AN ANALYSIS OF PERSUASIVE MESSAGES IN SHONA FAMILY SET-UPS

BY

JACK MUTSVAIRO

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STUDY LEADER: PROFESSOR M. DLALI

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Persuasion is an interesting, integral yet complicated communication field that has received little research in Shona. Persuasion in Shona family set-ups has shown that conversation partners engage in arguments and counterarguments that result in either the success or failure of the compliance-gaining attempts. Of much interest are the message dimensions of explicitness, dominance and argument which characterise these persuasive messages. An understanding of how and why compliance-seeking and -resisting strategies are used may help persuaders like advertisers, politicians, family counsellors, teachers, and evangelists to promote cohesion in families. Findings in this study will be useful to the study of persuasion by future students. Also, the knowledge of Shona persuasion may come in handy when non-Shona speakers engage in persuasive conversations with Shona-speaking people.

This qualitative research study analyses interview notes, audio recording transcripts and observation persuasive messages in Shona family set-ups. For the first two, content analysis is done. For persuasive messages, source arguments and target arguments are identified and compared, and then the clinching compliance-seeking argument or compliance-resisting argument for the influence goal is identified, followed lastly by an analysis of the message dimensions.

The study found out that a range of compliance-seeking and -resisting strategies are used by different members of both nuclear and extended families when they pursue certain influence goals. It also found that the sequencing of compliance-seeking strategies differs depending on the influence goal the source will be pursuing and the relationship of the influence interactants. The study also found that proverbs, clan praise names, reference to the Bible and silent treatment are strategies used habitually by Shona persuaders.

My hope is that my research findings will stimulate interest among persuaders to improve their persuasive skills since it has shed light on the use of persuasive strategies among the Shona. Students of persuasion will find it as pioneer work from which they will launch further investigation in this area.

OPSOMMING

Oorreding is 'n interessante, integrale, maar ingewikkelde kommunikasieveld wat min navorsing in Shona ontvang het. Oorreding in Shona-familie-optrede het getoon dat gespreksvennote betrek word in argumente en teenargumente wat óf die sukses of mislukking van die nakomende pogings tot gevolg het. Van groot belang is die boodskap dimensies van explicitness, dominansie en argument wat hierdie oorredende boodskappe kenmerk. 'N Begrip van hoe en waarom voldoening en soekende strategieë gebruik word, kan help om oorreders soos adverteerders, politici, familieberaders, onderwysers en evangeliste te help om kohesie in gesinne te bevorder. Bevindinge in hierdie studie sal nuttig wees vir die bestudering van oorreding deur toekomstige studente. Die kennis van Shona-oorreding kan ook handig wees wanneer nie-Shona-sprekers betrokke is by oorredende gesprekke met Shona-sprekende mense.

Hierdie kwalitatiewe navorsingstudie ontleed onderhoudsnotas, klankopname-transkripsies en waarnemingskendende boodskappe in Shona-familie-opstel. Vir die eerste twee word inhoudsanalise gedoen. Vir oorredende boodskappe word bronargumente en teikenargumente geïdentifiseer en vergelyk, en dan word die nasien-soekende argument of nalevingsweerstandende argument vir die invloeddoelwit geïdentifiseer, gevolglik gevolg deur 'n analise van die boodskapdimensies.

Die studie het bevind dat 'n verskeidenheid van voldoening-soekende en -weerstaande strategieë gebruik word deur verskillende lede van beide kern- en uitgebreide families wanneer hulle sekere invloedstoelwitte volg. Dit het ook bevind dat die volgordebepaling van nakomings-soekstrategieë verskil, afhangende van die invloed wat die bron na vore sal bring en die verwantskap tussen die invloed-interaktante. Die studie het ook bevind dat spreekwoorde, klanprysname, verwysing na die Bybel en stille behandeling, strategieë is wat gewoonlik deur Shona-oortreders gebruik word.

My hoop is dat my navorsingsbevindings belangstelling onder oortreders sal stimuleer om hul oorredende vaardighede te verbeter, aangesien dit liggies aan die gebruik van oorredende strategieë onder die Shona werp. Studente van oorreding sal dit as pionierwerk vind waaruit hulle verdere ondersoek in hierdie gebied sal begin.

PFUPISO

Kunyengetedza kana kutsvetera muchiShona ibazi rezvekutaura rakakosha asi risinganzwisisike rakaitwa tsvagurudzo shoma. Kunyengedza/ kutsvetera mumhuri kunoratidza kuti vatauri vanoita gakava kusvika kwabudirira kana kusabudirira. Zvakakosha imamiriro emashoko anoti kubuda pachena, kukurira nekukakava anowanika mushoko rekunyengedza/ kutsvetera. Kunzwisisa kuti nzira dzekutsvetera kana kuramba kutsveterwa dzinoshandiswa sei kunobatsira vatsveteri vanosanganisira vashambadzi, vezvematongerwo enyika, nyanzvi dzezvemhuri, vadzidzisi nevaparidzi mukuumbanidza mhuri dzakawandza. Zvandichawana mutsvagurudzo ino zvichabatsira vachadzidza nezvekutsvetera munguva inotevera. Ruzivo rwekutsvetera muchiShona rwunogona kubatsira vasingatauri chiShona kana vava kutsvetera vanhu vanotaura chiShona.

Tsvagurudzo ino inoongorora manotsi enhaurirano, zvinyorwa zvenhapamazwi uye nhaurwa dzekutsvetera mumhuri dzevaShona. Panzira mbiri dzekutanga ndichaita mhenenguro yeumbowo. Panhaurwa dzekutsvetera ndichatarisa pfungwa dzemunyengetedzi nepfungwa dzemunyengetedzwi ndodzienzaniswa, ndodoma pfungwa inoita kutsvetera kubudirire kana kuti kutadze kubudirira, ndozopedzeswa nekutarisa mamiriro emashoko ekutsvetera.

Tsvagurudzo yakawana nzira dzakawanda dzekutsvetera kana kuramba kutsveterwa zvinoshandiswa nemhengo dzemhuri dzepedyo nedzekure kana dzakananga zvinangwa zvekutsvetera. Zvakaonekwa kuti kurongwa kwenzira dzekutsvetera kunosiyana zvichienderana nechinangwa chemutsveteri uye ukama hwevatauri vacho. Tsvagurudzo yakawana kuti tsumo, zvidawo, kutaura zvinoreva bhaibheri uye kunyarara kwakangwara inzira dzinoshandiswa zvakanyanya nevatsveteri vechiShona.

Tariro yangu ndeyekuti zvakabuda mutsvagurudzo yangu zviite kuti vatsveteri vawedzere unyanzvi hwavo sezvo yaratidza mashandisirwo enzira dzekutsvetera nevaShona. Vadzidzi vekunyengetedza/ kutsvetera vachaiona sevhuramusasa yekuti vaenderere mberi netsvagurudzo iyi.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my late mother, mama Monica Chenai Mutsvairo (nee Chitiva) who opened my eyes to the importance of education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge the valuable contributions which were made by a number of my 'significant others' in my academic journey. Let me start by expressing my heartfelt gratitude to Professor M. Dlali for his academic guidance and criticisms of my thesis. I truly value all the time I spent consulting him for it was time well spent. Mrs Sijadu also deserves a special mention as she challenged to study beyond my honours' degree.

My course coordinator, Mrs Karin de Wet, was heaven-sent. She answered all my queries professionally and photocopied study material for me with a warm heart.

Judith Humana, who encouraged me to register with this university, my niece Tsungi, who showed me how to insert translation lines, and last but not least, my wife Martha, my silent critic – all occupy a special place in my heart.

Last by not least, I would like to express my indebtedness to the Department of African Languages that awarded me a full bursary for this degree. I hope I have repaid the faith placed in me.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1   AIM OF THE STUDY

This study aims to investigate how and why conversational partners in Shona family set-ups engage in persuasion. In order to achieve this aim, the following factors will be taken into consideration:

- the existing theoretical framework on persuasion
- aims of persuasion
- the role of context of the influence interaction.
- a qualitative research will be carried out and data collected will be analysed textually using a descriptive approach.

1.2   PROBLEM STATEMENT

Persuasion is a complex yet everyday communication phenomenon which has not received adequate research especially as it is used among the Shona people of Zimbabwe. Persuasion is defined by Daniel O'Keefe as "a successful intentional effort at influencing another's mental state through communication in a circumstance in which the persuadee has some measure of freedom" (2002: 17). This study investigates the use of compliance-gaining strategies by message sources and the use of compliance-resisting strategies by message targets. Persuasive messages targeting influence goals identified by Cody, McLaughlin & Robey (1994) such as give advice, gain assistance, share activity, change opinion, change relationship, obtain permission, enforce rights and obligation, and change orientation will be analysed in this study. Shona is a language spoken mostly in northern Zimbabwe, and persuasion is used in politics, business, religious circles and family communication. This study targets persuasion in family set-ups dyadic communication with a more concentrated focus on source and target arguments as well as message dimensions. Personal experiences of persuasion by individuals will also be examined through interviews with these individuals to see if exstant theoretical framework applies to them or if there are new insights that can be discovered in the process. For the purposes of this study, the terms compliance-gaining and persuasion will be used interchangeably.

1.3   OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The reasons for conducting this study are:

- to observe persuasion taking place in natural settings in Shona nuclear and extended family set-ups.
- to describe the persuasive problems encountered by message sources in Shona.
- to explore how deep persuasive problems are among the Shona speakers.
- to compare arguments of sources and targets so as to identify the compliance clinching arguments.
- to examine the role of persuasive message dimensions in the achievement of influence goals.

1.4   SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The findings and conclusions of this study will contribute to the body of academic work on Shona persuasion and hopefully stimulate further research in this area for the benefit of commerce, civil societies and linguistic bodies. This study is significant as it sheds light on the Shona persuasive messages and more importantly both the Shona and other speech communities will learn that:

- persuasive messages are prevalent in all communities.
- persuasive messages have value to them.
- persuasion is a process involving compliance-seeking and compliance-resisting arguments.
- message sources use different message dimensions to achieve success in persuasion.
- persuasion is an evolving communication phenomenon.

1.5   METHODOLOGY

For this study, I will use qualitative research methods that will involve structured interviews of random Shona speakers, audio recordings and an observation field study of a selected sample of Shona speakers in dyadic family communication. White & Rayner (2014: 41) describe qualitative research as "…a descriptive, non-numerical way to collect and interpret information…" It focuses on phenomena that occur in natural settings. Qualitative research methods generate words, and not numbers, as data for analysis. Some frequent criticisms of qualitative research are that samples are not representative enough of the broader population; there is the danger of overgeneralisation and the risk of researcher bias, and then more importantly the ethical issues of consent and confidentiality. Through this qualitative research methodology, the researcher will be able to describe, explore, examine and discover new or little known phenomena related to persuasive messages.

1.6   DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

1.6.1   Secondary Research Method

Through this approach, the researcher will collect data from articles, books, journals from the library and the Internet. These sources are valued by the researcher as they contain readily available information.

1.6.2   Primary Research Method

The data collection techniques which I will use are interviewing, audio recording and observing. I will conduct 17 structured interviews on persuasive experiences in families of Shona speakers resident in Cape Town during which I will write down notes or record their responses depending on the amount of time they indicate they can spare for the interviews. The respondents will be aged between 15 years and 60 years; this age range will allow me to elicit views about persuasion from both the young and the old. I will interview both sexes: male and female. In line with ethical research practices, I will explain the purpose of my research to the respondents, promise them not to use their names in my research and also assure them of the confidentiality of their answers. At the end of the interviews, I will read the notes I would have written to the respondents to ensure my data are valid and reliable. The notes will also ensure my data is credible. When I get home from the interviews, I will flesh out my interview notes by adding information of what I would have seen or observed during the interviews. For the audio recordings, I will transcribe them, start reading the transcripts and memoing them. When I memo, I record patterns, contradictions, connections and issues that will be emerging up as I read my interview notes and transcripts. For my data to be trustworthy, I will keep it safely filed away so that it does not get contaminated by other non-research-related activities. In Chapter 5, I will then analyse and interpret the interview data using the theoretical framework to be covered in Chapters 3 and 4.

Furthermore, in order to triangulate my data, I will conduct overt observations of Shona-speaking participants from Kunaka Village in Mashonaland Central province, Zimbabwe. Purposive sampling of 28 participants aged between 10 and 50 years from both nuclear and extended families is going to be done. Observations are cheap and easy to carry out. Just like with the interview respondents, I will assure the participants of the confidentiality of their views after I have explained to them that I will record their observations using the voice recorder on my cell phone and also that I will use their conversations for academic purposes only. After my field study, I will move to the next phases of my observational study: transcription and analysis of the persuasive messages. Data analysis will be done using Microsoft Word since my sample is very small. I will not use

complicated computer assisted qualitative data analysis systems (CADQAS) like NVivo or 'dedoose' because of time constraints. After doing a thorough data analysis in Chapter 5, I will then drew conclusions from my research findings which most likely will contribute to existing knowledge about persuasion, or stimulate debate or further research in Shona persuasive messages or inform the intervention strategies of professionals who deal with family problems.

1.7   SCOPE AND DELIMITATION

This study will focus on the use of oral persuasion in Shona family set-ups only. Persuasion in other contexts will not be included in the study as the focus is on the structure of persuasive messages in Shona families and ways in which compliance is achieved or resisted. Insights gleaned will be beneficial in the study of persuasion in other languages.

1.8   LITERATURE REVIEW

1.8.1   Thomas (1995)

Jenny Thomas' contribution to the persuasion theory is seen through her views regarding politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon. She describes politeness as "a strategy employed by a speaker to achieve a variety of goals, such as promoting or maintaining harmonious relations" (Thomas, 1995: 157-158). Thomas further touches on Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) concept of face by which she means "every individual's feeling of self-worth or self-image" (Ibid: 169). Face-threatening acts (FTAs) are considered to be speech acts which have the potential to damage or threaten another person's face. A number of strategies pointed out by Brown and Levinson are used to carry out or avoid FTAs. Politeness theories contribute to the understanding of persuasive strategies people use consciously or unconsciously.

1.8.2   Wilson & Sabee (2003)

According to Wilson & Sabee (2003), there are some theorists who believe that speakers produce messages to achieve certain goals and thus come up with plans for pursuing these goals. These theories advance that competent communicators are those who assess the likely impact of their utterances on both theirs and their conversational partners' face and can monitor and adjust both their goals and plans during conversations. Hierarchical theories of message production "emphasise that communicating competently requires procedural knowledge at multiple levels of abstraction" (Wilson and Sabee, 2003: 24).Within cybernetic control theory, individuals have self-regulating systems, and goals are arranged into superordinate and subordinate goals.

1.8.3   Wilson (2002)

Wilson (2002: 4) defines compliance gaining as "any interaction in which a message source attempts to induce a target individual to perform some desired behaviour that the target otherwise might not perform." A message source is a person who sends a message signal to the other, whilst the recipient of a message signal is the target. Compliance gaining may involve important requests, trivial requests, requests to perform action at the present moment or requests to perform actions in the future. Message sources employ a plethora of techniques when seeking target persons' compliance; these include explanations, bargains, and warnings. Message targets may comply straightaway with sources' requests, may offer alternatives to requests, or may resist compliance. It can be seen that message sources attempt to "alter a target's behaviour" (Wilson, 2002: 6).

1.8.4   Dillard (1989)

A primary goal is defined by Dillard (1989) as a desire to modify the target's behaviour. This includes giving advice, making a request, asking for help, apologising, thanking someone, and so on. A primary goal exerts a "push" force that leads the message source to initiate an interaction. It also defines the frame of the interaction as it signals the expectations about each party's identity, rights and obligations. In short, a primary goal is the reason for seeking compliance. On the other hand, a secondary goal is a concern or worry in an interaction. It is the social constraint that defines how the primary goal is executed. Dillard call it a "pull" force that shapes the how the primary goal is achieved.

1.8.5   Dillard & Marshall (2003)

According to Dillard and Marshall (2003), most efforts at interpersonal influence take place in close and personal relationships. The following reasons are the most frequently identified motivations for persuading others: give advice, gain assistance, share activity, change orientation, change relationship, obtain permission, and enforce rights and obligations, These primary goals are accomplished together with secondary goals (Dillard and Marshall, 2003: 483). These secondary goals influence the range of behavioural options available to the speaker. There are three targets of change that any source would target at any time. These are beliefs, attitudes and behaviours.

1.8.6   O'Keefe (2002)

O'Keefe posits that one's salient beliefs influence one's attitude towards an object and that persuasion takes place when the persuader causes an attitude change in the message source. Martin Fishbein's (1967) summative model of attitude suggests ways which a persuader can use to induce

attitude change in the message target. Research has been done on the effect of the message source on persuasive messages. Focus has been on communicator credibility and likability as well as similarity to the message target. Message factors such as message structure, message content and sequential-request strategies, and recipient traits and context factors all play key roles in persuasion.

1.8.7   Larson (2003)

Larson (1995: 160) defines process premises as "appeals that tap into the psychological processes operating in persuadees and that rely on human emotions, drives, or instincts". These could be emotional appeals, logical appeals, or hybrid appeals. Process premises are used to dispel fear, to get customers to buy a product due "to brand loyalty, brand name, a memorable slogan, catchy jingle, or even packaging." (Op cit: 161) Larson describes content premises as "premises relying on logical and analytical abilities" (1995: 194). When seeking to gaining compliance of fence-sitters on an issue, persuaders supply them with information, evidence, discussion or debate. Beliefs are content premises which serve as parts of the persuasive argument.

1.8.8   Hample and Dallinger (1990)

These co-authors have attempted to explain how people choose what not to say in influence interactions. They have chosen to focus not on the whole argument production process but on the editing phase. By editing they mean "the simple decision to say or suppress a possible argument" (Hample and Dallinger 1990: 153, as cited in Wilson, 2002: 145). Hample and Dallinger seek to establish the existence of "cognitive editing standards" through a "strategy-rejection procedure" using participants in a study that focus on many hypothetical compliance-seeking scenarios and a list of possible messages that might be used in each scenario. In the end, Hample and Dallinger came up with a"category system of 8 cognitive editing standards".

1.9   ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

This study has been subdivided into the following six chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the research study in which I have outlined the aim of the study, stated the problem statement, indicated the objectives of the study and its significance, and then explained the methodology and data collection techniques. I have also indicated the scope and delimitation of the study. Summaries of the work of leading authors on persuasion are also included in this chapter.

Chapter 2 is titled **Politeness Theory**. In this chapter, I will explore the politeness theory as espoused by Jenny Thomas (1995: 149-180). The chapter starts with a delimitation of the concept of politeness, with the focus being on politeness as an illocutionary phenomenon as opposed to a real-

world goal, deference, register or an utterance level phenomenon. As Thomas discuss politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon, the focus of this chapter shifts to the Leech's (1983a) explanation of Politeness Principle and conventional maxims, then Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) superstrategies for Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs), followed by Fraser's (1990) view of politeness as a conversational contract, and, last but not least, Spencer-Oatey's (1992) pragmatic scales for measuring politeness. I will provide Shona examples to clarify these four pragmatic approaches to politeness in this chapter. The chapter ends with an evaluation of the four pragmatic approaches.

Then in Chapter 3, titled **Persuasive Message Production**, I will explore persuasive message production theories such as the Goals-Plans-Action and cybernetic control psychological theories, Wilson's (2002) compliance-gaining theory, earlier research focusing on two strategy-selection traditions: the MBRS study compliance-gaining tradition and the constructivist tradition, and the goal-pursuit tradition as advocated by Dillard et al (1997) form the bulky part of this chapter. An appraisal of primary and secondary goals will be done as well in this chapter. The chapter will also feature a review of research by Hample and Dallinger (1990) on how influence interactants deal with conflicting goals. Furthermore, I will examine Dillard's secondary goals as well as Kellermann's (1992) and Kim's (1994) conversational constraints. The chapter will end with a discussion of interpersonal influence goals, which I will use later in my research.

Chapter 4 focuses on a review of literature on persuasive effects. The chapter starts with a look at Fishbein's (1967a) Summative Model of Attitude as it summarised by Daniel O'Keefe (2002: 46). Even if I am not going to analyse social factors (communicator credibility and liking, similarity and physical attractiveness) in my study, I will explore them to find out their effects on the effectiveness of persuasive messages. Message factors such as message structure, message content and sequential-request strategies will also be examined in this chapter before I turn my attention to receiver and context factors. I then round up the chapter with a detailed examination of process and content premises as articulated by Larson (1995) in his book *Persuasion: Reception and Responsibility*.

I will then move to an analysis of persuasive messages in Shona family set-ups in Chapter 5 in which I will analyse data collected from observations. I will subject the observations data to textual analysis whereby I will follow the steps outlined below:

I.   Give a statement of the problem
II. Identify the influence goal according to Cody et al (1994) typology of influence goals.
III. Single out both source and target arguments

    IV. Compare the arguments of the source and target

    V. Establish compliance and its reasons

    VI. Identify message dimensions

In Chapter 6, I will draw conclusions on the overall theoretical contributions and practical implications, point out gaps and contradictions in the whole research, and make recommendations for future studies in Shona persuasion.

CHAPTER 2

POLITENESS THEORY

2.1   AIMS

I will explore and critique Jenny Thomas's understanding of the existing pragmatic approaches to politeness, and then exemplify the various principles, maxims and dimensions using Shona situations.

2.2   INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will explore the politeness theory as espoused by Jenny Thomas (1995: 149-180). The chapter starts with a delimitation of the concept of politeness, with the focus being on politeness as an illocutionary phenomenon as opposed to a real-world goal, deference, register or an utterance level phenomenon. As Thomas discusses politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon, the focus of this chapter shifts to the Leech's (1983a) explanation of Politeness Principle and conventional maxims, then Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) superstrategies for Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs), followed by Fraser's (1990) view of politeness as a conversational contract, and, last but not least, Spencer-Oatey's (1992) pragmatic scales for measuring politeness. I will provide Shona examples to clarify these four pragmatic approaches to politeness in this chapter. The chapter ends with an evaluation of the four pragmatic approaches.

2.2.1   Defining the concept of politeness

Politeness is a problematic concept that generated much debate and discussion in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Since the 1970s, researchers have discussed politeness under the following five separate but related sets of phenomena:

- Politeness as a real-world goal
- Deference
- Register
- Politeness as a surface level phenomenon
- Politeness as an illocutionary phenomenon

Jenny Thomas (1995) argues that the first four sets are not really related to pragmatics so she advises that more focus be spent on studying politeness as an illocutionary phenomenon. Before I

discuss politeness in pragmatics let me spend some time explaining it as real-world goal, as deference, register and a surface level phenomenon.

2.2.1.1 Politeness as a real-world goal

Politeness as a real-world goal involves looking at politeness as an honest desire to be pleasant to others. There is no way of determining the motivation of a speaker to be polite in a social interaction nor is there agreement on whether one group of people is 'politer' than the other. According to Jenny Thomas "as linguists we have access only to what speakers say and to how their hearers react." (1995: 150) Shona* people do not naturally make eye contact when chatting with their superiors but that does not mean that they will be being polite. At the same time, most Westerners value eye contact in conversations but that does not mean they are impolite either. These contrasting behaviours can be explained by looking at deference and register.

It should be noted that deference and register are sociolinguistic concepts whereas politeness is at the core of pragmatics.

2.2.1.2 Deference versus politeness

There is a thin line between deference and politeness. In Shona *rukudzo* (deference) is fractionally different from *kuve neunhu* (politeness) such that the words *rukudzo* and *kuve neunhu* are sometimes used interchangeably. Thomas defines deference as " the respect we show to other people by virtue of their higher status, greater age, etc." (1995: 150). She then goes on to say that politeness is a broader concept that includes showing consideration to others. Both deference and politeness can be shown linguistically and paralinguistically. Linguistically, in Shona deference is shown by using words with an honorific suffix *–i* like in *Torai* (saying Take this respectfully) as opposed to *Tora* (Take!) – a disrespectful command. Deference is also shown through the use of linguistic address forms such as *mukoma* (brother), *vahanzvadzi* (sister), *baba* (father) and *amai* (mother) when addressing a person with whom you may not even be related. Grammatically, in Shona one can signal respect towards the interlocutor by using the honorific concord agreement affix (*chiratidzamuiti),* for example, **va**nofara (they are happy) as opposed to **a**nofara (he/she is happy) which depicts familiarity. Affix *va-* depicts deference and number but in the above example it is used to show the former. Just like in Japanese and Korean, in Shona many parts of speech can be marked or unmarked for deference as shown in the following example:

Example 1

A. *Murume uyo mutsvuku ndewangu. (Hapana rukudzo)*
    That light-skinned man is mine. (Non-deferential)

B. *Varume (noun) avo (demonstrative) vatsvuku (adjective) ndevangu (copulative).   (Rukudzo)*
    That light-skinned man is mine. (Deferential)

In Line B in the example above, affix **va- /-v-** is used to show respect even if the person being talked about is a single male. Paralinguistically, deference is shown, for example, by stepping out of the way when an elder is passing by or taking off one's hat when speaking to an elder.

On the contrary, some deference markers are used in Shona to show not respect but contempt or disapproval. In the following example, the speaker is cautioning sarcastically the reckless driver of the possibility of getting involved in an accident:

Example 2

Mutauri ari kutyaira motokari mumugwagwa weN1 apo mutyairi wechidiki
The speaker is driving on the busy N1 highway where one young driver is

ari kupindira nekudimburira pamberi pedzimwe motokari. Panomira motokari dzose,
overtaking and cutting in front of other cars. When traffic comes to a complete halt, the

mutauri anobuda mumotokari yake oenda kune mutyairi wechidiki:
speaker steps out of his car and approaches the young driver:

Mukoma munofa muri mwana mudiki.
Brother you will die young.

The term *mukoma* (brother) is often used to show deference to a senior male sibling but in this case it is used to indicate that the young driver is behaving recklessly as if he is old and has driving experience. This is a toned down rebuke.

2.2.1.3 Register

Register, just like deference, is a sociolinguistic concept with very little connection with pragmatics. Thomas (1995) cites Halliday (1978: 32) in defining register as "the language we speak or write (which) varies according to the type of (social) situation." In essence, it is appropriate language for an appropriate situation. Thomas identifies two scenarios that require formal language use: certain situations and certain social relationships. In terms of situations, these include formal meetings, interviews, church services, funerals, weddings, political inaugurations, and so on. In Shona social relationships that require the use of formal language include parent-child relationship, relationship between in-laws, between strangers, and between chiefs and their subjects. Informal language may be used in a friendship *(chishamwari),* a niece/nephew and aunt/uncle relationship *(chizukuru),* and

between beer/funeral friends *(madzisahwira).* The formality of language use often shows itself in Shona by word choice, forms of address, distance, touching or lack of, avoidance of interruptions and so forth. It may also be reflected in the use of deference markers like in *Torai* as discussed in section 2.1.2.

2.2.1.4 Politeness as an utterance level phenomenon

Thomas (1995) observes that studies have shown that in many languages there are many linguistic forms that are used to perform a particular speech act. She also notes that:

> …members of a particular community showed a very high level of agreement as to which linguistic forms were (when taken out of context) most polite, and in general it was found that the more grammatically complex or elaborate the strategy, the more highly it was rated for politeness. (1995: 155)

The following example amply highlights this observation:

Example 3

A.   *Ndinokumbira**wo** kuti **ti**nyarare.* (I beg all of us to be quiet.)

B.   *Nga**ti**nyararei.* (Let us all be quiet.)

C.   *Nyararai!* (Be quiet all of you!)

In example 3, Line A is the "most polite" of the three lines. The speaker makes an elaborate request using an enclitic *–wo* which indicates the speaker's humble request, and an inclusive pronoun *ti–* which elicits compliance and avoids confrontation. Line B is more polite than Line C because the speaker uses a hortative verb mood, as indicated by the *nga–,* which expresses the wish of the speaker (for the people to be quiet) as well as an appeal to the target to make the wish happen. Line C is considered rude as it is an unmodified imperative form.

Thomas notes that there are two problems with these studies: one is that listing linguistic forms used to perform speech acts is a sociolinguistic approach, and two, if context is added, "there is no necessary connection between the linguistic form and the perceived politeness of a speech act." (1995: 156). She further contents that there are three reasons for this. Let us look at the following example:

Example 4

Varoorani vari kuita chikudo. Mukadzi anoti:
A married couple is involved in horseplay. The wife says:

Uya pano.
Come here.

In this case the wife uses a direct imperative, but this is not offensive at all considering the context in which it is said. Leech (1983a: 107-8) explains this speech act as "beneficial to the hearer" therefore it is not impolite.

The second reason for the disjuncture between linguistic forms and the assumed politeness of a speech is illustrated in the following example, again involving the same couple mentioned in example 4. The husband says to his wife:

Example 5

Mungabikewo chikafu chemasikati here?
(Will you be so kind to prepare lunch?)

[papera chinguva]
[and later]

Dai mati kasikei zvishoma.
(If you could hurry up a bit.)

When taken out of context, these linguistic forms are perfectly polite. But in this scenario they are annoyingly indirect. The husband is getting annoyed with his wife's slowness in preparing lunch, and so he registers his displeasure using elaborate request forms. In essence, he is being impolite contrary to my assertion regarding Line 3 in example 3.

The third reason cited by Thomas is that "some speech acts seem inherently impolite." (1995: 157). Even if the utterer of Line A in example 6 below uses a justifier, the statement is still as offensive as Line B in the same example. There seems to be no polite way of saying someone is failing to understand a simple concept.

Example 6

A.   *Nokuti haauna kudzidza, haunzwisise zvandiri kutaura.*
      (Because you are illiterate, you don't understand what I am saying.

