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Table 1. *Convergent features and selected source*

Features converged	Selected sources
Utterance length	Matarazzo et al. (1968)
Speech rate	Street (1983)
Information density	Aronsson et al. (1987)
Vocal intensity	Natale (1975a)
Pausing frequencies and lengths	Jaffe and Feldstein (1970)
Response latency	Cappella and Planalp (1981)
Self-disclosure	Ehrlich and Graeven (1971)
Jokes, expressing solidarity–opinions–orientations	Bales (1950)
Gesture	Mauer and Tindall (1983)
Head nodding and facial affect	Hale and Burgoon (1984)
Posture	Condon and Ogston (1967)

ically. As we shall see later in this chapter, SAT has been moving in a more interdisciplinary direction and the focus has broadened from exploring specific linguistic variables to encompass nonverbal (see von Raffler-Engel 1980; also Goodwin 1981; Grabowski-Gellert and Winterhoff-Spurk 1987) and discursive dimensions of social interaction; hence the wider notion of CAT (*communication* accommodation theory; Giles et al. 1987).

"Convergence" has been defined as a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic-prosodic-nonverbal features including speech rate, pausal phenomena and utterance length, phonological variants, smiling, gaze, and so on [cf. the notions of "congruence," "synchrony," and "reciprocity" in the work of Feldstein (1972), Argyle (1969), and Webb (1972), respectively]. Table 1 provides a sample of studies showing how widespread convergence has been shown to be, although not all studies listed were conceived and interpreted explicitly in a CAT perspective. Most of these studies were laboratory-controlled investigations, but many studies have also emerged showing convergence in naturally occurring contexts (Ray and Webb 1966), such as the demonstration of John Dean's convergence of median word frequencies (a measure of formality) to his different Senate interrogators in the Watergate trials (Levin and Lin 1988) and Coupland's (1984) fine-grained phonological analysis of a travel agent's convergence to her many clients of varying socioeconomic status and education. Although most studies have been conducted in the West

and in English-language settings, convergence on temporal, phonological, or language-switching dimensions has been noted in many different languages, including Hungarian (Kontra and Gosy 1988), Frisian and Dutch (Gorter 1987; Ytsma 1988), Hebrew (Yaeger-Dror 1988), Taiwanese Mandarin (van den Berg 1986), Japanese (Welkowitz, Bond, and Feldstein 1984), Cantonese (Feldstein and Crown 1990), and Thai (Beebe 1981). Pertinently, Yum (1988) argues that East Asian communication is far more receiver centered than the more sender-oriented communications of the West, and Gudykunst, Yoon, and Nishida (1987) observe that members of collectivistic cultures (e.g., Japan and Korea) perceive their ingroup relationships to be more synchronized than those of individualistic societies (e.g., Australia and the United States). Hence future research may show more of the ubiquity of CAT phenomena and processes in the East (see, however, Bond 1985 for an implied cultural caveat) and perhaps elsewhere.

Although convergent communicative acts reduce interpersonal differences, interindividual variability in extent and frequency of convergence is, perhaps not surprisingly, also apparent, corresponding to sociodemographic variables such as age (Delia and Clark 1977; Garvey and BenDebba 1974; Welkowitz, Cariffe, and Feldstein 1976). (There is, however, some contradictory evidence in some of the relationships characterized later). Hence, it has been found that field dependents (individuals who found it difficult to disembed core perceptual features from their field) and those with strong interpersonal orientations converge on noncontent features of speech more than their opposite-trait partners [Welkowitz et al. (1972) and Murphy and Street (1987), respectively]; high self-monitors match the emotionality, intimacy, and content of their interactants' initial self-disclosure more than low self-monitors (Schaffer, Smith, and Tomarelli 1982); and extroverts as well as cognitively more complex communicators who are high on construct differentiation are more listener adaptive than introverts and low differentiators (Burleson 1984a; Hecht, Boster, and LaMer 1989; Kline in press). Obviously, other measures of cognitive and perceptual functioning, as well as those of social sensitivity [e.g., Paulhus and Martin's (1988) construct of functional flexibility], should provide positive relationships with convergence.

