in HA are presented. The statistic results are shown in Table 42 below. After the presentation of Table 42, related analyses are shown.

Table 42. Pragmatic strategies in head act alone
(TRS= Textual Rhetoric Strategy; IRS= Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategy; -=P>.05; *=P<.05)

Prag. Strategies		Head Act	% (Frquency)	P
TRS	Emphasis		100.0% (39)	
	Total		100.0% (39)	
IRS	Supporting		5.9% (1)	-
	Concession		94.1% (16)	
	Total		100.0% (17)	
P	TRS:IRS=.038*			

- (1) When TRS and IRS are compared, statistic test shows significant difference (P=.038). It means that when people make agreement by HA, they put more emphasis on making propositional content clear and sufficient, but not on maintaining interpersonal relationship.
- (2) For TRS, only emphasis is used in HA. The results that only one strategy is applied in HA can be explained by HA's nature—constructed by agreement marker only. Because the structure of the core of agreement is simple, strategies can be used here are correspondingly few. Another possible explanation is that HA is intentionally clear for agreement so that applying various pragmatic strategies is redundant.

Emphasis, which is often realized by intensifiers, is the strategy used to strengthen the force of agreement. In other words, when emphasis is used in HA, agreement not only become force-strengthened but also keeps structurally simple and intentionally direct. Hence, emphasis is the strategy used most in HA.

(3) For IRS, even though with no significant difference found ($P=.092$), concession is much more frequently used than supporting. Additionally, most of concession is applied in HA (16 out of 26). In other words, concession is often performed directly and simply. Similar to what have been mentioned above, because people do not always agree with each other, concession is a necessary strategy to protect each other's faces.

5.2.2. Pragmatic Strategies in HA by Gender

This section examines whether gender is as an important factor influencing pragmatic strategies in HA. Because no elaboration, account, and clarification are found in HA, only emphasis, supporting, and concession are listed in Table 43 below. In the following discussion, because patterns by speaker's gender alone, by hearer's gender alone, and by both speaker's and hearer's genders are similar, tables are combined and results are analyzed together.

Table 43. Pragmatic strategies in head act alone by speaker's gender
 (TRS= Textual Rhetoric Strategy; IRS=Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategy;
 EMP= Emphasis; ELA=Elaboration; ACC=Account; CLAR=Clarification;
 SUP=Supporting; CONC=Concession; Numbers in parentheses are
 frequencies; -=P>.05)

Prag. Strategies \ Gender		Speaker's Gender Only				P				
		Male		Female						
TRS	EMP	(21) 100.0%	53.8%	(18) 100.0%	46.2%	-				
IRS	SUP	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(1) 20.0%	100.0%	-				
	CONC	(12) 100.0%	75.0%	(4) 80.0%	25.0%	-				
	P	-		-						
Prag. Strategies \ Gender		Hearer's Gender Only				P				
		Male		Female						
TRS	EMP	(17) 100.0%	43.6%	(22) 100.0%	56.4%	-				
IRS	SUP	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(1) 16.7%	100.0%	-				
	CONC	(11) 100.0%	68.8%	(5) 83.3%	31.3%	-				
	P	-		-						
Prag. Strategies \ Gender		Speaker's and Hearer's Gender				P				
		MM	MF	FF	FM					
TRS	EMP	(10) 100.0%	25.6%	(11) 100.0%	28.2%	(11) 100.0%	28.2%	(7) 100.0%	17.9%	-
IRS	SUP	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(1) 20.0%	100.0%	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	-
	CONC	(11) 100.0%	68.8%	(1) 100.0%	6.3%	(4) 80.0%	25.0%	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	-
	P	-		-		-		-		

- (1) Table 43 shows that when speaker's gender alone, hearer's gender alone, or both speaker's and hearer's genders is considered, no significant difference is found on the use of emphasis, supporting, or concession. In other words, gender has no impact on the performance of every pragmatic strategy in HA.
- (2) When concession and supporting are compared, no significant difference is found, either. One possible reason is that HA is made by agreement marker(s) whose

structure is limited. Therefore, types of pragmatic strategies and their frequencies are also limited. In other words, structure but not gender is probably the reason why no significant differences can be found in the usage of pragmatic strategies in HA.

5.3. Pragmatic Strategies in SM (Supportive Moves Alone)

In this section, how pragmatic strategies are performed in SM is analyzed. First, pragmatic strategies in SM by subjects as a whole are discussed. Then, the impact of gender on pragmatic strategies in SM is investigated.

5.3.1. Pragmatic Strategies in SM by Subjects as a Whole

Table 44 shows the distribution of pragmatic strategies in SM. Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 44.

Table 44. Pragmatic strategies in supportive moves
(TRS= Textual Rhetoric Strategy; IRS= Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategy; EMP= Emphasis; ELA=Elaboration; ACC=Account; CLAR=Clarification; SUP=Supporting; CONC=Concession;)

Supportive Moves		% (Frquency)	P
Prag. Strategies	Emphasis	43.8% (32)	EMP:ACC=.008* EMP:CLAR=.001* ELA:ACC=.001* ELA:CLAR=.000*
	Elaboration	42.5% (31)	
	Account	9.6% (7)	
	Clarification	4.1% (3)	
	Total	100.0% (73)	
TRS	Supporting	85.7% (24)	SUP:CONC=.013*
	Concession	14.3% (4)	
	Total	100.0% (28)	
IRS	TRS:IRS=.000		
P			

(1) TRS is used significantly more than IRS (P=.000). It means that when people make agreement by SM, like the result of HA, the priority is to make information clear and sufficient, while maintaining interpersonal relationship is secondary.

(2) Among TRS, emphasis (43.8%) and elaboration (42.5%) are main strategies, which are insignificantly different from each other ($P=.922$). High frequency of emphasis suggests that when people make agreement by SMs, they stress what they agree for. For example, speakers may modify the repetition of agreed propositional content by intensifiers.

As for elaboration, it means that speakers often make agreement by building on previous speaker's idea and extending more in the usage of SMs. By the application of emphasis and elaboration, although agreement made by SMs is more indirect and obscure, hearers can still receive speakers' intention of agreement.

(3) Based on the statistic results above, the priority order of TRS is listed below.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{EMP} \\ \text{ELA} \end{array} \right\} > \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{ACC} \\ \text{CLAR} \end{array} \right\}$$

It means that TRS can be divided into two groups: emphasis and elaboration, which are frequently used, and account and clarification, which are less frequently used in SMs.

(4) Supporting, as an important strategy in IRS of SMs, scores significantly higher than concession ($P=.013$). By the application of supporting, speakers show agreement and empathy at the same time. Because supporting is often performed by showing personal judgment, it is mostly found in SMs, such as in EPCs.

(5) The most important finding lies in the use of IRS. Division of pragmatic labor is found when IRSs of HA and SM are compared (see HA's IRS in Table 42). That is, concession is mostly performed in HA, while supporting is mostly performed in SM.

