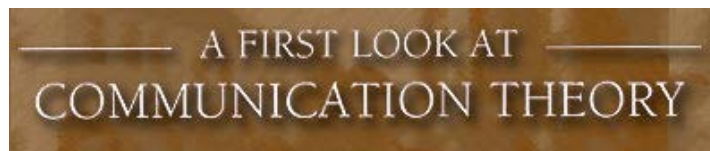


Speech Codes Theory – Gerry Philipsen

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Speech Codes Theory

of Gerry Philipsen

After three years on the staff of a youth organization, I resigned to pursue full-time graduate work in communication at Northwestern University. Gerry Philipsen was one of my classmates. When I finished my Ph.D. course work, the labor market was tight; I felt fortunate to receive an offer to teach at Wheaton College. A while later I heard Gerry was doing youth work on the south side of Chicago. I remember thinking that while my career was progressing, Gerry's was going backward. How wrong I was. As articles in the *Quarterly Journal of Speech* soon made evident, Gerry Philipsen was doing ethnography.¹

Ethnography

The work of a naturalist who watches, listens, and records communicative conduct in its natural setting in order to understand a culture's complex web of meanings.

While at Northwestern, Philipsen read an article by University of Virginia anthropologist and linguist Dell Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking." Hymes called for a "close to the ground" study of the great variety of communication practices around the world.² Philipsen decided to start in the Chicago community where he worked, a place he dubbed "Teamsterville," since driving a truck was the typical job for men in the community. For three years Philipsen talked to kids on street corners, women on front porches, men in corner bars, and everyone at the settlement house where he worked so that he would be able to describe the speech code of Teamsterville residents. By *speech code*, Philipsen means "a historically enacted, socially constructed system of terms, meanings, premises, and rules pertaining to communicative conduct."³

Even though the people of Teamsterville spoke English, Philipsen noted that their whole pattern of speaking was radically different from the speech code he knew and heard practiced within his own family of origin, by his friends at school, and across many talk shows on radio and TV. The stark contrast motivated him to conduct a second, multiyear ethnographic study, which began while he was teaching communication at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and continued when he moved on to the University of Washington. Although most of his "cultural informants" were from Santa Barbara or Seattle, the speech code community from which they were drawn was not confined to the West Coast of the United States. He labeled them the "Nacirema" (*American* spelled backward), because their way of using language was intelligible to, and practiced by, a majority of Americans. Typical Nacirema speech is a "generalized U.S. conversation that is carried out at the public level (on televised talk shows) and at the

interpersonal level in face-to-face interaction."⁴ For Philipsen, me, and many reading this text, "Nacirema are us."

Philipsen defines the Nacirema culture by speech practices rather than geographical boundaries or ethnic background. It's a style of speaking about self, relationships, and communication itself that emerged for Philipsen as he spent hundreds of hours listening to tapes of dinner-table conversations, life stories, and ethnographic interviews. Just as cultural markers emerge gradually for the ethnographer, so the defining features of the Nacirema code will become more clear as you read the rest of the chapter. But for starters, one characteristic feature of that speech code is a preoccupation with metacommunication—their talk about talk.⁵

Speech code

A historically enacted, socially constructed system of terms, meanings, premises, and rules pertaining to communicative conduct.

As Philipsen intended, the Teamsterville and Nacirema ethnographic studies provided rich comparative data on two distinct cultures. But he also wanted to go beyond mere description of interesting local practices. His ultimate goal was to develop a general theory that would capture the relationship between communication and culture. Such a theory would guide cultural researchers and practitioners in knowing what to look for and would offer clues on how to interpret the way people speak.

Based on the suggestion of Hymes, Philipsen first referred to his emerging theory as the *ethnography of communication*. He has found, however, that many people can't get past the idea of ethnography as simply a research method, so now that his theory has moved from description to explanation, Philipsen labels his work *speech codes theory*. Specifically, the theory seeks to answer questions about the existence of speech codes, their substance, the way they can be discovered, and their force upon people within a culture.

Philipsen outlines the core of speech codes theory in the following six general propositions. He is hopeful, however, that their presentation can be intertwined with the story of his fieldwork and the contributions of other scholars that stimulated the conceptual development of the theory. I've tried to capture that narrative mix within the limited space of this chapter.

THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF SPEECH CODES

Proposition 1: Wherever there is a distinctive culture, there is to be found a distinctive speech code.