B.   *Haunzwisise zvandiri kutaura!*
      (You don't understand what I'm saying!)

Thomas concludes this section by saying that it is not easy to know the motivation behind a speech act but for some linguistic forms, their link with politeness can be established. On the surface, Line A maybe more polite than Line B in example 6. It can be concluded that a speech act is polite or

impolite depending on three conditions: the linguistic form, the context of the utterance and the relationship between the interactants (the speaker and the hearer).

2.2.1.5 Politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon

Pragmaticists credited with thorough studies of politeness theory are Leech (1980), and Brown and Levison (1987). Their view is that politeness is a pragmatic phenomenon that can be "interpreted as a strategy employed by a speaker to achieve a variety of goals, such as promoting or maintaining harmonious relations." (Thomas, 1995: 157-158) The strategy involves a variety of conventional and non-conventional indirectness. Thomas grouped these pragmatic approaches to politeness under the following headings:

- The conventional-maxim view as espoused by Leech
- The face-management view of Brown and Levison
- Conversational-contract view advanced by Fraser (1990)

- Pragmatic scales proposed by Spencer-Oatey (1992)

2.3   POLITENESS EXPLAINED IN TERMS OF PRINCIPLES AND MAXIMS

Leech (1980) introduces the concepts of ambivalence and pragmatic principles. He also believes that politeness explains why people choose to be indirect in their utterances.

2.3.1   Ambivalence and politeness

When something is likely to cause offence to the hearer even when politely expressed, a speaker can resort to being ambivalent. An ambivalent utterance 'has more than one potential pragmatic force.' (Thomas, 1995: 158) Example 7 shows this in relation to a potentially very offensive speech act (requesting library users not to speak loudly!) The message is ambivalent and the readers have to decide what the precise force of the message is and whether it applies to them or not:

Example 7

Chiziviso muraibhurari yemuMvurwi chinoti:
A notice in a Mvurwi library reads:

Munobvumirwa kutaura asi yeukaiwo vamwe vanoverengera muno.
You may have your discussions but consider other library users too.

Because the library is used by adults, maybe the librarians thought it offensive simply to put up 'No Talking/Silence' signs. The library users have to decide whether they are being *asked* or *ordered* not to talk.

2.3.2   Pragmatic principles

According to Leech, the Politeness Principle (PP) runs like this:

> Minimise (all things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs; Maximise (all things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs.

Leech sees the PP as equal to Grice's Cooperative Principle. According to the PP, some people deliberately choose to be polite or impolite. The example below shows how a speaker can explicitly 'mark' the fact that he or she wants to observe politeness norms:

Example 8

Zvetsika tombosiya tikutaurirei chokwadi. Vakuru matadza kutonga nyika ino.
Respect aside, let me tell you the truth. You have failed to rule this country.

From the above example, it can be noted that the speaker is expressing an impolite belief and has not hesitated to do so indirectly. Leech introduces a number of maxims which mirror Grice's maxims (Quality, Quantity, Relation and Matter). These maxims 'explain the relationship between sense and force in human conversation.' (Leech) The main maxims are: Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement and Sympathy. Leech further says that these maxims are statements of norms that speakers seem to follow.

2.3.2.1 The Tact maxim

This maxim states: 'Minimise the expression of beliefs which imply cost to other; maximise the expression of beliefs which imply benefit to other.' There are three aspects of the Tact maxim: size of imposition, optionality and the cost/benefit scale.

In the following example, minimisers have been used to reduce the implied cost to the hearer:

Example 9

Kure zvishoma.
(It's a bit far.)

Timbotaura kwekanguvana.
(Let's talk for a few minutes.)

Pane kadambudziko kadiki.
(There's a small problem.)

Giving options or seeming to be giving options is seen as a sign of politeness in Western cultures. In Shona, especially among the Zezuru tribe, offering food to a passing by traveller is seen as a sign

of politeness. The traveller is left with an option of turning down the offer. Regarding the cost/benefit scale, if something is seen to benefit the hearer, X can be expressed politely without using indirectness: *Imbozorora.* (Take a rest.) However, if X is seen as being 'costly' to the hearer, a bit of indirectness is employed: *Unganditsemurirewo danda iri here?* (Could you split this log for me?) The asker is requesting to be helped but has done so indirectly.

2.3.2.2 The Generosity maxim

Leech's Generosity maxim states: 'Minimise the expression of benefit to self; maximise the expression of cost to self.' According to Thomas, the Generosity maxim makes it possible for one to say: *You must come and have dinner with us*, while asking to be hosted by the hearer requires considerable indirectness. Under-applying the maxim will make the speaker appear mean, and over-applying it will seem sarcastic. The following examples highlight this maxim:

Example 10

Sahwira achipa komichi yedoro kune mumwe wake:
A beer friend offering a cup full of beer to the other:

Heinoi nyautsamukanwa.
Here is something to whet your appetite.

Example 11

Mai kuvana vavo:
A mother to her children:

Kudya kwakawanda. Nhasi munodya kusvika zvihururu zvopisa.
Plenty of food. Today you'll eat until your throats are sore.

2.3.2.3 The Approbation maxim

The Approbation maxim states: 'Minimise the expression of beliefs which express dispraise of other; maximise the expression of beliefs which express approval of other.' Normally we prefer to praise and, if this is not possible, we either side-step the issue, give some minimal response or remain silent. In Shona, the degree to which criticism is acceptable varies depending on the social relations of the interactants. Relationships between unrelated people *(vatorwa),* friends *(shamwari)*, funeral or beer friends *(vanasahwira)* and, parents and their children *(vabereki nevana vavo)* allow different levels of criticism. When adulterous people *(mhombwe)* are tried at a chief's court *(dare rashe)*, the chief criticises them directly and state their adulterous acts explicitly. In Shona, the 'other' may not be the person directly addressed, but "someone or something dear to him or her." (Thomas, 1995: 163) It is unacceptable to ask: *Vana vako here vose ava mazungairwa?* (Are all these crazy children yours?)

2.3.2.4 The Modesty maxim

The Modesty maxim states: 'Minimise the expression of praise of self, maximise the expression of dispraise of self.' This is a culture-specific maxim. In Shona culture when one is showered with praise for accomplishing something, one often modestly diminishes his or her worthiness to receive such praise as illustrated by B in the example below:

Example 12

A akadya sadza nenyama yehuku kumba kwaB:
A ate pap (stiffened porridge) and chicken meat in B's house:

A: Maita basa. Taguta.
A: Thank you. We're full (we have ate enough).

B: Muchitendeiko? Iko kasadza nenzondora aka?
B: What are you thankful for? This little pap and chicken feet?

2.3.2.5 The Agreement maxim

The Agreement maxim states: 'Minimise the expression of disagreement between self and other; maximise the expression of agreement between self and other.' Elaborating on this maxim, Thomas states: "We simply observe that they are much more direct in expressing their agreement, than disagreement." (1995: 165) The example below shows that a person differs in a dignified way:

Example 13

A: ...ndinoti unofanira kunyora bvunzo gore rino kuti ukwanise kuenda kuyunivhesiti gore rinouya.
A: … I say you should write examinations this year so that you can be able to go to university next year.

B: Ndakunzwai asi handifunge kuti pfungwa yenyu yakanaka.
B: I've heard you but I don't think you idea is good.

2.3.2.6 The Pollyanna Principle

This Leech maxim states that we look at the positive side of things. The maxim involves the use of minimisers and relexicalisation. Below are two examples that highlight the Pollyanna Principle:

Example 14

Mukuru webasa aisimbisa mushandi mushure mekunge mushandi atumira tsamba yekutsvaga rimwe basa mukambani imwe cheteyo:
(A manager was consoling a worker after the worker had written an application letter for another job in the same company):

Uri nyanzvi yebasa. Ukabva ipapo ndiani mumwe anogona basa iroro sewe?
You're an expert. If we remove you, who else is able to do that job effectively?

Example 15

Mukoma (A) vanogara nemunin'ina wavo (B):
Brother (A) stays with his young brother (B):

A: *Imbodza sadza renyu iri.*
A: Your pap is understood cooked.

B: *Asi rinodyika.*
B: But it can be eaten/ is edible.

2.3.3 Problems with the Leech's approach

Thomas critiqued Leech's politeness theory as "inelegant" and "unfalsifiable". This is so because Leech's maxims overlap and the theory is not restrictive enough on the number of maxims that can be generated to explain every repeated pattern in language use. In a limited way, Leech politeness theory can be used to make cross-cultural comparisons and explain cross-cultural differences in understanding politeness. Thomas suggests that Leech's maxims be considered as "a series of socio-psychological constraints" that govern what politeness strategies people use in interactions. Some of these constraints will be universal, some culture-specific and some really unique. Other critics of Leech's politeness theory have pointed out that the theory is biased towards Western culture.

2.4   BROWN AND LEVINSON'S THEORY OF POLITENESS

Brown and Levinson (1978) are credited with the coming up with the theory of politeness. At the core of their theory is the concept of face. Face refers to reputation or good name in ordinary sense. But in pragmatics, face refers to "every individual's feeling of self-worth or self-image." (Thomas, 1995: 169) This face can be damaged, maintained or enhanced as we interact with others. Two aspects of face are positive and negative faces. A person's positive face is revealed by his or her 'desire to be liked, approved of, respected and appreciated by others'. The negative face is linked to the desire to have the freedom to do as one wishes (individual autonomy).

2.4.1 Face-threatening acts

According to Brown and Levinson, face-threatening acts (FTAs) are illocutionary acts that are likely to damage or threaten another person's face. Thomas explains an FTA as having the potential to damage the hearer's positive face or H's negative face. The illocutionary act may also potentially damage the speaker's own positive face or S's negative face. There are strategies that are adopted by hearers and speakers to reduce the possibility of damage to H's face or to the speaker's own face. The speaker chooses the appropriate strategy depending on the size of the FTA. According to Thomas, "the speaker can calculate the size of the FTA on the basis of the parameters of power (P),

distance (D) and rating of imposition (R)." (Ibid.) These combined values determine the overall 'weightiness' of the FTA which in turn influences the strategy employed.

Superstrategies for performing face-threatening acts

If the speaker decides to perform the FTA, there are four possibilities. These are three sets of 'on-record' superstrategies (perform the FTA on-record without redressive action, perform the FTA on-record using positive politeness and perform the FTA on-record using negative politeness) and one set of 'off-record' strategies. According to Thomas, "if the speaker decides that the degree of face threat is too great, he or she may decide to avoid the FTA altogether." (Ibid.)

2.4.1.1 Performing an FTA without any redress (bald-on-record)

Some situations have external factors that constrain an individual to speak very directly. This happens in cases of emergency, or when time is a huge constraint or when there is a channel limitation. Some situations involve all three factors and thus will require "speaking with maximum efficiency" (Thomas, 1995: 170) The propositional content of the message is the focus of the speaker rather than interpersonal aspect:

Example 16

Mudzidzisi wekutyaira achitaura kumudzidzi wekutyaira:
A driving instructor to a learner driver:

…chinja jiya. Bata mudhiraivho zvakanaka. Tarisa mberi kwete majiya.
…change the gear. Handle the steering wheel properly. Look at the road and not at the gear shift.

Ratidza kwawava kutenera. Gara wakangwarira kudunwa neimwe motokari.
Indicate the direction you are turning to. Beware of being bumped into by another car.

The instructor is being direct so that the learner-driver gets the message. The instructions are clear, concise and unambiguous.

In situation of power differential (where the speaker has more power than the hearer), no attempts are made to mitigate the FTA. The speaker often uses directness in these situations:

Example 17

Muzvinakamba achitaura kuvanhu vauya kuzokemba pakamba yake:
The camp owner speaking to campers at his camp:

Hapana anoenda kuduhwino pasina mudzidzisi. Hapana anokwira pachekusvetukira
No one goes to the swimming pool without a teacher. No one gets on the diving

ndisipo. Shambirai kusinganyudze uko.
springboard in my absence. Swim in the shallow end there.

Again in this example the speaker is being forthright using bald-on-record superstrategy.

But a number of examples of bald-on-record utterances do not fall into any of Brown and Levinson's categories. The speaker can choose to be maximally offensive and will therefore not use any bald-on-record strategies. This is illustrated in the examples below:

Example 18

Baba vachiraira mwanakomana wavo akaroora:
A father advises his married son:

'Vakadzi havaudzwe tsindidzo. Vanoswera vaiudza vamwe. Havana hana dzakasimba.'
'Wives are not to be told a secret. They will tell others in no time. They are not strong emotionally.'

The father is passing on a generations-distilled truism to his son although this sounds sexist; some men do not keep secrets too.

Example 19

Mumiriri wedunhu reMabvuku mudare reparamende yeZimbabwe, VaJames Marida,
Mabvuku Member of Parliament in Zimbabwe, Honourable James Marida,

vachitaura kuvatori venhau:
speaking news reporters:

'Hungwe imhombwe, mhondi, munyepi mukuru.'
'Hungwe is an adulterer, a murderer, a big liar.'

Characteristic of political communication, the MP is being direct so that the point is driven home.

Example 20

Mutungamiri wekambani achitaura pamusoro pemushandi ari kumupomera mhosva yerusarura:
A company manager talking about a worker who is accusing him of discrimination:

'Ari kutaura zvemugotsi matsuro.'
'He is talking lies.'

Again here no effort is made at being polite or indirect; the speaker is shooting from the hip: brutally honest and brusque.

2.4.1.2 Performing an FTA with redress (positive politeness)

According to Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness, "when you speak to someone you may orient yourself towards that individual's positive face, and employ positive politeness." (Thomas, 1995: 171) The co-authors then provide fifteen positive politeness strategies. These include using in-group identity markers, expressing interest in H, claiming common ground, seeking agreement,

avoiding disagreement, making jokes, making offers or promises, offer sympathy, being optimistic, and so on. Let us look at the example below:

Example 21

Murume akazorora hake pamba pake apo anotambira nhare kubva kune mumwe waanotamba naye:
A man is resting in his house when he receives a call from his friend:

E-e, akoma, muri kutambeiko? Muri kuverenga kana kunyora? Ngatisangane paJoina Centre titandare!
E-e, brother, what are you entertaining yourself with? Studying or writing? Let's meet at Joina Centre and chill!

The friend has used more than three of Brown and Levinson's positive politeness strategies: 'use in-group identity markers' (*akoma*/ brother), 'express interest in H' (*kubvunza zvaari kuita*/ asking him what he is doing), 'claim common ground'(*Ngatisangane paJoina Centre…*/Let's meet at Joina Centre), and use of inclusive pronoun *ti*–/ we in *titandare*.

2.4.1.3 Performing an FTA with redress (negative politeness)

Negative politeness is directed at a hearer's negative face, which appeals to the hearer's desire not to be impeded or put upon. This often shows with the use of conventional politeness markers, deference markers, minimizing impositions, and so on. Brown and Levinson identified ten negative politeness strategies: being conventionally indirect, using hedges, minimizing imposition, admitting an impingement, begging for forgiveness, point of view distancing and so on. The example below illustrates this pointedly:

Example 22

Heanoi mashoko andakatumirwa nemumwe wandaidzidzisa basa:
Here is an extract from a message I received from a mentee:

Ruregerero kukushupai. Pane zvandanga ndichida kutaura nemi.
I'm sorry to trouble you. There is something I would like to talk to you about.

Ndinozviziva kukuremedzai asi kana mune nguva musi weChina taigona
I know it is a terrible imposition, but if you have time on Thursday afternoon we could

kusangana masikati timbonwa. Ndingafare chaizvo. Wenyu (Zita rabviswa)
perhaps meet over a drink. I would be very glad. Yours (Name deleted)

Tigona kusangana masikati…/we could perhaps meet in the afternoon… is an example of 'be conventionally indirect' strategy, *taigona*/ perhaps is an example of a 'hedge' strategy, *kana mune nguva*/ if you have time is an example of a 'minimising imposition' strategy, *ndinozviziva kukuremedzai*/ I know it is a terrible imposition and *Ruregerero kukushupai*/ I'm sorry to trouble

you are examples of 'admitting impingement and begging forgiveness' strategy. *Ndingafare chaizvo*/I would be very glad is an example of 'going on record as incurring a debt'.

Negative politeness is used in warning notices meant for the general public. The use of the 'impersonalising S and H' strategy is often invoked as in the following example:

Example 23

Rasirai marara mubhini. Huchapa ngaupere.
Put all dirt in the bin. Unhygienic behaviour should end.

This message could be said by anyone to anyone (the speaker is anonymous and the hearer is left out deliberately to save face of H).

2.4.1.4 Performing an FTA using off-record politeness

Brown and Levinson list some strategies for performing off-record politeness which include 'giving hints', 'using metaphors', 'being ambiguous or vague'. The following three examples highlight this:

Example 24

Shamwari ichitaura neimwe shamwari yayo:
A friend talking to his other friend:

Ibotaka iri rauri kudya, harizi here?
This is porridge you are eating, is it?

Here the friend is using a hinting strategy to point out that his friend is having a poor quality breakfast but does so without openly embarrassing his friend.

Example 25

Varume vaviri vaikakavadzana pamusoro pekuti mumwe wavo azodzingwa basa.
Two men were arguing about the issue of one who was going to be fired from his

Mumwe wacho akazopedzisira otaura izvi:
position. The one ended up saying the following:

Tichaona kunowira tsvimbo nedohwe.
We will see where the knobkerrie and the fruit will fall.

Here the speaker uses a Shona metaphor which essentially means: we will see the results of one's (foolish) action).

Example 26

Mumwe mudzimai wemupoteri munyika yeSouth Africa akaenda kuchipatara achida
A female refugee in South Africa went to a hospital seeking

kurapwa asi haana kubatwa zvakanaka. Saka paakadzokera kumba akasangana nemuvakidzani wake
treatment but she was not attended to properly. So when she went back home, she met her neighbour

akamutaurira nhuna dzake:
and told her her problems:

'Kuchipatara kwacho ndamira ndikamira pasina andibatsira. Pazosvika mukana wangu vanamukoti
'At the hospital I waited and waited without being helped.When it was eventually my turn the nurses

vangondibatsirawo asi …'
kind of helped me but…'

The female refugee is unwilling to criticise South African nurses openly to her South African neighbour. She avoids performing the FTA by not finishing her sentence, but she expects her neighbour to understand what she means that she was treated poorly... She uses the ellipsis strategy.

2.4.1.5 Do not perform FTA

The final strategy proposed by Brown and Levinson is the 'do not perform FTA'. This is used when something is potentially so face-threatening that we do not say it. Tanaka (1993) came up with two 'say nothing' which she termed the 'outing out choice' or OOC. There are times when the speaker chooses to say nothing and genuinely wants to let the matter drop (happens many times in marriages!); and then there are times when a speaker decides to 'say nothing and still wishes to achieve the effect which the speech act would have achieved had it been uttered.' (Thomas, 1995: 175) Tanaka (1993: 50-1) calls the two strategies OOC-genuine and OOC-strategic. Thomas summarises them as thus:

OOC-genuine: S does not perform a speech act, and genuinely intends to let the matter
                 remain closed.
                 S/he does not intend to achieve the perlocutionary effect.

OOC-strategic: S does not perform a speech act, but expects A to infer her/his wish to
                 achieve the perlocutionary effect. (Ibid.)

There is a third scenario where there is such a strong expectation that something will be said, that saying nothing is in itself a massive FTA. The following example of a marriage on the rocks relates one such incident:

Example 27

Murume aive anonoka kuuya kumba kechina musvondo rimwe chete.
A husband had been coming home late four times in one week.

Paakasvika kumba akawana mukadzi wake akatsamwa akashaya
When he arrived home he found his wife very angry and he did not

kuti otangira papi. Kwapera chinguva chakati o, mukadzi ndiye akatanga kutaura:
know how to handle her. After a long period of time, the wife started speaking:

"Hauchandidi! Ndiri kuzviona!"
"You no longer love me! I can see it!"

Murume haana kupindura nokuti chaive chokwadi chaitaura mukadzi wake.
The man did not respond because he knew that it was true what his wife was saying.

Ramangwana racho mukadzi akapfumosunga twake odzokera kuvabereki vake.
The next morning the wife took all her belongings and left him (going back to her parents).

This is an example in which OOC-strategic was used. The wife got the hint the marriage was over and made an accurate inference.

2.4.2   Criticisms of Brown and Levinson

There are four major criticisms of Brown and Levinson identified by Thomas. Firstly, Brown and Levinson claim that an act is threatening to the face of either the speaker or the hearer. The reality is that both the speaker and hearer can be threatened by a speech act at the same time. A situation of a teacher apologising to a student is a typical example. The teacher is embarrassed by humbling himself or herself just as the student is embarrassed by being shown unusual respect by the teacher.

Secondly, Brown and Levinson claim that positive and negative politenesses are mutually exclusive. In reality, a single utterance can reveal both positive and negative face at the same time as shown by the example below:

Example 28

Chimhandara kune murume anoda kuchipfimba icho chisingamude:
A young woman to a man courting her when she is least interested in him:

Ndiyamuraiwo baba imi nokubva pano!
Help me elder by getting lost!

Thirdly, Brown and Levinson allege that the greater the degree of face-threat, the greater will be the degree of indirectness. There are situation which defy this observation such as in emergencies, in high-task orientation, in political debates and in advisory situation between parents and children. Lastly, Brown and Levinson's assertion that some speech acts are inherently face-threatening is

disproved by Dascal (1977: 335) who says that just by speaking to someone, we set up what he calls a 'conversational demand'.

2.5 POLITENESS VIEWED AS A CONVERSATIONAL CONTRACT

Fraser (1990) takes a deterministic approach to politeness. He argues that interactants operate under a 'conversational contract' (CC) which includes observing social norms and exercising their rights and obligations. According to Fraser, the social situation or event determines the degree of politeness required. From a sociolinguistic point of view, this true in the Shona culture where a person's degree of politeness is influenced by the people around him or her at that point in time. Fraser further points out that the norms of politeness are "renegotiable" (1990: 230) when the participants realise such factors as status, power and role of each speaker, as well as the prevailing circumstances. Thomas (1995) criticise Fraser's politeness theory for being sketchy compared to Leech's and Brown and Levison's theories.

2.6 POLITENESS MEASURED ALONG PRAGMATIC SCALES

Spencer-Oatey (1992: 30-3) accuses Leech, and Brown and Levison of developing theories that are Euro-centric or culturally biased due to their emphasis on speaker or hearer autonomy. Autonomy is a virtue in low-context cultures predominantly found in the Western countries but is not so important in Asian and African high-context cultures. Spencer-Oatey came up with sets of dimensions to deal with the weaknesses of the leading politeness theories. She suggests that participants in conversations choose the point on the scale according their cultural norms and the prevailing circumstances.

Here are Spencer-Oatey's scales as indicated by Thomas (1995: 178):

1. Need for Consideration: autonomy   - imposition
2. Need to be Valued: approbation   - criticism
                                  interest/concern - disinterest
3. Need for Relational Identity: inclusion   - exclusion
                                  equality   - superordination/
                                  subordination

2.7   SUMMARY

All politeness theories have their own limitations and problems that diminish their effectiveness. Leech's theory is too loose and allows for generation of several maxims; Brown and Levison's theory is criticised for having a Western-centric bias even when it claims that face-saving acts are universal; and the Fraser theory of Conversational Contract is viewed more as a sociolinguistic construct than a pragmatic one. And Spencer-Oatey's sets of dimensions for politeness seem to validate the claim that people choose to be or not be polite depending on what will be happening around them. It is safe to conclude that a hybrid approach that plugs all the loopholes in these theories is needed.

CHAPTER 3

PERSUASIVE MESSAGE PRODUCTION

3.1   AIMS

This chapter will explore the psychological theories of persuasive message production, Wilson's compliance-gaining theory, research on strategy-selection and goal-pursuit traditions, and interpersonal influence goals. Gaps and contradictions in these theories will be identified, too.

3.2   INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will explore persuasive message production theories such as the Goals-Plans-Action and cybernetic control psychological theories, Wilson's (2002) compliance-gaining theory, earlier research focusing on two strategy-selection traditions: the MBRS study compliance-gaining tradition and the constructivist tradition, and the goal-pursuit tradition as espoused by Dillard et al (1997). An appraisal of primary and secondary goals will be done as well in this chapter. The chapter will also feature a review of research by Hample and Dallinger (1990) on how influence interactants deal with conflicting goals. Furthermore, I will examine Dillard's secondary goals as well as Kellermann's (1992) and Kim's (1994) conversational constraints. The chapter will end with a discussion of interpersonal influence goals which I will use later in my research.

3.3   MESSAGE PRODUCTION

3.3.1   Psychological Theories of Message Production

Since the 1990s communication scholars have shifted their focus from "input" processes to mental processes that explain communicative behaviour. Two approaches have emerged as a result: those lumped together under the Goals-Plans-Action (GAP) framework and those focusing on multiple hierarchical levels of procedural knowledge (Wilson and Sabee, 2003: 18)

3.3.1.1   Goals-Plans-Action (GPA) Theories

Some theorists believe that speakers produce messages to achieve certain goals and thus come up with plans for pursuing these goals. Wilson's Cognitive Rules (CR) model of interaction goals (1990, 1995) and Berger's (1997) and Waldron's (1997) work on planning are some of the GPA theories.

Dillard (1997 as cited in Wilson and Sabee, 2003: 19) defines interaction goals as states of affairs speakers wants to achieve or keep through talk. Speakers generally pursue many goals during a conversation. Competent communicators are able to form and pursue different interaction goals. Wilson's CR model explains the mental processes that are involved in goal formation. There are three assumptions involved. Firstly, the CR model presupposes that "people possess cognitive rules or associations in long-term memory, between representations of interaction goals and numerous situational features" (Wilson and Sabee, 2003: 19). Secondly, the CR model presupposes that "a spreading activation process operates in parallel on this associative network." (Ibid.) Thirdly, a cognitive rule must achieve a certain level of activation threshold before it is set in motion and forms a goal. An interaction goal is activated due to three criteria: fit, recency and strength. According to Wilson and Sabee (2003), conversation participants are likely to form a goal individually when they realise that many conditions represented in the goal are present in the obtaining situation (the fit criterion). In ambiguous situations, cognitive rules are more likely to be activated if they have been activated recently (the recency criterion) or often in the past (the strength criterion).

Speakers may be deemed incompetent for pursuing goals that some may consider as inappropriate. This often happens in intercultural interactions. A Ndebele son-in-law may sit close to his Shona mother-in-law pursuing a relational goal of closeness. This action can be seen as inappropriate by a Shona male observer who is schooled into maintaining social distance with his in-laws. Therefore, in intra-cultural interactions, a speaker may be considered incompetent for following goals which others view as inappropriate. In some groups, one member may be harshly reprimanded for not pulling his or her weight. The members who criticise the offender may be deemed to be sending "goalless" messages (O'Keefe and McCornack, 1987) because their utterances may have discouraged the offender from mending his or her behaviour for the better of the group.

Wilson and Sabee (2003) gave an insight into why a speaker would form and pursue goals that others deem to be inappropriate. They suggested that the "speaker possesses an especially strong rule that is easily triggered." (2003: 20).

Some speakers may be considered communicatively incompetent when they fail to pursue goals that others view as accessible or obligatory. Face-threatening acts such as giving advice, criticising or lecturing someone, or attempting to change someone's sexual views need to be recognised by a competent communicator. A nurse who shouts out the results of a patient's medical test in a packed reception room will be exhibiting flawed communicative competence. Competent communicators are those who attend to the face wants of both conversation participants whilst achieving their

primary goals. Speakers may be communicatively incompetent because they lack perspective-taking skills, they associate goals with insufficient number of situational conditions, possess rules for forming supportive goals that are easily triggered and fail to mentally link rules for different goals (Wilson and Sabee, 2003).

The third way in which some people are judged to be communicatively incompetent is when they fail to adjust their interaction goals across situations. Being able to adapt and being flexible are considered as hallmarks of a competent communicator. According to Wilson and Sabee (2003: 21), the following are the reasons for some people's failure to adapt integration goals: associating interaction goals with a limited situational conditions, failing to develop subcategories of a goal that apply to different situations, and stressing base-rate data and underplaying the role of individuating information.

Another GPA theory focuses on the procedural knowledge (plans) in evaluating communicative competence. According to Berger (1997, as cited in Wilson and Sabee, 2003: 21), plans 'are knowledge structures representing actions necessary for overcoming obstacles and accomplishing them.' They are mental representations of actions. Plans for achieving social goals differ in complexity and specificity. Complex plans involve a large number of action units than simple ones. They also include contingencies or alternatives. Specific plans are clearer and detailed than abstract plans which are mostly vague. An abstract goal for a student would be: "I want to improve my marks". A specific plan would be: "I will revise my work, write additional notes and join a study group to improve my marks." People with specific plans have multiple alternatives they can revert to when the initial efforts fail. Lonely people are not often successful in initiating and sustaining conversations because they have less complex plans. Those with specific plans know how to initiate and sustain a conversation. Plan complexity hinges on the other's perceptions of whether a plan is likely to go through. Even if plan complexity and specificity lead to communicative competence, there are a few observations that can be made: one, a competent plan is not always necessary for a competent performance; two, having too many alternative plans can hinder fluid speech delivery; "the relationship between plan specificity and competence may vary depending on whether a culture values detailed, short-range plans versus flexible, long-range plans" (Wilson and Sabee, 2003: 22); and lastly, complex and specific plans must be adjusted to suit prevailing and unforeseen circumstances during an interaction. From the foregoing, it can be seen that the planning process, and not plans per se, is what influences communicative competence. Wilson and Sabee define planning as "the set of psychological and communication processes involved in generating, selecting, implementing, monitoring, adapting, and coordinating plans interactions." (Ibid.)