5.3.2. Pragmatic Strategies in SM by Gender

In this section, pragmatic strategies found in supportive moves by gender are investigated. Distributions are compared in Table 45 below. In the following discussion, because patterns by speaker's gender alone, by hearer's gender alone, and by both speaker's and hearer's genders are similar, tables are combined and results are analyzed together.



Table 45. Pragmatic strategies in supportive moves by gender

(TRS= Textual Rhetoric Strategy; IRS=Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategy; EMP= Emphasis; ELA=Elaboration; ACC=Account; CLAR=Clarification; SUP=Supporting; CONC=Concession; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; -=P>.05)

Prag. Strategies \ Gender		Speaker's Gender				P				
		Male		Female						
TRS	EMP	(17) 60.7%	53.1%	(15) 33.3%	46.9%	-				
	ELA	(10) 35.7%	32.3%	(21) 46.7%	67.7%	-				
	ACC	(1) 3.6%	14.3%	(6) 13.3%	85.7%	-				
	CLAR	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(3) 6.7%	100.0%	-				
	P	-	-	-	-	-				
IRS	SUP	(10) 100.0%	41.7%	(14) 77.8%	58.3%	-				
	CONC	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(4) 22.2%	100.0%	-				
	P	-	-	-	-	-				
Prag. Strategies \ Gender		Hearer's Gender				P				
		Male		Female						
TRS	EMP	(19) 55.9%	59.4%	(13) 33.3%	40.6%	-				
	ELA	(13) 38.2%	41.9%	(18) 46.2%	58.1%	-				
	ACC	(1) 2.9%	14.3%	(6) 15.4%	85.7%	-				
	CLAR	(1) 2.9%	33.3%	(2) 5.1%	66.7%	-				
	P	-	-	-	-	-				
IRS	SUP	(11) 100.0%	45.8%	(13) 76.5%	54.2%	-				
	CONC	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(4) 23.5%	100.0%	-				
	P	-	-	-	-	-				
Prag. Strategies \ Gender		Speaker's and Hearer's Gender								P
		MM		MF		FF		FM		
TRS	EMP	(10) 62.5%	31.3%	(7) 58.3%	21.9%	(6) 22.2%	18.8%	(9) 50.0%	28.1%	-
	ELA	(6) 37.5%	19.4%	(4) 33.3%	12.9%	(14) 51.9%	45.2%	(7) 38.9%	22.6%	MF:FF=.017*
	ACC	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(1) 8.3%	14.3%	(5) 18.5%	71.4%	(1) 5.6%	14.3%	-
	CLAR	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(2) 7.4%	66.7%	(1) 5.6%	33.3%	-
	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IRS	SUP	(7) 100.0%	29.2%	(3) 100.0%	12.5%	(10) 71.4%	41.7%	(4) 100.0%	16.7%	-
	CONC	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(4) 28.6%	100.0%	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	-
	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

(1) According to Table 45, for strategies by gender, no significant difference is found in the use of every pragmatic strategy. The only exception lies in elaboration, when both speaker's and hearer's genders are taken into consideration. That is, FF use elaboration significantly more than MF do ($P=.017$). In other words, female hearers' receipt of elaboration is influenced by speaker's gender. Like what have been mentioned above, for women, elaboration is an important strategy which frequently applies in same-sex conversation. This result confirms Coates's findings in 1989. It is found that in female-female conversations, interlocutors like to build on each other's contribution and agree with other's opinion. In this way, women show high involvement and listenership to establish solidarity and rapport between each other.

(2) When either strategies of TRS or IRS are compared, no significant difference is found in Table 45. It means that people's performance of emphasis and elaboration are similar. And people's use of supporting and concession are similar as well.

5.4. Pragmatic Strategies in HA+SM (Head Act with Supportive Moves)

In this section, pragmatic strategies in HA+SM are presented. They are analyzed by subjects as a whole, first. Then, the influence of gender is discussed.

5.4.1. Pragmatic Strategies in HA+SM by Subjects as a Whole

The distribution of pragmatic strategies in HA+SM is shown below. For IRS in HA+SM, because of low frequency and no significant difference found, they are not discussed here.

Table 46. Pragmatic strategies in head act with supportive moves
 (TRS= Textual Rhetoric Strategy; IRS= Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategy;
 HA+SM= Head Act with Supportive Moves; *P<.05; -P>.05)

HA+SM		%	(Frquency)	P
Prag. Strategies	Emphasis	56.9%	(41)	EMP:ELA=.022*
	Elaboration	38.9%	(28)	EMP:ACC=.000*
	Account	2.8%	(2)	EMP:CLAR=.000*
	Clarification	1.4%	(1)	ELA:ACC=.003*
	Total	100.0%	(72)	ELA:CLAR=.002*
TRS	Supporting	25.0%	(2)	-
	Concession	75.0%	(6)	
	Total	100.0%	(8)	
P		TRS:IRS=.000*		

- (1) In HA+SM, TRS is used significantly more than IRS (P=.000). Again, it means that when people make agreement by HA+SM, it is primary to make sure through the process of making agreement, clear and sufficient information is expressed.
- (2) For TRS, the table shows that over half of data belongs to emphasis, which is significantly different from elaboration (P=.022). Like HA and SM, HA+SM is also with the involvement of emphasis mostly. Perhaps it is because that emphasis is the most direct and efficient way to stress agreement. And speakers may want to strengthen agreement to fulfill hearer's positive face wants efficiently. Therefore, emphasis is also frequently used in HA+SM.
- (3) Based on the results above, the priority order for TRS is listed below.

$$\text{EMP} > \text{ELA} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ACC} \\ \text{CLAR} \end{array} \right\}$$

It means that strategies in TRS can be divided into three groups according to their significance. People use emphasis mostly, followed by elaboration, and account and clarification the least.

(4) For IRS, concession and supporting are rarely applied in HA+SM, which are not significantly different from each other.

5.4.2. Pragmatic Strategies in HA+SM by Gender

This section discusses comparisons among pragmatic strategies in HA+SM by gender.

5.4.2.1. Pragmatic Strategies in HA+SM by Speaker's Gender

When the influence of speaker's gender is investigated, pragmatic strategies emerging in HA+SM are presented in Table 47. After the presentation of Table 47, related analyses are shown.