"Divergence" was the term used to refer to the way in which speakers accentuate speech and nonverbal differences between themselves and others. Bourhis and Giles (1977) designed an experiment to demonstrate the use of accent divergence among Welsh people in an interethnic context (as well as the conditions that would facilitate its occurrence). The study was conducted in a language laboratory where people who placed a strong value on their national group membership and its language were learning the Welsh language (only about 26 percent of Welsh persons at that time, as now, could speak their national tongue). During one of their weekly sessions, Welsh people were asked to help in a survey concerned with second-language learning techniques. The questions in the survey were presented verbally to them in English in their individual booths by a very English-sounding speaker, who at one point arrogantly challenged their reasons for learning what he called a "dying language with a dismal future." Such a question was assumed to threaten their feeling of ethnic identity, and the informants broadened their Welsh accents in their replies, compared with their answers to a previously asked emotionally neutral question. In addition, some informants introduced Welsh words and phrases into their answers, and one Welsh woman did not reply for a while and then was heard to conjugate a less than socially acceptable verb gently into the microphone. Interestingly, even when asked a neutral question beforehand, the informants emphasized their Welsh group membership to the speaker in terms of the content of their replies (so-called content differentiation). Indeed, it may well be that there is a hierarchy of divergent strategies available to speakers ranging from indexical and symbolic dissociation to explicit propositional nonalignment to physical absence (e.g., emphasis of a few ingroup stereotyped phonological features versus language switches, to abrasive humor, to verbal abuse and interactional dissolution; see also Segalowitz and Gatbonton 1977).

Language divergence was investigated by Bourhis et al. (1979). The study involved different groups of trilingual Flemish students (Flemish-English-French) being recorded in "neutral" and "ethnically threatening" encounters with a Francophone (Walloon) outgroup speaker. As in the previous study, the context of the interaction was a language laboratory where participants were attending classes to improve their English skills. Many Flemish and Francophone students converse together in English, as an emotionally neutral compromise (cf. Scotton 1979) between maintaining rigid differentiation and acquiescing to pressures to converse by using the other's language. In this experiment, the speaker spoke to students in English, although revealing himself as a Walloon by means of distinctive Francophone pronunciation. It was found that when the speaker demeaned the Flemish in his ethnically threatening question, listeners rated him as sounding more Francophone (a process

termed "perceptual divergence") and themselves as feeling more Flemish. This cognitive dissociation was manifested behaviorally at a covert level by means of muttered or whispered disapproval while the Walloon was speaking (which was being tape-recorded, unknown to the informants) and at an overt level through divergent shifts to own-group language. However, this divergence occurred only under certain specific experimental conditions, and then for only 50 percent of the sample. It was found that these listeners diverged only when their own group membership and that of the speaker was emphasized by the investigator and when the speaker had been known from the outset to be hostile to Flemish ethnolinguistic goals. In a follow-up study, however, language divergence into Flemish did occur for nearly 100 percent of the informants under these same conditions, but only when the Walloon speaker himself diverged into French in his threatening question. Interestingly, the form of the language divergence in the first of these Belgian studies differed from that in the second. It was found that in the first setting, the ingroup initially replied to the outgroup threat in English – and then switched to Flemish. In the second (more threatening) setting, listeners replied in a directly divergent manner by an immediate shift to Flemish.

Linguistic divergence, like convergence, can take many forms, both verbal and nonverbal (LaFrance 1985). Scotton (1985) introduced the term "disaccommodation" to refer to those occasions when people switch registers in repeating something uttered by their partners – not in the sense of a "formulation" proferred as a comprehension check (Heritage and Watson (1980), but rather as a tactic to maintain integrity, distance, or identity when misunderstanding is not even conceivably an issue. For example, a young speaker might say, "Okay, mate, lets get it together at my place around 3:30 tomorrow," and receive the reply from a disdainful elder, "Fine, young man, we'll meet again, at 15:30, at your house tomorrow." Although keeping one's speech style and nonverbal behaviors congruent across situations may be construed as a communicative *nonevent* sociopsycholinguistically – and, indeed, there is a fair amount of stability in our speech and nonverbal patterns across many encounters (Cappella and Planalp 1981; Jaffe and Feldstein 1970; Patterson 1983) – Bourhis (1979) has pointed out how, in many interethnic contexts, "speech maintenance" is a valued (and possibly conscious and even effortful) act of maintaining one's group identity. Similarly at the level of personal identity, those individuals Hart, Carlson, and Eadie (1980) take to embody "Noble Selves" would be predicted to maintain their idiosyncratic speech and nonverbal characteristics across many situations. Noble Selves are those straightforward, spontaneous persons who see deviation from their assumed "real" selves as being against their principles and, thus, intolerable.