Philipsen describes an ethnographer of speaking as "a naturalist who watches, listens, and records communicative conduct in its natural setting."⁶ When he entered the working-class, ethnic world of Teamsterville, Philipsen found patterns of speech that were strange to his ears. After many months in the community, he was less struck by the pronunciation and grammar that was characteristic of then Chicago mayor Richard J. Daley than he was by the practice of "infusing a concern with place into every conversation."⁷ He realized that Teamsterville residents say little until they've confirmed the nationality, ethnicity, social status, and place of residence of the person with whom they're speaking. Most conversations start (and end) with the question *Where are you from and what's your nationality?*

Philipsen gradually found out that discussion of "place" is related to the issue of whether a person is from "the neighborhood." This concern isn't

merely a matter of physical location. Whether or not a person turns out to be from “around here” is a matter of cultural solidarity. Unlike *Mister Rogers’ Neighborhood*, Teamsterville does not welcome diversity. As Philipsen heard when he first entered a corner tavern, “We don’t want no yahoos around here.”

While Philipsen discovered that Teamsterville conversation is laced with assurances of common place among those in the neighborhood, he found that speech among the Nacirema is a way to express and celebrate psychological uniqueness. Dinnertime is a speech event where all family members are encouraged to have their say. Everyone has “something to contribute,” and each person’s ideas are treated as “uniquely valuable.”

In Teamsterville, children are “to be seen, not heard.” Among the Nacirema, however, it would be wrong to try to keep a child quiet at the dinner table. Communication is the route by which kids develop “a positive self-image,” a way to “feel good about themselves.” Through speech, family members “can manifest their equality and demonstrate that they pay little heed to differences in status—practices and beliefs that would puzzle and offend a proper Teamsterviller.”⁸

Philipsen was raised in a largely Nacirema speech community, but until his research in Teamsterville, he hadn’t thought of his family’s communication as a particular cultural practice. Its taken-for-granted quality illustrates the saying that’s common among ethnographers: “We don’t know who discovered water, but we’re pretty sure it wasn’t the fish.”

THE MULTIPLICITY OF SPEECH CODES

Proposition 2: In any given speech community, multiple speech codes are deployed.

Philipsen later added this proposition to the five he first stated in 1997.⁹ He did so because he and his students now observe times when people recognize and are affected by other codes or employ dual codes at the same time. In his Teamsterville ethnography, Philipsen stressed the unified nature of their neighborhood speech patterns. Yet he noticed that the men gauge their relative worth by comparing their style of talk with that of residents in other city neighborhoods. They respect, yet resent, middle-class northside residents who speak Standard English. On the other hand, they are reassured by their perceived ability to speak better than those whom they refer to as lower-class “Hillbillies, Mexicans, and Africans.” Any attempt a man makes to “improve” his speech is regarded as an act of disloyalty that alienates him from his friends. Thus, the men define their way of speaking by contrasting it with other codes.

The awareness of another speech code is equally strong among the Nacirema. Their repeated references to the importance of “a good talk” or “meaningful dialogue” distinguish speech that they value from “mere talk,” or what today is parodied as “blah, blah, blah.” As Philipsen notes, the Nacirema characterized “their present way of speaking (‘really communicating’) by reference to another way of speaking and another communicative conduct that they had now discarded.”¹⁰

Dell Hymes suggested that there may be more than one code operating within a speech community.¹¹ Some doctors, lawyers, clergy, and teachers have been socialized to follow a professional code of language use in public, but

recognize and use different rules of speech when talking with others in a locker room, kitchen, or garage. In his book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, pioneer ethnographer Erving Goffman referred to this code-switching as *backstage behavior* and documented the discrepancies in restaurants, schools, and mental institutions.¹²

THE SUBSTANCE OF SPEECH CODES

Proposition 3: A speech code involves a culturally distinctive psychology, sociology, and rhetoric.

With this proposition, Philipsen takes a step back from the cultural relativism that characterizes most ethnographers. He continues to maintain that every culture has its own unique speech code; there's no danger we'll mistake a Nacirema discussion of personal worth with Teamsterville talk of neighborhood solidarity. But this third proposition asserts that whatever the culture, the speech code reveals structures of self, society, and strategic action.

Psychology. According to Philipsen, every speech code contains the notion of what it means to be a person within that speech community—the nature of the self. The Teamsterville code defines people as a bundle of social roles. In the Nacirema code, however, the individual is conceptualized as unique—someone whose essence is defined from the inside out.