Table 47. Pragmatic strategies in head act with supportive moves by speaker's gender (TRS= Textual Rhetoric Strategy; IRS= Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategy; EMP= Emphasis; ELA=Elaboration; ACC=Account; CLAR=Clarification; SUP=Supporting; CONC=Concession; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; --P>.05; *=P<.05)

Prag. Strategies	Speaker's Gender	Male		Female		P
TRS	EMP	(23) 60.5%	56.1%	(18) 52.9%	43.9%	-
	ELA	(14) 36.8%	50.0%	(14) 41.2%	50.0%	-
	ACC	(1) 2.6%	50.0%	(1) 2.9%	50.0%	-
	CLAR	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(1) 2.9%	100.0%	-
	Total	(38) 100.0%	52.8%	(34) 100.0%	47.2%	
	P	-		-		
IRS	SUP	(2) 33.3%	100.0%	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	-
	CONC	(4) 66.7%	66.7%	(2) 100.0%	33.3%	-
	Total	(6) 100.0%	75.0%	(2) 100.0%	25.0%	-
	P	-		-		

Statistic results indicate that when speaker's gender is considered alone, no significant gender difference is located in the use of HA+SM. The pattern shared by men and women is that emphasis and elaboration are the major strategies, while they rarely apply other strategies in HA+SM. But gender difference will occur when both speaker's and hearer's genders are considered.

5.4.2.2. Pragmatic Strategies in HA+SM by Hearer's Gender

When hearer's gender is examined, pragmatic strategies used in HA+SM are shown in Table 48 below. Following Table 48, related analyses and discussions are given.

Table 48. Pragmatic strategies in head act with supportive moves by hearer's gender (TRS= Textual Rhetoric Strategy; IRS= Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategy; EMP= Emphasis; ELA=Elaboration; ACC=Account; CLAR=Clarification; SUP=Supporting; CONC=Concession; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; $-=P>.05$; $*=P<.05$)

Prag. Strategies	Hearer's Gender	Male		Female		P
TRS	EMP	(21) 63.6%	51.2%	(20) 51.3%	48.8%	-
	ELA	(10) 30.3%	35.7%	(18) 46.2%	64.3%	-
	ACC	(1) 3.0%	50.0%	(1) 2.6%	50.0%	-
	CLAR	(1) 3.0%	100.0%	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	-
	Total	(33) 100.0%	45.8%	(39) 100.0%	54.2%	
	P	EMP:ELA=.008*		-		
IRS	SUP	(2) 33.3%	100.0%	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	-
	CONC	(4) 66.7%	66.7%	(2) 100.0%	33.3%	-
	Total	(6) 100.0%	75.0%	(2) 100.0%	25.0%	-
	P	-		-		

Results of statistic test indicate that significant difference is only located between men's emphasis and elaboration ($P=.008$). To be specific, when agreeing with male hearers by HA+SM, people perform emphasis much more frequently than elaboration. By contrast, female hearers' elaboration and emphasis score similarly and with no significant difference found. In other words, people's performance of elaboration and emphasis is significantly influenced by hearer's gender in the usage of HA+SM. Like what have been mentioned above, emphasis is often realized by repetition and intensifiers. It seems that people believe male hearers prefer to be agreed by the repetition of what they contributed with stronger terms rather than be agreed by the elaboration of what they gave. In other words, when encountering male hearers, people put more emphasis on obeying the Relevancy Maxim in CP (Grice, 1975). And people may think that the hyper bound of men's Quantity Maxim is not that high than women's ones.

5.4.2.3. Pragmatic Strategies in HA+SM by Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender

When both speaker's and hearer's genders are concerned, percentages of pragmatic strategies in HA+SM are illustrated in Table 49. After the presentation of Table 49, related analyses are shown.

Table 49. Pragmatic strategies in head act with supportive moves by both speaker's and hearer's genders
 (TRS= Textual Rhetoric Strategy; IRS= Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategy; EMP= Emphasis; ELA=Elaboration; ACC=Account; CLAR=Clarification; SUP=Supporting; CONC=Concession; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; $-=P>.05$; $*=P<.05$)

Prag. Strategies \ Gender Orientation		MM	MF	FF	FM	P
TRS	EMP	(13) 31.7% 68.4%	(10) 24.4% 52.6%	(10) 24.4% 50.0%	(8) 19.5% 57.1%	-
	ELA	(6) 21.4% 31.6%	(8) 28.6% 42.1%	(10) 35.7% 50.0%	(4) 14.3% 28.6%	-
	ACC	(0) 0.0% 0.0%	(1) 50.0% 5.3%	(0) 0.0% 0.0%	(1) 50.0% 7.1%	-
	CLAR	(0) 0.0% 0.0%	(0) 0.0% 0.0%	(0) 0.0% 0.0%	(1) 100.0% 7.1%	-
	Total	(19) 26.4% 100.0%	(19) 26.4% 100.0%	(20) 27.8% 100.0%	(14) 19.4% 100.0%	
	P	EMP:ELA =.035*	-	-	-	
IRS	SUP	(2) 100.0% 33.3%	(0) 0.0% 0.0%	(0) 0.0% 0.0%	(0) 0.0% 0.0%	-
	CONC	(4) 66.7% 66.7%	(0) 0.0% 0.0%	(2) 33.3% 100.0%	(0) 0.0% 0.0%	-
	Total	(6) 75.0% 100.0%	(0) 0.0% 0.0%	(2) 25.0% 100.0%	(0) 0.0% 0.0%	
	P	-	-	-	-	

According to Table 49, statistic test indicated that significant difference is only found on the comparison between MM's emphasis and elaboration ($P=.035$). It means that in men's talk, they perform emphasis much more frequently than elaboration in HA+SM. Like what have been mentioned above, it seems that emphasis is an important strategy for men. Therefore, when the interlocutors are both men, this tendency becomes more obvious. Similarly, it may be because that when making agreement, men value the efficiency and relevancy of information, which can be appropriately achieved by the performance of emphasis rather than elaboration.

5.5. Pragmatic Strategies in the Subcategories of SM (Supportive Moves)

In this section, pragmatic strategies in the subcategories of SM are introduced by subjects as a whole, first. Then, how gender influences the performance of pragmatic strategies in these subcategories is investigated. Subcategories of SM include: APC (Agreed Propositional Content), EPC (Extra Propositional Content) and APC+EPC.

5.5.1. Pragmatic Strategies in the Subcategories of SM by Subjects as a Whole

For pragmatic strategies performed in the subcategories of SMs, Table 50 shows the statistic result in details. Because after divided by these subcategories, data become lower in frequency. Hence, statistic results only focus on the comparisons between emphasis and elaboration in TRS. Because no significant difference is found in IRS, they are not discussed below.