Table 2. *Distinctions in characterizing convergence and divergence*

Upward versus downward
Full versus partial versus hyper-/crossover
Large versus moderate
Unimodal versus multimodal
Symmetrical versus asymmetrical
Subjective versus objective

Some important distinctions

These basic convergent-divergent shifts are, of course, not as descriptively simple as they might at first appear. Table 2 outlines several of the principal distinctions that have been made at varying times in the accommodation literature; others will emerge later in the chapter.

Both convergence and divergence may be either upward or downward [see Giles and Powesland (1975) for schematizations of these in terms of accent shifts], where the former refers to a shift toward a consensually prestigious variety and the latter refers to modifications toward more stigmatized or less socially valued forms in context [e.g., nonstandard accent, low lexical diversity; see James (1989) for illustrations of native and nonnative speakers' use of these accommodative tactics in the language-learning context]. Adopting the prestigious dialect of an interviewer is an example of upward convergence, and shifting to street language in certain minority communities is an example of downward convergence (see Baugh 1983; Edwards 1986).

Convergence on some features of language does not mean that speakers will converge all available variables and levels, and (see Ferrara this volume) Giles et al. (1987) made the distinction between unimodal and multimodal convergent-divergent shifts, where the latter term, of course, implies shifting in several dimensions. Beyond this, we should not conceive of convergence and divergence as necessarily mutually exclusive phenomena, since SAT does acknowledge the possibility that convergence of some features will be matched by simultaneous divergence of

others. In this vein, Bilous and Krauss (1988), in their study of same- and mixed-sex interactions, showed that females converged to males on some dimensions (including total number of words uttered and interruptions) but diverged on others, such as laughter. Informal observations of bilingual switching in Montreal in the 1970s on occasion exemplified "mixed-accommodations" apparently motivated, such that French Canadian shoppers were known to address Anglophone store assistants in fluent English while requesting the services of a Francophone assistant instead; convergence was in code, but propositionally the message was one of dissociation.

The distinction between partial and full convergence has proved valuable for some methodological designs too (Street 1982). Thus, for example, a speaker initially exhibiting a rate of 50 words per minute can move to match exactly another speaker's rate of 100 words per minute (total) or can move to a rate of 75 words per minute (partial; and see the notion of "underaccommodation" later). In their study of lexical diversity accommodation, Bradac, Mulac, and House (1988) distinguish between full shifts (upward or downward) that are moderate or large (lexical diversity indexed shifts in this case of .92 to either .82 or .72, respectively).

Additionally, in any interaction, convergence and divergence can be symmetrical or asymmetrical. An example of mutual convergence can be found in an investigation by Mulac et al. (1988: 331), who reported that "in mixed-sex dyads, it appears that both genders adopted a linguistic style more like that of their out-group partner than they would have maintained with an in-group partner." Similarly, in Booth-Butterfield and Jordan's (1989) study of intra- and intercultural encounters between female students, blacks were rated as far more expressive in within-group encounters than whites when talking with their peers. However, blacks were rated as less expressive when conversing with whites than when talking with other black women, whereas whites became more communicatively expressive in mixed-racial than in same-racial encounters – both thereby converging, presumably, to outgroup norms.

An example of asymmetrical convergence can be found in White's (1989) study of American–Japanese interactions where convergence by one party was not reciprocated by the other. When speaking with other members of their culture, Japanese informants in this study produced far more backchannels of certain kinds (e.g., *mmhm, uh-huh)* than their American