Sociology. Philipsen writes that “a speech code provides a system of answers about what linkages between self and others can properly be sought, and what symbolic resources can properly and efficaciously be employed in seeking those linkages.”¹³ According to the unwritten code of Teamsterville, speech is not a valued resource for dealing with people of lower status—wives, children, or persons from outside the neighborhood who are lower on the social hierarchy. Nor is speech a resource for encounters with bosses, city officials, or other higher-status outsiders. In cases where the latter kind of contact is necessary, a man draws on his personal connections with a highly placed intermediary who will state his case. Speech is reserved for symmetrical relationships with people matched in age, gender, ethnicity, occupational status, and neighborhood location. Words flow freely with friends.

Rhetoric. Philipsen uses the term *rhetoric* in the double sense of *discovery of truth* and *persuasive appeal*. Both concepts come together in the way Teamsterville men talk about women. To raise doubts about the personal hygiene or sexual purity of a man's wife, mother, or sister is to attack his honor. *Honor* is a code that grants worth to an individual on the basis of adherence to community values. The language of the streets in Teamsterville makes it clear that a man's social identity is strongly affected by the women he's related to by blood or marriage. “If she is sexually permissive, talks too much, or lacks in personal appearance, any of these directly reflects on the man and thus, in turn, directly affects his honor.”¹⁴ In contrast, Philipsen discovered that a verbalized code of dignity holds sway among the Nacirema. *Dignity* refers to the worth that an individual has by virtue of being a human being. Within a code of dignity, personal experience is given a moral weight greater than logical argument or appeal to authority. Communication is a resource to establish an individual's uniqueness.¹⁵

Rhetoric

Both the discovery of truth and a persuasive appeal.

Honor

A code that grants worth to an individual on the basis of adherence to community values.

Dignity

The worth an individual has by virtue of being a human being.

THE INTERPRETATION OF SPEECH CODES

Proposition 4: The significance of speaking depends on the speech codes used by speakers and listeners to create and interpret their communication.

Proposition 4 can be seen as a speech code extension of I. A. Richards' maxim that words don't mean; people mean (see Chapter 4). If we want to understand the significance of a prominent speech practice within a culture, we must listen to the way people talk about it and respond to it. It's their practice; they decide what it means.

No speech practice is more important among the Nacirema than the way they use the term *communication*. Philipsen and Tamar Katriel (University of Haifa, Israel) have shown that the Nacirema use this key word as a shorthand way of referring to *close, open, supportive speech*.¹⁶ These three dimensions set communication apart from speech that the Nacirema dismiss as *mere communication, small talk, or normal chitchat*.

Close relationships contrast with *distant* affiliations, where others are "kept at arm's length."

Open relationships, in which parties listen and demonstrate a willingness to change, are distinct from routine associations, where people are stagnant.

Supportive relationships, in which people are totally "for" the other person, stand in opposition to *neutral* interactions, where positive response is conditional.

You may have noticed my not-so-subtle switch from a description of *communication* to a discussion of *relationships*. Philipsen and Katriel say that Nacirema speakers use the two words almost interchangeably. In Burkean terms (see Chapter 23), when not qualified by the adjective *casual*, *communication* and *relationship* are "god-terms" of the Nacirema. References to *self* have the same sacred status.

Although the people of Teamsterville know and occasionally use the word *communication*, it holds none of the potency that it has for the Nacirema. To the contrary, for a Teamsterville male involved in a relationship with someone of higher or lower status, communicating is considered an unmanly thing to do. Philipsen first discovered this part of the Teamsterville speech code through his work with youth at the community center. He ruefully recalls, "When I spoke to unruly Teamsterville boys in order to discipline them I was judged by them to be unmanly because, in such circumstances, I spoke."¹⁷ The guys "naturally" expected this older male to use power or physical force to bring them in line. They were confused when Philipsen, consistent with his Nacirema speech code, sat down with them to "talk things out." The only explanation that made sense to them was that their youth leader was gay. Not until much later did their conclusion get back to him.

THE SITE OF SPEECH CODES

Proposition 5: The terms, rules, and premises of a speech code are inextricably woven into speaking itself.

How can we spot the speech code of a given culture—our own or anyone else's? The basic answer is to listen for the traces of culture woven into everyday

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talk. Especially be on the lookout for words or phrases about communication behavior—the metacommunication that Watzlawick’s *interactional view* deems so important (see Chapter 13). This process of discovery takes time and a person with patience who is willing to listen and watch without preconceived notions. Michelle’s application log suggests that, with a little help from her friend, she was a quick learner.