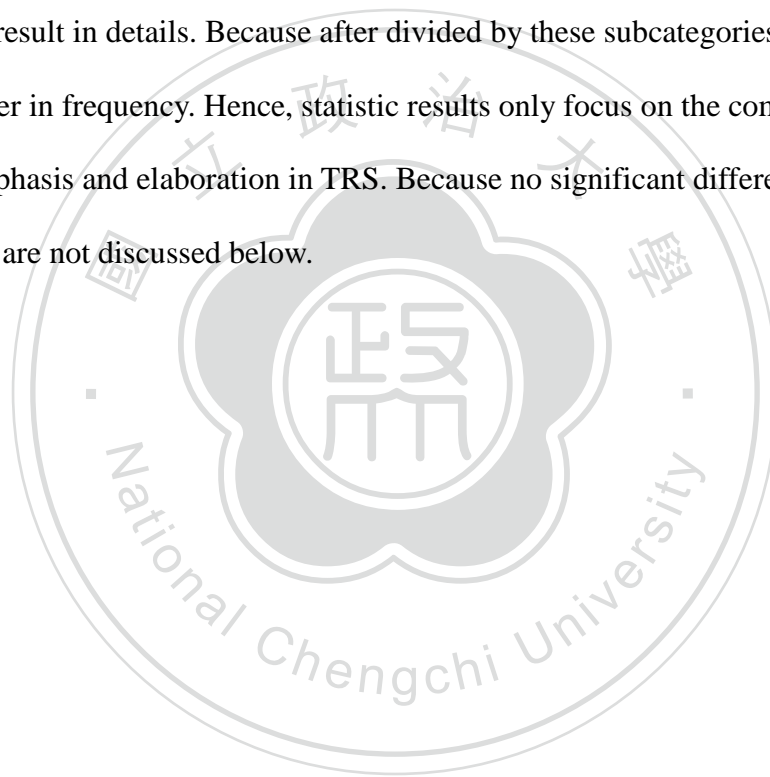


Table 50. Pragmatic strategies in the subcategories of supportive moves
 (TRS= Textual Rhetoric Strategy; IRS= Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategy;
 SM= Supportive Moves; APC= Agreed Propositional Content; EPC= Extra
 Propositional Content; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies; $-=P>.05$;
 $*=P<.05$)

Subcategories of SM		APC	EPC	APC+EPC	P
Prag. Strategies					
TRS	EMP	26.0% (19)	2.7% (2)	15.1% (11)	APC:EPC =.033* EPC:APC+EPC =.007*
	ELA	2.7% (2)	27.4% (20)	12.3% (9)	APC:EPC =.004* APC:APC+EPC =.048*
	ACC	0.0% (0)	6.8% (5)	2.7% (2)	-
	CLAR	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	4.1% (3)	-
	Total	28.8% (21)	37.0% (27)	34.2% (25)	-
	P	EMP:ELA =.030* EMP:ACC =.011* EMP:CLAR =.011*	ELA:EMP =.004* ELA:ACC =.008* ELA:CLAR =.002*	EMP:ACC =.007* EMP:CLAR =.006* ELA:ACC =.014* ELA:CLAR =.009*	
IRS	Supporting	28.6% (8)	39.3% (11)	17.9% (5)	-
	Concession	3.6% (1)	10.7% (3)	0.0% (0)	-
	Total	32.1% (9)	50.0% (14)	17.9% (5)	-
	P	-	-	-	
TRS:IRS		.013*	.032*	.006*	

(1) For APCs, significant difference is only found in the comparison between emphasis and elaboration ($P=.030$). To be more specific, emphasis is performed much more frequently than elaboration in APC. As what have been mentioned above, APCs are the repetition of the agreed evaluation. Emphasis, mostly realized by intensifiers, can be used to strengthen the force of agreement. Compared with the original evaluation, the repeated evaluation with emphasis shows speaker's sincerity to maximize agreement. Hence, emphasis is frequently used in APCs.

- (2) For EPCs, significant difference is also located in the comparison between emphasis and elaboration ($P=.004$). But different from the results of APC, elaboration is the strategy performed much more frequently than emphasis. High percentage of elaboration in EPCs may be caused by EPCs' nature. Similar to what have been mentioned above, EPCs are mostly made by new but relevant information about the discussed evaluation. And elaboration is the strategy performed by extending the previous speaker's contribution. Therefore, elaboration frequently occurs in EPCs.
- (3) For TRS in APC+EPCs, emphasis (15.1%) and elaboration (12.3%) are the strategies frequently used, which are insignificantly different from each other ($P=.164$). Because APC+EPCs are synthesis of APCs and EPCs, it is natural that strategies which occur mostly in both would also occur in APC+EPCs. Therefore, emphasis and elaboration are the strategies both perform frequently in APC+EPCs.
- (4) When APC and EPC are compared, a division of pragmatic labor is found: Emphasis is often performed in APC, while elaboration is often performed in EPC.

5.5.2. Pragmatic Strategies in the Subcategories of SM by Gender

This section depicts how pragmatic strategies are applied by gender in the subcategories of SMs. Their pragmatic strategies performed in APC, EPC, and APC+EPC are presented below by the influence of speaker's gender alone, hearer's gender alone, and both speaker's and hearer's genders.

5.5.2.1. Pragmatic Strategies in the Subcategories of SM by Speaker's Gender

For the investigation of speaker's gender in the subcategories of SMs, Table 51 lists the distributions in next page. Related analyses and discussions are given after the presentation of Table 51.



Table 51. Pragmatic strategies in the subcategories of supportive moves by speaker's gender
 (APC= Agreed Propositional Content; EPC= Extra Propositional Content;
 -= $P>.05$; *= $P<.05$)

Subcategories & Prag. Strategies		Speaker's Gender	Male		Female		P	
APC	TRS	EMP	(15) 100.0%	78.9%	(4) 66.7%	21.1%	-	
		ELA	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(2) 33.3%	100.0%	-	
		Total	(15) 100.0%	71.4%	(6) 100.0%	28.6%		
		P	EMP:ELA=.030*		-			
	IRS	SUP	(7) 100.0%	87.5%	(1) 50.0%	12.5%	-	
		CONC	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(1) 50.0%	100.0%	-	
		Total	(7) 100.0%	77.8%	(2) 100.0%	22.2%		
		P	-		-			
	EPC	TRS	EMP	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(2) 11.1%	100.0%	-
			ELA	(8) 88.9%	40.0%	(12) 66.7%	60.0%	-
ACC			(1) 11.1%	20.0%	(4) 22.2%	80.0%	-	
Total			(9) 100.0%	33.3%	(18) 100.0%	66.7%		
P		EMP:ELA=.033*		-				
IRS		SUP	(1) 100.0%	9.1%	(10) 76.9%	90.9%	-	
		CONC	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(3) 23.1%	100.0%	-	
		Total	(1) 100.0%	7.1%	(13) 100.0%	92.9%		
		P	-		-			
APC+EPC		TRS	EMP	(2) 50.0%	18.2%	(9) 42.9%	81.8%	.021*
	ELA		(2) 50.0%	22.2%	(7) 33.3%	77.8%	.042*	
	ACC		(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(2) 9.5%	100.0%	-	
	CLAR		(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(3) 14.3%	100.0%	-	
	Total		(4) 100.0%	16.0%	(21) 100.0%	84.0%		
	P	-		-				
	IRS	SUP	(2) 100.0%	40.0%	(3) 100.0%	60.0%	-	
		Total	(2) 100.0%	40.0%	(3) 100.0%	60.0%		
		P	-		-			