Planning happens before and during interaction. Competent communicators are therefore those who are able to monitor and adjust their plans during interactions.

Cegala and Waldron (1992) are cited by Wilson and Sabee (2003) as having advanced the idea that communication competence is apparent in people during conversations. From their findings, highly competent people were those with high planning thought orientation during conversation. On the contrary, lowly competent people were those with a "larger percentage of self-assessment cognitions." (Ibid.) These people with low self-esteem experience stress in conversations which affects the execution of their plans. Coupled with this is the effect executive control has in inhibiting monitoring of these plans. Wilson and Sabee (Ibid.) define executive control processes as "a set of higher order mental activities," which include selection, regulation and monitoring decisions.

Both Wilson's Cognitive Rules and Berger's and Waldron's conversational planning theories of message production offer similar insights about communication competence. Competent communicators have "an anticipatory mindset" (2002: 23); they assess the likely impact of their utterances on both theirs and their conversational partners' face; they foresee likely challenges to their plans; they know the goals that work with the given audience; they follow multiple goals using complex plans which are adjustable depending on the prevailing relational, situational and cultural conditions in the conversational set-up; they monitor and adjust both their goals and plans during conversations, and do not dwell on negativity. Factors that lead to communication incompetence include inflexible rules for forming goals appropriate to the current situation, not knowing the means to pursue or integrate goals, and physiological or psychological constraints that hinder monitoring and adjusting of goals or plans. These constraints include personal anxiety, tiredness or competing situational demands such as striking a balance when one is a youth advisor teaching sexual education to a group of adolescents that includes his or her child too.

Within the GPA framework, there are many ways to boost one's communication competence most of which is achieved through training. Training may skill people to identify "situationally relevant" goals, learn and practise a wider range of actions relevant to pursuing goals, identify signs of weakness in their original plan and adjust promptly, and also be able to identify situational challenges to monitoring goals and plans.

3.3.1.2   Hierarchical theories of message production

Hierarchical theories of message production "emphasise that communicating competently requires procedural knowledge at multiple levels of abstraction" (Wilson and Sabee, 2003: 24). A competent

communicator is one who is able to coordinate "multiple levels in a smooth and timely performance" (Ibid.) Two theories that advance this kind of thinking are the cybernetic control theory (Carver & Scheier, 1982) and the action assembly theory (Greene, 1997a). Within cybernetic control theory, individuals have self-regulating systems, and goals are arranged into superordinate and subordinate goals. There are nine levels of abstraction which, for clarity's sake, are tabulated below:

Table 1   Cybernetic control theory

Level of regulation	Level of abstraction	Physiological or psychological activity
Highest	Level 9	Concept control
Highest	Level 8	Principle control
Moderate	Level 7	Programme control
Moderate	Level 6	Relationship control
Moderate	Level 5	Sequence control
Concrete	Level 4	Transition control
Concrete	Level 3	Configuration control
Concrete	Level 2	Sensation control
Concrete	Level 1	Intensity control

A speaker operating at, say, moderate level competently can shift his or her attention to another level in response to the changes in the conversation interaction. The ability to operate at different levels of abstraction is makes some people competent communicators.

3.3.2   What is Persuasive Message Production?

According to Wilson (2002), a hypothetical situation in which four participants try to get their money from a colleague who borrowed it from them brings out a number of interesting questions regarding how influence interaction or compliance-seeking behaviour takes place. Wilson observes that all participants mention that their colleague owes them money and that they need this money. He asks the following questions:

- Are concepts such as "need" (the participants want their money back) and "obligation" (the colleague owes the participant money and thus is obligated to pay it back) particularly relevant for understanding what people say during influence interactions?
- Are there common ways of phrasing requests?
- Are there situational challenges that lead people into changing how they phrase requests?

- What inducement strategies do people use, together with their requests, in seeking compliance?

- Are the inducement strategies similar?

- Do people change inducement strategies depending on the influence interaction? (Wilson, 2002: 3-4)

It should be noted that Wilson's participants used bargaining, emotional appeal to guilt, hinting, and stating of the enormity of the debt as influence strategies to get their colleague to pay back the money. Wilson concludes that questions cited above are linked to persuasive message production. He describes persuasive message production as "concerned with why individuals say what they do as they seek to exert and/or resist influence in everyday life" (2002: 4).

3.3.2.1   What Is Compliance Gaining?

Wilson (2002) defines compliance gaining as "any interaction in which a message source attempts to induce a target individual to perform some desired behaviour that the target otherwise might not perform." (Ibid.) A message source is a person who sends a message signal to the other, whilst the recipient of a message signal is the target. In an average day, there are many situations of compliance seeking and resisting that arise from when we wake till we go to bed. Compliance gaining may involve important requests, trivial requests, requests to perform action at the present moment or requests to perform actions in the future. Message sources may be people we know very well, acquaintances or even strangers. Some of the compliance gaining situations may be social in nature, yet some may be professional. Message sources employ a plethora of techniques when seeking target persons' compliance; these include explanations, bargains, and warnings. Message targets may comply straightaway with sources' requests, may offer alternatives to requests, or may resist compliance. It can be seen that message sources attempt to "alter a target's behaviour" (Wilson, 2002: 6). Sometimes, the source tries to change the target's beliefs and attitudes too.

Traditional persuasion scholarship, as espoused by Miller and Burgoon (1978), has focused on message effects in public and mass communication contexts. Wilson says compliance gaining is focused on message choices within interpersonal contexts. Traditional persuasion researchers have spent time studying the effects of political campaigns and product advertisements. On the contrary, Wilson's compliance gaining theory focuses on "how individuals seek and resist compliance during conversations with friends, family members and coworkers" (2003: 7). Wilson further argues that compliance gaining is an important area of study for three reasons: one, compliance-gaining interactions have pragmatic benefits; two, the interactions are a window into the communication in

close relationships; and, thirdly, the interactions often reveal interesting individual, situational, and cultural variations.

3.3.2.2 The Ethics of Seeking Compliance

According to www.businessdictionary.com/definition/ethics.html, ethics refers to "the basic concept and fundamental principles of decent human conduct." Since compliance gaining involves an attempt to alter a target's behaviour, ethical questions arise about both the means used to seek compliance and the goals being sought.

Ethical Judgements about Means of Seeking Compliance

Some of the means to seek compliance may be ethically questionable. Is lying or deception ever justified? If used to save the target, it sounds like a fairly good thing to do. If the source is concerned with emotional being of the target, deception can be permissible. But if the message source uses lying or deception for selfish ends, it is downright unethical behaviour. The sad reality is people often use deception in influence interaction, and for the maintenance of the relationship between the interactants, the message target often reacts as if he or she has not noticed the unethical behaviour. Other than deception or lying, some message sources use threats to ensure compliance by their targets. This again is unethical but people still use overt and covert threats, and coercion in compliance seeking. Wilson concludes this section by saying that "ambiguity, and in some cases deception, is useful, and its employment responsible, within close relationships" (2002: 9). The line between choice and obligation, and persuasion and coercion, is very thin. In social interactions, there are no written down ethical rules of engagement. Circumstances, relationship, culture and ideology play a big part in what is deemed ethical means of compliance gaining.

Ethical Judgements About The Goal Of Seeking Compliance

If the goal of seeking compliance is mind manipulation, control and submission, then it is unethical. The word compliance itself has negative connotations of control and triumph. The assumption in most social interaction is that all people play honestly, ethically and fairly. But this is not always the case as some people seek to take advantage of others through manipulation, concealment, abuse of privileged information or misrepresenting material facts. On the contrary, there is compliance seeking which communicates positive regard and caring. Ethical judgements on compliance gaining differ culturally.

3.3.3   What is Message Production?

Wilson (2002) says that message production scholars focus on mental processes that people go through when coming up with verbal and/or nonverbal messages. Researchers such as Littlejohn (2002) and Wilson, Greene and Dillard (2000) attempt to identify commonly pursued goals in conversations; the type of knowledge individuals have about potential means to achieve their social goals; how individuals recall knowledge about social goals during interactions, how people use available time to formulate their plans of what to say; how individuals deal with resistance to their attempt to win compliance others or how the change or do not change their initial attempts to accomplish goals even when there are challenges; how individuals manage competing goals, whether individuals are more or less aware of their message choices; and the role played by arousal and emotions in pursuing goals. (Wilson, 2002: 14)

O'Keefe and Delia (1982) are credited with pioneering in the field of message production. Wilson's (2002: 15) research focuses on "how individuals produce messages during influence interactions". Earlier researchers had focused on how individuals generate messages to seek information, communicate criticism or rejection and comfort distressed others. Wilson integrates compliance-gaining and message production literatures because he believes that most helpful explanations of message production are developed at multiple levels of abstraction. He posits that "to develop compelling explanations, we need to integrate general theories of psychological and interactional processes, analyses of specific message functions such as seeking and resisting compliance, and analyses of particular relational, institutional and cultural contexts" (2002: 15).

3.4   PERSUASIVE MESSAGE PRODUCTION

Wilson (2002) views persuasion message production as a goal-oriented activity. Unlike the "strategy-selection" metaphor of previous persuasion theories, modern-day persuasion theories, as advocated by Wilson and others, are led by the "goal-pursuit" metaphor. In this section, I will first explore persuasion message production as strategy selection before I look at it from the contemporary goal-pursuit perspective. The accessing of these pre-planned strategies led communication theorists to term it a 'strategy-selection' metaphor for persuasive message production.

3.4.1   Persuasive Message Production as Strategy Selection

In the early 1980s, two elementary research programs on persuasive message production were 'compliance gaining' which was championed by Gerald Miller at Michigan State University, and

the 'constructivist' perspective on communication linked to the work of Jesse Delia of the University of Illinois. Current theory and research has its origins in these earlier works. Wilson observe that "these research traditions both assumed that people have "repertoires" of potential compliance-seeking and -resisting strategies at their disposal and both sought to identify individual and situational variables that could predict people's choice of strategies from their repertoires" (2002: 86).

3.4.1.1   The Compliance-Gaining Tradition

Gerald Miller, Franklin Boster, Michael Roloff, and David Seibold (1977) are credited with being the first to carry out investigation of how people select compliance-seeking strategies. Their research work, commonly known as the MBRS study, entailed an exploration of how "individuals want to maintain control over their social environments and hence acquire sets of message strategies for influencing others" (Wilson, 2002: 87). They then made predictions about how the message targets would react to their attempt to influence them. In interpersonal relationships (such as a husband-wife relationship), the message source relies mainly on "psychological-level knowledge" to predict the target's reactions to various strategies, while in noninterpersonal relationships (such as customer-car salesperson relationship), a message source may rely on sociological- and cultural-level knowledge to predict a target's reactions. To carry out the MBRS study, Miller et al. (1977) identified three main primary questions for research on seeking compliance:

RQ1:   What are the compliance-seeking strategies available to potential persuaders and how can these strategies be grouped and classified most usefully?

RQ2:   How is the choice of compliance-seeking strategies   influenced by certain situational differences   associated with the persuasive transaction?

RQ3:   How do relevant individual differences of potential   persuaders affect the choice of compliance- seeking strategies? (Wilson, 2002: 87)

Using participants from universities, colleges and the USA army in a hypothetical compliance-seeking situation, the MBRS study attempted to establish the different strategy-selection processes individuals engage in interpersonal/noninterpersonal source-target relationship when pursuing either short-term/long-term relational consequences. The findings were subjected to factor analysis on the basis of Marwell and Schmitt's (1967) nominal-level typology of 16 compliance-seeking strategies. Among other observations, the MBRS study yielded the insight that message sources employ a variety of strategies across situations. Another insight was that the number and composition of compliance-seeking strategy clusters varied across situations. Yet another insight was "that participants in general rated "prosocial" or "socially appropriate" compliance-seeking strategies

such as altruism, positive altercasting, and liking as likely to be used and "antisocial" or "socially inappropriate" strategies such as aversive stimulation, moral appeal, and negative esteem as unlikely to be used" (Wilson, 2002: 90). The benefits of the MBRS study can be numerated as the use of a methodological approach, the use of hypothetical scenarios to manipulate situational variables, and having participants provide likelihood-of-use ratings for lists of preformulated compliance-seeking strategies (Wilson, 2002: 91). As a result of the MBRS study, two models emerged to explain why people select certain compliance-seeking strategies. These were the Subjective Expected Utility and the Ethical Threshold models.

Subjective Expected Utility Model

Sillars (1980) proposes the use of the Subjective Expected Utility (SEU) model to explain why people choose different compliance-seeking strategies with different targets −something which the MBRS study failed to account for. SEU suggests that message sources consider compliance value and relational value when attempting to influence their message targets. Wilson (2002: 91) describes compliance value as the "importance of gaining the target's compliance in this situation", and relational value as "the importance of maintaining a good relationship with the target over the long run." The following equation for selecting compliance-seeking strategies is associated with the SEU model:

$$L = p_1 CV + (p_2 RR - p_3 RC),$$

where L = the likelihood of using a particular strategy in this situation; CV = the perceived value of gaining compliance in this situation; RR = the perceived rewards to the relationship from seeking compliance in this situation; RC = the perceived cost to the relationship from seeking compliance in this situation; and p_1-p_3 = the probability that CV, RR, and RC will occur if the strategy is used in this situation. (Wilson, 2002: 92)

From this equation, it follows that an individual is unlikely to choose a specific compliance-gaining strategy if either (i) the strategy, on the balance, is likely to produce outcomes perceived to be costly or unimportant, or (ii) that strategy, in principle, could produce beneficial outcomes but the likelihood of this occurring is seen as low. (Ibid.)

On the whole, individuals treasure maintaining interpersonal relationships more than non-interpersonal relationships. Using the SEU model, it is easy to predict message sources' likelihood of using most of the compliance-gaining strategies. Furthermore, the model is able to explain why message sources choose different compliance-seeking strategies in interpersonal versus

noninterpersonal scenarios. Reward and personal commitment persuasive strategies are used more frequently in interpersonal relationships than in noninterpersonal relationships.

Ethical Threshold Model

Hunter and Boster (1978, 1987) are credited with coming up with the Ethical Threshold model to explain persuasive message production. This model is premised on the understanding that compliance-seeking attempts by message sources produce emotional reactions in message targets that vary depending on the types of message strategies used. These emotional responses can be placed on a continuum ranging from acceptable to unacceptable. The ethical threshold is the point on the continuum which measures "how negative an emotional response the persuader is willing to produce in the listener's compliance" (Wilson, 2002: 93). Ethical thresholds vary across both persons and circumstances.

3.4.1.2   The Search for Predictors of Compliance Strategy Choice

Identifying Situational Dimensions

Cody and McLaughlin (1980) are credited with the first study that investigated how people distinguish different compliance-seeking situations. They maintain that there are multiple dimensions to compliance-gaining other than the interpersonal/noninterpersonal relationships and consequences outlined in the MBRS study.

Cody and McLaughlin's study involved 87 situations that a group of undergraduate students experienced frequently. The researchers then chose three different sets of 12 situations from this group. Another group of 197 undergraduates each made paired-comparison judgements for one of the three set of 12 compliance-gaining situations. Participants then rated similar situations from 1 = *the two situations are exactly alike* to 11 = *the two situations are totally different*. The researchers then conducted multidimensional scaling (MDS) separately on the three sets of similarity judgements. After the participants had rated the 12 situations along 23 Likert scales, Cody and McLaughlin used the Likert scale ratings to interpret and label dimensions that emerged from the MDS. They then came up with the following conclusion: individuals distinguish compliance-gaining situations along six dimensions (intimacy, dominance, personal benefits, resistance, rights and consequences) (Wilson, 2002: 95). Subsequent research by Hertzog and Bradac (1984) added a gender relevant/irrelevant dimension, and the personal benefits dimension has been divided into self (personal) and other (target) benefits since one or both parties can benefit from compliance with a request (Dillard & Burgoon, 1985).

Testing Situational Predictors

Further research has since been done to see if the seven situational dimensions can be used to predict the compliance-gaining strategies individuals will use. In a study done by Dillard and Burgoon (1985), it was concluded that one dimension (self-benefit) was positively associated with verbal aggressiveness in one situation than the other. In another study, it was found that perceived dominance, self-benefit, and other-benefit were associated with verbal aggressiveness in the given situation. In a research study done by Cody et al (1986), it was found that "in general (that) situational dimensions, even in combination, did not adequately account for whether participants chose specific compliance-seeking strategies." (Wilson, 2002: 99)

Personality Attributes as Predictors

Researchers have studied how individual differences influence compliance-seeking strategies. The results of such studies indicated that "personality attributes… are at best modest predictors of strategy choice." (Wilson, 2002: 99) For example, dogmatism is remotely related to aggressiveness in compliance-seeking situations.

Sex and Gender Differences

Sex is a biological construct whilst gender is a social construct. Research has been done to find out whether males and females differ in their choice of compliance-seeking and -resisting strategies in both personal and professional relationships. In one study, Dallinger and Hample (1994) carried out a secondary analysis of sex differences in data from many earlier investigations. They examined differences in the willingness to use certain compliance-seeking strategies by males and females, and also the total number of strategies they endorse. Though the sex differences in strategy-selection were marginal, males were found to be "more likely than females to endorse threat, negative expertise, positive expertise, negative altercasting, negative esteem, aversive stimulation, debt, liking, and pregiving. Females were more likely to endorse altruism." (Wilson, 2002: 103)

In another study, Krone, Allen, and Ludlum (1994) carried out a meta-analysis of sex differences in managers' choice of compliance-seeking strategies. They reviewed 10 previous studies that had compared male and female managers' use of compliance-gaining strategies and had produced enough statistical information which could be used for meta-analysis. They grouped compliance-seeking strategies used in the 10 studies into four clusters: reward strategies (promise, positive esteem, and so on), punishing strategies (threat, warning, and so forth), persuasion strategies (rational explanation, negotiation, and so forth), and altruism (requests for favours, appeals to duty,

and so forth). Krone et al.'s summarising and synthesising statistically of the 10 previous studies showed minor sex differences for two of the four strategy clusters. Male managers were most likely than female managers to use both reward and punishment strategies, but they did not differ much in their use of persuasion and altruism strategies (Wilson, 2002: 103).

On the whole, Dallinger and Hample's (1994) and Krone et al.'s (1994) researches reveal that males and females are much more similar than different in the selection of compliance-seeking strategies. However, other factors may be at play in sex differences regarding compliance-gaining strategies: the relative power of male and female message sources, the type and perceived legitimacy of request made, and gendered expectations.

3.4.1.3 Criticisms of the compliance-gaining literature

Conceptual criticisms

One criticism is that most studies have failed to specify the dependent variable (the feature of compliance-seeking messages they hope to predict/explain). The second criticism is that most of the researches have examined "situational and individual predictors of compliance-gaining strategy choice in ad hoc fashion" (Wilson, 2002: 105). The SEU model's shortcomings are its failure to specify exactly which feature of compliance-seeking messages it is designed to explain, and it does not cover all the factors that affect message choices. The ethical threshold model, too, has some inadequacies: it makes inaccurate assumptions such as that people choose compliance-gaining strategies based only on the anticipated emotional reactions of the target. Normally, people pursue multiple goals in influence interactions.

Methodological criticisms

Research methods used in compliance-gaining studies have also been criticised for lacking predictive or external validity and replicability.

Predictive validity of strategy-selection procedure. Wilson (2002) advances that when participants are requested to make likelihood-of-use ratings for preformulated lists of message strategies, they are presented with a variety of strategies some of which they don't even use in normal interactions. Critics also emphasise that participants are inherently forced to compare the social appropriateness of some of the presented strategies. Resultantly, participants as a group end up overselecting prosocial and underselecting antisocial strategies (Wilson, 2002: 107). Burleson et al. (1988) criticise the strategy-selection procedure for being polluted by an "item desirability bias." This alludes to the role social perceptions of certain behaviours play in strategy-selection procedure.

Certain strategies maybe considered as socially desirable or undesirable by a group of people who if, as individuals, they are asked to rate the likelihood-of-use of these strategies, their ratings become predictable compared to another group's appropriateness ratings of the same strategies. The debate centres on the likelihood-of-use and social appropriateness of message strategies. Burleson et al. claim that the predictive validity of the strategy-selection procedure is compromised by item desirability bias and, therefore, the strategy-selection procedure cannot be relied on as a measure of influence interaction.

Problems with drawing generalisations about message strategies. "Critics have questioned whether valid conclusions can be drawn about compliance-seeking strategies when each strategy is operationalised by a single message." (Wilson, 2002: 112) Two different concrete utterances can be made to enact the same strategy. The strategy of promise can be made using a direct or indirect utterance, so it would be dangerous to generalise on message strategies using one utterance. This then means that accurate conclusions about people's choice of compliance-gaining strategies should be based on more than one example of each strategy.

Limits of hypothetical scenarios. Some of the data collection that have been used in compliance-gaining strategies researches have included: having message sources recall prior influence episodes, asking sources to keep diaries, asking targets of influence attempts to report on message sources, asking message sources to participate in role play, having message sources interact with confederate targets trained to resist compliance, and observing message sources during naturalistic influence episodes (Wilson, 2002: 113). But the most used data collection in compliance-gaining studies has been hypothetical influence scenarios. Hypothetical scenarios have some advantages: they provide a high degree of experimental control, they allow for data collection across multiple situations to allow generalisability, and they can be written for a number of research populations and topics. They can also be written to cater for situations where behavioural observation is impossible. However, hypothetical scenarios have their shortcomings too, which are outlined by Miller et al. (1987: 103-104). Miller et al. point out four fundamental differences between responding to hypothetical scenarios and seeking compliance during naturalistic interaction:

1. Individuals may be more mindful or reflective about message choices when responding to scenarios than they typically are during interaction.
2. Individuals face less formidable information-processing demands when responding to scenarios than they face during interaction.
3. Individuals encounter fixed, static situations rather than dynamic, fluid situations when responding to scenarios rather than engaging in interaction.

4. Individuals select strategies without experiencing lived emotions when responding to scenarios than engaging in interaction. (Wilson, 2002: 114)

The logical thing to do is to use more than two data collection methods in order to mitigate the shortcomings of either method.

3.4.1.3   The Constructivist Tradition

Theoretical and Methodological Foundations

Research has been conducted on constructivism in order to understand how people decide what to say when they are attempting to gain compliance of others. Interactants actively interpret their environment and also make use of personal constructs. "Personal construct are bipolar dimensions (e.g., good/bad, large/small) used to anticipate, interpret, and evaluate objects and events." (Wilson, 2002: 115) Using Werner's (1957) "orthogenetic principle", individual differences in systems of personal constructs are analysed. One individual can possess a developed system of interpersonal constructs but equally less developed systems of constructs for other domains. Crockett's (1965) Role Category Questionnaire (RCQ) has been used by constructivist researchers to measure individual differences in the development of people's interpersonal construct systems. (Wilson, 2002: 116) The application of interpersonal constructs results in social-perception processes, such as perspective-taking, causal attribution, and information integration.

The Clark and Delia Study

Constructivist perspectives have been used also to explain persuasive message production. Clark and Delia (1977) are credited with coming up with the first constructivist investigation of persuasive message production. They looked at "how children acquire person-perception skills that enable them to produce "listener-adapted" persuasive messages." (Wilson, 2002 117) Clark and Delia argued that for children to produce listener-adapted messages, they must develop social-perception skills. Those children who can identify various message targets along a larger number of psychological dimensions are able to generate different ways of adapting their persuasive appeals. They often take the perspective of their message target (perspective taking) and understand the target's point of view (empathic listening), and are therefore able to change their appeals to suit the prevailing influence interaction. According to Wilson (2002: 117), "Clark and Delia hypothesised that the ability to adapt persuasive messages is dependent on social-perception skills." Using the strategy-construction procedure, a technique in which participants state aloud or write out their responses to hypothetical scenarios, Clark and Delia collected data from 58 primary school children

using three hypothetical persuasive scenarios. Their finding was that "children's construct differentiation, perspective-taking ability, and listener-adaptation skills all increase with age." (Wilson, 2002: 118)

Elaborating The Link Between Construct System Development and Listener Adaptation

Five notable improvements have been made regarding the link between construct system development and listener adaptation, or rather the constructivist approach to persuasive message production as a espoused by Clark and Delia (1977). Researchers have improved and increased Clark and Delia's four-level hierarchical system for coding listener adaption. Scholars have also found "a moderate-level positive association between construct differentiation/abstractness and use of listener-adapted persuasive messages across age groups and situations." (Wilson, 2002: 120) Some constructivist researchers have shown that construct system development and degree of listener adaptation have no spurious relationship. They are not dependent on a third variable to covary. The other elaboration that has been made is that research has been done to show that interpersonal construct system development affects message sources' ability to generate listener-adapted messages during influence interactions. The fifth improvement has been that more information has been made available that explain how interpersonal construct system development is linked to the generation of listener-adapted messages. People with highly differentiated and abstract constructs are adaptable, spontaneous, and engage in reflective thinking.

Criticisms of the Constructivist tradition

Clark and Delia's work has faced some criticisms regarding the implied constructivist view of message production and the methods they used to arrive at their conclusions.

Conceptual Criticisms

The concept of listener adaptation oversimplifies persuasive message production. O'Keefe and Delia (1982) argue that listener adaptation is one of the numerous factor involved in persuasive message production, others being pursuit of goals, intelligibility, efficiency and face protection. The listener adaptation theory also does not "explain why people vary their persuasive messages across situations." (Wilson, 2002: 124). There are situational dimensions that influence how seekers of compliance vary their persuasive messages.

Methodological Criticisms

Validity of the RCQ measure. Beatty and Payne (1984) argued the RCQ measures people's loquacity rather than their construct system differentiation. They maintain that RCQ is "nothing more than a measure of people's propensity to produce a large amount of verbal response to stimuli." (Wilson, 2002: 125)

Predictive validity of strategy-construction procedure. Constructivist researchers have examined listener adaptation using data obtained from open-ended responses to hypothetical scenarios. The rationale for this is that people are likely to give a range of both socially appropriate and socially inappropriate strategies to hypothetical scenarios than they would do if they select from preformulated lists. Burke and Clark (1982) are credited with having observed that strategy-construction procedure factors in the effects of individual and situational variables than the strategy-selection procedure. As such, Wilson (2002: 126) asserts that "the strategy-construction procedure appears to have better-established predictive validity." The strategy-construction procedure can be applied to a broader set of questions than can be addressed using the strategy-selection procedure which seems to be limited to scenarios that require people to use verbally aggressive or socially inappropriate messages when seeking compliance. Studies in the constructivist field (Kline and Ceropski, 1984, and Kendall and Fischler, 1984) have revealed that "the strategy-construction procedure is a valid method for predicting many qualities of people's persuasive messages" (Wilson, 2002: 127). The downside of the strategy-construction procedure is that it uses hypothetical scenarios to obtain open-ended responses. It therefore fails to provide in-depth insight into the fluid, interdependent nature of natural interactions. Hence the degree of convergence between the strategy-construction procedure and actual behaviour in compliance-seeking and -gaining situations is moderate and not strong. Performance-inhibiting factors, such as fatigue and stress, may stop interactants from producing listener-adapted strategies. The behaviour of message targets during the influence interaction also affects how message sources will adapt their strategies to suit the changing situation. Messages sources may move from friendly to unfriendly strategies depending on the outcome of their first attempt at compliance-gaining.

3.4.2   Persuasive Message Production as Goal Pursuit

People seek to achieve primary and secondary goals in influence interaction. It is important that distinctions between primary and secondary goals be made, and the interplay between the goals during interaction should also be explored.

3.4.2.1   Conceptualising Goals

According to Dillard (1997), "goals are future states of affairs that individuals desire to attain or maintain." Clark and Delia (1979) affirm that desired ends become interaction goals when individuals must communicate and coordinate with others to achieve those states. Wilson (2002: 135) characterises interaction goals as being cognitive, proactive end states that individuals, and not situations, possess. People are aware of their interaction goals especially when their expectations are violated, or when their first attempts are denied, or when their goals conflict.

Researchers use some of the following techniques to measure interaction goals (as summarised by Wilson, 2002: 136):

1. Inferring participants' goals from examples of their discourse, interpreted in context.
2. Asking participants to write out open-ended descriptions of their goals, or to complete closed-ended rating scales evaluating the importance of various goals, within hypothetical scenarios.
3. Asking participants to complete closed-ended rating scales evaluating the importance of various goals within episodes recalled from their own lives.
4. Using task instructions to manipulate the assigned importance of various goals during spoken monologues or written dialogues, and then asking participants to complete closed-ended scales rating the importance of various goals during their performance.
5. Asking participants to "speak aloud" everything they are thinking as they go about generating a message, or their plan for a message and then content analysing the spoken thoughts for instances of goals.

3.4.2.2   Primary and Secondary Goals

A primary goal is defined by Dillard (1989) as a desire to modify the target's behaviour. This includes giving advice, making a request, asking for help, apologising, thanking someone, and so on. A primary goal exerts a "push" force that leads the message source to initiate an interaction. It also defines the frame of the interaction as it signals the expectations about each party's identity, rights and obligations. In short, a primary goal is the reason for seeking compliance. On the other hand, a secondary goal is a concern or worry in an interaction. It is the social constraint that defines how the primary goal is executed. Dillard et al. call it a "pull" force that shapes the how the primary goal is achieved.