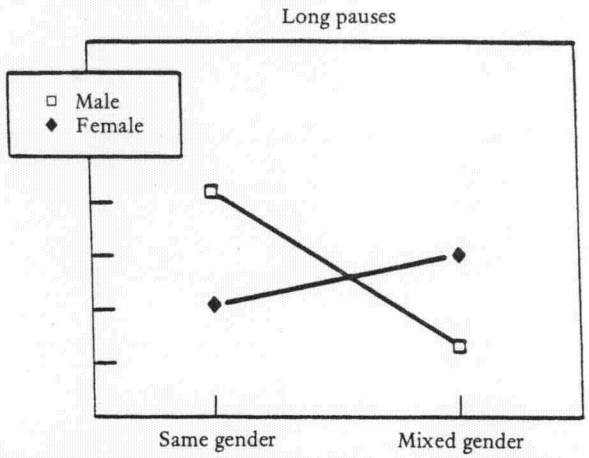

Figure 1. Frequency of long pauses by males and females in same- and mixed-gender dyads (from Bilous and Krauss, 1988, p. 188).

counterparts in within-culture situations. When it came to cross-cultural encounters, however, Americans used significantly more backchannels when speaking with Japanese (that is, they converged) who themselves did not significantly change but maintained their high level of backchanneling.

The possibility was raised (Giles 1971) that speakers can "overshoot" even in full convergence and "hyperconverge" [see Bradac et al. (1988) for social evaluations of hyperconvergence in lexical diversity]. Again, this can be accomplished asymmetrically (and see the later discussion of the notion of "overaccommodation") or symmetrically when both parties overshoot, with the latter being well illustrated by Bilous and Krauss (1988) in their analysis of (long) pauses in mixed-sex interactions (see Fig. 1); once again, presumably such hyperconvergences can be moderate or very large overshoots.

Relatedly, divergence of a sort may occur not only by simple dissociation away from the interlocutor toward an opposing reference group, but also by expressing sociolinguistically a greater identification with that other's reference group than others can display themselves. For example, when talking to an old school friend who is using a less prestigious code than you while chiding your apparent aloofness, you might adopt an even more basilectal code than he or she in order to show your greater identification with local values. Giles (1980) termed these strate-

gies "upward" and "downward *crossover* divergence," respectively, although they are, of course, achieved by initial (and often substantial) convergence.

The final distinction in Table 2 arises from the work of Thakerar, Giles, and Cheshire (1982) and emphasizes CAT's truly sociopsychological core. There is, of course, much research pointing to the fact that our perception of speech styles is dependent on various social and cognitive biases (Street and Hopper 1982). In other words, sometimes stereotyped responses to social groups influence how speakers are apparently heard to sound, such that, for instance, black interlocutors may sound more nonstandard (Williams 1976). Again, speakers believed to be relatively competent are heard to be more standard-accented (Thakerar and Giles 1981) than they actually are. Hence, Thakerar et al. invoked the conceptual distinction between subjective and objective accommodation. The objective dimension refers to speakers' shifts in speech *independently measured* as moving toward (convergence) or away from (divergence) others, whereas the subjective dimension refers to speakers' *beliefs* regarding whether they or others are converging or diverging (see the discussion of Bell's New Zealand newscasters in this volume). Thakerar et al. found in a couple of studies that interlocutors shifted their speech styles (speech rate and segmental phonology, e.g., glottal stop in place of word-final /t/) toward where they believed their partners to be, irrespective of how they actually sounded. Hence, for instance, initially similar-sounding low- and high-status interactants were measured objectively as diverging from each other, although the low-status speaker was subjectively converging (toward the interlocutor's faster speech and more standard accent, stereotypically associated with a higher-status speaker) and the higher-status speaker was accomplishing precisely the converse (see also Zuengler this volume).

These processes may be responsible in part for the kinds of "behavioral confirmation" demonstrated by Snyder (1981). For instance, he showed that if males believed they were interacting with attractive (rather than unattractive) females over an intercom link, the latter sounded lively and outgoing (the known social stereotype of attractive women). Although no data on the sociolinguistics of behavioral confirmation apparently exist, it could well be that the males in this condition provided the vocal environment facilitating and even constructing these women's expressed affableness by converging to their presumed speech style in the first place; put another way, the women may have converged on objectively linguistic criteria to the males' stereotype-based convergence. Interestingly, Cohen and Cooper (1986) described situations where sojourners in foreign climes actively converge over time toward the (often ill-conceived) convergent attempts of individuals from the host community toward them! Relatedly, Giles et al. (1987) argued that speakers not only converge to where they believe others to be, but also in some (as yet unspecified) conditions to where they believe others expect them to be. The notion of prototypicality (see later) is relevant here and in some role-relevant situations, people may gain kudos for "acting their age," using a professional line, and so forth. But we should be wary of considering prototypical sociolinguistic styles as unidimensional givens, as illustrated in Johnson's (1980) observation that physicians' adoption of "doctorspeak" not only involves highly specialized medical jargon but can also be intermeshed with very abstract, vague statements (which can increase patients' uncertainty levels about their medical status and consequently the physicians' social control). Finally here, speakers who might converge psychologically toward their interlocutors or audience may not have the sociolinguistic experience or repertoire to enable them to achieve their desired convergent effect, and they may compensate by converging linguistically and nonverbally along some alternative dimension. Seltig (1985) provided a compelling instance of this with respect to a radio interviewer with an Aachen dialect interviewing standard dialect German speakers with a Ruhr dialect audience. When the interviewer wished to dissociate from her expert interviewee and side with her local audience, the only linguistic resource available to her to signal this was to converge on her colloquial Aachen-like features.