- (1) For strategies by speaker's gender, significant differences are only found in APC+EPC. That is, women's emphasis and elaboration are both performed significantly more frequently than men's ones ($P=.021$ and $P=.042$, respectively). In other words, speaker's gender has impact on how people proffer TRS in APC+EPC. One possible reason stems from frequencies of men's and women's APC+EPC. According to Table 15 in page 57, female speakers apply much more APC+EPC than male speakers do ($P=.009$). Correspondingly, the strategies women apply are much more than those men apply in APC+EPC.
- (2) For comparisons by strategies, the first significant difference is located in APC. That is, men's emphasis is performed much more frequently than their elaboration ($P=.030$). Additionally, in TRS, emphasis is the only strategies men rely on when making agreement by APC. Emphasis is often realized by intensifiers. Thus, it means that men often make agreement by repeating the agreed evaluation with intensifiers. This pattern may mean that men put emphasis on the efficiency of expressing agreement because adding modifiers to APC may not take much effort. Another explanation is about the Relevancy Maxim in Cooperative Principle (Grice, 1975). To make agreement by repetition of the agreed evaluation with emphasis performed in it does not change the propositional content at all. Thus, men's frequent application of APC with emphasis may mean that they value the Relevancy Maxim when making agreement. By contrast, in APC, female speakers' use of emphasis and elaboration has no significant difference.
- (3) For comparisons by strategies, another significant difference is located in EPC. That is, men's elaboration is performed much more frequently than their emphasis ($P=.033$). For women, despite of no significant difference found, their elaboration is also performed more frequently than emphasis. For all statistic results

mentioned in above sections, it is rare that elaboration is performed more than emphasis. Elaboration, which is often realized by specification or extension, brings new but related information about the discussed referent. Therefore, elaboration is structurally appropriate to occur in EPC.

- (4) For IRS in APC, EPC, or in APC+EPC, no significant difference is located between the comparison of supporting and concession.

5.5.2.2. Pragmatic Strategies in the Subcategories of SM by Hearer's Gender

When hearer's gender is concerned, distributions of pragmatic strategies occurring in subcategories of SMs are shown in Table 52. After the presentation of Table 52, related analyses are shown.

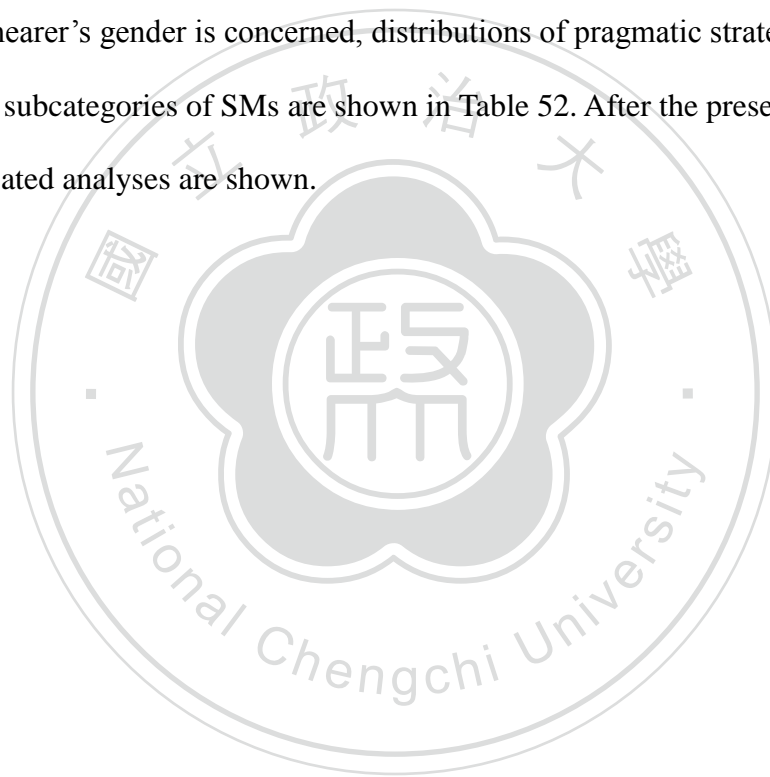


Table 52. Pragmatic strategies in the subcategories of supportive moves by hearer's gender
 (APC= Agreed Propositional Content; EPC= Extra Propositional Content;
 -=P>.05; *=P<.05)

Subcategories & Prag. Strategies		Hearer's Gender	Male		Female		P	
APC	TRS	EMP	(13) 92.9%	68.4%	(6) 85.7%	31.6%	-	
		ELA	(1) 7.1%	50.0%	(1) 14.3%	50.0%	-	
		Total	(14) 100.0%	66.7%	(7) 100.0%	33.3%		
		P	-		-			
	IRS	SUP	(7) 100.0%	87.5%	(1) 50.0%	12.5%	-	
		CONC	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(1) 50.0%	100.0%	-	
		Total	(7) 100.0%	77.8%	(2) 100.0%	22.2%		
		P	-		-			
	EPC	TRS	EMP	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(2) 10.0%	100.0%	-
			ELA	(7) 100.0%	35.0%	(13) 65.0%	65.0%	-
ACC			(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(5) 25.0%	100.0%	-	
Total			(7) 100.0%	25.9%	(20) 100.0%	74.1%		
P			-		EMP:ELA=.028*			
IRS		SUP	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(11) 78.6%	100.0%	-	
		CONC	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(3) 21.4%	100.0%	-	
		Total	(0) 0.0%	0.0%	(14) 100.0%	100.0%		
		P	-		-			
APC+EPC		TRS	EMP	(6) 46.2%	54.5%	(5) 41.7%	45.5%	-
	ELA		(5) 38.5%	55.6%	(4) 33.3%	44.4%	-	
	ACC		(1) 7.7%	50.0%	(1) 8.3%	50.0%	-	
	CLAR		(1) 7.7%	33.3%	(2) 16.7%	66.7%	-	
	Total		(13) 100.0%	52.0%	(12) 100.0%	48.0%		
	P		-		-			
	IRS	SUP	(4) 100.0%	80.0%	(1) 100.0%	20.0%	-	
		Total	(4) 100.0%	80.0%	(1) 100.0%	20.0%		
		P	-		-			

- (1) For strategies by gender, no significant difference is located in the use of pragmatic strategies in any subcategories of SM.
- (2) Distributions of statistic results indicate that significant difference is only located between the comparison of female hearers' emphasis and elaboration in EPC. To be more specific, when agreed by EPC, women receive elaboration much more frequently than emphasis. Like what have been discussed above, people may think that for women, elaboration is as a more important strategy than emphasis is. In other words, people may think to make information sufficient is a better way to show politeness and solidarity to women when making agreement by EPC.