3.4.2.3   Research on Influence Goals

Research in both corporate and social situations has produced eight specific influence goals. These include are (according to Cody et al, 1994): gain assistance (friend, professor), share activity (friend), give advice (friend, parent), (de)escalate relationship, enforce obligation, obtain permission (parent, professor), and elicit support for third party. Dillard (1989) was able to produce a typology of six influence goals in interpersonal persuasion from the research he conducted. He used a three-step approach to arrive at his conclusion. In Step 1, he asked 152 U.S. American college undergraduates (59% female) and 49 retail and service business workers (M age = 27 years; 75% female) to write descriptions "of a situation in which they tried to persuade someone to do something and describe their goal in that influence attempt" (Wilson, 2002: 296). Participants were told that:

a) the target should be someone familiar to them,

b) the influence attempt should involve trying to change the target's behaviour

c) the situation should one in which they were successful (n = 87 participants) or unsuccessful (n = 104 participants) at getting the target to comply.

After a content analysis of the descriptions (e.g., health matters, entertainment), structure (who benefitted from the request), and clarity, 3 coders managed to come up with a total of 59 unique goal statements. In Step 2, Dillard used an additional 100 undergraduate who participated in a Q-sort task. Each participant was given a deck of 59 index cards with one goal statement printed on each card. Participants put similar goal statements in one pile. A cluster analysis of the data from individual participants was done. In Step 3, an additional 240 undergraduates rated a subset of the 59 goal statements in terms of a number of dimensions along which compliance-gaining situations differ (e.g., benefit of compliance to the message source, benefit to the target, specificity of the source's request).Clusters of goal statements identified in Step 2 were then interpreted using the dimensional ratings. As a result, the following typology of six influence goals were identified: Give Advice (lifestyle), Gain Assistance, Share Activity, Change Political Stance, Give Advice (Health), and Change Relationship. (journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0265407589063004)

From findings of Dillard (1989), Cody et al. and other researchers on interaction goals, it can be said it is easy to define compliance-gaining scenarios in relation to primary goals. Wilson (2002: 142) concludes "it seems necessary that at least some goals should be common within a given culture." Furthermore, it can be seen that influence goals play a key role in how people organise their knowledge about seeking and resisting compliance. Each goal is associated with information about situational dimensions, message targets, threats to identity and emotions. Scholars have

suggested that people develop "schemas" about compliance gaining that are linked to influence goals (Meyer, 1996; Rule et al., 1985). A schema is defined as "a cognitive structure that represents knowledge about a concept or type of stimulus, including its attributes and the relations among these attributes." (Fiske & Taylor, 1991: 98) Schemas, borne out of direct and indirect experience with people, objects or events, are about roles (e.g., teachers), situations (e.g., job interviews), persons (e.g., introverts), relationships (e.g., stages of "breaking up"), and even ourselves. According to Wilson, the functions of schemas in conversations are setting up expectations of what is and is not likely to happen, paying attention to specific pieces of information, suggesting inferences of other people that go beyond the covert behaviour, and helping us to integrate large amounts of information into a coherent picture. (2002: 143). However, there are problems with schemas. These include making inaccurate inferences about other people based on nothing, failing to remember evidence contradicting our schemas, failure to adjust our schemas in light of contradictory evidence, and falling victims to self-fulfilling prophecies about others. In real life though, people use multiple situation schemas for influence interaction. Some people are successful or unsuccessful at gaining compliance because they use a variety of schemas to accomplish a similar goal.

3.4.3   Multiple Goals as Constraints:

Research on Secondary Goals

When people seek primary goals in compliance-seeking or –resisting situations, they also pursue additional objectives. These secondary goals shape and constrain the ways in which individuals attempt to persuade others.

3.4.3.1   Hample and Dallinger's Cognitive Editing Standards

Dale Hample and Judi Dallinger (1990) have attempted to explain how people choose what not to say in influence interactions. They have chosen to focus not on the whole argument production process but on the editing phase. By editing they mean "the simple decision to say or suppress a possible argument" (Hample and Dallinger 1990: 153, as cited in Wilson, 2002, 145). Hample and Dallinger seek to establish the existence of "cognitive editing standards" through a "strategy-rejection procedure" using participants in a study that focus on many hypothetical compliance-seeking scenarios and a list of possible messages that might be used in each scenario (derived from Marwell and Schmitt's 1967 typology of 16 compliance-seeking strategies). In the end, Hample and Dallinger came up with the following "category system of 8 cognitive editing standards":

Table 2   Hample & Dallinger's (1990) cognitive editing standards

Editing Standard	Description
1. I would use this one.	This means that you would be willing to say or do whatever is indicated. You may accept as many of the 48 messages as you wish.
2. No: This would not work.	You reject this approach because it would fail, or perhaps backfire.
3. No: This is too negative to use.	You prefer not to use this one because it is too high pressure –a distasteful threat or bribe, perhaps.
4. No: I must treat myself positively.	You might later regret using this approach, or it doesn't match your self-image.
5. No: I must treat the other positively.	You feel that this approach might hurt the other's feelings –perhaps make him/her feel guilty or mad.
6. No: I must treat our relationship positively.	You reject this approach because it might injure the relationship between you and the other person.
7. No: This is false.	You consider that this approach is false or impossible or easily refuted.
8. No: This is irrelevant.	The approach seems irrelevant, either to you or to the other person.
9. No: Other.	You wouldn't use this approach, but for reasons other than numbers 2 through 8.

(Wilson, 2002: 145)

In short, Hample and Dallinger's cognitive editing standards indicate that certain persuasive strategies are rejected based on effectiveness, principled grounds, concern for oneself, concern for the other, concern for the relationship, truthfulness and relevance (Wilson, 2002: 147). These researchers also found that people differ in whether they prioritise primary or secondary goals in influence interactions. Interestingly, married couples seem to develop similar editing criteria if they stay together for much longer than 20 years.

3.4.3.2   Dillard's Secondary Goals

James Dillard et al. (1989) studied the content of secondary goals. They used a typology of four secondary goals: identity goals, interaction goals, resources goals and arousal management goals. After carrying out three studies on how goals guide people's planning and action in seeking and resisting compliance, Dillard et al. (1989: 32, as cited in Wilson, 2002: 150) concluded that a "primary goal serves to initiate and maintain social action, while the secondary goals act as a set of boundaries which delimit verbal choices available to sources".

3.4.3.3 Kellermann's and Kim's Conversational Constraints

Kellerman (1992) has attempted to distinguish between primary goals and constraints which govern interactions. She focuses on conversational constraints among middle-class Western samples. Min-Sun Kim (1994), on the other hand, looked at intercultural conversational constraints.

Two Conversational Constraints

Kellermann has pointed out that two constraints control communication: social appropriateness and efficiency. An appropriate message is "nice, civil, pleasant, proper, and courteous, and by the same token, an inappropriate message is "rude, uncivil, nasty, improper, and ill-mannered" (Wilson, 2002: 152). An efficient message is "direct, immediate," and precise, whereas an inefficient message is "roundabout, indirect, and wasteful" (Ibid.). Appropriateness and efficiency are conversational constraints because they set limits on people's choices during influence interactions.

Culture and Conversational Constraints

Triandis (1993) points out that culture has an impact on how people seek or reject compliance. In individualist cultures, in which the individual is autonomous and focused on selfish interests, people are not completely subjected to conversational constraints. Most of such cultures are found in Australia, Britain and the United States. On the other hand, in collectivist cultures, individuals are concerned with "conformity, relational harmony and concern for in-group interests" (Wilson, 2002: 154). Japan, South Korea and Pakistan are countries with collectivist cultures. People who are socialised into an individualist culture tend to have independent self-construals, whereas persons in collectivist cultures tend to have interdependent self-construals. Markus and Kitayama (1991) contend that people with independent self-construals are worried more by the self, much unlike people with interdependent self-construals who are concerned about the self and the society. The former rate efficiency ahead of appropriateness of request strategies whereas the opposite is true in the case of the latter. An appropriate request strategy is defined as one which avoids or minimises hurting the other's feelings, negative evaluation, and imposition. An efficient request strategy is one that is marked by clarity and directness. Wilson concludes that "intercultural competence requires knowledge of cultural differences in conversational constraints" (2002: 160). Kim and Sharkey (1995) came up with the following scales for measuring the two types of self-construals:

Table 3   **Kim and Sharkey's (1995) Scales for Measuring Two Types of Self-construals**

Scale Items	Type of Self-Construal
	Independent Self
1. I don't change my opinions in conformity with those of the majority.	
2 I don't support my group when they are wrong.	
3. I assert my opposition when I disagree strongly with members of my group.	
4. I act the same way no matter who I am with.	
5. I enjoy being unique and different fro others in many respects.	
6. I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards.	
7. Speaking up in a work/task group is not a problem for me.	
8. I value being in good health above everything.	
	Interdependent Self
1. I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in.	
2. I act as fellow group members would prefer.	
3. I stick with my group even through difficult times.	
4. It is important for me to maintain harmony with my group.	
5. It is important to me to respect the decisions made by the group.	
6. I will stay in a group if they need me, even when I am not happy with the group.	
7. Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument.	
8. I respect people who are modest about themselves.	
9. I often have the feeling that my relationship with others is more important than my own accomplishments.	
10. My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me.	

(Wilson, 2002: 158)

Note: A 7-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* accompanied each item.

3.4.4   O'keefe And Delia's Analysis Of Goal And Behavioural Complexity

O'keefe and Delia (1982) came up with a research programme to analyse the complexity of compliance-gaining situations and how individuals "differ in their likelihood of recognizing and addressing this complexity" (Wilson, 2002: 160). O'keefe (1988) identified two types of goals individuals pursue in influence interactions. The first type of goals is the situational expectations which are every individual is supposed to abide by. Wilson (2002) calls these goals situationally relevant objectives. These could be termed social obligations. The second type of goals is "the future states of affairs that an individual wants to attain or maintain." (Dillard, 1989)

O'keefe and Delia claim that a situation is complex when it has the following features:

I. its constituent features create multiple situationally relevant objectives,

II. significant obstacles to achieving those objectives are present,

III. actions that accomplish one objective conflict with those that accomplish other relevant objectives.

People with higher levels of interpersonal construct differentiation are more likely than less differentiated individuals to form multiple interaction goals during influence encounters. They are also likely to use "behaviourally complex" communication strategies that address multiple goals than are people with less construct differentiation. According to O'keefe and Delia, there are three strategies for managing multiple conflicting goals. These are: selection (giving priority to one goal, whether primary or secondary goal), separation (addressing multiple goals in temporally or behaviourally distinct aspects of a message), and integration (addressing multiple goals simultaneously) (Wilson, 2002: 163). O'keefe and Delia conclude that competent communicators are people who can address multiple goals when seeking or resisting compliance. Incompetent communicators will pursue only the primary goal in these complex compliance-gaining situations and are less likely to be successful at persuading others.

3.5   INTERPERSONAL INFLUENCE GOALS

3.5.1   A Typology of Goals

Cody et al. (1994) came up with a typology of goals based on the findings of Kipnis (1984), Rule and Bisanz (1987), and Dillard (1990, 1987). These are indicated in the table on the next page:

Table 4   Typology of Goals (Cody et al, 1994)

Goal	Subcategories	Examples
Obtain Permission	Single activity	To go to an all-night graduation party
	Ongoing activity	To have curfew extended
	Personal activity	To have ears pierced
	Increased autonomy	Freedom from going to Church
Gain Permission	Information	Gain information about an object to purchase
	Fund activity	Pay for airfare home
	Purchase goods	Pay for a new printer for home computer
	Financial assistance	Borrow money for new expenses
	Favour/ borrow object	Lend a car, borrow clothing
	Favour/ consideration	Run an errand for the actor
	Selfish request	Keep job so actor can receive discount
Give Advice	Relational	Give advice on who should date whom

	Health/ habit	Give advice on breaking habits
	Social skills/ appearance	Give advice on public behaviour
	Financial plan	Give advice on making plans, money
	Career plan	Give advice on the target's career
Change Opinion	Opinion change	Change opinion of film, Greek system
Share Activity	Mutual activity	Shop together
	Target's activity	Target should engage in a behaviour
Elicit Support (Third Party)	Family coalition	Seek aid in persuasion of another
	Resolve conflict	Seek aid from a target to speak to a third person
	Acquire information	Seek aid from a target to investigate a third person's attitudes
	Relational initiation	Seek aid from a target to introduce actor to a potential dater
Change Ownership (Buying and Selling)	Selling	To sell something to others
	Charity	To sell raffle tickets, etc.
	Buying	To purchase materials from others
Violate Law	Illegal activity	Propose an unlawful activity
Enforce Obligation	Obligation	Target should fulfill contract or obligation
Protect Right	Annoyance	A target's behaviour infringes on the actor's rights, property, health
Change Relationship	Initiation	Actor plans to begin or initiate a relationship
	Escalation/ test of relationship	Actor plans to engage in an activity or persuade a dating partner to advance to a more intimate or personal level
	De-escalation	Actor plans to reduce the level of intimacy in an existing relationship.

3.5.2 Results of the Cluster Analysis: the Six-group Solution

Table 5 The Six-group Solution

Cluster/ Label	Euclidean Distance	Goal Statement
1. Give Advice (Lifestyle)	61.08	…the person to quit trying to pick a fight with my friends.
	62.14	…the person to buy a computer for the family.
	66.90	…my mother to start buying light salt instead of regular salt.
	69.20	…a close female friend to terminate a struggling relationship with her boyfriend
	69.96	…my moms to relax, enjoy the sunshine, and sit and talk for awhile.
	70.19	…to convince my brother not to move to Texas to find a job.
	72:16	…to persuade my daughter to select a certain college.
	73:75	…my room-mate to go to summer school.
	77:84	…my younger sister to stop seeing her boyfriend.
	78:50	…the person to start an IRA (Individual Retirement Account).
	79:52	…to convince my younger brother not to drop out of high school, and to stay and earn his diploma.
	79:82	…Dave to be more realistic about his financial situation by moving into a less expensive apartment.
	79:89	…my father to reconcile his differences with my first cousin.
	79:90	…my son to pick up his room.
	80:98	…the person to run in a 5-mile run.
	82:10	…to convince someone to change majors.
	82:69	…him to take Spanish 4 in high school instead of starting another language.
	84:29	… my room-mate to return to her employer $30 which was accidentally paid to her.
II. Gain Assistance	60:66	… the person to stop giving me advice about my love life.
	64:89	… my girlfriend to type my paper.
	66:09	… the person to make an announcement over a PA system.
	67:29	… the person to leave a party and take me to another city so I could see my boyfriend.
	72:94	… to borrow $100 from my ex-boyfriend.
	74:55	…this person to fill out a questionnaire.
	78:58	… the person to give me a ride to the supermarket.
	78:89	…the Dean of Engineering to readmit me after I had been dropped.
III. Share Activity	45:61	…this person to call more often.
	56:13	…her to go to the restaurant of my choice.
	69:92	…this person to walk the store with me.
	76:07	…this person to attend a movie.
	77:62	…the person to go to a party with me.
	78:59	…the person to go out to a bar with me for a few beers on the evening before her exam.
	79:22	…them to come over to my apartment to visit me.

	80:74	…the person to go out with me on a Thursday night.
IV. Change Political Stance	60:83	…the person not to participate in political demonstrations on campus.
	79:49	…the person to vote in a certain way.
	77:72	…the person to vote in the WSA elections.
	84:81	…the person to vote for Reagan.
	85:84	…the person to vote for me in the fraternity's presidential election.
V. Give Advice (Health)	52:05	…my friend not to see someone because it was bad for my friend's mental health.
	61:17	…my room-mate to use some form of birth control because she is sexually active.
	64:40	…the person to stop smoking.
	65:60	…the person to see a doctor.
	73:13	…my room-mate to conform to a cleaner lifestyle.
	74:59	…my room-mate to stop drinking too much.
	79:26	…the person to stop using cocaine on such a heavy basis.
	76:96	…the person to stop smoking pot.
VI. Change Relationship	51:89	…the person to attend church with me on a regular basis.
	55:75	…two good friends to live with me next year in the apartment we are living in now.
	60:63	…my boyfriend to dress up more.
	63:64	…the person to go to Florida.
	71:42	…my room-mate to go out for a couple of beers.
	76:09	…the person to buy something.
	78:58	…the person to stay in Madison this summer.
	79:66	…this person to stay in Madison for the summer of 1986.
	80:59	…my room-mate to stay in Madison for the summer rather than go home to Boston.
	80:60	…my father to approve of my idea to live in a different city this summer.
	81:55	…my room-mate to pay the utility bills on time so the service wouldn't be interrupted.

(Dillard, 1989, p. 301-303)

3.5.3 Dillard and Marshall's Views of Interpersonal Influence Goals

According to Dillard and Marshall (2003), most efforts at interpersonal influence take place in close and personal relationships. The respected persuasion theorists suggest that the following reasons are the most frequently identified motivations for persuading others:

➢ Give advice, i.e., provide guidance regarding the target's health or lifestyle

➢ Gain assistance, i.e., obtain favours, objects, or information

➢ Share activity, i.e., spend time together.

- Change orientation, i.e., alter target's opinion or behaviour with regard to some social or political issue
- Change relationship, i.e., initiate, escalate or de-escalate source-target relationship
- Obtain permission, i.e., secure the endorsement of someone in power
- Enforce rights and obligations, i.e., compel the target to fulfill a previous commitment or to stop an annoying behaviour.

These primary goals are accomplished together with secondary goals (Dillard and Marshall, 2003: 483). These secondary goals influence the range of behavioural options available to the speaker. There are three targets of change that any source would target at any time. These are (according to Dillard and Marshall) beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. Beliefs are estimates of the truth or falsity of some proposition; attitudes are evaluations of the goodness or badness of an attitude object; and behaviours are actions performed by some individuals. According to Dillard and Marshall, recognisable types of changes in beliefs, attitudes or behaviours include formation, reinforcement and conversion. Formation occurs when an individual acquires a new belief, attitude or behaviour which did not exist before. Reinforcement refers to strengthening of pre-existing beliefs, attitudes or behaviours either for the purpose of increasing their extremity or combating the effects of counter persuasion by other message sources. Conversion involves shifts in beliefs or attitudes or behaviours due to persuasion.

3.6   SUMMARY

In a nutshell, this chapter has explored persuasive message production theories such as a) the GPA and cybernetic control psychological theories, b) Wilson's (2002) compliance-gaining theory, c) earlier research focusing on two strategy-selection traditions: the MBRS study compliance-gaining tradition and the constructivist tradition, d) the goal-pursuit tradition as espoused by Dillard et al (1997). The chapter also reviewed research by Hample and Dallinger's (1990) work on how influence interactants in deal with conflicting goals. Furthermore, I examined Dillard's primary and secondary goals as well as Kellermann's (1992) and Kim's (1994) conversational constraints. The chapter ended with a discussion of interpersonal influence goals which are a fundamental part of my research.

Some insights I have gleaned from the GPA theories are that people in persuasive conversations come up with goals and then activate plans to achieve these goals, that interactants deal with multiple influence goals in and that there are conversational constraints whose effects can be minimised through training and social-perception skills. Competent communicators know the goal to pursue at any given time while their incompetent counterparts struggle to take the perspective of

the other as well as fail to be flexible across situations. Psychological theories have been criticised for a number of reasons, for example, Wilson's Cognitive Rule (CR) GPA model has be criticised for failing to convincingly explain how multiple goals are dealt with in an influence episode. Wilson's compliance-gaining theory views persuasive message production as a goal-orientated activity as opposed to strategy-selection espoused by the MBRS study or the constructivist approach of listener-adapted persuasive messages expounded by the Clark and Delia study. Dillard's explanation of primary and secondary goals made it easy to understand why people choose certain persuasive strategies in relation to the nature of their relationship, the situation the influence interaction takes place, level of intelligence of both source and target, and so on. Hample and Dallinger's (1990) Cognitive Editing Standards indicate that certain persuasive strategies are rejected by the source on the grounds of effectiveness, relevance, truthfulness and so on. Kellermann (1992) and Kim (1994) have identified conversational constraints that may interfere with persuasion, and these are social appropriateness, efficiency and culture-specific inhibitions. Cody et al (1994) and Dillard (1989) provided lists of influence goals which I will use in my analysis of persuasive messages in Shona family set-ups.

CHAPTER 4
PERSUASIVE EFFECTS

4.1   AIMS OF THIS CHAPTER

Firstly, I will review Fishbein's 1967 Summative Model of Attitude with the view of finding the impact of one's beliefs on a person's attitude towards an object. Secondly, I will explore the role social and message factors play in persuasive messages' effectiveness, and then discuss the influence of various recipient traits and context factors in persuasion, before I examine process and content persuaders use.

4.2   INTRODUCTION

This chapter I review literature on persuasive effects. The chapter starts off with a look at Fishbein's Summative Model of Attitude as it summarised by Daniel O'Keefe (2002). I then explore social factors (communicator credibility and liking, similarity and physical attractiveness) to find out their effects on the effectiveness of persuasive messages. Message factors such as message structure, message content and sequential-request strategies will also examined in this chapter. I then discuss receiver and context factors before rounding up the chapter with a detailed examination of process and content premises as articulated by Larson (1995) in his book *Persuasion: Reception and Responsibility*.

4.3   PERSUASION AND ATTITUDE

Fishbein's Summative Model of Attitude

Martin Fishbein's 1967 summative model of attitude (as summarised in O'Keefe, 2002: 46) postulates that one's salient beliefs influence one's attitude towards an object. Belief strength, defined as "the strength with which one holds salient beliefs about the object" (Ibid.), and belief evaluation are key aspects of one's attitude towards an object. "Semantic differential evaluative scales, such as good-bad, desirable-undesirable, and favourable-unfavourable" (Ibid.) are used to determine a person's attitude towards the object. Belief strength is measured using scales such as likely-unlikely, probable-improbable, and true-false.

The model offers the following five ways which a persuader can use to induce attitude change in the message target:

- leading the receiver to add a new salient positive belief about the object,

- attempting to increase the favourability of an existing positive belief,

- attempting to increase the belief strength of an existing positive belief,

- attempting to decrease the unfavourability of an existing negative system,

- minimising the belief strength associated with an existing negative belief (O'Keefe, 2002: 52)

Fishbein's summative model of attitude has been criticised for failing to consider other factors involved in successful persuasion such as "communicator credibility, message organisation, and receiver personality traits" (O'Keefe, 2002: 55).

4.4   SOURCE FACTORS

Research has been done on the effect of the communicator (message source) on persuasive messages. Focus has been on communicator credibility and likability as well as similarity to the message target.

4.4.1   Communicator credibility

Believability of a communicator is a relative (subjective) trait, which means that what may be deemed to be highly credible by one person may be considered not credible at all by another (O'Keefe, 2002: 130). Factor-analytic research has been done to determine the underlying dimensions of credibility (e.g., Andersen, 1961; Schweitzer & Ginsburg, 1966). However, there has been no consensus on factor structures that have been found. Two dimensions of credibility have been identified through factor-analytic research, and these are competence and trustworthiness. According to O'Keefe (2002: 132), the competence dimension is alternatively called "expertise", "expertness", "authoritativeness" or "qualification". This dimension is represented by the following scales: experienced-inexperienced, informed-uninformed, trained-untrained, qualified-unqualified, intelligent-unintelligent, and expert-not expert. Trustworthiness dimension is sometimes called "character", "safety" or "personal integrity" (Ibid.) and is indicated by scales such as honest-dishonest, trustworthy-untrustworthy, open-minded-closed-minded, just-unjust, fair-unfair, and unselfish-selfish. It should be noted that judgements about whether a message source is competent and trustworthy are made by message targets.

4.4.1.1   Factors influencing credibility judgements

Research has found that when a message target is given information about the message source's education, occupation and experience, the target uses that information to make credibility

judgements. This explains why source attribution is important in news writing and reporting. Hewgill and Miller (1965) proposed the idea of high-credibility and low-credibility introductions – professor and student scenarios – to explain why some people are deemed to have higher communication credibility than others. Studies by Ostermeier (1967), and Swenson, Nash, & Roos (1984) have shown that receivers judge a communicator's trustworthiness and competence based on the receivers' knowledge on "the communicator's occupation, training, amount of experience, and the like" (O'Keefe, 2002: 134).

Use of a high number of nonfluencies by a communicator can get him or her low rating on the credibility scale. According to O'Keefe, nonfluencies "include vocalized pauses ("uh, uh"), the superfluous repetition of words or sounds, corrections of slips of tongue, articulation difficulties, and the like." (2002: 135) **Speaking rate** is another factor that message targets consider when determining a communicator's credibility. Generally, fast speakers are considered to be credible but research has proved that some people speak fast when they are agitated or nervous too, and this does not mean they are credible. Credible persuaders include evidence in their messages (relevant facts, opinions, information, and statistics) to buttress their claims. **Source citation** is very important especially for "communicators who are initially low or moderate in credibility than with communicators initially high in credibility" (O'Keefe, 2002: 136). Communicators with interest in the issue under discussion who take an alternative stance on the issue are often perceived as competent and trustworthy by their audience. O'Keefe claims that such a communicator will have advocated a position which "disconfirms the audience's expectations about the communicator's views" (2002: 136). Citing Eagly, Wood and Chaiken (1981), the author alleges that there are two communication biases that a receiver can notice in a communicator: knowledge bias and reporting bias. Knowledge bias is described as "the receiver's belief that the communicator's knowledge of relevant information is somehow biased and thus source's message may not accurately reflect reality." (2002: 137) Reporting bias "refers to the receiver's belief that a communicator may not be willing to convey relevant information accurately." (Ibid.) A speaker suspected of knowledge bias will be seen as not very competent whereas one suspected of reporting bias will suffer on the trustworthiness dimension.

Another factor that influences credibility judgements is the liking for the communicator. The receiver's liking of a communicator can be used to judge the communicator's trustworthiness than his or her competence on a particular issue. O'Keefe posits that "Small amounts of appropriate humour (thus) may have small enhancing effects on perceived trustworthiness, but are unlikely to affect assessments of communicator's competence" (2002: 140).

4.4.1.2   **Effects of Credibility**

According to O'Keefe (2002), the effects that credibility has on persuasive messages are dependent on other factors: factors that influence the magnitude of credibility's effects and factors that influence the direction of credibility's effects.

Influences on the Magnitude of Effect

Two factors identified by O'Keefe (2002) which influence the role communicator credibility plays in persuasion are: the receiver's level of involvement with the issue or subject matter, and the timing of identification of the communicator. When an issue is important to a receiver, communicator credibility is not very important. In magazine and newspaper articles, source identification is often done at the end so that the message gets across without the communicator's credibility coming in the way.

Influences on the Direction of Effect

Commonsense would tell us that an increase in source credibility would result in an increase in persuasive effectiveness. Research (Bock & Saine, 1975; Dholakia, 1987) has shown that low-credibility communicators are more effective (persuaders) than high-credibility communicators (O'Keefe, 2002: 142). O'Keefe argues that the position advocated by the message determines the direction of credibility's effects. A **counterattitudinal message** is a "message (which) advocates a position initially opposed by the receiver" 2002: 143), and a **proattitudinal message** is a message which advocates 'a position toward which a receiver initially feels at least somewhat favourable" (Ibid.). Research by Bergin (1962), and Harmon & Coney (1982) is cited by O'Keefe as indicating that:

> high-credibility communicators are more effective than low-credibility communicators with counterattitudinal messages, but this advantage diminishes as the advocated position gets closer and closer to the receiver's position, to the point that with proattitudinal messages the low-credibility communicator is often more effective than the high-credibility source. (O'Keefe, 2002: 143)

It should be noted that receiver stimulation as well as prior-to-message source identification plays a huge part in the direction of credibility's effects.

4.4.2   Liking

The general rule is that "liked communicators are more effective influence agents than are disliked communicators" (O'Keefe, 2002: 145), but research has found otherwise. Research by Wachtler and Counselman's (1981) has indicated that the effects of liking are overridden by the effects of credibility "when the receiver's judgement of the source's credibility conflicts with the receiver's liking of the source." (Ibid) Disliked communicators are more effective at being persuasive than liked communicators. The effects of liking in persuasive messages are reduced when receiver involvement is high. Disliked communicators are more effective in changing attitudes than liked communicators especially when receivers 'tune in' to a message,.

4.4.3 Similarity

Unlike credibility and liking source factors, similarity and physical attractiveness indirectly influence persuasive outcomes. They affect credibility and liking instead.

Similarity

The common assumption is that "to the degree that receivers perceive similarities between themselves and a persuader, the persuader's effectiveness is enhanced" (O'Keefe, 2002: 148). However, this relationship is complicated than it seems on the surface. Research by Brock (1965), and Woodside & Davenport (1974) has indicated that similarity can make persuasive effectiveness more possible, but Infante (1978) found that it can reduce persuasive effectiveness. Klock and Traylor (1983) are cited by O'Keefe as having found that similarity has no effect on persuasive outcomes at all. Simons et al (1970) explains that similarity's effect on persuasive messages is complex because there are a number of possible dimensions of similarity-dissimilarity variable; these include age, occupation, attitudes, physique, income, education, speech dialect, personality, ethnicity, political affiliation, interpersonal style, clothing preferences, and so on (O'Keefe, 2002: 148). The other explanation for similarity's complex relationship with persuasive effectiveness is that similarity has an indirect influence on persuasive outcomes (Hass, 1981). It impacts "the receiver's liking for the communicator and the receiver's perception of the communicator's credibility" (Ibid.).

Similarity and Liking There are a number of similarities between the persuasive message source and its target; these have different effects on the target's liking for the source depending on the context and content of the message. Research (Huston & Levinger, 1978) has shown that communicator-receiver attitudinal similarity (similar evaluations of attitude objects) has the greatest influence on

the receiver's liking for the communicator. Wagner (1984) concluded that "persuasive success (is) more influenced by the communicator's expertise (credibility) than by the communicator's attitudinal similarity" (O'Keefe, 2002: 149) Attitudinal similarity only increases receiver's liking for the communicator, and not persuasive effectiveness.