But to return full circle, and as Table 3 indicates in Cells A and D, speakers' beliefs about where they are shifting are often enough in accord with objective sociolinguistic realities; in other words, they get it

Table 3. *Subjective and objective dimensions of speech accommodation*

		Subjective accommodation	
		Convergence	Divergence
Objective accommodation	Convergence	A	B
	Divergence	C	D

Source: After Thakerer et al. (1982).

right. However, even when speakers are actually "on target," misattributions can still be potentially rife, as in Cell C. Giles and Bourhis (1976) found evidence that black West Indian immigrants in a British city thought they were converging toward white local speech norms – actually the working-class variety of the neighborhood – and did in fact (as an evaluative phase of the study showed) sound indistinguishable from local whites. Yet, whites did not interpret blacks as sounding convergent, but rather dissociatively heard them as moving toward a speech style – the same nonstandard urban dialect – from which the whites were trying to rid themselves. In a very different cultural setting, Beebe (1981) found that Chinese Thai bilingual children used Chinese phonological features when being interviewed by an (objectively) standard Thai speaker who looked ethnically Chinese – another instance arguably of miscarried convergence that amounted to actual divergence. Similarly, some Singaporeans' and Australian immigrants' attempts – lexically, grammatically, and prosodically – to match "upwardly" the speech of native English speakers may miscarry; and in other cases, native English speakers mismanage their downward convergent attempts toward what they believe Singaporeans and aborigines sound like (Platt and Weber 1984).

From these examples (we have no empirical illustrations as yet of the kind of feasible mismatches implied in Cell B), it can be argued that accommodation is often cognitively mediated by our stereotypes of how socially categorized others will speak (Hewstone and Giles 1986). Moreover, foreigners' talk (see Zuengler this volume) and talk to young children (Greenbaum and Cooper 1988) can be construed as exemplars of this (see DePaulo and Coleman 1986). A gerontological demonstration of the same general phenomena (albeit not discussed in accommodation terms) is reported by Caporael and associates (e.g., Caporael 1981; Caporael, Lukaszewski, and Culbertson 1983), who found that some nurses used baby talk to some groups of institutionalized elderly, irrespective of the latter's actual capabilities. In some cases, this was obviously mismatched, as elderly recipients who had functional autonomy resented, of course, the social meanings implied in the nature of the discourse and found it demeaning and irritating [see also Coupland, Giles, and Benn (1986) for a discussion of similar processes operating with the visually impaired]. The chapter in this volume by Hamilton vividly illustrates how such mismatched, stereotyped-based accommodation can create dysfunctional communicative environments for the handicapped, constraining successful adaptation. Returning to the Caporeal et al. (1983) study, it is significant, however, that other elderly recipients, whose competencies were far lower, found the baby talk strategy nurturant and

reacted to it favorably (see also Ryan and Cole 1990). Hence such linguistic devices can sometimes be "hits" in both senses of the term. Interestingly, we have data that show not only Cell C behavior (since divergence can be achieved through hyperconvergence, as discussed earlier) with respect to the socially mobile, cognitively active, noninstitutionalized elderly (Coupland et al. 1988), but also strategically different (but evaluatively equivalent) forms of it occurring. This overaccommodation to elderly communicators can, moreover, be witnessed even when *avoidance* of such tactics has been vigorously and normatively prescribed, for example, in the training regimes of home-care assistants (Atkinson and Coupland 1988).