5.5.2.3. Pragmatic Strategies in the Subcategories of SM by Both Speaker's and Hearer's Gender

Table 53 below presents the outcome when both speaker's and hearer's genders are considered for pragmatic strategies in the subcategories of SMs. Following Table 53, related analyses and discussions are given.

Table 53. Pragmatic strategies in the subcategories of supportive moves by both speaker's and hearer's genders
 (TRS= Textual Rhetoric Strategy; IRS= Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategy;
 APC= Agreed Propositional Content; EPC= Extra Propositional Content;
 -=P>.05; *=P<.05)

Subcategories & Prag. Strategies		Gender Orientation		MM	MF	FF	FM	P
APC	TRS	EMP	(9) 47.4%	(6) 31.6%	(0) 0.0%	(4) 21.1%	-	
		ELA	(0) 0.0%	(0) 0.0%	(1) 50.0%	(1) 50.0%	-	
		Total	(9) 42.9%	(6) 28.6%	(1) 4.8%	(5) 23.8%		
		P	-	-	-	-		
	IRS	SUP	(6) 75.0%	(1) 12.5%	(0) 0.0%	(1) 12.5%	-	
		CONC	(0) 0.0%	(0) 0.0%	(1) 100.0%	(0) 0.0%	-	
		Total	(6) 66.7%	(1) 11.1%	(1) 11.1%	(1) 11.1%		
		P	-	-	-	-		
	EPC	TRS	EMP	(0) 0.0%	(0) 0.0%	(2) 100.0%	(0) 0.0%	-
			ELA	(5) 25.0%	(3) 15.0%	(10) 50.0%	(2) 10.0%	MF:FF=.045*
ACC			(0) 0.0%	(1) 20.0%	(4) 80.0%	(0) 0.0%	-	
Total			(5) 18.5%	(4) 14.8%	(16) 59.3%	(2) 7.4%		
IRS		SUP	(0) 0.0%	(1) 9.1%	(10) 90.9%	(0) 0.0%	MF:FF=.047*	
		CONC	(0) 0.0%	(0) 0.0%	(3) 100.0%	(0) 0.0%	-	
		Total	(0) 0.0%	(1) 7.1%	(13) 92.9%	(0) 0.0%		
		P	-	-	-	-		
APC+EPC		TRS	EMP	(1) 9.1%	(1) 9.1%	(4) 36.4%	(5) 45.5%	-
			ELA	(1) 11.1%	(1) 11.1%	(3) 33.3%	(4) 44.4%	-
	ACC		(0) 0.0%	(0) 0.0%	(1) 50.0%	(1) 50.0%	-	
	CLAR		(0) 0.0%	(0) 0.0%	(2) 66.7%	(1) 33.3%	-	
	Total		(2) 8.0%	(2) 8.0%	(10) 40.0%	(11) 44.0%		
	IRS	SUP	(1) 20.0%	(1) 20.0%	(0) 0.0%	(3) 60.0%	-	
		Total	(1) 20.0%	(1) 20.0%	(0) 0.0%	(3) 60.0%		
		P	-	-	-	-		

- (1) According to statistic results, significant differences are only located in EPC when four gender groups are compared. To be more specific, for TRS, only MF's and FF's elaborations are significantly different from each other ($P=.045$). In other words, speaker's gender is a significant factor influencing female hearers' receipt of elaboration. Similar to what have been mentioned above, elaboration in women's talk is an important strategy. Women who elaborate more about the discussed referent may want to show politeness and solidarity. When it comes to the Generosity Maxim and the Tact Maxim of politeness principle (Leech, 1983), women cost selves and benefit others a lot in the procedure of extra information transmission.
- (2) Another significant difference is located on the comparison between MF's and FF's supporting ($P=.047$) when agreement is made by EPC. To be specific, when talking to female hearers, female speakers perform supporting much more than male speakers do. In other words, speaker's gender has impact on female hearers' receipt of supporting in IRS. Besides supporting, FF is also the only group who perform concession in EPC, despite of its low frequency. It means that FF is the only group who put emphasis on IRS. Perhaps it is because interlocutors in FF are both women so that they both pay more attention to maintain interpersonal relationship than the other three groups.

5.6. Pragmatic Strategies in All Six Subcategories of Agreement

Side by side, pragmatic strategies in six subcategories of agreement are listed to be compared in Table 54. For statistic results, because of table simplicity and convenience of discussion, only important significant differences are listed. Due to low frequency of account and clarification and no significant difference found in IRS, only emphasis and elaboration are discussed in this section. After this section, there

should be a section called “Pragmatic Strategies in All Six Subcategories of Agreement by Gender.” Due to low frequency after data are separated and no significant differences from most of data, they are not analyzed here, either.



Table 54. Pragmatic strategies in all six subcategories of agreement

(TRS= Textual Rhetoric Strategies; IRS= Interpersonal Rhetoric Strategies; EMP= Emphasis; ELA=Elaboration; SUP=Supporting; CONC=Concession; ACC=Account; CLAR=Clarification; AM= Agreement Markers; APC= Agreed Propositional Content; EPC= Extra Propositional Content; Numbers in parentheses are frequencies.)

Subcategories		AM		APC		EPC		AM+APC		AM+EPC		APC+EPC		P
Prag. Strategies														
TRS	EMP	21.2%	(39)	10.3%	(19)	1.1%	(2)	6.5%	(12)	15.8%	(29)	6.0%	(11)	AM:APC=.041* AM:EPC=.001* AM:AM+APC=.007* AM:APC+EPC=.013*
	ELA	0.0%	(0)	1.1%	(2)	10.9%	(20)	0.0%	(0)	15.2%	(28)	4.9%	(9)	EPC:AM=.002* EPC:APC=.004* EPC:AM+APC=.002*
	ACC	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	2.7%	(5)	0.0%	(0)	1.1%	(2)	1.1%	(2)	-
	CLAR	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.5%	(1)	1.6%	(3)	-
	Total	21.2%	(39)	11.4%	(21)	14.7%	(27)	6.5%	(12)	32.6%	(60)	13.6%	(25)	
IRS	SUP	1.9%	(1)	15.1%	(8)	20.8%	(11)	3.8%	(2)	0.0%	(0)	9.4%	(5)	-
	CONC	30.2%	(16)	1.9%	(1)	5.7%	(3)	0.0%	(0)	11.3%	(6)	0.0%	(0)	-
	Total	32.1%	(17)	17.0%	(9)	26.4%	(14)	3.8%	(2)	11.3%	(6)	9.4%	(5)	