Similarity and Credibility: Competence Judgements For similarity/dissimilarity to have an effect on communicator competence, it should be relevant to the influence attempt. But it should be noted "that not all relevant similarities will enhance perceived competence of a communicator, and not all relevant dissimilarities will damage perceived competence" (O'Keefe, 2002: 150).

Similarity and Credibility: Trustworthiness Judgements Similarity can lead to an increase in receiver's liking for a communicator which will indirectly affect judgements of the communicator's trustworthiness. Speech dialect research by Delia (1975) has shown that similarity improves or reduces judgements of trustworthiness depending on the position advocated.

4.4.4   Physical Attractiveness

The assumption is that physically attractive communicators are likely to be effective persuaders. Research by J. Cooper (1974) has shown that this is not always the case. Just like similarity, physical attractiveness has no direct bearing on persuasion success. O'Keefe observed from Chaiken's research (1986) that "the communicator's physical attractiveness influences recipient's liking for the communicator, which in turn influences persuasive success." (O'Keefe, 2002: 152) Physical attractiveness has a marginal effect on persuasion in low-involvement topics, and under certain circumstances, physically unattractive communicators are more effective than their physical attractive counterparts. In terms of communicator credibility, empirical evidence has shown that not all effective physically attractive persuaders receive higher rating on competence. They are only effective persuaders due to their likeability. However, they receive higher rating on trustworthiness because of the effect of audience's liking for them.

In a nutshell, source factors that seem to play a crucial role in persuasion are communicator's credibility and liking. Other source characteristics like similarity, physical attractiveness and ethnicity indirectly influence persuasion through their effects on either credibility or liking.

4.5   MESSAGE FACTORS

Message variations have effects on persuasion. Message factors such as **message structure, message content and sequential-request strategies** will be explored in this section.

4.5.1   Message Structure

According to O'Keefe (2002: 158), research has focused on two features of persuasive messages: the order of arguments in the message, and the nature of the message's conclusion.

Climax versus Anticlimax Order of Arguments

Arguments can be ordered in two ways: climax order and anticlimax order. The climax order involves presenting most important arguments last, whereas the anticlimax order involves presenting the most important first. From research done in the 1950s, it emerged that "the choice between these two ways of arranging the arguments in a message seems to be of little consequence" (O'Keefe, 2002: 159) to the effectiveness of persuasive message. The difference in the impact of the argument order on persuasive effectiveness is negligible. But there are circumstances that may determine that a certain argument order be used. O'Keefe gives the example of appellate oral argument in U.S. courts where experienced attorneys often employ the anticlimax order when presenting their arguments so that they ensure that their most compelling arguments are heard before they are interrupted by the judges or they run out of time. In news writing, the anticlimax order is used to ensure that readers get the message in the first few paragraphs.

Explicit Conclusions and Recommendations

The jury is out on whether persuaders who use explicit conclusions in their messages are more effective than those who leave the point of their message implicit and let the audience come up with their own conclusions. The essence of a persuasive message is to make a point or move the audience to action. There are benefits for using both explicit or implicit conclusions and recommendations. Using explicit conclusions ensures that the receivers get the message accurately; it removes the possibility of being misconstrued. On the other hand, using explicit conclusions can be seen as insulting the intelligence of audience (especially it is an educated audience). Using implicit conclusions helps the audience to be more involved cognitively in the persuasive message as they have to come up with their own conclusion. Extant research evidence proves that messages "that include explicit conclusions or recommendations are more persuasive than messages without these elements" (O'Keefe, 2002: 160). In a research done by Thistlewaite, de Haan, & Kamenetzky (1955), it was noted that "explicit conclusions led to significantly greater comprehension of the communicator's point, but not to significantly greater attitude change" (Ibid.). Furthermore, with an educated audience both explicit and implicit conclusions have the same effect on persuasion. In general terms, persuaders who use explicit recommendations or conclusions will be more effective than those who do not do so.

4.5.2   **Message Content**

4.5.2.1   **Handling Opposing Arguments: One-sided versus two-sided messages**

A good persuader is always cognisant of possible opposing views, and thus should devise a way of dealing with them.

Ignoring versus refuting opposing arguments The two options are:

- Ignoring the opposing arguments, and not mentioning them at all. The persuader will focus on constructive arguments only. This option is called one-sided message.
- In addition to giving constructive arguments, a persuader may attempt to refute opposing arguments by attacking them directly, exposing their weaknesses and defects. This option is called a two-sided message.

Effective persuaders are those who use two-sided messages, for not only do they offer supporting arguments; they also deal a blow to opposing arguments directly. O'Keefe suggests that two-sided messages' advantage depends upon the audience's educational level, the audience's familiarity with the issue, and the audience's initial opinion on the topic. (2002: 161) According to Jackson & Allen (1987), two-sided messages have more persuasive effectiveness than one-sided messages especially when they involve familiar issues than unfamiliar ones. Research on how the two-sided message is organised has produced three organisational patterns. There is the support-then-refute, the refute-then-support, and the supportive and refutational arguments interwoven. (O'Keefe, 2002: 162)

The importance of addressing relevant obstacles For two-sided messages to be effective, the persuader should refute objections which are relevant to the audience. Potential obstacles to successful persuasion in a given situation need to be identified and be addressed without antagonising the audience. The persuasive advantage of two-sided messages can only be used effectively when relevant opposing arguments are refuted.

4.5.2.2 Discrepancy

The discrepancy of a persuasive message is the degree of change that the persuader aims to achieve in an audience. According to O'Keefe (2002: 163), "a persuader might advocate a position only slightly discrepant from (different from) the receiver's point of view, or might advocate a highly discrepant position". Discrepancy variation relates to amount of change *sought* by the message and the amount of change *obtained* by the message. Research has found that greater discrepancies are linked to greater effectiveness but also that persuasive effectiveness is reduced with increasing

discrepancy (Cohen, 1959). The other finding is that high-credibility sources can advocate somewhat discrepant positions easily than can low-credibility sources.

4.5.2.3 Fear Appeals

Spreading fear can be used as a persuasive technique. But according to O'Keefe (2002: 165) the question is: "are stronger fear appeals more effective than weaker ones, or vice versa, or is there perhaps no general difference between them?" A high fear appeal message that includes explicit, gruesome images may be ineffective in arousing fear in the audience especially if the audience have become used to violence. Extant research evidence shows that it is difficult to "manipulate the level of fear experienced by an audience", and that "message material which does induce greater fear or anxiety will enhance the effectiveness of the message." (2002: 166) Those who experience relatively greater fear are more likely to be persuaded than those who experience less fear. Research has also found that there is a curvilinear relationship between the fear appeal levels to persuasive effectiveness of a message. This implies that there is an extent to which one can use fear appeals beyond which this can backfire or cease to be effective.

An explanation for why greater aroused fear is associated with greater persuasive effective is given by O'Keefe (2002). The author says that a cognitive change as a result of exposure to a graphic, gory, disadvantageous persuasive message is the "real force at work behind the message's effectiveness" and not the fear aroused. Fear is a "by-product of the persuasion process" (2002: 167).

4.5.2.4 Examples versus statistical summaries

Koballa (1986) (as cited in O'Keefe, 2002) suggests that case studies or examples are more persuasive than statistical information or other data summaries. This explains why public HIV testing by community leaders has much impact on persuading ordinary people to get tested than any numbers in whatever form.

4.5.3   Sequential-request strategies

Two sequential-request influence strategies are the 'foot-in-the door' strategy and the 'door-in-the-face' strategy. In both strategies, the main request that the communicator makes is preceded by an initial request which the receiver would have satisfied.

Foot-In-The-Door

According to O'Keefe (2002), this strategy involves making an initial request to the receiver, which the receiver grants, and then making the critical request. "The hope is that, having gotten one's foot in the door, the second (critical) request will be looked on more favourably by the receiver." (O'Keefe, 2002: 169) The FITD strategy at times ensures compliance with the second request. A number of factors affect the efficacy of the FITD strategy. Firstly, Dillard, Hunter, & Burgoon (1984) suggest that for the FITD to be effective there must be no external inducements (such as money reward) for complying with the initial request. Secondly, Fern, Monroe, & Avila (1986) advance that the bigger the first request, the more successful the FITD strategy. Thirdly, the receiver should actually perform the first request (not simply agree with it) for the FITD strategy to be more successful. Lastly, the FITD strategy is more effective when the requests benefit the greater community than profit-generating ventures.

Self-perception processes explain the effects of FITD. According to O'Keefe (2002: 170), "initial compliance is taken to enhance receivers' conceptions of their helpfulness, cooperativeness, and the like." Enhanced self-perceptions are likely to increase the chances of the second request being accepted.

Door-In-The-Face

The door-in-the-face (DITF) strategy is the reverse version of the FITD strategy. According to O'Keefe (2002: 171), the "DITF strategy consists of initially making a large request, which the receiver turns down, and then making the smaller critical request." At times, DITF increases compliance as people are likely to agree with a smaller request when they have rejected the first bigger request. There is an element of emotional manipulation involved with DITF. In a research cited by Cialdini et al. (1975) it was found that:

Among those in the control condition, who received only the second request, only 17% agreed to chaperone the zoo trip; but among those in the DITF condition, who initially turned down the large request, 50% agreed. (O'Keefe, 2002: 172)

A limiting condition identified by research is the size of the time interval between the requests. The bigger the time interval, the higher the likelihood of the second smaller request being rejected. Conversely, the smaller the time interval, the higher the likelihood of the second smaller request being accepted. For the DITF strategy to be effective in persuading someone, the smaller second

request should follow immediately after the first. Two explanations have been offered to account for DITF effects:

1. Cialdini et al. (1975) advance that persuasive message source and receiver engage in "reciprocal concessions". By this, the authors mean that "the successive requests make the situation appear to be one involving bargaining or negotiation" by both sides (O'Keefe, 2002: 172).

2. Miller et al. (1976) believe that a "perceptual contrast" is at play when a DITF strategy is used in persuasion. By this the authors suggest that "the second request is perceived as smaller than it actually is, because of the "perceptual contrast" with the first." (O'Keefe, 2002: 172)

It should be noted that the DITF strategy seems to be effective when the persuader is using it for "civic, humanitarian, or similar nonprofit causes" (Ibid.)

4.6   RECEIVER AND CONTEXT FACTORS

Various recipient traits and context factors are fundamental in persuasion.

4.6.1   Enduring Receiver Characteristics

a) *General persuasibility* O'Keefe defines persuasibility as "how easily someone is persuaded in general" (2002: 175). The question is whether there are general persuasibility differences among people. Research on this is inconclusive. Janis & Field (1956) concluded that there may be some differences between persons in terms of their persuasibility but the difference is very small.

b) *Sex differences in persuasibility* Are men more easily persuaded than women, or vice versa? Eagly and Carli (1981) and Becker (1986) claim that women are more easily persuaded than men, but the difference is very marginal. O'Keefe suggests that the "spurious difference [is] attributable to other factors" (2002: 176). The two factors that explain the sex differences in persuasibility are topic interest and knowledgeability and the sex of the investigator. For the former factor, O'Keefe says "topics with greater male interest and knowledgeability were the topics on which females tended to show greater persuasibility (and vice versa)" (2002: 177). Regarding the investigator's sex factor, O'Keefe says the effect is negligible even if there is a belief that male researchers tend to find women more easily persuaded than men. Other factors that may account for sex differences in persuasibility are "cultural training and socialisation" (Ibid).

c) *Personality Traits* The little research that has been done shows that receiver's degree of self-esteem has an effect on persuasive outcomes. O'Keefe suggests that "as the receiver's self-esteem increases, so does the amount of attitude change displayed following persuasive messages" (2002: 178). However, there are findings that contradict this. McGuire (1968) offered an explanation for the complex relationship between receiver personality traits and persuasive effects. McGuire suggested that "any personality trait will simultaneously have effects that enhance persuasion and effects that inhibit persuasion" (O'Keefe, 2002: 178).

4.6.2   Induced Receiver Factors

Inducing resistance to persuasion: Inoculation Theory and Research Wilson McGuire (1967) proposed the inoculation theory which expounds "the processes by which persons can be made resistant to persuasion" (O'Keefe, 2002: 179). Drawing from the biological metaphor of inoculation treatment – where persons are exposed to small doses of the disease virus so that their bodies can develop immunity against future major attacks – McGuire suggested that there are societal beliefs which are "not exposed to attack" (O'Keefe, 2002: 179) which can be attacked easily. McGuire called these beliefs "cultural truisms".

Cultural truisms O'Keefe (2002: 180) defines a cultural truism as " a belief that is rarely, if ever, attacked". Within a specific culture or social environment, the truism is held by everyone and no one criticises it. The inoculation theory suggests that cultural truisms are open to attack for two reasons: the believer has no practice defending the belief, and the believer has no reason to undertake the necessary practice. As a result, truisms are "more susceptible to persuasive attack" (Ibid.). But there are ways to make truisms resistant to persuasion.

Supportive and refutational treatments According to McGuire, in a research on cultural truisms, receivers go through a two-step inoculation process. First, they are exposed to a treatment inducing resistance to persuasion on a given truism. Then, they are exposed to an attack on that truism. Both supportive and refutational treatments are carried out. In the supportive treatment, pro-truism arguments are made. In a refutational treatment, the receiver is subjected to a weak attack on a truism, and then refuting of that attack. The refutational treatment immunises receivers against many other antitruism arguments. O'Keefe (2002: 181) concludes that a combination of supportive and refutational treatments is more effective in causing resistance than is refutational treatment alone.

Nontruisms   For some controversial beliefs and attitudes, two-sided messages are effective in resisting persuasion than refutational treatments alone.

Warning Another way of inducing receiver resistance to persuasion is warning. According to Papageorgis (1968) there are two types of warnings that can be employed to induce resistance. There are: a warning to receivers of a persuasive message without giving the contents of the message or the position being advocated, and a warning which states the issue of the message and the position advocated in it. The former, called the persuasive-intent warning, does not lead to counterarguing, whereas the latter, called the topic-position warning, stimulates counterarguing as the receivers have knowledge of the issue to be discussed and the position to be advocated. O'Keefe concludes by saying that "warnings create greater resistance to persuasion on topics that are personally relevant to the receiver than on topics that are not relevant." (2002: 182)

4.6.3 Contextual Factors

a) *Primacy-recency* In public communication and general discussion, persuasion seems to take on a debate-like nature. The question then is whether speaking first or second is advantageous. According to O'Keefe (2002: 183), "if the first communication enjoys some advantage over the second, a "primacy effect" is said to occur; if the second position is more advantageous, a "recency effect" is said to occur". Research has shown that there is no major advantage to either position. The strength of the argument is what matters most.

b) *Medium* Different communication media are used in persuasion and each may have an effect on persuasive outcomes. The comparative effectiveness of each medium is a subject of perennial debate. According to O'Keefe (2002: 184), audio-visual medium is a more effective advertising medium than an audio medium. This could be due to the fact that the medium target different audiences. Face-to-face communication could be more effective than an audio medium because face-to-face interaction is interactive and allows for adjustments and immediate responses to queries whereas an audio medium is noninteractive. So the channel of communication, type of audience and the nature of interaction are some of the factors that explain the differential effectiveness of various communication media in achieving compliance. Comparatively, written, audiotaped, and videotaped messages do not have much difference in terms of their impact on persuasion. However, credibility and likeability play a strong role in videotaped messages than in written ones. On the other hand, "complex persuasive messages are more effective in written form than in audiotaped and videotaped forms" (O'Keefe, 2002: 185). This is so because the receivers have more control over the pace of presentation with written messages than with audiotaped and videotaped messages.

c) *The Persistence of Persuasion* According to research cited by O'Keefe (2002), persuasive messages decay with the passage of time. This decay can be rapid, or over a period of time

or it may not happen at all. The decay of message effects can be due to old habits creeping up again, or new persuasive messages may be received. O'Keefe concludes that "for maximum effect, persuasive messages should be delivered temporally close to the point of decision or action" (2002: 186). Some persuasive messages may persist due to the number of supporting arguments, communicator credibility and high receiver involvement in the issue.

4.7   PROCESS AND CONTENT PREMISES IN PERSUASION

4.7.1   Process Premises in Persuasion

Larson (1995: 160) defines process premises as "appeals that tap into the psychological processes operating in persuadees and that rely on human emotions, drives, or instincts". These could be emotional appeals, logical appeals, or hybrid appeals. Process premises are used to dispel fear, to get customers to buy a product due "to brand loyalty, brand name, a memorable slogan, catchy jingle, or even packaging." (1995: 161)

4.7.1.1   Needs

All humans have needs which can either be physiological (such as food and shelter) or psychological (such as academic success or practising one's religion) or emotional (such as love, belonging and friendship). Larson (1995: 161) claims that "effective persuaders successfully determine their audience's needs". Vance Packard (1964, as cited in Larson, 1995, 163-170) identified eight "hidden needs" that advertisers exploit when they come up with adverts for their products. These are the need for emotional security, the need for reassurance of worth, the need for ego gratification, the need for creative outlets, the need for love objects, the need for a sense of power, the need for roots, and the need for immortality.

Maslow's Pyramid of Needs Abraham Maslow (1954) came up with a pyramid of human needs which indicated stronger and weaker needs. At the base of the pyramid is found the lowest level which represents basic needs that must be satisfied first before one can worry about satisfying the next level of needs. Basic needs are "the physiological needs for regular access to air, food, water, sex, sleep, and elimination of wastes" (Larson, 1995: 171).

Basic needs: These are indispensable, survival needs which should be met first before one can worry about other needs.

Security needs: These occupy the second level of the pyramid. They include job security, food security, protection from crime, and social security like smelling nicely.

Belonging and Love needs: When security needs have been met, people move on third level needs: belonging or association needs. This need can be met automatically by virtue of being a member of a workplace group or a biological family. But sometimes people actively seek to belong to certain neighbourhoods, churches, political parties, trade unions or civic organisations. Persuaders target this need when they are attempting to recruit people to join their cause.

Esteem needs: After we have satisfied the needs for belonging, we pursue the next set of needs: the esteem needs which focus on being valued in the groups. According to Larson (1995: 173), "we want to feel wanted and valued as human beings". This need is a reemerging one in that once we feel valued by our family, "we want now to feel needed by our co-workers, our boss, and our friends" (1995: 173). To satisfy this need, people move to symbolic substitutes such as driving expensive cars, sending one's children to state-of-the art schools, or reading exclusive magazines.

Self-Actualisation needs: On top of Maslow's pyramid is found self-actualisation needs. These refer to the needs for one to live up to his or her true potential. One does not need to have accomplished the four lower levels to self-actualise. According to Maslow, individuals can self-actualise when they reach "peak experiences". By peak experiences, Maslow meant "events in which people can enjoy themselves, learn about themselves, or experience something they have only dreamed of before" (Larson, 1995: 175). Embarking on a tour of the world, receiving a trophy, buying one's first car, being hired for a job for the first time or a successful job-switch are examples of such "peak experiences".

Uses of the Needs Process Premise

Persuaders should examine the current needs of those they seek to persuade if they want to be successful. Whether they use Packard's or Maslow's model, "it is clear that human psychological and physiological needs are powerful motivators." (Larson, 1995: 176)

4.7.1.2 Attitudes: The Second Process Premise

Alice H. Eagley and Shelley Chaiken (1993: 1), cited by Larson (Ibid.), define an attitude as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor". Larson argues that because an attitude is "an internal state… we cannot observe it directly, so we try to observe it in "evaluative responses" (Ibid.). The evaluative responses include expressions of liking or disliking, approval or disapproval, approach or avoidance and other similar

reactions. These evaluations will focus on attitude objects such as Rastafarianism, feminism, politics or religion. According to Larson (1995: 177), "attitude objects are usually found in the persuader's request for action or offer of products, ideas, beliefs, and so on". The person being persuaded should be able to identify and evaluate the actions or offers so that he or she can either accept or turn down the request.

Attitudes and Opinions: Milton Rokeach (1968) came up with two categories of beliefs which people have in general: attitudes toward objects or issues and attitudes toward situations. The problem is that these attitudes can contradict each other which may result in people being confused or exhibiting inconsistent behaviour. Larson (1995) cites an example of parents who object to the presence of AIDS-infected students in public schools. Such parents can have sympathy for the attitude object (the innocent infected student) but can also have a negative attitude towards the situation (the possibility of the infected student spreading sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and ultimately the AIDS virus itself). Opinions are beliefs that are fluid and changing; they are not constant. Political opinions change following events in the political realm but they do not necessarily change people's behaviour. It takes a huge opinion shift to change our attitude toward a certain president, for example. Regarding smoking, Larson says the following:

We have an attitude toward smoking composed of many opinions: that it is costly; that it is dirty; that it is unhealthy; that it bothers others; that it destroys the body's supply of vitamin C, and so on. (Larson, 1995: 177)

Functions of Attitudes: Attitudes have cognitive, affective and behavioural functions. We learn these attitudes which affect our emotions and feelings and predispose us to act in a certain way in certain situations.

Attitudes and Intention: Research done by Martin Fishbein and Icek Ajzen (1975) established that attitude change precedes intentions of any person. Larson (1995) cites the example of attitude change toward the environment that leads to our intentions to recycle, use water sparingly, or avoid harmful detergents. This applies to politics as well. People's attitude toward a certain politician determines what they will do: vote for the candidate, stay at home, campaign or fundraise for the candidate, and so on. Larson (1995: 178) concludes that "when people describe what they intend to do, they have, in a sense, already symbolically enacted the behavior".

Attitudes and Interpersonal Communication: To show our awareness of the role we play interpersonal communication, "we express attitudes in ways that help us get along with persons who

are significant to us" (Larson, 1973: 179). This shows that there may be differences "between expressed attitudes and subsequent behaviour." (Ibid.)

Attitudes and Information Processing: The human information processing theory looks at "what information in the persuasive message is processed by the audience, how it is stored, and how it is retrieved" (Ibid.). Message comprehensibility and storage by the audience is very important. The message is stored in the audience member' long-term memory (LTM) as new information or it fits "with an existing network or several networks (nets) of information already stored in LTM" (1995: 179). The networks store emotional feelings that get activated when the *key concept* is mentioned. Another way in which information is stored in LTM is episodic. Things presented to us in episodic segments which end up integrated with LTM networks. Related episode types are stored together and it is these that a clever persuader should target when attempting to influence others. Petty and Cacioppo (1986) came up with the **elaboration likelihood model** to explain persuasion that is highly logical and reasoned than the emotional or affective persuasion. According to Larson (1995), the elaboration likelihood model has two paths of persuasion: logical/reasoned persuasion which flows through a central processing path and emotional persuasion which flows through a peripheral processing path. Logical persuasion involves a supply of lots of evidence and is therefore used when making big buying decisions, whereas emotional persuasion uses simple clues and is used in making less important decisions. Larson suggests that "persuasion relying on process premises is likely to be processed in the peripheral path, whereas persuasion that relies on reasoned premises is likely to be processed in the central path" (1995: 180). Processing persuasive messages through the central path results in powerful and predictive attitude change, while using the peripheral path leads to fragile and erratic attitude change.

4.7.1.3 Consistency: The Third Process Premise

Larson (1995: 182) postulates that people feel comfortable when the world operates consistently with their perceptions of events. When this does not happen, people are conditioned to change either themselves or their interpretations of events to bring back equilibrium. Clever persuaders look out for areas of inconsistencies and offer a means to achieve consistency and comfort. They do this by creating dissonance in users of certain products. Such persuaders "identify the receiver's frame of reference to create the kind of incongruity or inconsistency that will prompt feelings of psychological "dis-ease" that will then lead to movement along an attitude scale" (Larson, 1995: 184). Sources of dissonance are important when persuaders attempt to change attitudes whereas sources of consonance are important when persuaders want to strengthen existing attitudes.

Sources of Dissonance: *loss of group prestige* as a result of the actions of one of its members. This loss can happen to small and large groups, which include sports clubs, entire professions or geographical regions. *Economic loss*: fear of economic loss can be exploited by persuaders. Larson (1995: 186) says "when we perceive that our economic value is in danger of being reduced, we feel psychic dissonance and insecurity." *Loss of personal prestige*: This refers to fear of losing the respect of others. This discomfort can be exploited by persuaders who promise to fix our problems. Other fears include fear of loss of youth, loss of health, loss of good appearance or the fear of one's child failing a grade. *Uncertainty of prediction*: This fear is caused by our inability to predict with accuracy what will happen to us or the behaviour of others. People used to routine fear changes in that routine, be it political, social or religious change. *Sense of guilty*: Guilt also causes dissonance. Larson says "guilt springs from the potential disapproving judgements of a symbolic source outside ourselves, such as a deity, our parents, our peers, or world opinion" (1995: 187). This self-imposed guilt can be exploited by persuaders asking for donations, for example. Fear of reprimand from our symbolic parents etched in our conscience leads to shame or self-hate. Guilt is the logical by-product of that reaction.

Sources of Consonance: Appeals that produce consonance are used by persuaders "to reinforce existing beliefs, attitudes, or behaviours and frequently to activate receivers" (Larson, 1995: 189). What follows are some of the sources of consonance identified by Larson. *Reassurance of security*: Persuaders make assurance that if we follow their advice or buy their product, we will be secure. This security comes in many dimensions: it could be social security which we can get by staying informed through reading about topical issues, or using a certain perfume. Politicians make promises to look after the poor and vulnerable through increasing social spending, or to defend the country by spending more on the military. *Demonstration of predictability*: Persuaders who exploit people's desire for security also exploit people's desire for a predictable world. Car sellers make promises of repairing cars (through warranties) and win over car buyers. *Use of rewards*: Another strategy used by persuaders to produce consonance in people is the use of rewards or positive reinforcements. Larson (1995: 191) claims that "persuaders often use positive and complimentary statements to flatter their audience and to thus reinforce the behaviour for which they are offering the compliment". Most adventure adverts make use of rewards to reinforce prior adventure-seeking behaviour or to activate new behaviours like the desire to start a new adventure.

4.7.2   Content Premises In Persuasion

Larson (1995: 194) defines content premises as "premises relying on logical and analytical abilities". When seeking to gaining compliance of fence-sitters on an issue, persuaders supply them

with information, evidence, discussion or debate. The success or failure of this approach will depend on "underlying premises believed by the audience" (Ibid.). These beliefs are content premises which serve as parts of the persuasive argument. Cause-effect reasoning is a "pattern of rational and intellectual reasoning" (1995: 195) which involves believing that events have causes and that they follow each other logically. Due to exposure to different experiences as we grow up, we only need to be presented with evidence so that we can make logical connections between effects and their causes. Cause-effect pattern is "a type of content premise frequently used by politicians and government officials, in the courts, in business, and even in consumer advertising to some degree" (Larson, 1995: 195). Content premises are dependent on the patterns of the message content which are presumed to be logical. Larson concludes that the power of content premises "lies in eliciting a rational or logical response from or conclusion in the persuadee" (Ibid.). This is possible through the provision of proof by the persuader.

4.7.2.1   What Is Proof?

Proof is situation-, group- and person-specific. It varies from situation to situation, group to group and person to person. Proof is therefore "enough evidence that can be connected through reasoning to lead audience members to take the persuader's advice or to believe in what he or she says" (Larson, 1995: 195). Aristotle said that in the logical side of the human brain are places of arguments called *topoi* or topics of argument or rational discourse. Lived events become precedents which can be used to predict the future. Larson says "unless the audience is given numerous good reasons for breaking the precedent, the precedent controls future instances of similar issues" (Ibid.). This author also declares that a mix of reasoning and evidence is required as proof by persuadees. Citing an example of an anti-smoking persuasive message, Larson (1995) says that reasoning will involve the use of a cause-effect argument whereas the evidence can be in the form of visual evidence, anecdote or shocking statistics. The reasoning will be the persuasion strategy and the evidence will be the strategys.

4.7.2.2. Types of Evidence

There are different kinds of evidence for different situations, and their effectiveness varies due to a host of reasons. Statistics, pictorial evidence, testimonials and personal experiences are some of the evidence used by persuaders to maximum effect. Larson categorises evidence types into two groups: **dramatic and rational**.

Dramatic evidence: This is evidence that relies on people's tendency to structure their lives and events in them in narrative form. Dramatic evidence includes narratives, testimonials, anecdotes and

demonstration. **Narratives** are found in many forms: fireside stories, myths, legends, plays, poetry, novels, short stories, radio programmes, movies, cartoons, soap operas, documentaries, news shows, game shows, talk shows, news stories, and sports events. Larson (1995: 197) maintains that "evidence that is dramatic in nature invites and encourages vicarious experience on the part of persuadees in an attempt to persuade them to a certain course of action". This type of evidence "encourages persuadees to co-create proof with the persuader" (1995: 198) as they sympathise or identify with the characters in the narratives. Preachers, orators and politicians use storytelling to capture their audience's attention and draw then into a topic. **Testimony** is another type of dramatic evidence. An eyewitness account or a recounting of a personal experience constitutes a testimony. As much as an eyewitness account is powerful in persuasion, it is unreliable and sometimes inaccurate. **Anecdotes** are another type of dramatic evidence. They are short moral stories, funny at times and often hypothetical. Unlike testimony, anecdotes are not considered as truths. **Participation and demonstration** is yet another dramatic evidence type. In antismoking persuasion, smokers can be asked to "participate by exhaling cigarette smoke through a clean white tissue and observing the nicotine stains left behind" (1955: 200). Visual aids can also be used to demonstrate the problem and solution. Dramatisation or role play is also used in persuasion.