I see speech code differences when I visit my friend’s extended family in rural Michigan. Sometimes I express an opinion or ask a question and am reproached by my friend with, “We don’t talk about that.” At the dinner table, the adults talk and consider it disrespectful for the kids to try to join the conversation, especially when they don’t know much about the topic or they ask questions. The code violation isn’t expressed, but I notice looks pass or short answers given. There’s an unwritten list of topics to talk about—the farm, people in town, other relatives, motorcycles, and topics where it’s assumed everyone agrees, like conservative politics. It would be strange for someone to bring up the economy in China or something that isn’t perceived as directly affecting the family. When I try to adapt, I fit in better and enjoy getting to know people from a different background.

Philipsen is not a fan of assuming a culture is *either* individualistic *or* collectivistic. He believes speech communities are more nuanced than that simple classification and their subtleties will be missed or blotted out by dichotomous labels.

Philipsen also focuses on highly structured cultural forms that often display the cultural significance of symbols and meanings, premises, and rules that might not be accessible through normal conversation. For example, *social dramas* are public confrontations in which one party invokes a moral rule to challenge the conduct of another. The response from the person criticized offers a way of testing and validating the legitimacy of the “rules of life” that are embedded in a particular speech code.

Philipsen analyzed Mayor Daley’s reply in the city council to charges of nepotism—in this case the appointment of his best friend’s son to a political position.¹⁸ By all accounts, Daley went ballistic. Most reporters regarded the speech as an irrational diatribe, yet his appeal to place, honor, and traditional gender roles resonated with the values of Teamsterville. When Philipsen asked people in the neighborhood if it was right for Daley to favor his friends, they responded, “Who should he appoint, his enemies?”

Totemizing rituals offer another window to a culture’s speech code. They involve a careful performance of a structured sequence of actions that pays homage to a sacred object. Philipsen and Katriel spotted a *communication ritual* among the Nacirema that honors the sacred trinity of self, communication, and relationships.¹⁹ Known as “a good talk,” the topic is often a variation on the theme of how to be a unique, independent *self* yet still receive validation from close others. The purpose of the ritual is not problem solving per se. Instead, people come together to express their individuality, affirm each other’s identity, and experience intimacy.

The communication ritual follows a typical sequence:

1. Initiation—a friend voices a need to work through an interpersonal problem.
2. Acknowledgment—the confidant validates the importance of the issue by a willingness to “sit down and talk.”

Totemizing ritual

A careful performance of a structured sequence of actions that pays homage to a sacred object.

3. Negotiation—the friend self-discloses, the confidant listens in an empathic and nonjudgmental way, the friend in turn shows openness to feedback and change.
4. Reaffirmation—both the friend and the confidant try to minimize different views, and they reiterate appreciation and commitment to each other.

By performing the communication ritual correctly, both parties celebrate the central tenet of the Nacirema code: “Whatever the problem, communication is the answer.”

THE FORCE OF SPEECH CODES IN DISCUSSIONS

Proposition 6: The artful use of a shared speech code is a sufficient condition for predicting, explaining, and controlling the form of discourse about the intelligibility, prudence, and morality of communication conduct.

Does the knowledge of people’s speech codes in a given situation help an observer or a participant *predict* or *control* what others will say and how they’ll interpret what is said? Philipsen thinks it does. It’s important, however, to understand clearly what Philipsen is *not* saying.

Let’s assume that Philipsen is again working with youth in Teamsterville and now knows the code of when a man should speak. Proposition 6 does not claim he should or could keep an unruly kid in line with a smack on the head. Speech codes theory deals with only one type of human behavior—speech acts. Nor does it claim that fathers in Nacirema homes will always encourage their kids to talk at the dinner table. Even when people give voice to a speech code, they still have the power, and sometimes the desire, to resist it. Perhaps the father had a bad day and wants some peace and quiet. Proposition 6 does suggest, however, that by a thoughtful use of shared speech codes, participants can guide metacommunication—the talk about talk. This is no small matter.

The dad-at-the-dinner-table example can help us see how prediction and control might work. Suppose a Nacirema father growls at his kids to finish their dinner without saying another word. Inasmuch as we understand the speech code of the family, we can confidently predict that his children will say that his demand is unfair, and his wife will object to his verbal behavior. As for artful control, she could choose to pursue the matter in private so that her husband wouldn’t lose face in front of the children. She might also tie her objection to shared values: “If you don’t communicate with our kids, they’re going to grow up bitter and end up not liking you.” In this way she would tap into issues that her husband would recognize as legitimate and would set the moral agenda for the rest of the discussion about the way he talks with the kids.