- (1) For strategies by six subcategories of agreement, emphasis in AM is significantly different from it in APC ($P=.041$), EPC ($P=.001$), AM+APC ($P=.007$), and APC+EPC ($P=.013$), but not from it in AM+EPC ($P=.307$). In other words, both AM and AM+EPC are the subcategories emphasis is frequently applied in. AM and AM+EPC are the subcategories with direct illocutionary force of agreement. By the application of emphasis, speakers can make the strength of AM and AM+EPC even more forceful. Therefore, if speakers want to agree with others by maximized agreement, they may choose to perform emphasis in AM alone or AM+EPC.
- (2) For elaboration by six subcategories of agreement, EPC's elaboration is significantly different from AM's ($P=.002$), APC's ($P=.004$), AM+APC's ($P=.002$), but not significantly different from AM+EPC's elaboration ($P=.341$) and APC+EPC's ones. It means that elaboration is frequently applied both in EPC and AM+EPC. The result is very reasonable because elaboration is extension of information which can be appropriately performed in the structure of extra propositional content. Hence, elaboration occurs mostly in EPC and AM+EPC.
- (3) Based on the results above, division of pragmatic labor is found: emphasis is often performed in HA (i.e. AM); whereas, elaboration is often performed in SM, especially in EPC. Besides, both emphasis and elaboration are also frequently performed in AM+EPC of HA+SM.

5.7. Summary of Pragmatic Strategies in Agreement.

This section summarizes the major findings of pragmatic strategies in agreement. Pragmatic strategies are divided into textual rhetoric strategies (TRS) and interpersonal rhetoric strategies (IRS). Under TRS, four strategies are found: emphasis, elaboration, account, and clarification. And under IRS, two strategies are

found: supporting and concession. When TRS and IRS are compared, the front is performed significantly more than the later one. It means when people perform pragmatic strategies in agreement, most of them are primarily used to meet the end of clearness and efficiency of message transmission, but not interpersonal relationship.

(1) For pragmatic strategies in agreement by subjects as a whole, two major findings are listed below:

First, For TRS in general, emphasis is performed mostly, followed by elaboration and which in turn followed by account and clarification. Therefore, the priority order of strategies in TRS is like what is listed below:

$$\text{EMP} > \text{ELA} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ACC} \\ \text{CLAR} \end{array} \right\}$$

This priority order indicates that it is primary to make sure agreement is expressed efficiently and forcefully. Then, to deal with sufficiency of message content is secondary.

For IRS in general, the frequencies of supporting and concession are similar to each other in this study. It means that when people perform IRS, it is sometimes for the purpose of showing rapport and solidarity and sometimes for showing partial agreement to avoid conflict.

(2) When speaker's gender alone or hearer's gender alone is considered in the use of pragmatic strategies, in general, for men's TRS, strategies can be divided into three groups according to the frequencies; whereas, for women's TRS, strategies can only be divided into two groups as what are listed below.

For men:

$$\mathbf{EMP} > \mathbf{ELA} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \mathbf{ACC} \\ \mathbf{CLAR} \end{array} \right\}$$

For women:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \mathbf{EMP} \\ \mathbf{ELA} \end{array} \right\} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \mathbf{ACC} \\ \mathbf{CLAR} \end{array} \right\}$$

The priority orders of TRS show that men and women differentiate from each other on the performance of elaboration. For men, elaboration ranks second; but for women, elaboration ranks first, which is as significant as emphasis. Perhaps it is because for women, making more effort to benefit others by providing extra information about the discussed referent is an important way to express politeness and to strengthen solidarity between other and self.

- (3) When categories of agreement content structure are considered, in HA, the most frequently used strategy is emphasis in TRS and concession in IRS. Not many strategies are performed in HA because it is self-intrinsic.
- (4) In HA, gender has no impact on people's choice of pragmatic strategies.
- (5) In SMs, emphasis and elaboration in TRS and supporting in IRS are the strategies frequently applied by Mandarin speakers. The reason is that SMs, as the adjunct to modify the strength of agreement, can be used to make repetition or add extra information about the discussed referent. And these strategies enable people to fulfill the purpose of using SMs so that the strategies are frequently performed here.

Another important finding is: a division of pragmatic labor is located on the use of IRS in HA versus in SM. That is, concession is mostly performed in HA, while supporting is mostly performed in SM.

- (6) For pragmatic strategies in SM by gender, significant difference is only found when both speaker's and hearer's genders are taken into consideration. To be specific, FF's elaboration is performed significantly more than MF's elaboration. It means that speaker's gender has influence on female hearers' receipt of elaboration. For FF, like what have been mentioned above, because the interlocutors are both women, they emphasize on elaborating each other's contribution to show strong involvement and to establish solidarity.
- (7) For pragmatic strategies in HA+SM by subjects as a whole, emphasis and elaboration are also the strategies frequently occur in HA+SM. The reason is as what have mentioned in the use of SMs.
- (8) In HA+SM, men's and women's patterns are back to the pattern of pragmatic strategies in general. For men, emphasis is the highest, followed by elaboration, and which in turn followed by account and clarification. By contrast, for women, elaboration is as important as emphasis so that both strategies rank first, while account and clarification rank second.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This chapter concludes the thesis based on the findings of the previous chapters. Afterwards, limitations of this study and suggestions for future studies on agreement are given.

6.1. Summary of the Major Findings

This section summarizes the major findings of this study. Findings of agreement in general are presented first. Then, the influence of the social factor—gender is depicted.

6.1.1. Agreement in General

To answer the research questions and verify hypotheses of this study, findings for agreement in general can be divided into two parts: categories of agreement, and degrees of agreement.

(1) Categories of Agreement

Research question A: Among the three categories of agreement (namely, head act alone HA, supportive move alone SM, and head act with supportive move HA+SM), which category is more preferred by Mandarin speakers?

Hypothesis A-1: Head act alone (HA) would occur more frequently than supportive moves alone (SM).

Finding A-1: Statistic results show that HA is not used significantly more than SM.

Hypothesis A-1 is thus not verified. One possible reason to explain this phenomenon is that because SM, although indirect, could still be used to effectively express agreement because interlocutors in this study are either close

friends or couples, who share much background information which can help hearers receive the intention of agreement through inference. Other explanation is that using SM alone can express high involvement and thus establish solidarity.

Hypothesis A-2: Head act alone (HA) would occur more frequently than head act with supportive move (HA+SM).

Finding A-2: Statistic results of this study show that HA is performed significantly more frequently than HA+SM, Thus, Hypothesis A-2 is verified. It means that direct and simple method to make agreement is preferred.

Hypothesis A-3: Head act with supportive moves (HA+SM) emerges more frequently than supportive move alone (SM).

Finding A-3: Statistic results of this study show that SM is used significantly more frequently than HA+SM. Hypothesis A-3 is not verified.

(2) Degrees of Agreement

Research question B: Among the various kinds of agreement by degrees, which one is used more frequently, agreement without contingency (including upgrading and preserving agreement) or agreement with contingency (i.e. downgraded agreement)?

Hypothesis B-1: Agreement without contingency (WOC) would occur more frequently than agreement with contingency (WC).