Rational evidence: This type of evidence appeals to people's "logical processes in nondramatic, intellectually oriented ways" (Larson, 1995: 202). Newspaper editorials start off with a bold claim, which is supported by further claims, statistics and statistical summary. An editorial writer can exploit the premise of costs versus benefits when promoting a certain government policy. A car selling company can advertise new car models citing the good service they have offered with earlier models. The company will be using a reasoning pattern that "the past is a guide to the future" (1995: 203).

4.7.2.3 Types of Reasoning

A linguistic explanation of how people reason postulates that we all have deep structures of our languages which are connected to deep logical structures. As Larson (1995: 205) suggests, "we believe and act on what we perceive to be logical arguments presented to us by persuaders".

Here are the logical structures discussed by Larson:

4.7.2.3.1 *Cause-to-Effect Reasoning*: This involves speaking in active voice where the cause (the doer of the action and the action itself) is stated first and what happens to the object (recipient of the action), which is the effect, is then stated. Persuaders use this reasoning to indicate events, trends, or

facts that have caused certain effects. They link the cause to the effect, and if the effect is terrible and they do not like it, they remove the cause.

4.7.2.3.2 *Effect-to-Cause Reasoning*: The persuader starts by mentioning "some known effects and tries to work back to the cause" (Larson, 1995: 206).

4.7.2.3.3 *Reasoning from Symptoms*: Persuaders draw conclusions from a series of symptoms or signs of a problem. Larson cites the example of politicians who point out the shortcomings of their opponents with the hope that the voters will blame the politicians' rivals.

4.7.2.3.4 *Criteria-to-Application Reasoning*: Persuaders first offer a set of criteria and then present their product, candidate or cause that satisfies these criteria. Larson (1995: 207) argues that "by setting up what appears to be a reasonable set of criteria initially, the persuader has already won half the battle".

4.7.2.3.5 *Reasoning from Comparison or Analogy*: This logical reasoning involves the analysis and description of an example as well as making conclusions about it. The example is then compared to another similar situation indicating "reasons why conclusions about the example apply to the current situation" (Larson, 1995: 208). In political campaigns, tables, charts, graphs and PowerPoint presentations are used to make comparisons between policies and performances of two contesting parties. Voters may be swayed by figures and facts that paint a better picture than those that disappoint them. In advertising, **arguments by comparison** are used when two products are juxtaposed with differences between them being highlighted. On the other hand, **reasoning by analogy** involves making known the unfamiliar or complex through the familiar. There are two types of analogy one can use: literal and figurative analogies. The former entails the comparison of a familiar past event or course of action with a new (unknown) event or course of action. The latter involves the use of metaphors; "we would compare a familiar but unrelated and simple thing to something that is unfamiliar and complex" (Larson, 1973: 208). Larson cites the use of horse imagery in political races as examples of figurative analogies: "frontrunners", "early starters", "late comers" and "dark horses" (Ibid.). These two analogy types make it easy to understand the issue or example being discussed.

4.7.2.3.6 *Deductive Reasoning*: Larson defines deductive reasoning as "reasoning from the general to the specific" (1995: 208). A persuader may start by giving a generalised statement and then go on to provide specific details. This happens often in school and parliamentary debates, as well as in editorials. The weaknesses are that the receiver may immediately switch off after hearing the

general statement and miss out on the specifics that will follow, and the generalised statement may trigger a rebuttal before the persuader has a chance to support it.

4.7.2.3.7 *Inductive Reasoning*: Inductive reasoning is a reversal of the deductive reasoning strategy. It entails reasoning from the specific to the general.

4.7.2.4 Tests Of Reasoning And Evidence

Logical reasoning can be abused "by intentionally or unintentionally misusing either evidence or reasoning or perhaps by misusing both evidence and reasoning" (Larson, 1995: 209). This misuse of evidence happens daily in political persuasion, interpersonal persuasion, advertising and religious conversion. It is very important for persuadees to be able to test persuasive evidence so that they can "uncover the misuse" (Ibid.).

4.7.2.4.1 *Use of Statistics*: Statistics are often used and believed in logical persuasion. The following four questions need to be asked when statistical evidence is use in persuasion:

- How representative is the sample used to come up with the statistics?
- Has one incident not been used as an example of all incidents? Has the conclusion not been drawn from one incident?
- Has representative, and not biased, sampling been done to avoid?
- Is the correct mode of presentation used for the particular statistics? (Larson, 1995)

4.7.2.4.2 *Use of Testimony***:** The danger with testimonials is that the person testifying may be blatantly lying, may be using emotive words to manipulate the persuadees, and may not be qualified to give the testimonial. Larson (1995) urges us to ask the following three questions when testimonies are used as persuasive evidence:

- Is the person giving the testimonial an authority on the subject, and if so, how reliable is he or she?
- Was the person giving the testimonial close enough to have witnessed the evidence he or she is testifying about?
- Is it possible that the person giving the testimonial is biased for some reason or another, and if so, is the bias pro or con?

Persuadees need to watch out for deliberate misinformation by testimony-givers.

4.7.2.4.3 *Use of Comparisons and Analogies:* The misuse of comparisons is also referred to as the **fallacy of faulty comparison**, whereas the misuse of analogy is called **faulty analogy**. Larson cites

an example of politicians who compare national budgets to individual family budgets. The expenditures for both budgets are different, therefore, the comparison is faulty. A literal analogy can be faulty if the two situations occur in different historical times. Larson's example of a father comparing his college experience to his son's is a good example of a faulty analogy: the economic climates are different, hostels have scaled down on free provisions, and entertainment costs have increased since the father's college times. Figurative analogies can also be misleading. Comparing political elections to boxing is not wholly accurate and may be misunderstood to be an tacit encouragement for supporters of contesting parties to engage in political violence.

4.7.2.5 Common Fallacies Used In Persuasion

Larson (1995: 211) describes fallacies as "believable arguments or premises that are based on invalid reasoning". People still fall for these even if they know them.

4.7.2.5.1 *Post Hoc Ergo Propter Hoc*: This post hoc fallacy translates to "after this, therefore because of this" (Larson, 1995: 212). This means that "because one event follows another, the first is assumed to be the cause of the second" (Ibid.). The two events may be totally unrelated. In politics, the post hoc fallacy is used to accuse the incumbent of being the cause of the current problems. In advertising of cosmetics, the post hoc fallacy is used when before and after use photographs are juxtaposed.

4.7.2.5.2 *Ad Hominem*: This fallacy involves attacking the person and not the person's argument. The aim is to mislead the audience into rejecting a person on the basis of the character's weakness. This strategy is often used in political persuasion in varying forms: mudslinging, name-calling and backstabbing. Larson suggests that "if persuaders have nothing substantive to debate, they frequently turn to attacking the personality of the opponent" (1995: 213).

4.7.2.5.3 *Ad Populum*: This is a fallacy of persuasion that takes advantage of what is popular at that time. Generational trends use the logic of the ad populum ("Do it now; everyone else is!"). Such appeals to popularity are used in the fashion industry and in popular culture.

4.7.2.5.4 *The Undistributed Middle*: This is a "guilt by association" fallacy in which "the persuader argues that just because an individual, group, or philosophy shares one aspect or attribute with another, it also shares all other aspects or attributes" (Ibid.). It's a show-me-your-friends-and-will-tell-your-personality kind of reasoning. The fallacy assumes that one core characteristic of a group is evenly distributed or practiced by all group members. This is stereotyping. Larson concludes that

"the fallacy lies behind any appeal suggesting that buying and using a certain brand will make you like others who buy and use it" (1995: 213).

4.7.2.5.5 *The Straw Man Argument:* The persuader set up a weak argument that can be defeated easily. He or she then presents this as the opposition's position. Lastly, the persuader delivers his or her "important evidence and reasoning and defeats the bogus case, along with the opposition" (1995: 214). In political persuasion, competing candidates use this fallacy when they want to win arguments. One candidate will present the straw man position of his or her competitor, and then defeat that position by presenting impressive facts, figures and examples. In comparative advertising, the straw man fallacy is used, for example, when a nameless detergent is used to remove stains but it fails dismally to do this, and then the advertised brand is used to remove the stains with ease.

4.7.2.5.6 *Other Common Fallacies:* Larson (1995: 214) summarises other fallacies as including:

- the use of partial or distorted facts
- substituting ridicule or humuor for argument
- appealing for sympathy
- using prejudices or stereotypes
- appealing to tradition or the *ad verecundiam*
- begging the question or evading the issue
- using a non sequitur
- using a false dilemma

4.7.2.6 Logical Syllogisms

In content premise persuasion, the three types of syllogisms are conditional syllogisms, disjunctive syllogisms, and categorical syllogisms.

4.7.2.6.1 *Conditional Syllogisms:* These syllogisms use "If A then B" reasoning. Structurally, they have a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion. Larson describes the major premise as stating "a condition or relationship that is presumed to exist in the world" (1973: 215). Below is an example of a conditional syllogism:

If you have unprotected sex, then you will get sexually transmitted diseases. (major premise)

You are going to have unprotected sex. (minor premise)
Therefore, you will get sexually transmitted diseases. (conclusion)

The first element in the major premise (If you have unprotected sex) is called the antecedent, and the second element (you will get sexually transmitted diseases) is called the consequent. In affirming the antecedent, which is what we did in the minor premise by asserting that you are going to have unprotected sex, we can draw a valid conclusion that you will have sexually transmitted diseases (Larson, 1995: 215). Obviously, this argument is faulty because the premises are untrue. However, the syllogism is valid. Larson says "validity depends on the general rules of reasoning and not on the truth of the premises" (Ibid.). There are two valid forms of conclusion drawing with this type of syllogism. First, one can affirm the *if* part of the major premise and conclude the *then* part of the major premise. Second, though invalid, "would be to deny the antecedent and conclude that the consequent has been denied" (Larson, 1995: 215). Here is an example Larson used to highlight the second explanation:

If we have a free-market economy in Eastern Europe, *then* there won't be shortages or waiting lines. (major premise)

The mechanisms for a free-market economy have been introduced in Eastern Europe. (minor premise)

Therefore, there will be no shortages or waiting lines. (conclusion) (Ibid.)

The reasoning is invalid; there may be other intervening causes such as hoarding, hard currency shortages and poor distribution of available goods. Another "invalid procedure would be to deny the consequent and then deny the antecedent in the conclusion," (Larson, 1995: 216) as demonstrated below:

If we have a free-market economy in Eastern Europe, then   there won't be shortages   or waiting lines. (major premise)

There hasn't been a decrease in shortages or lines. (minor premise)

Therefore, there is no free-market economy in Eastern Europe. (conclusion) (Ibid.)

Some persuaders use logically valid syllogisms yet the premises will be untrue. Clever persuadees need to check whether the premises are true and whether the argument is valid.

4.7.2.6.2 *Disjunctive Syllogisms:* According to Larson, the basic form of the disjunctive syllogism is "Either A is true or B is true" (Larson, 1995: 216). This basic form is the major premise, which is often followed by some proof or evidence that supports A or B or disapproves A or B. The conclusion is then drawn on the basis of the evidence presented. An appeal for an increase in school fees is often based on a disjunctive syllogism. The school board may threaten to reduce learning opportunities available at the school unless parents vote for an increase in school fees. This might

work as a persuasive strategy because the issue is straightforward. However, there are weaknesses in this strategy: the implicit threat may lead to resistance by the parents; and there may be other alternatives to this situation. Fundraising, borrowing for the banks, or securing a sponsor for certain school activities are some of the solutions to the school fees problem. So when persuadees are presented with the disjunctive model, they should look for "other alternatives or differing beliefs systems" (Larson, 1995: 216).

4.7.2.6.3 *Categorical Syllogisms:* This type of syllogisms deals with parts and wholes. According to Larson (1995), "both the major and minor premises deal with membership or nonmembership in one of two categories or clusters. The conclusion relates the clusters of both premises into a new finding or result" (p. 217). This is shown in the following example:

> All men are included in the class of mortal beings. (major premise)
>
> Socrates is included in the class of men. (minor premise)
>
> Therefore, Socrates is a mortal being. (conclusion)

The format of this argument is prevalent latently in various kinds of persuasion. Categorical syllogism resembles guilt by association fallacies. Persuadees are encouraged to check the validity of persuasive arguments which are presented as categorical syllogisms.

4.7.2.7 The Toulmin Format

Syllogisms are not always obviously easy to spot. Larson (1995: 217) says this is so because "the syllogism often is the underlying structure in persuasive arguments". The Toulmin model, developed by Stephen Toulmin, advances that any persuasive argument is divided into three basic parts: *the claim, the data, and the warrant* (Larson, 1973).

4.7.2.7.1 *Basic Elements*: First in the persuasive argument is the claim, then the data, and the warrant. The claim is the proposition that the persuader wants the persuadee to believe, adopt or follow. The data is the evidence that supports the claim. When the relationship between the claim and the data is unclear, the persuader offers an explanation of the relationship, which Toulmin called the warrant. Larson summarises the Toulmin model thus:

The pattern of moving the logical argument from claim to data to warrant and the resulting three kinds of responses (agree, disagree, and uncertain) is typical of almost every reasoned argument in the everyday marketplace of ideas. (Larson, 1995: 218)

4.7.2.7.2 *Substantiating Elements:* There are other features of the Toulmin model. First, a claim can have a qualifier which modifies or limits it. Such qualifiers include expressions like "Probably", "In most cases", "It is likely that". The qualifier indicates to the persuadee that they are some exceptions to the claim; it is acknowledgement by the persuader that "there is a possibility that another factor may enter in and affect the final outcome" (Larson, 1995: 220). Second, the warrant has a reservation, a statement attached to it "which states the conditions under which the warrant is valid" (Ibid.). These are expressions like "Unless", "only if there is a reason to believe that", "Except in the case of". The reservation and qualifier allow for flexibility which allows for dialogue between the persuadee and the persuader. The absence of qualifiers and reservations in legislation can allow political leaders to abuse their power. Having vague qualifiers and reservations can make the claim and warrant difficult to evaluate. The persuader can get away with murder if he or she uses a vague qualifier. The third additional element in the Toulmin model is the support or backing for the warrant. Larson advises that "the persuader must (then) provide proof that supports the reasoning expressed in the warrant" (1995: 221). The Toulmin model advocates that persuadees should examine persuasion "knowing when and whether to be persuaded" (Ibid.).

4.8   SUMMARY

I have managed to get significant insights and make some conclusions in this chapter. A look at Fishbein's Summative Model of Attitude as it summarised by Daniel O'Keefe (2002) has revealed that even if belief strength and belief evaluation are central to changing or keeping of an attitude, there are also other factors that play key roles in attitudinal change. Regarding the effect of social factors on the effectiveness of persuasive messages, it has emerged form the reviewed research that communicator credibility and liking influence persuasion directly whereas similarity and physical attractiveness do so indirectly. The two pivotal dimensions of communicator credibility are competence and trustworthiness. Also, I have found out that liked communicators are not necessarily effective persuaders but credible ones are, and when there is a clash between credibility and liking, it is credibility that has more impact on a receiver's response to a persuasive message than liking (Wachtler and Counselman, 1981).

Message factors such as message structure, message content and sequential-request strategies have been examined also in this chapter. Persuaders have options to use climax or anticlimax order of arguments depending on time available to them or the nature of the influence interaction. The use of explicit conclusions is recommended in some situations but it can be viewed as patronising by some message targets. Two-sided persuasive messages are deemed to have more persuasive effectiveness than one-sided messages. For humanitarian fundraising, the two sequential-request strategies that

are often used with a higher degree of success are foot-in-the-door (FITD) and door-in-the-face (DITF).

A persuader needs to have knowledge of enduring receiver characteristics like general persuadability, sex differences and personality traits. From the research reviewed by O'Keefe, I have gleaned that receivers can be conditioned to resist persuasion through a number of ways which include inoculation and warning. Context factors like the medium and persistence of persuasion have very little difference on the effectiveness of persuasive messages.

When I examined Larson's (1995) literature on process premises, I discovered that persuaders target physiological and psychological needs expounded by Packard (1964) and Maslow (1954). A study of content premises included an identification of different types of persuasive reasoning, and fallacies and syllogisms that persuasive message targets face in advertisements and social interactions.

CHAPTER 5

AN ANALYSIS OF PERSUASIVE MESSAGES
IN SHONA FAMILY SET-UPS

5.1   AIMS

The major aim of this chapter is to analyse and interpret interview notes, audio recording transcripts and observation persuasive messages in Shona family set-ups. Interview notes were written during and after data had been gathered using interview protocols (**Appendix A**) whereas audio recording transcripts were written after the interviews. Audio recording transcripts (**Appendix B**) were verbatim descriptions which excluded pauses, repetitions and tone of voice. In the persuasive messages (**Appendix C**), there is both a source and a target. Compliance-seeking arguments by sources and compliance-resisting arguments by targets used in these interpersonal influence interactions will be identified and evaluated. I will also analyse message dimensions of each persuasive message to understand why sources use them.

5.2   DEFINITION OF PERSUASION

Persuasion has been defined in different ways by many communication scholars. Below are a few definitions which are pertinent to this research study. Persuasion is:

- a symbolic process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behaviour regarding an issue through the transmission of a message, in an atmosphere of free choice (Perloff, 2003: 8).
- a conscious attempt by one individual or group to change the attitudes, beliefs, or behaviour of another individual or group of individuals through the transmission of some message (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1994: 6)
- the tool used by the message creators to influence the receivers to act as desired (Perkins, 2008: 142)
- the process of motivating someone, through communication, to change a belief, attitude or behaviour." (Adler and Rodman 2006: 428)

From the above definitions, it may be noted that persuasion involves attempts by a message source to "convince" or "influence" or motivate a message target "to change a belief, attitude or behaviour". The overall objective of the source will be to gain compliance by the source. Another observation that one can make about the definitions of persuasion is that persuasion is deliberate

and takes place in dyadic, small-group, public and mass communication situations. Sometimes people engage in self-persuasion. Wilson (2002: 4) defines compliance gaining as "any interaction in which a message source attempts to induce a target individual to perform some desired behaviour that the target otherwise might not perform". The terms persuasion and compliance-gaining will be used interchangeably in this study. For the purposes of this study, the focus is on analysis of persuasion in dyadic communication in Shona family set-ups. Defined loosely, a dyad is a group of two people, for example, a mother-daughter interaction.

5.3   INFLUENCE GOALS

The influence goals in these messages will be analysed along the following types of ten primary goals identified by Cody et al (1994):

- give advice
- gain assistance
- shared activity
- change opinion
- change relationship (relationship initiation, relationship escalation, and relationship de-escalation)
- obtain permission
- enforce rights and obligation
- change orientation

Dillard et al (1989) posit that a goal is a desire to modify the target's behaviour. A primary goal is described by the same authors as exerting a "push" force that leads a message source to initiate an interaction; it also frames the interaction as the message source seeks compliance by the message target.

5.4 METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW NOTES AND AUDIO RECORDING TRANSCRIPTS

5.4.1   Data Collection

Interview data were gathered from 10 respondents out of the 17 I approached. Some refused to be interviewed as they felt that persuasion is a matter of personal tact that they should guard jealously so that nobody knows their tricks. After initially agreeing to answer all my questions, four changed their mind midway through the interviews for some odd reasons I failed to understand. The 10 I interviewed successfully were forthcoming and even discovered that they had particular persuasive

strategies they resorted to by default. By the sixth interview, my research had reached saturation point as no new information was coming up in the interviews. The interviews took place at train stations, churches and bus stations in Cape Town. I took notes as I interviewed the first 6 respondents but after realizing that most respondents were uneasy with me spending time writing down notes, I started using my cell phone's audio recorder to record input from the next 4 respondents. I first assured the respondents that I would destroy or deidentify the audio recordings once I had finished my research. I then transcribed the audio recordings when I returned home. Armed with my field notes and transcripts, I was ready for the next step: content analysis and interpretation.

5.4.2   Interviews Content Analysis

After transcribing and reading the interview data several times and memoing, I moved to identifying meaning units and then condensing them. I then coded them using Marwell and Schmitz's typology of 16 Compliance-seeking strategies (1967). I also added new codes of my own such as references to the Bible, silent treatment, and use of intermediaries. In doing this, I followed content analysis steps outlined by Erlingsson, C. and Brysiewicz, P. (2017). These are highlighted in **Table 6** on the next page in which interview data from a 55-year-old female respondent were analysed:

Table 6 Content Analysis Steps

Higher levels of abstraction **Reflects the interpreted, latent meaning of the text.**	Overarching theme ↑	Failed persuasive attempt
	Theme ↑	Positively-worded persuasive message
	Category ↑	Compliance-seeking strategy
	Code ↑	Explanation
Low levels of abstraction **Close to the text and manifest content**	Condensed meaning units ↑	Failed to persuade my husband not to kick out our son when our son came home drunk
	Meaning units	*Mwanakomana wedu akauya kumba akadhakwa. Murume wangu akamudzinga mumba husiku. Ndakaedza kuti ndimutsvetere ashandure pfungwa yake arege mwana arare pasofa asi akaramba kuti abvumire mwanakomana wedu kuti arare mumba.* (Our son came home drunk. My husband kicked our son out of the house that night. I tried to persuade my husband to change his decision and allow our child to sleep on the couch but he refused flatly.)

After subjecting all my interview data to this step-by-step content analysis, I started seeing patterns, relationships and groups emerging. Doing content analysis of my interview respondents's answers to the question on how they persuade their family members, the following layers of analysis (**Figure 1**) surfaced:

Figure 1 Layers of Analysis as suggested by Creswell (2013: 188)

Compliance-seeking strategies used by young people	Compliance-seeking strategies used by adults

negotiation | rewards | withdrawing favours | testimonies | explanations | outlining advantages | threats | warnings | debt | promises | citing successful examples | appealing to family values | greetings | sitting down with target | reference to the Bible | Indirect questions | direct requests

Database from interviews

As can be seen in **Figure 1**, both younger and older respondents claimed to use most of Marwell and Schmitz's compliance-seeking strategies when they engage in persuasive communication with their family members. There were other compliance-seeking strategies unique to Shona speakers that I unearthed in the data: reference to the Bible, use of intermediaries, silent treatment, use of clan praise names, and walking away from the influence interaction. **Figure 2** below is a Microsoft Word radial diagram which shows the various compliance-seeking strategies used commonly by my interview respondents:

Figure 2 Compliance-seeking strategies based on replies by Shona interview respondents.
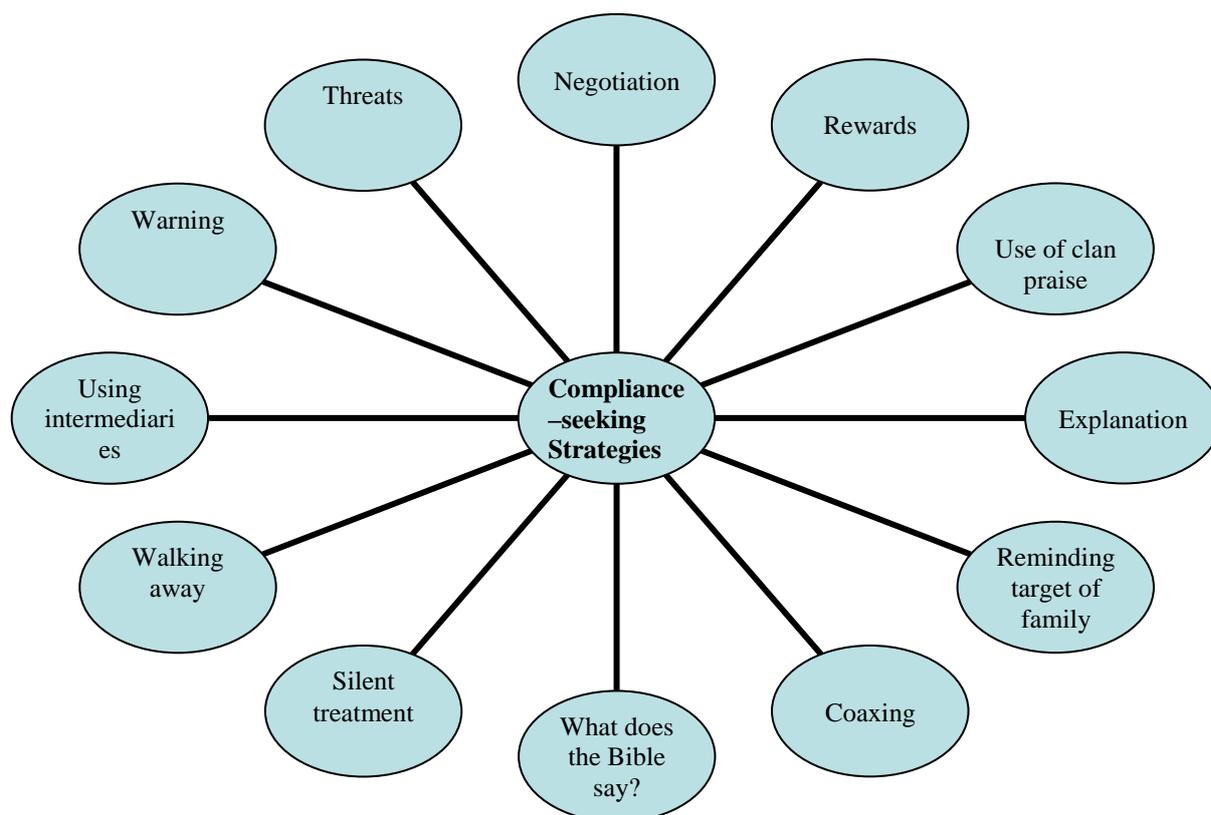
It was interesting to note that respondents said that they used a combination of two or three compliance-seeking strategies depending on their power relations with their persuasive message target, the enormity of the request, and the influence goal they were pursuing. On one hand, adult respondents used a category of positively-worded persuasives messages such as direct requests, explanations, references to the Bible, positive expertise, positive esteem and positive self-feeling when trying to persuade their children or younger siblings. Clan praise names, Shona proverbs and folktales and analogies of successful neighbours were other positively-worded persuasives messages used by adults to persuade their children. Negatively-worded persuasives messages parents use were threats and warnings. On the other hand, young respondents revealed that they used being friendly, making promises, bargaining, hinting and negotiation when attempting initially to persuade their parents. When none of these strategies succeeds, they claim to move to aggressive persuasive categories which include strategies like manipulation, crying, sulking, silent treatment and guilt. When neither of the latter strategies succeeds, children shifted to use of insistence and use of intermediaries. **Table 7** below shows the different persuasive strategies which younger and older respondents claimed to use very often:

Table 7 Differences in persuasion by children and adults

Children's persuasive strategies	Adults' persuasive strategies
Manipulation	Promises
Crying	Explanation
Sulking	Force/ Orders
Insistence	Threats
Guilt	Warnings
Trustworthiness	Analogies of successful neighbours
Humility (being respectful sometimes)	Praising using clan praise names
Friendliness	Reference to Biblical tenets
Admiring brands in the presence of parents (hinting)	Surprise gifts (subtle manipulation)
Bargaining	Use of Shona proverbs and folktales
Using mom/dad as an intermediary	

Content analysis of respondents' ways of resisting persuasion revealed a category of compliance-resisting strategies illustrated in **Figure 3** radial diagram below. These included silent treatment and walking away from the influence interaction which are also used for seeking compliance. New compliance-resisting strategies were diplomatic avoidance, refusing manipulation and pointing out negatives of whatever it is that the source wanted. One male respondent, aged 38, Kraaifontein, indicated that when his wife tried to persuade him to go on a family vacation yet there was in adequate money for that, he refused to comply using the diplomatic avoidance strategy which entailed him staying late at work and leaving early for work so that there was no time for the two of them to sit down and discuss this issue.