The dinner-table example I’ve sketched is based on an actual incident discussed by Philipsen.²⁰ He uses it to demonstrate the rhetorical force of appealing to shared speech codes. While the scope of Proposition 6 is limited to metacommunication, talk about the clarity, appropriateness, and ethics of a person’s communication is an important feature of everyday life. In the vernacular of the Nacirema, “It’s a big deal.” For people who study communication, it’s even bigger.

PERFORMANCE ETHNOGRAPHY

In an extension and critique of the style of ethnography that Philipsen conducts, some researchers have stopped talking about *doing* ethnography in favor of *performing* ethnography. Much like Philipsen, Dwight Conquergood, a former Northwestern University performance ethnographer, spent several years with teenagers in the "Little Beirut" district of Chicago. Conquergood lived in a multi-ethnic tenement and performed participant observation among local street gangs. *Performance ethnography* is more than a research tool; it is grounded in several theoretical principles.

The first principle is that performance is both the *subject* and the *method* of performance ethnography. All social interactions are performance because, as Philipsen notes, speech not only reflects but also alters the world. Thus, Conquergood viewed the daily conversations of gang members who were hangin' on the street corner as performances. Of particular interest to Conquergood were rituals, festivals, spectacles, dramas, games, and other metaperformances. The ritualistic handshakes and elaborate graffiti enacted by the gangs are examples of metaperformance because the gang members themselves recognized the actions as symbolic. Neither fiction nor farce, metaperformances are reminders that life consists of "performances about performances about performances."²¹

These researchers also consider their work performative. Fieldwork is performance because it involves suspension of disbelief on the part of both the participant observer and the host culture. In the act of embodied learning, researchers recognize that they are doing ethnography *with* rather than *of* a people group—they are co-performers. Conquergood didn't merely observe the greetings of gang members on the street; he greeted them.

In reporting their fieldwork, performance ethnographers are no less concerned about performance. They consider the thick descriptions traditionally produced to be a bit thin. By taking speech acts out of dialogues and dialogues out of context, published ethnographies smooth all the voices of the field "into the expository prose of more or less interchangeable 'informants.'"²² Thus, the goal of performance ethnographies is to produce actable ethnographies. As Conquergood wrote, "What makes good theatre makes more sensitive and politically committed anthropological writing."²³

Conquergood performed his ethnographies through public reading and even acting the part of a gang member. This kind of performance enables the ethnographer to recognize the limitations of, and uncover the cultural bias in, his or her written work. For those participating as audience members, performance presents complex characters and situations eliciting understanding that's responsive rather than passive.

Performance ethnography almost always takes place among marginalized groups. The theoretical rationale underlying this fact is that oppressed people are not passive but create and sustain their culture and dignity. In the face of daily humiliations, they create "subtle, complex, and amazingly nuanced performances that subversively key the events and critique the hierarchy of power."²⁴ Conquergood was committed to chronicling the performances of the oppressed in order to give them a voice in the larger society.

Performance ethnography

A research methodology committed to performance as both the subject and method of research, to researchers' work being performance, and to reports of fieldwork being actable.

CRITIQUE: DIFFERENT SPEECH CODES IN COMMUNICATION THEORY

A favorite grad school professor of mine was fond of saying, “You know you’re in the wrong place on an issue if you aren’t getting well roasted from all sides.” By this “golden mean” standard, Gerry Philipsen is on the right academic path.

Most interpretive scholars applaud Philipsen’s commitment to long-term participant observation and his perceptive interpretations, but they are critical of his efforts to generalize across cultures. Granted, he doesn’t reduce cultural variation to a single issue such as an individualistic–collectivistic dichotomy. Philipsen’s critics recoil, however, when he talks about explanation, prediction, and control—the traditional goals of science. Any theory that adopts these aims, no matter how limited its scope, strikes them as reductionist.

Theorists who operate from a feminist, critical, or cultural studies perspective (see Chapters 35–36, 21, and 27, respectively) charge that Philipsen is silent and perhaps naïve about power relationships. His description of the Nacirema speech code fails to unmask patterns of domination, and he doesn’t speak out against male hegemony in Teamsterville. In response, Philipsen says the practice of ethnography that he recommends gives voice to the people who are observed. He offers this advice to critical scholars:

1. Look and listen for the variety and particularity in what people do; it is not all, or only, power that energizes human action.
2. Look at and listen to the concrete details of what people say before you interpret their conduct, even with those people whom you have been taught to think of as the usual suspects.
3. Try to learn what words and other symbols mean to those who use them, because sometimes such open inquiry will surprise you.²⁵

If power is an issue—as it was in Mayor Daley’s city council speech—Philipsen believes it will be evident in the way people speak. If it’s not an issue, the ethnographer shouldn’t make it one.