Gallois and Callan (1988) developed the notion of stereotypically driven accommodation further by invoking Turner's (1987) notion of prototypicality. These scholars developed an index for measuring the extent to which Australians (including recent immigrants) accommodated the nonverbal prototype of what it was to be an Anglo-Australian. Indeed, they found that prototypicality indexes were much better predictors of raters' social evaluations of these individuals than their actual or even perceived behaviors. Interestingly, those who accommodated the prototype well received moderately favorable ratings on a solidarity factor (i.e., nonaggressive, good, kind, and friendly) by listener-judges, whereas those further away from the prototype were downgraded. That said, those who were different from the prototype but in a socially desirable manner (i.e., smiled and gazed more and had softer voices) were judged most positively. It is as if new members to a community get first-base support for their movement toward the group prototype as an indication of their willingness to adopt group attributes, but there is additional room for positive evaluation if the person can assume other societally valued speech habits. In sum, then, people use whatever resources are available to them in terms of accommodating to another (see Prince 1988), and the actual focus of such movements may not be the addressees' communicative styles themselves. We believe that prototypicality is likely to be just as important an issue in the process of (linguistic) self-stereotyping in the context of *divergent* acts as it is in convergent acts.

1.3. Accommodative motives and consequences

In this section, we discuss the basic motives that have been demonstrated or inferred to hold for convergence and (the lesser studied) divergence, and the complex ways they function psychologically.

Convergence and integration

CAT proposes that speech convergence reflects, in the unmarked case, a speakers' or a group's need (often unconscious) for social integration or identification with another. In the early days of its development, the theory relied heavily on notions of similarity attraction (Byrne 1971), which, in its simplest form, suggests that as one person becomes more similar to another, this increases the likelihood that the second will like the first. Thus, convergence through speech and nonverbal behaviors is one of the many strategies that may be adopted to become more similar to another, involving the reduction of linguistic dissimilarities. Thus, for example, Welkowitz and Feldstein (1969, 1970) reported that dyadic participants who perceived themselves to be similar in terms of attitudes and personality converged pause duration patterns more than those who perceived dissimilarities. Also, Welkowitz et al. (1972) found that dyadic participants who perceived themselves to be similar converged vocal intensity more than informants who were randomly paired. Hence, those who believed themselves to be similar coordinated and influenced one another's speech patterns and timing more than other dyads, presumably because perceived similarity induces a more positive orientation and a relatively high level of interpersonal certainty.

Increasing behavioral similarity along a dimension as salient as speech is likely to increase a speaker's attractiveness (Dabbs 1969; Feldstein and Welkowitz 1978), predictability and perceived supportiveness (Berger and Bradac 1982), intelligibility (Triandis 1960), and interpersonal involvement (LaFrance 1979) in the eyes of the recipient. Moreover, Buller and Aune (1988) found that slow- and fast-speaking informants who were addressed at their own rates of talking by a target male rated him as more "immediate" [i.e., as having nonverbal patterns indicative of closeness; see Weiner and Mehrabian (1968)] and as more intimate; they were also more likely to comply with his request for volunteered assistance than when appealed to by speakers with nonaccommodated rates. From these findings, then, although largely by inference from studies of adjudged effects, convergence may plausibly be considered a reflection of an individuals' desire for social approval: If people are cognizant of (and/or have experienced in the past) positive cognitive, affective, and behavioral outcomes from convergence, then this is sufficient grounds for us to consider that an approval motive may often trigger it (see Sunnafrank 1986). In this way, Purcell (1984) observed that Hawaiian children's convergent shifts in prosodic and lexicogrammatical features depended on the likeability of the particular peers present when talking together in small groups; and Putman and Street (1984) reported shifts in interviewees' speech rate and turn duration when intending to sound likeable to an interviewer.