Figure 3 Compliance-resisting strategies based on replies by Shona interview respondents.
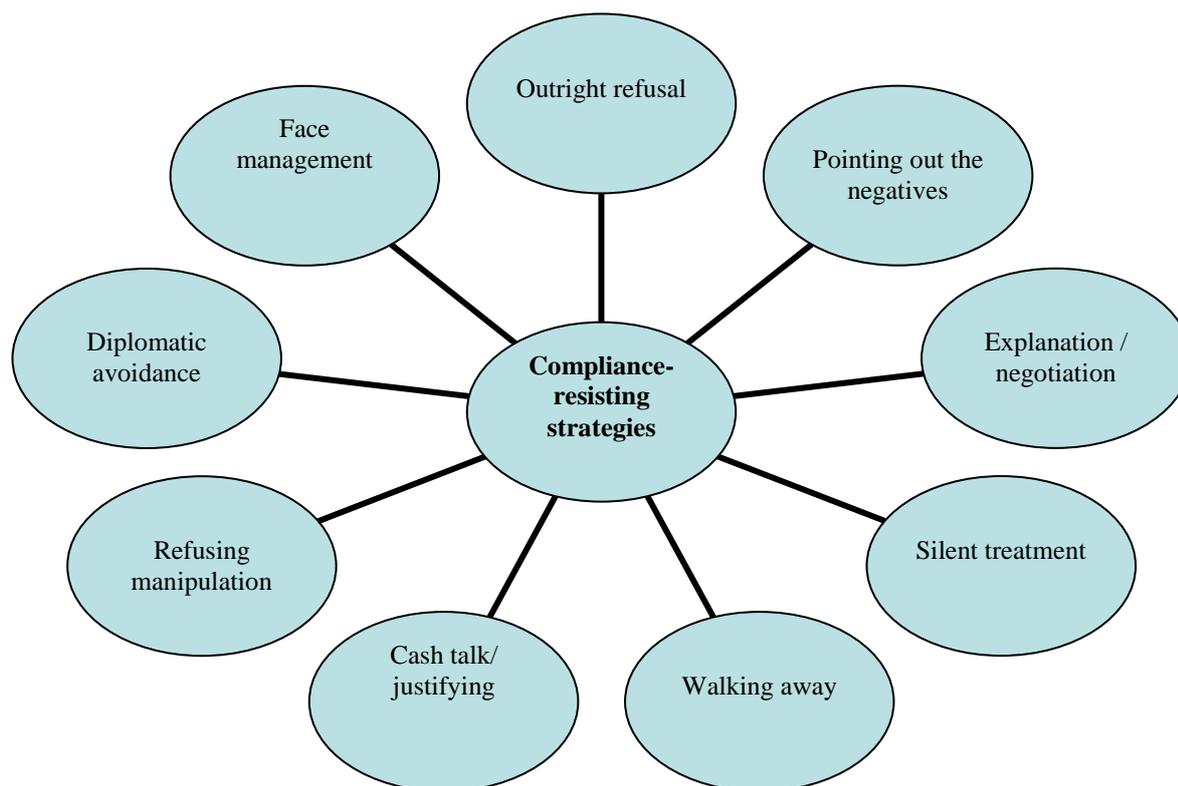
Further content analsis of the interview notes and audio recording transcripts revealed the difference between modern persuasive strategies and 20th Century persuasive strategies. Some of the most important differences are illustrated in **Table 8** below:

Table 8 Differences between modern persuasion and what it was in the last century

Modern Persuasive strategies	Persuasive strategies in the 20th Century
Blackmail is commonly used by children, spouses and siblings.	Rewards were used.
Negotiation is still being used	Totems and appeal to family values were used.
Use of social media platforms has changed persuasive strategies used by message sources.	Persuasion was procedural and sometimes protracted.
Knowledge of children's rights allow children to resist persuasion even by their parents.	Use of intermediaries was commonplace. Uncles and beer friends could intercede on behalf of the children when they had an issue with their parents.

Younger and older respondents had interesting views about persuasion in family set-ups. Some of their views are summarised in **Table 9** on the next page. Even if older respondents seemed to view persuasion in negative light, they still maintained that it is an essential part of communication. They claim they resort to aggressive persuasive strategies when there is not time for prolonged

persuasion, when 'soft' persuasive strategies have yielded non-cooperation, or when they want to assert their authority.

Table 9 Comparison of young and old respondents' feelings towards persuasion

Young respondents	Old respondents
View persuasion as the only way they can use to get what they want from their parents	Feel taken advantage of by their persuasive children.
Engage in conscious manipulation such as overpraising a parent or any adult or sending to their parents images of items they want via social media platforms like WhatsApp or Instagram.	Feel disrespected when their children use social media manipulation.
Cry or sulk when direct requests are unsuccessful.	Use of clan praise names to persuade their children is an effective persuasive strategy.
Resort to using intermediaries when the issue is sensitive.	The phenomenon of children's rights has rendered 'talking eye' tactic useless.

As I wind up this section, it is important to note that the respondents also indicated that they were not always successful in their persuasive attempts. All 10 respondents pointed out situations of unsuccessful persuasion. One respondent, a single woman, 30, Wynberg, said she failed to convince her relatives not to take some traditional herbal drink after her father's death. This is a tradition practised in her culture when the head of the family passes on, but because when her father passed on she had converted to Christianity, she asked them to ignore that tradition. Her relatives refused to follow her order and went on with the ritual, and as a result, she still had strained relations with them at the time of the interviews. A male respondent, 15, Goodwood, claimed that he failed to convince his parents to allow him to go to his friend's house for a sleep-over. He said he used all persuasive strategies he could think of but they all did not work. His parents simply dismissed his request saying they will only allow him to sleep out when he is twenty-one.

The interpretation of the interview data will be done in Chapter 6. Next, I will turn to analysing persuasive messages from my observation field study.

5.5   ANALYSIS OF PERSUASIVE MESSAGES

5.5.1   Participants

Purposive sampling of 28 participants aged between 10 and 50 years was done by the researcher. After much explanation and persuasion, 20 (13 males and 7 females) eventually agreed to participate in the observations. All participants were from Kunaka Village in Mashonaland Central province in Zimbabwe, and are mother-tongue speakers of Shona. They were assured of the

confidentiality of their responses and were therefore requested to be honest in their influence interactions. A qualitative field research data collection method was used to gather data in the participants' naturally occurring influence interactions. As already mentioned in Chapter 1, this method was chosen as it offers opportunities for in-depth understanding of familial persuasive encounters; it is flexible and slightly cheaper to administer. This choice was informed by E. Babbie's assertion that "field research is especially effective for studying subtle nuances in attitudes and behaviors and for examining social processes over time" (2010: 326).

5.5.2   Persuasive Messages

In an influence interaction, there is always a message source and a message target. A source is the person seeking to gain compliance, whereas a target is "the person at whom the attempt to gain compliance is directed" (Cialdini, R & Guadagno, R.E., as cited in Seiter & Gass 2004: 208). In the Shona persuasive messages (**Appendix C**) to be analysed:

A = *Munyengetedzi* (Source)
B = *Munyengetedzwi* (Target)

5.5.3   Scheme for Analysing Persuasive Messages

All ten persuasive messages will be analysed using the following scheme:

- Give statement of the problem
- Identify influence goal
- Single out arguments of source according to Marwell and Schmitz's (1967) compliance-seeking strategies and arguments of target (**Appendix E**)
- Compare the arguments of the source with those of the target
- Compliance and the reasons for it
- Message dimensions identified by Dillard et al (1997) (**Appendix F**)
    - Explicitness
    - Dominance
    - Argument

5.6   ANALYSIS OF PERSUASIVE MESSAGES

The purpose of this analysis is to find out persuasive arguments used by the different sources and and counterarguments used by targets in Shona family set-ups as they pursue different influence goals. The ultimate aim is to establish how compliance is achieved and identify the message

dimensions that sources use in each subsystem of Shona nuclear and extended families. For full texts of messages analysed here, one should read **Appendix C**.

5.6.1   Persuasive Message One

Baba nemwanakomana wavo (Father-son subsystem)
A: *Baba* (Father)
B: *Mwanakomana* (Son)

Statement of the problem

A father (A) wants his son (B) to change his (son's) behaviour at school. In this dialogue, the source (A) persuades the target (B) to behave well at school.

Influence Goal

The influence goal which A uses in this message is **giving advice**. He advises B to focus on his education and stop being mischievous at school. See conversational turn 17: (**A**: *Mwanangu unofanira kukudza vadzidzisi vako. Ziva zvaunoendera kuchikoro. Nangana nekudzidza kwako wosiya zvimwe zvose izvi zvinovhiringa dzidzo yako.* (My son you should respect your teachers. Know why you're going to school. Focus on your education and leave out all that will distract your education.))

Arguments of the source

I.   The source wants to know the reason for him being called to the school. He hints that the target has done something wrong at school: *Zviiko zvauri kuita kuchikoro zvaita ndidevedzwe nemukuru wechikoro?* (What is happening at school that has caused your headmaster to call me in?) (1)

II. The source uses a positive esteem strategy when he reminds the target of his family's values:
   a)   None of his children insult teachers: *Handina mwana anotuka vadzidzisi, wazvinzwa?* (I don't have a child that insults teachers, do you hear?) (5)
   b)   Such behaviour (insulting teachers) embarrasses the family: *Kuita ikoko kunonyadzisa mhuri.* (That way of behaving embarrasses the family.)

III. The source gives direct advice in a non-threatening way:
   a)   He quizzes the target's decision to lead other students in misbehaving: *Saka iwe ukati ndini makoya anozvigona? Wava kutungamira vamwe kushungurudza mudzidzisi?* (So you thought you're the expert? You're now leading others in abusing the teacher?) (7)

b) He reminisces about his days at school when teachers were treated as royalty: *Chiteerera unzwe. Ini pandaienda kuchikoro baba vangu havana kumbobvira vadeedzwa kuchikoro nokuti nguva iyoyo mudzidzisi aikosha. Ndiye woga aive nebhasikoro munharaunda yedu ino saka taimuona samambo.* (Now listen. When I was going to school, my father was never called in because then a teacher was an important person. He was the only person who owned a bicycle in this area, so we used to see him as a king. (7)

c) He tells him to stop his bad behaviour: *Zvako zvekuti unoita nhidigori mukanwa memudzidzisi uzvirege.* (Now you should stop your habit of playing somersault in your teacher's mouth (Idiomatic expression for being irritatingly disrespectful).) (7)

IV. The source used the guilt strategy when he reminds the target of the money he is paying for the target's school fees: *Unoita dambe nemudzidzisi! Ndozvaunoendera kuchikoro? Wandishamisa Rueben! Unomboziva kunetseka kwandiri kuita kutsvaga mari yako yechikoro?* (You are playful with the teacher! Is that why you're going to school? You surprise me Rueben! Do you know how hard I struggle to raise your school fees?) (9)

V. The source uses a negative altercasting strategy when he tells the target of a possible bleak future he will live if he does not change his attitude at school:

a) He asks the target what he is going to achieve if he is expelled: *Zvino ukadzingwa chikoro unozovei muupenyu hwako?* (Now if you're expelled from school, what are you going to be in your life?) (11)

b) He explains the importance of education: *Dzidzo yakakosha zvikuru. Inoita kuti mwana wemurombo apedzisire ava mupfumi.* (Education is very important. It changes the child of a poor man into a rich person.) (11)

c) He questions his son's vision: *Unoda kuzorarama upenyu hwegunguwo rinopona nehwakumukwaku?* (Do you want to survive a meaningless life like a falcon?) (11)

VI. The source accuses the target of being stubborn/ arrogant*: Ungachiziva sei iwe wakura musoro? Pane wauchiri kuteerera iyewe?* (How can you know when you have become big-headed? Is there someone you still listen to?) (13)

VII. The source gives the target direct advice, which is that the target should focus on his education and not trouble teachers: *Mwanangu unofanira kukudza vadzidzisi vako. Ziva zvaunoendera kuchikoro. Nangana nekudzidza kwako wosiya zvimwe zvose izvi zvinovhiringa dzidzo yako.* (My son you should respect your teachers. Know why you're going to school. Focus on your education and leave out all that will distract your education.) (17)

VIII. The source ends the influence interaction by issuing a stern warning to the target: *Ngakaite kekupedzisira ikaka ndichideedzwa kuchikoro. Zvakaitikazve chako chikoro chapera.* (Let this

be the last time I am called in. If this happens again, that will be the end of your schooling.) (19)

Arguments of the target

I.   The target denies any wrongdoing: *Aah handizivi baba.* (Aah I don't know.)

II.   The target tentatively admits he did misbehave: *Pamwe inyaya yekupindura kwandakaita mudzidzisi weSvomhu.* (Maybe it's the issue of me backchatting my Maths teacher.)

III. The target justifies his misbehaviour:

   a)   He blames the teacher: *Hongu baba, asi VaMuswewembudzi vaive vakanganisa pavakatituka tatadza bvunzo.* (Yes father, but Mr Muswewembudzi had offended us when he scolded us for failing a test.) (6)

   b)   He exonerates himself: *Mudzidzisi vacho ndivo vanoitawo dambe nesu saka hatizozive pekugumira kana tava kuseka navo.* (The teacher is the one who is playful with us so we don't know when to stop when we're joking with him.) (8)

   c)   He accuses the teacher of making an issue out of nothing: *Mudzidzisi vakatozoiita nyaya pakauya mukuru wechikoro achiti taiita ruzha. Pasina izvozvo hamaitombonzwa nezvenyaya iyi.* (The teacher made it an isuue only after the headmaster came in complaigning that we were making noise.) (8)

IV.   The target accepts the source's advice: *(anombononoka kupindura) Ndinozviziva baba.* ((he delays answering momentarily) I know (the reason), father.) (10)

V.   The target dismisses the accusation as a non-issue: *Asi apa ndopasina kana nyaya. Chandakatadza handichizive.* (But here there is no case at all. I don't know what wrong I did.) (12)

VI.   The target defends himself saying that most teachers are happy with his behaviour: *Baba vadzidzisi vazhinji vanokuudzai kuti ndine unhu.* (Father, most teachers will tell you that I've good manners.) (14)

VII. The target attempts to minimise the severity of his misbehaviour: *Iyi ndiyo mhosva yangu yekutanga. Ndokusaka musati mambodeedzwa kuchikoro pamusoro peunhu hwangu.* (This is my first misdemeanour. That's why you've never been called in regarding my behaviour.) (16)

VIII. The target promises to behave: *Hongu baba. Handikunyadzisei.* (Yes father. I won't embarrass you.) (18)

Comparison of source arguments and target arguments

The source (father) tries indirectly to elicit an explanation from the target (his son) why the source is required to visit his son's school (Source arg. I). The target respectfully denies knowing anything (Target arg. I). The source uses positive esteem strategy –reminds his son of their family values – (Source arg. II, (subargs. a, b)), non-threatening direct advice to stop this behaviour (Source arg. III (subargs. a, b, c)), followed by use of guilt (Source arg. IV). The source continues seeking compliance using negative altercasting (Source arg. V) including reminding the target that (subarg. a) he will achieve nothing if he gets expelled, (subarg. b) that education is very important, and (subarg. c) that he is likely to have a miserable life. In arguments VI, VII and VIII, the source accuses the target of being stubborn, then gives overt advice and finally issues a warning to ensure compliance with his advice respectively. Contrastingly, the target uses a number of strategies to avoid compliance starting with a denial (Target arg. I), then makes a tentative admission of wrongdoing (Target arg. II), and then justifies his actions (Target arg. III (subargs. a, b, c)) by blaming his teacher, exonerating himself, and accusing the teacher of exaggerating the issue, respectively. Target then agrees (Target arg. IV) with the source's allusion to the family's financial challenges, but then dismisses the accusation of misbehaviour as insignificant (Target arg. V), mentions that he has good relations with most teachers (Target arg. VI), and then attempts to minimise the accusation (Target arg. VII) before accepting the source's advice and promising to behave (Target arg. VIII).

Compliance

The father (source) has succeeded in his attempt to persuade his son (target) to improve his behaviour at school. This is evident in conversational turn 18 when the son complies with his father's advice: (*Hongu baba. Handikunyadzisei.* (Yes father. I won't embarrass you.). The target complies due to the source's use of guilt strategy (conversational turn 9), negative altercasting (conversational turn 11) and direct advice (conversational turn 17).

Message dimensions

1. Explicitness

The source uses low explicitness in conversational turns 1 and 9 and high explicitness in conversational turns 5, 7, 11, 13, 15, 17 and 19. In other words, the source is indirect in the first turns so that he can elicit some vital information form the target. In the later turns, he uses directness so that his advice is very clear to the target. Conversational turn 17 espouses the advice

that the source is giving the target, and thus is explicit: *Mwanangu unofanira kukudza vadzidzisi vako. Ziva zvaunoendera kuchikoro. Nangana nekudzidza kwako wosiya zvimwe zvose izvi zvinovhiringa dzidzo yako.* (My son, you should respect your teachers. Know why you're going to school. Focus on your education and leave out all that will distract your education.) (17) On the whole, the source has high explicitness as he seeks to change his son's attitude towards his teachers.

2. Dominance

The source has low dominance in this persuasive message according to Dillard et al (1997). The father warns his son that there will be consequences should he repeat his misdemeanour at school. This is evident in conversational turn 19: *Ngakaite kekupedzisira ikaka ndichideedzwa kuchikoro. Zvakaitikazve chako chikoro chapera.* (Let this be the last time I am called in. If this happens again, that will be the end of your schooling.) This utterance shows that the source has power over the target.

3. Argument

Judged against Dillard et al's (1997) explanation of message dimensions, the source has low argument than the target**.** Conversational turn 9 indicates the father's use of the guilt strategy to drive home his persuasive message: *Unoita dambe nemudzidzisi! Ndozvaunoendera kuchikoro? Wandishamisa Rueben! Unomboziva kunetseka kwandiri kuita kutsvaga mari yako yechikoro?* (You are playful with the teacher! Is that why you're going to school? You surprise me Rueben! Do you know how hard I struggle to raise your school fees?) (9) The father goes on to make a direct request in conversational turn 17 (cited under *Dominance* above) for his son to change his behaviour.

5.6.2   Persuasive Message Two

Amai nemwanakomana wavo (Mother-son subsystem)
A: *Amai* (Mother)
B: *Mwanakomana* (Son)

Statement of the problem

A mother (A) wants her son (B) to help her clear the yard. In this dialogue, the source (A) persuades the target (B) to help her with weeding the yard.

Influence Goal

The influence goal which the source (A) pursues in this message is **gain assistance**. She asks the target (B) to help her clear the yard. **See conversational turn 1**: (*Nhai mwanangu Farai, haungandibatsirewo kukura chivanze?* (My son Farai, can you help me weed the yard?))

Arguments of the source

I.   Source makes a direct request for the target's help:

   a. Source uses politeness to get the target to help her. She mentions her son's name to soften him so that he cannot turn down her request: *Nhai mwanangu Farai, haungandibatsirewo kukura chivanze?* (My son Farai, can you help me weed the yard?) (1)

   b. Source hints that the weeds need to be cleared for everyone's safety as well as suggests that they (the family) are guilty of letting the weeds grow: *Pamba pangasatosvika nyoka isu vanhu tiripo tichirega pachimera masora?* (Can this homestead not be invaded by snakes yet we're here leaving the weeds to grow?) (1)

II. Source persists with her request by probing the target's reasons for refusing to help her: *Wakaneta? Wakarara uchitakura mupfudze here?* (You're tired? Did you sleep carrying cow dung manure?) (3)

III. Source uses a guilt strategy to make the target change his position of not wanting to help her. She says his current laziness will come back to haunt him in future: *Iwe nungo dzichakunetsa.* (Laziness will trouble you.) (5)

IV. Source says indirectly that she has no money to pay casual labourers when the target advises her to hire some people to help her clean the yard: *Unotaura nezvemaricho, mari yacho yekuvabhadhara unondipa?* (You speak of casual labourers, are you going to give me the money to pay them?) (7)

V.   Source accuses the target of avoiding duty by offering an excuse: *Watanga manje. Uri kuda kunzvenga basa nekutaura zvemabhuku.* (You start now. You're trying to avoid the work by mentioning the issue of books.) (9)

VI. Source says the target should priotise tasks: *Unotanga waita basa repamba wozoita hako zvemabhuku.* (You start with household chores first and then study.) (11)

VII. Source acknowledges that the target has an important examination to write but employs a task minimising strategy to get the target to help her:

   a) She says the task (weeding) is not a big task that will affect the target adversely: *Kusakura kwekanguva kadiki ndiko here kungakutadzisa kuwana bhezari?* (Will weeding for a short period stop you from getting a bursary? (13)

b) She accuses the target again of being lazy: *Kana kuti uri kungoda kuramba kundibatsira kuita basa iri? Pamwe nungo dzakakubata.* (Or you just want to refuse to help me to do this task? Maybe laziness has gripped you.) (13)

VIII. Source praises the target's academic prowess:

   a) She mentions that the target is good at understanding what he reads or is a quick learner: *Uri nyanzvi iwe pazvemabhuku izvi. Kungoti verenge zvishoma unenge watobata zvose zvinouya mubvunzo.* (You're an expert on books. You just need to study for a short while to grasp all that will come in the examination.) (15)

   b) She then compares the target to his father who is also intelligent: *Wakafana nababa vako vaigona zvekuti bhe-e.* (You're like your father who was (very) intelligent.) (15)

IX. Source makes a moral appeal to the target:

   a) She asks the target if she should work hard alone when she has children who are supposed to help her: *Ndofa nebasa here ini ndakazvara?* Should I die of work when I gave birth (to children who should help me)?) (17)

   b) She then makes a promise: *Chinzwaka, ukashanda zvakanaka unozviwanira kamari kekunodya kuchikoro.* (Listen; if you work properly you may get some pocket money.) (17)

X. Source assures the target that the task will not impact the target's time negatively:

   a) She says the activity will take them a short to complete: *Kusakura tinongotora nguva diki.* (We'll take very little time weeding.) (21)

   b) She suggests how they will share the workload so that the task is not intimidating to the target: *Ini ndosakura iwe uchiunganidza masora nokunorasa mugomba rekombositi.* (I'll weed while you rake all the weeds and throw them into the composite pit.) (21)

   c) She reminds the target that they did the same task with easy the previous year: *Takamboriita basa iri gore rakapera uye hatina kusvika masikati tichiriita.* (We did this task last year, and we didn't work until noon.) (21)

XI. Source uses a positive esteem strategy when she thanks the target using the target's clan name and clan praise name for agreeing to help her: *Hamuone here Tembo,ndozvinoita vekwaMazvimbakupa izvi. Nungo ndedzenaSoko vakada kugara mugomo nekutya badza.* (Don't you see Tembo (clan name), this is what (people of) Mazvimbakupa (clan praise name) do? Being idle is for the Soko (totem)   people who chose to live in the mountain due to fear of the hoe (farming).) (23)

Arguments of the target

I. Target resists compliance by offering an excuse: *Ah amai ndakaneta ini.* (Ah I'm tired mother.) (2)

II. Target makes a suggestion that the source should look for   help elsewhere: *Siyanaika nesu venyungo. Tsvagai   vemaricho vakubatsirei.* (Leave us the lazy ones alone.   Find some casual workers to help you.) (6)

III. Target gives a rational explanation for why he cannot help   his mother clear up the yard: *Kungoti chete nhasi amai   ndine basa rechikoro randinoda kuita.* (It's only that today mother I've schoolwork I need to do."

IV. Target uses an emotional appeal by stating that he is trying to fulfill the wishes of the source by studying hard: *Handiti ndimi munoda kuti ndizove dhokotera? Ndine basa rechikoro randinoda kuita.* (Isn't it you who wants me to be a doctor? I've schoolwork I've to do.) (10)

V. Target uses a rational argument as well as makes an emotional appeal in resisting compliance: *Dai maimboziva kuti ndine bvunzo rekuti ndiwane vanondibvisira mari gore rinouya mainzwisisa chinangwa changu.* (If you knew that I've an examination so that I can get sponsors for next year, you would understand my aim.) (12)

VI. Target justifies his refusal to help the source:

   a) He says he is focused on the big examination coming: *Kungotiwo pfungwa dzangu dzakanangana nebvunzo hombe iri.* (It's just that my mind is focused on this big examination.) (14)

   b) He says this is a big opportunity he cannot afford to miss: *Mumwe mukana ndinozouwanepi?* (Where will I get other chance?) (14)

   c) He says both the source and his father struggle financially and may not be able to fund his education the following year: *Imi nababa munoti hamuna mari yekuti ndienderere mberi nedzidzo gore rinouya. Saka ndoita sei zvino?* (You and father say you don't have money for me to proceed with my education next year. So what should I do now?) (14)

VII. Target claims that he will lag behind others who are studying if he helps the source: *Vamwe vari mubishi kuverenga izvozvi zvokuti patinonyora bvunzo iri vachaita mabiko.* (Others are busy studying now such that when we write the exam they will feast (it will be easy for them). (16)

VIII. Target agrees to the source's request but cautions her not to be mad with him if he fails the examination: *Zvakanaka asi ndikafoira musazotsamwa. Ndimi munenge musina kundipa nguva yakakwana yekugadzirira.* (It's okay, but if I fail, don't get angry. It's you who would have denied me adequate time to prepare.)

Comparison of source arguments and target arguments

The source attempts to gain assistance from the target (her son) by making a direct request (Source Arg. I). She tries to win the target by politely addressing him using his name (Source Arg. I Subarg. a)) and further explains the mutual benefits of clearing the family homestead yard (Source Arg. I Subarg. b)). In Source arg. II, the source teases the target for claiming to be tired from sleeping the night before, and then she accuses the target of being lazy (Source Arg. III). In Source Args. IV and V respectively, the source tells the target that she does not have money to hire casual workers and accuses the target of coming up with an excuse to avoid helping her. In Source Arg. VI, the source advises her son to priotise household chores ahead of his schoolwork, an argument which is further developed in Source Arg. VII when the source minimises the enormity of the weeding task by saying that it will not impact on the target negatively time-wise (Source Arg. VII Subarg. a)) and then reiterates that the target is just being lazy (Source Arg. VII Subarg. b)). The source praises the target (Source Arg. VIII) by describing him as a quick learner (Source Arg. VIII Subarg. a) and that he is as intelligent as his father (Source Arg. VIII Subarg. b). In Source Arg. IX, the source makes an moral appeal by asking why she should work one her own when she has children who should help her (Source Arg. IX Subarg. a)) and then she promises to give the target pocket money (Source Arg IX Subarg. b)). The source finally manages to convince the target to help her clear up the yard in Source Arg. X when she assures him that the work will not take long (Source Arg. X Subarg a)). She talks of how they will share the task (Source Arg. X Subarg. b)), and that they have done the same task together before (Source Arg. X Subarg. c)). She ends her compliance-seeking arguments by thanking the target using his totem and clan name (Source Arg. XI).

In contrast to the arguments of the source, the target also offers a number of arguments. Firstly, the target offers an excuse that he is tired and therefore cannot help his mother clean the yard (Target Arg. I). He follows the excuse with a suggestion that the source should hire casual labourers to help her (Target Arg. II). In Target Arg.s III and IV the target provides the real reason he cannot help the source (he has schoolwork to do) and makes an emotional appeal that he is studying to please the source respectively. In Target Arg. V, the target provides another rational argument that he has a scholarship examination on the way and then pleads with his mother to understand his refusal to help her. The target further expands on the rational argument by saying he is focused on the big examination coming (Target Arg. VI Subarg. a), he will not get another chance to get a scholarship (Target Arg. VI Subarg. b)) and his parents do not have money for his tertiary studies (Target Arg. VI Subarg. c)). The last two arguments the target offers are (Target Arg. VII) that he will lag behind others if he does not study (an excuse) and (Target Arg. VIII) that his mother should not get angry with him if he fails the scholarship examination since she has not given him enough time to study.

Compliance

The mother (source) has been successful in achieving the influence goal of gain assistance. Despite her son's (target) concerted resistance to comply with her direct request to help her clear up the family homestead yard, the mother prevails by using a moral appeal and making a promise in conversational turn 17 and a rational explanation in conversational turn 21. The target uses eight arguments and three subarguments to resist compliance. By conversational turn 22, the target has agreed to help the source: *Kana madaro ndokubatsirai amai. Ndingarambe here kukubatsirai imi muri mai vangu?* (If you say so I'll help you mother. Can I refuse to help you when you're my mother?)

Message Dimensions

1.   Explicitness

The source (mother) uses high explicitness throughout the conversation. In conversational turn 1, the source makes a direct request for the target (son) to help her clear up the family homestead yard: *Nhai mwanangu Farai, haungandibatsirewo kukura chivanze?* (My son Farai, can you help me weed the yard?). She states exactly what she wants her son to do for her: she wants him to help clear up the yard.

2.   Dominance

The source has high dominance in this persuasive message. In conversational turn 17 the source makes a promise to the target: *Chinzwaka, ukashanda zvakanaka unozviwanira kamari kekunodya kuchikoro.* (Listen; if you work properly you may get some pocket money.). In conversational turn 23 the source uses a positive esteem strategy when she praises the target using his clan name and clan praise name: *Hamuone here Tembo, ndozvinoita vekwaMazvimbakupa izvi. Nungo ndedzenaSoko vakada kugara mugomo nekutya badza.* (Don't you see Tembo (clan name), this is what (people of) Mazvimbakupa (clan praise name) do? Being idle is for the Soko (totem) people who chose to live in the mountain due to fear of the hoe (farming).) Use of promising and esteem strategies is a sign of the target's high dominance as indicated by Dillard et al.

3.   Argument

The source has low argument as she makes a direct request in conversational turn 1: *Nhai mwanangu Farai, haungandibatsirewo kukura chivanze?* (My son Farai, can you help me weed the

yard?) and also she guilt-trips the target in conversational turn 17: *Ndofa nebasa here ini ndakazvara?* (Should I die of work when I gave birth (to children who should help me)?)

5.6.3   Persuasive Message Three

Hanzvadzikomana nehanzvadzisikana (Brother-sister subsystem)

A: *Hanzvadzikomana* (Brother)

B: *Hanzvadzisikana* (Sister)

Statement of the problem

A brother (A) seeks to have a shared experience, i.e. helping with Sunday school duties at their church, with his sister (B). In this dialogue, the source (A) persuades the target (B) to help him teach young children at their church during Sunday school.

Influence goal

The influence goal which A uses in this message is **shared activity**. He requests his sister to help him execute Sunday school duties at their church as reflected in conversational turn 5: *Tinofanira kuenda kusvondo tose nhasi. Ndafunga kuti tibatsire mufundisi kudzidzisa vana nezveshoko raMwari. Zviya zvataimboita tichiri vana vaduku. Unofungei neizvi?* (We should go to church together today. I think we should help the pastor to conduct Sunday school. That which we used to do when we were young. What do you think?)