Finding B-1: Statistical analysis indicates that WOCs are performed significantly more frequently than WCs. Hypothesis B-1 is thus verified. It means that people avoid using downgrading agreement, which carries connotation of disagreement which may bring forth misunderstanding or conflict.

Hypothesis B-2: Upgrading agreement is more frequently applied than preserving agreement.

Finding B-2: According to statistic results of this study, upgrading agreement is performed significantly more frequently than preserving agreement. Thus, Hypothesis B-2 is verified. A possible reason is that people want to fulfill hearers' positive face wants so that they frequently maximize agreement.

Besides the findings given above, this study aims at the interaction between categories of agreement and agreement by degrees, which is not investigated before. It is found that in various categories of agreement, Finding B-1 and Finding B-2 are repeated. In other words, when categories of agreement and degrees of agreement are interacted, the concept of degrees of agreement is more important than that of categories of agreement. That is, in every category of agreement, maximization of agreement is enacted frequently.

One of the purposes of this thesis is to bridge the gap for the unexamined pragmatic strategies in agreement. Unlike previous studies of agreement (Pomerantz, 1984; Kotthoff, 1993; Kuo, 1994; Mulkay, 1985; Baym, 1996; Rattai, 2003), in which pragmatic strategies in agreement are not examined, it is found in this study that textual rhetoric strategies are used significantly more than interpersonal rhetoric strategies. Besides, for the use of textual rhetoric strategies, it is found that the strategies performed most frequently are emphasis and elaboration, which means that people's primary goal is to meet the end of clarity and expressivity of information.

6.1.2. Agreement by Gender

This thesis points out how men and women differ from each other in agreement constructions as well as related pragmatic strategies, which is not specifically pointed out in the previous gender studies on agreement (Kalcik, 1975; Leet-Pellegrini, 1980;

Edelsky, 1981; Coates, 1989; Holmes, 1995: 60). The following paragraphs show major findings of the influence of gender in the use of agreement.

Research Question C: Is gender an influential factor to the construction of agreement?

Hypothesis C-1: Speaker's gender is a significant factor to manipulate the construction and pragmatic strategies in the performance of agreement.

Finding C-1: Speaker's gender is an influential factor in agreement, which can be verified by several findings below. First, for categories of agreement, male speakers apply HA significantly more than SM; whereas, female speakers has no significant difference in the comparison of HA and SM. It means that when making agreement, men may put more emphasis on efficiency of message transmission than women do. By contrast, female speakers frequently use both HA and SM. Female speakers' use of SMs, which can be applied to show high involvement in conversations, may mean to fulfill the functions of politeness, solidarity, and rapport which are highly revered by women.

Second, for degrees of agreement, female speakers perform WOC much more frequently than male speakers do. It means that women try harder than men in reinforcement of agreement and avoidance of using downgrading agreement.

Third, for pragmatic strategies in agreement, male speakers and female speakers differ from each other on the use of elaboration. Elaboration, which can show high involvement, is a strategy frequently used by women.

Hypothesis C-2: Hearer's gender is a significant factor to determine people's ways of construction and choice of pragmatic strategies in agreement.

Finding C-2: Hearer's gender is verified to be an influential factor in agreement. First, for the categories of agreement, female hearers receive significantly more EPC

than male hearers do. It means that people may think female hearers like to be agreed through the way of building on each other's contribution to show high involvement. By contrast, people may think male hearers, putting more emphasis on the efficiency of message transmission, may not like to be agreed by EPC for consuming time to decode agreement.

Second, when HA and SM are compared, male hearers receive significantly more HA than SM; whereas, female hearers receive similar amounts of HA and SM. Perhaps it is because people think efficiency of information exchange is the first priority for male hearers. And for female hearers, people may think they prefer to be agreed by showing high involvement and elaborating more on their contributions.

Third, for pragmatic strategies to show agreement, female hearers receive significantly more elaboration than male hearers do. It means that people may think that women like to be agreed by flouting the Quantity Maxim in CP (Grice, 1975), which is often used to show politeness.

Hypothesis C-3: When both speaker's and hearer's genders are considered, gender is a significant factor to manipulate the construction and pragmatic strategies in the performance of agreement.

Finding C-3: When both speaker's and hearer's genders are considered, gender is an influential factor in agreement. First, for categories of agreement, significant difference is only shown in the comparison of SMs used by FF and FM. To be specific, the FF group applies much more SM (especially the subtype EPC) than the FM group does. It means that women, unlike men, are easily influenced by hearer's gender and change their behavior on the usage of SM.

Second, for degrees of agreement, in general, FF and FM use WOC significantly more than WC. Additionally, FF is the only one group among the four that use significantly more upgrading agreement than preserving agreement. In other words, women are the one who try hard to maximize agreement to fulfill hearers' positive face wants.

Based on the results above, women are the one who makes more effort to make agreement forceful. Furthermore, when interlocutors are both women, this tendency becomes more obvious. Perhaps it is because that for women, the purpose of communication is to reach consensus, maintain solidarity, and avoid conflict between self and other (Tannen, 1994). Besides, women are more hearer-oriented and more willing to fulfill hearers' positive face wants (Brown and Levinson, 1978; Woods, 1997). Therefore, women and men differentiate from each other in the way to make agreement.

It is concluded that gender differences occur in the construction and pragmatic strategies of agreement. Thus, in general, gender is an influential factor to the construction of agreement.

6.2. Limitations and Suggestions

This thesis tries to examine how agreement is constructed and how pragmatic strategies of agreement are performed in Chinese culture, and to figure out how speaker's gender, hearer's gender, and both speaker's and hearer's genders influence the performance of agreement. However, some limitations exist in this study. The following suggestions may remedy these limitations.

First, due to limited time and data of agreement, the linguistic markers coding agreement are not analyzed in the current study. Future studies, with sufficient amount

of data, can linguistic markers be categorized and studied in detail. At that time, more importantly, will the way of interaction between these linguistic markers and the categories of agreement be identified.

Second, due to time limitation, the referential contents of agreement (or the topic of propositional content), are not investigated in this thesis. These referential contents may also influence the agreeing party's choice of construction, degrees, and pragmatic strategies of agreement. In future studies, the interaction between referential contents and the usage of agreement should be examined.

Third, due to time limitation, follow-up interviews are not conducted to confirm patterns found in this study. Therefore, all of the interpretation and explanation made are not fully justified. In future studies, follow-up interviews should be made to secure more holistic and countable explanations for findings in agreement.

Fourth, social factors other than gender (such as age, social status, or educational level, familiarity, and intimacy) should be considered in order to obtain a more holistic view on the usage of agreement. Data of this study are adapted from NCCU corpus of Mandarin, which is not sociolinguistically designed, so only social factor, gender, is examined. It is highly expected that some other, social factors, if not all, would cast critical impacts on people's ways to show agreement.

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