As we noted earlier in the Montreal bilingual study, a variety of studies on impression formation have shown speech convergence (over speech maintenance) to have been positively evaluated (Bourhis, Giles, and Lambert 1975). Putman and Street (1984 and just cited) found that interviewees who converge toward their interviewers in terms of speech rate and response latency are reacted to favorably by the latter in terms of perceived social attractiveness. Other research too indicates that relative similarity in speech rates, response latencies, language, and accent are viewed more positively than relative dissimilarity on the dimensions of social attractiveness (Street, Brady, and Putman 1983), comunicative effectiveness (Giles and Smith 1979), perceived warmth (Welkowitz and Kuc 1973), and cooperativeness (Feldman 1968; Harris and Baudin 1973). Furthermore, professional interviewers' perceptions of student interviewees' competence also has been shown to be positively related to the latter's convergence on speech rate and response latency (Street 1984), with Bradac et al. (1988) showing *downward* convergence in lexical diversity to be very favorably perceived (see, however, Bradac and Mulac 1984).

It appears to follow from this that the greater the speakers' need to gain another's social approval, the greater the degree of convergence there will be. Factors that influence the intensity of this particular need include the probability of future interactions with an unfamiliar other, an addressee's high social status, and interpersonal variability in the need for social approval itself. In the last respect, Natale (1975a,b) found that speakers scoring higher on a trait measure of need for social approval converged more to their partner's vocal intensity and pause length than speakers who scored lower. Furthermore, Larsen, Martin, and Giles (1977) showed that the greater one's desire for specified others' approval, the more similar overall their voices will sound subjectively to one's own (even if the latter contain a stigmatized speech feature such as a lisp). This cognition of a reduced linguistic barrier between oneself and another, termed "perceptual convergence," no doubt facilitates the convergence process, since the latter will appear a more attainable target toward which to converge (see Summerfield 1975).

The power variable is one that often emerges in the accommodation literatures and in ways that support the model's central predictions. Jo-

siane Hamers (pers. comm.), using role-taking procedures in a bilingual industrial setting in Quebec, has shown greater convergence to the language of another who was an occupational superior than to the language of one who was a subordinate; foremen converged more to managers than to workers, and managers converged more to higher managers than to foremen (see also Taylor, Simard, and Papineau 1978). Van den Berg (1985), studying code switching in commercial settings in Taiwan, found that salespersons converged more to customers than vice versa, as the customers in these settings hold more of the economic power (Cooper and Carpenter 1969). Interestingly, Cohen and Cooper (1986), drawing upon data in Thailand, showed that many tourists to the Third World do not expend the effort to acquire much, if any, competence in the language of the country visited, whereas locals in the service industries whose economic destiny is in many ways tied to tourism often become proficient in the foreigners' languages.

It is evident just from the previous studies that the mechanics of everyday interpersonal convergences in important social networks are the breeding ground for longer-term shifts in individual as well as group-level language usage (see Giles and Johnson 1987; Trudgill 1986). The potentially different trajectories of long-term accommodations in different situations are certainly worthy of longitudinal study, as are the different clusters of motives driving diverse accommodative acts. CAT has had much recourse to approval motives as the main trigger of convergence. However, it is clear from the last study cited that *instrumental* goals represent the antecedent conditions for convergence under some conditions more adequately than any motives of social approval, which in any case could be largely situationally irrelevant. Moreover, integration and approval are not necessarily coterminous, so future analyses of CAT processes need to reflect explicitly on the nesting of perceived task, identity, and relational goals (Argyle, Furnham, and Graham 1981; Clark and Delia 1979), both global and local (see also Scotton 1988).

Much of the literature on long- and mid-term language and dialect acculturation can also be interpreted in convergence terms whereby immigrants may seek the economic advantages and social rewards (although there are clearly also costs) that linguistic assimilation sometimes brings. In other words, group accommodation here may often be asymmetrical and unilateral toward the power source. Hence, Wolfram (1973) reported that in New York City, where both Puerto Ricans and blacks agree that the latter hold more power and prestige, Puerto Ricans adopted the dialect of blacks far more often than vice versa. Stanback and Pearce

(1981) contended that blacks adapt communicatively to whites more than the converse due to the socioeconomic muscle of whites in the United States. Moving to the gender context, Mulac et al. (1987) found that women but not men converged toward their partners' gaze in mixed-sex dyadic acquaintanceship settings (see Bradac, O'Donnell, and Tardy (1984). The foregoing notwithstanding, Genesee and Bourhis (1988) made a telling point about the role of sociostructural conditions mediating accommodative evaluations (see also Stieblich 1986). In their study contrasting bilingual shifts in Montreal with Quebec City, they showed that convergent shifts toward a less prestigious minority group can sometimes bring considerable social accolades.