Stella Ting-Toomey’s face-negotiation theory suggests that Philipsen’s interpretive approach is needlessly drawn out and almost guarantees that the person crossing cultural boundaries will experience culture shock.²⁶ It can take years to do the sort of ethnography that’s central to speech codes theory. Without some sort of cultural map as a guide, the sojourner will likely be overwhelmed with new impressions, many of them ultimately leading nowhere. And once the analysis is complete, the inquirer only has a handle on the communication patterns and meanings of, for example, men in a corner bar or students in a particular school—local knowledge not transferable to other communities.

Ting-Toomey offers a tool kit of cultural variables for strangers to use, headed by the value dimensions of collectivism–independence and small power differences–large power differences already validated by social scientists. Unlike ethnographic interpretations, these two sliding-scale issues provide security and predictability early in intercultural encounters and can be used to compare national cultures, not just local knowledge. But Philipsen remains skeptical of this cultural cookie-cutter approach. He believes *a priori* labeling causes those trying to understand another culture to ignore perceptions that don’t square with

preconceived ideas or to miss nuances that are unique to a given speech community.²⁷ As for the theory's scope of coverage, researchers trained in speech codes theory and methodologies have published ethnographies conducted in Colombia, Finland, Germany, Israel, Mexico, Spain, as well as in the United States and other countries.

Philipsen does offer a reminder, however, that the scope of his theory is limited to communication behavior. Those of us immersed in the Nacirema speech code may quickly affirm that good communication is the most important thing to create and nurture successful relationships. But Philipsen cautions that "carefulness in making and keeping romantic and marital vows, self-sacrifice in consideration of the other's well-being . . . or fidelity to a partner" may be as important or more important than self-disclosure or other forms of speech we might favor.²⁸ I appreciate his interpretation. To me it sounds right.

QUESTIONS TO SHARPEN YOUR FOCUS

1. Most of *speech codes theory* is concerned with *cross-cultural* rather than *intercultural* communication. What is the difference? Which incidents described in the chapter are examples of intercultural encounters?
2. Which *propositions* of the theory suggest a *scientific* approach to the study of speech codes?
3. Many scholars still think of Philipsen's work as the *ethnography of communication*. Why do you (or don't you) think *speech codes theory* is a better name?
4. Philipsen says that the *Nacirema* way of talking is the prevailing *speech code* in the United States. What *research* cited in this chapter supports his claim?

CONVERSATIONS



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My conversation with Gerry Philipsen is an exploration of contrasts. Philipsen highlights differences in cultures by listing topics that a Sioux interpersonal communication textbook would cover as opposed to the typical Nacirema text, which emphasizes self-disclosure. He then distinguishes between the ethnography of communication and his theory of speech codes. Philipsen goes on to suggest why the potential of using a culture's speech code to explain, predict, and even control people's behavior isn't at odds with the interpretive approach of ethnography. Finally, he discusses the fine line he draws between learning to understand and appreciate how other people see the world and still embrace his own ethical standards.

A SECOND LOOK

Recommended resource: Gerry Philipsen, "Speech Codes Theory: Traces of Culture in Interpersonal Communication," in *Engaging Theories of Interpersonal Communication*, Leslie A. Baxter and Dawn O. Braithwaite (eds.) Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, 2008, pp. 269–280.

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Critique: John Stewart, "Developing Communication Theories," in *Developing Communication Theories*, Gerry Philipsen and Terrance Albrecht (eds.), State University of New York, Albany, 1997, pp. 183-186.

For a theory that claims the emotional meaning of language is constant across cultures, click on Mediational Theory of Meaning in Archive under Theory Resources at www.afirstlook.com.

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- 27 Travis Dixon, Terry Schell, Howard Giles, and Kristin Drogos, "The Influence of Race in Police-Civilian Interactions: A Content Analysis of Videotaped Interactions Taken During Cincinnati Police Traffic Stops," *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 58, 2008, p. 530.
 - 28 Giles, Willemyns, Gallois, and Anderson, p. 148.
 - 29 Gallois, Ogay, and Giles, "Communication Accommodation Theory," p. 134.
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