Arguments of the source

I.   The source hints that he wants to do something enjoyable together with the target: Hanzvadzi yangu nhasi tinofanira kufara tose. (My sister today we should enjoy/be happy together.) (2)

II.   The source inquires about the target's plans for the day: *Wanga wakaronga zvipi nhasi?* (What are your plans for today?) (3)

III.   The source makes a direct request in a polite way:

    a)   They should go to church together: *Tinofanira kuenda kusvondo tose nhasi.* (We should go to church together today.) (5)

    b)   The source wants the target to help him with doing Sunday school duties at their church: *Ndafunga kuti tibatsire mufundisi kudzidzisa vana nezveshoko raMwari.* (I think we should help the pastor to conduct Sunday school.) (5)

    c)   The source reminds the target that they used to help at the church when they were young: *Zviya zvataimboita tichiri vana vaduku. Unofungei neizvi?* (That which we used to do when we were young. What do you think?) (5)

IV.   The source justifies his request by saying:

    a)   he has been inspired by God: *NdiMwari vandituma.* (It's God who has sent me.) (7)

    b)   the target is a talented singer: *Une izwi rakatsvedzerera rokuti ukadzidzisa munhu chimbo anochibata nguva imweyo. Saka wochigadziriraka tiende.* (You have a smooth voice such that if you teach someone a new song he or she will grasp it quickly.So can you prepare so that we can go.) (7)

V.   The source emphasises the importance of the task: *Chakakosha ishoko rauchange uchitaurira vana ava.* (What is important is the message you'll share with these children.) (9)

VI.   The source becomes friendly as he talks of working together: *Hongu hanzvadzi yangu. Tinongobatsirana basa racho.* (Yes my sister. We'll help each other to do the task.) (11)

VII.   The source talks of how the task is going to be shared between him and the target: *Ini ndichaverenga vhesi raMatewo apo Jesu akashevedza Matewo kuti ave muteveri wake. Iwe uchadzidzisa vana vaduku kuimba kambo kekuti Ndichakuitai varedzi vevanhu.* (I'll read Matthew's verse which talks of Jesus asking Matthew to be his disciple. You'll teach the young children the sing the song *I will make you fishers of men*.) (13)

VIII.   The source expresses happiness due to the duo's accomplishment at Sunday school:

    a)   he praises both himself and his sister: *Tagona kuita basa iri kunge tinogara tichiriita nguva dzose.* (We did the task very well like we often do it.) (17)

    b)   he uses positive esteem when he mentions that their parents will be proud of the source and target's success: *Vabereki vedu vachafarawo kana vanzwa kugona kwedu. Vanobva vaziva kuti vakakudza vana vanotya Mwari uye vanogona kuparidza shoko revhangeri.* (Our parents will be happy also when they learn about our good deeds. They'll know that they raised God-fearing children who're able to preach the gospel.) (21)

Arguments of the target

I.   The target indicates her willingness to participate in the shared activity by mentioning that she has missed their bonding times: *Pava nenguva kubva paya patakamboenda tose kugomo kunotsvaga mazhanje.* (It's now a long time since we went together to the mountain to search for wild loquat fruits/ sugar fruits.) (2)

II.   The target requests for further information on the shared activity hinted at by the source: *Wafunga kuti tiite sei nhai hanzvadzi Munya?* (What have you planned for us today brother Munya?) (4)

III.   The target agrees readily to help with the Sunday school duties: *Ipfungwa yakanaka chose. Izvi ndazvifarira. Waiwanepiko pfungwa iyi nhai Munya hanzvadzi?* (This is a good idea. I'm excited by it. Where did you get this idea, brother Munya?) (6)

IV.   The target provides a reason why she may not be able to do the task: *Uuum handina hembe yakanaka yekupfeka kuti ndimire pamberi pevana ava. Unoziva kuti ndinoda kuonekera kana ndakamira mberi kwevanhu.* (Uuum I don't have suitable clothes to wear and stand infront of these children. You know I like to dress smartly when I am going to stand infront of people.) (8)

V.   The target suggests that they will share the duties: *Ini ndichange ndichibata pangu iwe uchiita pako.* (I'll do my duty and you'll do yours.) (12)

VI.   The target praises the source for choosing an appropriate bible passage to teach the young children: *Munya wagona kusarudza zvekudzidzisa vana nhasi. Uchayeuka tichiita zvidzidzo zvevechidiki tichiimba kambo aka? Nofunga patinoimba nhasi vana vachafara.* (Munya you have chosen what to teach the children today. Do you remember when we were in Sunday school singing this song? I think when we sing today, the children will enjoy themselves.) (14)

VII.   The target agrees that their successful shared activity will be praised by many: *Vabereki chete here? Nyangwe vavakidzani vedu nevadzidzisi vedu. Taita maoresa.* (Our parents only? Even our neighbours and our teachers too. We've done a good job.) (22)

Comparison of source arguments and target arguments

The source (brother) uses a positively framed message in order to get the target (sister) to agree to help him execute Sunday school duties. He starts the message with polite compliance-seeking strategies. A hint to spend time together doing something mutually pleasurable is made (Source Arg. I) followed up by a request for information about the target's plan for the day (Source Arg. II), and then a direct request for collaboration is made (Source Arg. III). Three subarguments are used by the source to offer a rational explanation for the desired collaboration: they should go to church together (Source Arg. III Subarg. a), they will help the pastor with Sunday school duties (Source Arg. III Subarg. b), and they used to do this when they were young (Source Arg. III Subarg. c). The target is convinced by this explanation. In Source Arg. IV, the source justifies his request by making a moral appeal which is that he has been inspired by God (Subarg. a) and then uses positive altercasting by mentioning that the target is a talented singer (Subarg. b). In Source arguments V, VI and VII, the source mentions the importance of the task the two will undertake, becomes friendly and then explains how they will share the load respectively. Source Arg. VIII is a reflective argument made after the shared activity. It positively appraises the duo's collaboration (Source Arg. VIII Subarg. a) and uses positive esteem by mentioning that their parents will be proud of their act (Source Arg. VIII Subarg. b).

On the flipside, the target hardly resists compliance. Only once in Target Arg. IV does the target attempt to resist compliance with the request to help the source. In Target Arg.s I, II and III, the target correspondingly shows a willingness to help, requests for further information regarding the task to be done and then readily agrees to help the target. Furthermore, in Target Arg.s V and VI, the target makes a suggestion on how the task will be done and then praises the source for choosing an appropriate bible passage to share with the children at Sunday school. Extending the observation by the source that their parents will be proud of their act, the target mentions that even their neighbours and teachers will also be proud (Target Arg. VII).

Compliance

The brother (source) has succeeded in his attempt to persuade the target (his sister) to help him do Sunday school duties. This is evident in conversational turn 6 when the target she says: *Ipfungwa yakanaka chose. Izvi ndazvifarira. Waiwanepiko pfungwa iyi nhai Munya hanzvadzi?* (This is a good idea. I'm excited by it. Where did you get this idea, brother Munya?)

Message Dimensions

1.   Explicitness

The source (brother) uses low explicitness in conversational turns 1 and 3 to test the mood of the target, but thereafter he uses high explicitness. In conversational turn 1, he uses a hint as a compliance-seeking strategy because he wants to convince the target (his sister) to join him in helping at the Sunday school. In conversational turn 3, he asks for more information about his sister's plan for the day before he makes a direct request in conversational turn 5: *Tinofanira kuenda kusvondo tose nhasi. Ndafunga kuti tibatsire mufundisi kudzidzisa vana nezveshoko raMwari. Zviya zvataimboita tichiri vana vaduku. Unofungei neizvi?* (We should go to church together today. I think we should help the pastor to conduct Sunday school, that which we used to do when we were young. What do you think?). The nature of this family subsystem and the topic being discussed permit the source to use high explicitness. Among the Shona, teenage siblings hold open discussions especially on religious issues.

2.   Dominance

The source has high dominance over the target in this persuasive message. Low dominance is evident at the beginning of the conversation as the source uses a hint. But high dominance is not really established as the two have an equal relationship and mutual respect. This is a unique situation not catered for by Dillard's categories. The source uses positively framed messages to win

over his target. In conversational turn 1, the source uses an endearment "*Hanzvadzi yangu*" (My sister) which is non-threatening and therefore sets a positive, friendly tone of this influence interaction. In conversational turn 21, the source uses a positive esteem strategy as he reflects on the benefits of their shared activity to their parents: *Vabereki vedu vachafarawo kana vanzwa kugona kwedu. Vanobva vaziva kuti vakakudza vana vanotya Mwari uye vanogona kuparidza shoko revhangeri.* (Our parents will be happy also when they learn about our good deeds. They'll know that they raised God-fearing children who're able to preach the gospel.)

3.   Argument

The source has low argument in this persuasive message. He makes a direct request when he explains the shared activity he would like to have with his sister: Conversational turn 5: *Tinofanira kuenda kusvondo tose nhasi. Ndafunga kuti tibatsire mufundisi kudzidzisa vana nezveshoko raMwari. Zviya zvataimboita tichiri vana vaduku. Unofungei neizvi?* (We should go to church together today. I think we should help the pastor to conduct Sunday school, that which we used to do when we were young. What do you think?). Here the source makes clear it why he wants the target to comply with his request: to help at Sunday school.

5.6.4   Persuasive Message Four

Baba nemwanasikana (Father-daughter subsystem)
A: *Baba* (Father)
B: *Mwanasikana* (Daughter)

Statement of the problem

A father (A) attempts to change the opinion of his daughter (B) regarding her attitude towards pursuing tertiary studies. The source (A) persuades the target (B) to reconsider her decision not to study further after completing her A' Level education.

Influence Goal

The influence goal which the source (A) uses in this message is **change opinion**. He challenges the target (B) to go and register at a university and study further than work in restaurant as she had decided. See conversational turn 16: *Sezvo mati ndienderere mberi nedzidzo ndichangodaro asi pfungwa dzangu dzanga dzisisadi baba.* (Since you have said I should proceed with my education, I'll do so but my mind had totally switched off, father.) At this point, the father has successfully explained to his daughter why she should continue with her education up to tertiary level.

Arguments of the source

I.   The source uses a liking strategy (he addresses his daughter using her clan praise name "MaDhuve") (positive politeness −solidarity) when he tries to find out if the target is considering going for further studies: *Nhai MaDhuve zvabuda maresults ebvunzo dzenyu gore rino muchange muchiitei?* (MaDhuve now that your examination results are out, what are you going to be doing this year?) (1)

II. The source disapproves of the target's decision:

   a) he uses negative altercasting when he expresses his dismay at the source's appalling decision not to proceed with further studies: *Kuzorora! Asi unoshura nhai mwanangu?* (Resting! Are you a bad omen?) (3)

   b) he then makes a direct request for clarification: *Kuzorora uchiitei?* Resting, doing what?) (3)

III. The source questions the wisdom of his daughter's decision:

   a) he makes an emotional appeal by suggesting that the target may be possessed by some evil spirit: *Chokwadi une zvakakugara.* (Really, you're possessed.) (5)

   b) he also then attempts to show the shallowness of the target's decision to opt for work which even school drop-outs can do (negative altercasting): *Kuramba kuenderera mberi nedzidzo uchida kushanda basa rinoitwa nyangwe nemunhu asina kupedza chikoro?* (Refusing to proceed with your education just because you want to do work which is done even by a drop-out?) (5)

   c) he then questions why the target achieved good marks in her final examination yet she does not want to study further: *Saka zvawakawana 9 points woturika certificate kumadziro yoshaya basa?* (So with your 9 points, you want to shelve your certificate on the wall?) (5)

IV. The source uses negative expertise when he tells the target she will lead a miserable life due to this poor decision: *Unoda kuzotambura muupenyu hwako?* (Do you want to struggle in your life?) (7)

V.   The source uses the guilt strategy when he bemoans the money he wasted on the target's education and points out the target's puzzling thinking process: *Inga ndakatambisa mari yangu ndichikuendesa kuchikoro. Mafungiro ako akasiyana neemunhu akabuda nemapoints aunawo.* (I wasted my money sending you to school. Your reasoning (now) is different from that of a person who obtained the points you got.) (9)

VI. The source makes a rational explanation why his daughter should proceed to university and study for a degree:

a) he uses negative altercasting when he accuses his daughter of being childish: *Mwanangu haungapedze A' Level une pfungwa dzinenge dzepwere.* (My child you can't finish A' Level studies and still be immature.) (11)

b) he warns her that he will not allow her to get married without her getting a professional qualification: *Asi wava kuda zvekuroorwa nhai Mercia? Zvino ziva kuti ini handina mwana anobva pamba pangu asina certificate yechaakadzidza akave nyanzvi.* (Do you want to get married now, Mercia? You should know that I don't have a child who will leave my homestead (getting married) without a professional qualification.) (11)

c) he nags her by suggesting that she can do a nursing course: *Kutadzawo here kunoita kana kakosi kehukoti zvako?* (You mean you can't even do a nursing course?) (11)

d) he encourages her to soldier on at university even when the going gets tough: *Iko kuyunivhesiti unongonoita dhigiri rezvemari. Kana ukanetseka unongonyora supplementary exams uchitoenderera mberi nedhigiri rako.* (At the university, you'll study a degree in finance. If you struggle you just write supplementary examinations and proceed with your degree studies.) (11)

VII. The source expands his rational explanation why the target should continue with her academic studies:

a) he uses the guilt strategy when he questions why his daughter is afraid of further studies: *Mercia usaite sezvinonzi unofa kana ukaenderera mberi nedzidzo. Wakamboona guva remunhu akafa nekuverenga?* (Mercia don't act as if you'll die if you proceed with your education. Have you ever seen a grave of a person who died due to studying?) (13)

b) he uses positive self-feeling when he assures his daughter that noone will know that she struggled with completing her degree studies once she has graduated: *Nyangwe zvikakunetsa kupedza kudzidza degree rako zvigokutorera nguva yakareba, wapedza hapana anozoziva kuti wainetseka.* (Even if it may be difficult for you to complete your degree studies, and this may take more time than expected, when you graduate noone will know that you struggled (to complete your studies). (13)

c) he then employs positive expertise when he tells his daughter that she will get a high-paying job when she graduates: *Unowana basa rine mari yakapeta kagumi yauri kuda kunopiwa kuzvitoro zvekudyira.* (You'll get a job that pays ten times what you want to get in restaurants.) (13)

VIII. The source uses a contrast of successful and unsuccessful role models for his daughter in order for her to understanding the folly of her initial decision:

    a) he uses positive altercasting by mentioning that the successful role models his daughter should emulate: *Tarisa vanaGift nanaMaria ava vava kufamba nemotokari dzemari. Vakapedza nguva vachidzidza vakawana mabasa anobhadhara mari hobho.* (Look at Gift and Maria who now drive expensive cars. They spent time studying and ended up getting highly-paying jobs. (15)

    b) he uses negative altercasting when he mentions the unsuccessful school drop-outs whom his daughter wants to emulate: *AnaShingo naAaron varipi? Vakangopedza chikoro nekutanga kutyaira motokari dzechingwa. Tarisa kusiyana kwavakaita kunge vasina kudzidza vose.* (Where are Shingo and Aaron? They completed their secondary education and started driving bread delivery vans. Look at the gap between them; it's as if they did not go to school together.) (15)

IX. The source compliments the target for changing her opinion about further studies:

    a) he employs the liking strategy by thanking her daughter using her clan praise name: *Haunzweka mwanangu. Mava kufunga zvino maDhuve. Hona ini baba vako handina kuenda kuyunivhesiti.* (You see now my child. You're now thinking maDhuve.) (17)

    b) he uses positive altercasting when he mentions how he is ill-treated at work due to his lack of education: *Basa rangu nderekutumwa nevakuru vepabasa pangu, vamwe vacho vadiki kwandiri. Vanohora mazakwatira isu vasina kudzidza tichipiwa nhutwa.* (See me your father I didn't go to university. My job is that of being sent around by my bosses, some of them are younger than me. They're paid lots of money when we the uneducated get peanuts. (17)

    c) he then use a positive expertise strategy when he mentions that education is an emancipatory tool: *Dzidzo haikurasise.* Education will not let you down. (17)

X. The source uses a positive esteem strategy when he praises the target for changing her opinion about going to university for further studies: *Hekani waro. Ndozvinoita mwana wandakazvara izvi. Kana mai vako nehanzvadzi dzako dzichafara kunzwa kuti wava nemumwe mufungiro.* (Thank you so much. This is what a child I gave birth to does. Even your mother and brothers will be happy to hear that you're now thinking otherwise.) (19)

Arguments of the target

I. The target uses nonnegotiation and justification strategys to defend her decision not to pursue further studies: *Aaah baba ini hangu zvechikoro ndaneta. Ndoda kumbozorora.* (Aaah! Father I'm tired of learning. I need to rest for now.) (2)

II. The target offers a rational explanation for her lack of desire to continue with her education:

    a. she claims that examinations were too tough for her: *Bvunzo dzakandionesa moto.* (The examinations were too difficult.) (4)

    b. she says she now wants to work in restaurants: *Ndombozorora ndichishanda mudzimba dzekudyira.* (I'll rest whilst working in restaurants.) (4)

III. The target offers an excuse for her lack of enthusiasm to study further (justification strategy): *Baba 9 points idzodzi dzakandirwadza kuwana. Zvekudzidza ndombomira ndichikura.* (Father, those 9 points were painful to get. Let me stop learning, and concentrate on growing up.) (6)

IV. The target downplays the importance of holding a degree by stating that she will live the same life that her parents are leading: *Asi imi munorarama wani musina kunyatsodzidza? Ndinongoraramawo sezvamunoita izvi.* (But you are surviving when you didn't get a proper education? I'll survive the way you're surviving.) (8)

V. The target flatly refuses (nonnegotiation strategy) to go for further studies:

    a) she uses a nonnegotiation strategy when she says: *Ini hangu zvemabhukuzve bodo.* (No more spending time studying for me.) (12)

    b) she then says that she does not want to have sleepless nights again working on university tasks: *Kurara ndakasvinura zvakare ndichinetsana nesvomhu kwete.* (No more spending the night without sleeping working on some mathematical problem.) (12)

VI. The target softens her hard stance of not wanting to pursue tertiary studies but she is not yet convinced that it is correct thing for her to do: *Kuti kudaro here baba?* (Is that so father?) (14)

VII. The target tentatively agrees to pursue further studies emphasizing that she had lost interest in it: *Sezvo mati ndienderere mberi nedzidzo ndichangodaro asi pfungwa dzangu dzanga dzisisadi baba.* (Since you have said I should proceed with my education, I'll do so but my mind had totally switched off, father.) (16)

VIII. The target agrees with her father as she is totally convinced that he is giving her correct advice: *Ndazvinzwa baba. Mangwana ndotomukira kukwira bhazi ndononyoresa zita rangu payunivhesiti kuMt Pleasant. Ndinokuvimbisai baba kuti ndonouya naro dhigiri reBusiness Studies.* (I've heard (you) father. Tomorrow I'll catcht he earliest bus to go and register at the university in Mt Pleasant. I promise you father that I'll graduate with a Business Studies degree.) (18)

Comparison of source arguments and target arguments

The source (father) uses ten arguments and seventeen subarguments in his successful attempt to change the opinion of the target (his daughter) regarding pursuing degree studies after she had passed her Advanced Level studies. On the other hand, his daughter employs eight arguments and

four subarguments as she initially resists compliance and then later agrees with her father's suggestion that she should study further. The father uses a liking strategy (Source Arg. I) as he tries to extract information about her daughter's plan regarding further studies. Upon hearing his daughter's shocking decision not to continue with education, he uses negative altercasting (Source Arg. II Subarg. a)) and then makes a direct request for an explanation from his daughter (Source Arg. II Subarg. b)). The source continues using the negative altercasting strategy (Source Arg. III Subarg. a)) when he accuses his daughter of being possessed by some evil spirit, exposes the shallowness of her decision (Source Arg. III Subarg. b)) and then questions the wisdom of her getting an A' Level certificate that she will not use (Source Arg. III Subarg. c)). The source also uses negative expertise when he tells the source she will lead a miserable life due to this poor decision (Source Arg. IV). The source then employs an emotional appeal (guilt) strategy when he bemoans his money he wasted sending the target to school and also belittles the target for thinking like an unintelligent person (Source Arg. V). The father provides a rational argument why his daughter should pursue further studies in Source Arg. VI. He uses negative altercasting in Source Arg. VI Subarg. a) when he accuses his daughter of being childish (Source Arg. VI Subarg. b), he then warns her that he will not allow her to marry without getting a professional qualification, he nags her to study nursing even (Source Arg. VI Subarg. c), and he encourages her to be psychologically strong to survive the rigours of studying for a degree (Source Arg. VI Subarg. d). He provides further reasons why his daughter should continue with her academic studies in Source Arg. VII. The father mocks her daughter for unnecessarily fearing studying for a degree (Source Arg. VII Subarg. a), he uses positive self-feeling when he tells her that no one will know she struggled at university when she eventually graduates (Source Arg. Subarg. b) and then employs positive expertise when he mentions that her daughter will get a high-paying job once she has graduated (Source arg. VII subarg. c). To show the importance of possessing a degree, the source uses both positive and negative altercasting when he paints the contrasting lives of degreed and non-degreed people that his daughter knows (Source Arg. VIII Subargs. a and b). In the last two arguments of his persuasive message, the source uses complimentary language towards the target. In Source Arg. IX, he first employs the liking strategy when he thanks his daughter using her clan praise name again (Source Arg. IX Subarg. a)), and then he uses positive altercasting when he mentions how he is ill-treated at work due to his lack of education (Source Arg. IX Subarg. b)) and lastly he uses a positive expertise strategy when he mentions that education is an emancipatory tool (Source Arg. IX Subarg. c)). Realising that he has managed to change totally the opinion of his daughter, he ends his persuasive message by using a positive esteem strategy when he praises the target for changing her opinion about going to university for further studies (Source Arg. X).

On the contrary, the target employs a number of compliance-resisting strategys before succumbing midway through the persuasive message. The target uses nonnegotiation and justification strategys to defend her decision not to pursue further studies (Target Arg. I), and offers a rational explanation comprising two subarguments; she claims that her last examinations gave her a torrid time (Target Arg. II Subarg. a)) and she reveals that she has plans to work in restaurant (Target Arg. II Subarg. b)). In Target arg. III, she gives an excuse for her lack of enthusiasm to study further (justification strategy) before downplaying the importance of holding a degree in Target Arg. IV when she says she will lead an ordinary life just like her parents. In Target Arg. V, the target flatly refuses to pursue further studies arguing that she does not want to study any more in her life (Target Arg. V Subarg. a)) and that she does not want to spend sleepless nights working on degree assignments (Target Arg. V Subarg. b)). In Target Arg. VI, even if she is softening her attitude towards her father's request she is not yet convinced that go to university is good decision. In Target Arg. VII, the target tentatively agrees to pursue further studies but emphasize that she had lost interest in it. Target Arg. VIII shows that she has changed her opinion completely as she promises to travel to the university to register for degree studies the next day.

Compliance

The father has succeeded in persuading his daughter to change her opinion about not going to university to study for a degree using rational explanation in conversational turn 13 and a contrast of successful and unsuccessful neighbours in conversational turn 15. She is now prepared to go and register for a Business Studies degree instead of looking for employment in restaurant as she planned prior. This is evident in conversational turn 18 she complies with her father's idea: *Ndazvinzwa baba. Mangwana ndotomukira kukwira bhazi ndononyoresa zita rangu payunivhesiti kuMt Pleasant. Ndinokuvimbisai baba kuti ndonouya naro dhigiri reBusiness Studies.* (I've heard (you) father. Tomorrow I'll catcht he earliest bus to go and register at the university in Mt Pleasant. I promise you father that I'll graduate with a Business Studies degree.)

Message Dimensions

1.   Explicitness:

The source uses high explicitness in his successful attempt at changing the source's opinion about going for further studies. He makes a direct request in conversational turn 3: *Kuzorora uchiitei?* (Resting, doing what?) and provides rational arguments to convince his daughter to change her opinion. An example of rational explanation can be found in conversational turn 13: *Mercia usaite sezvinonzi unofa kana ukaenderera mberi nedzidzo. Wakamboona guva remunhu akafa*

nekuverenga? Nyangwe zvikakunetsa kupedza kudzidza degree rako zvigokutorera nguva yakareba, wapedza hapana anozoziva kuti wainetseka. Unowana basa rine mari yakapeta kagumi yauri kuda kunopiwa kuzvitoro zvekudyira. (Mercia don't act as if you'll die if you proceed with your education. Have you ever seen a grave of a person who died due to studying? Even if it may be difficult for you to complete your degree studies, and this may take more time than expected, when you graduate noone will know that you struggled (to complete your studies). You'll get a job that pays ten times what you want to get in restaurants.) The source's demand for an opinion shift by the target is explicit hence the target employs defensive strategies.

2.   Dominance:

The source has both high and low dominance over the target. He disapproves of his daughter's intention not to continue with her education in conversational turn 3: *Kuzorora! Asi unoshura nhai mwanangu? Kuzorora uchiitei?* (Resting! Are you a bad omen? Resting, doing what?) Here he employs negative altercasting by accusing his daughter of being under a spell. He further bemoans his money which he feels he wasted sending to school his daughter who does not seem to value education. His high dominance is seen when he uses positive esteem in conversational turn 19: *Hekani waro. Ndozvinoita mwana wandakazvara izvi. Kana mai vako nehanzvadzi dzako dzichafara kunzwa kuti wava nemumwe mufungiro.* (Thank you so much. This is what a child I gave birth to does. Even your mother and brothers will be happy to hear that you're now thinking otherwise.). In conversational turn 11 the source uses a compliance-seeking strategy that shows he has low dominance over the target: *Asi wava kuda zvekuroorwa nhai Mercia? Zvino ziva kuti ini handina mwana anobva pamba pangu asina certificate yechaakadzidza akave nyanzvi.* (Do you want to get married now, Mercia? You should know that I don't have a child who will leave my homestead (getting married) without a professional qualification.) The fact that he uses warning is a sign that he has low dominance at this point in the persuasive message.

3.   Argument

The source uses high argument to convince the target to change her negative stance on studying further than A' Level education. He uses more rational explanation than threats and other negatively framed arguments. An example of sustained logical reasoning is found in conversational turn 11: *Mwanangu haungapedze A' Level une pfungwa dzinenge dzepwere. Asi wava kuda zvekuroorwa nhai Mercia? Zvino ziva kuti ini handina mwana anobva pamba pangu asina certificate yechaakadzidza akave nyanzvi. Kutadzawo here kunoita kana kakosi kehukoti zvako? Iko kuyunivhesiti unongonoita dhigiri rezvemari. Kana ukanetseka unongonyora supplementary exams*

uchitoenderera mberi nedhigiri rako. (My child you can't finish A' Level studies and still be immature. Do you want to get married now, Mercia? You should know that I don't have a child who will leave my homestead (getting married) without a professional qualification. You mean you can't even do a nursing course? At the university, you'll study a degree in finance. If you struggle you just write supplementary examinations and proceed with your degree studies.) The demands of the source are explicit in the whole persuasive message which shows that he has high argument.

5.6.5 Persuasive Message Five

Mukomana nemusikana (courtship)
A: *Mukomana* (Suitor)
B: *Musikana* (the suited)

Statement of the problem

A suitor (A) attempts to initiate a love relationship with the suited (B). The source (suitor) successfully manages to start a relationship with the target (the suited) in the end.

Influence Goal

The influence goal which the source (A) uses in this message is **initiate relationship**. He begs the target (B) to love him. He is successful as evident in conversational turn 31 when the target says: *Kana zvirizvo rega ndikuudze chokwadi. Ndino-no-kuda Kundi. Asi usazondirasisewo mumwe wangu. Handidi hangu munhu anonyepa.* (If that is the case, let me tell you the truth. I –I love you Kundi. But don't let me down my dear. I don't like a person who lies to me.) The target agrees to be the source's lover after a long verbal tug-of-war!

Arguments of the source

I.   The source minimise his request by promising to be brief: *Nhai ahanzvadzi miraipo ndimbotaura nemi kwekanguva.* (Sister may you stop there please so that I can talk with you briefly.) (1)

II.   The source uses a liking strategy by praising the target thrice: *Ndatenda VaChinengemukaka vangu. Chokwadi chimhandara wakavakwa Mwari achada.* (I'm thankful my Milk-like-beauty. Really young lady you were created when the Lord was still willing.) (5), *Mwanasikanaka wakanaka…* (Oh! young lady, you're beautiful…) (9), and *Ndiwe chete wafadza meso angu. Uri chigutsameso changu.* (You are the only who has satisfied my eyes. You are the apple of my eye.) (11)

III. The source uses a positive-worded message by suggesting the target that she will have a good life if she agrees to get married to him (positive self-feeling): *Aiwa kani tanga wanzwa nyaya yangu. Zvichida ungaswere wofara nhasi.* (No, please listen to my issue first. Maybe you may end the day in a happy mood today.) (7)

IV. The source uses positive altercasting by appealing to the target's sense of morality: *Munhu akanaka sewe haaite sezvauri kuita.* (A person as beautiful as you are will not behave the way you are doing. (13)

V. The source employs his strongest persuasive message when he:

a) professes his love for her: *Ndinokuda Varaidzo.* I love you Varaidzo. (15)

b) promises to marry the target before end of the year: *Ndide ndikuroore gore risati rapera.* (Love me back so that I can marry you before the year ends. (15)

c) promises to look after the target well, to buy her expensive clothes, and to take her to many exotic places. *Ndikakuroora ndinokuchengeta zvakanaka ndichikushongedza nhumbi dzinodhura nekushanya newe kunzvimbo dzinovaraidza.* (If I marry you I will look after you well, buy you expensive clothes and take you to leisure resorts.) (15)

VI. The source is insistent on his request: *Saka uri kuti chiiko nenyaya yangu?* (So what are you saying about my issue?) (17)

VII. The source asks the target to make him happy (altruism):

a) he will be glad if she loves him too: *Ndingafare chose kana ukangondida.* (I would be happy if you accept my proposal.) (19)

b) his parents will be happy if she loves him: *Nevabereki vangu vangafare kana wangondida. Vanogarotaura kuti mhuri yenyu ine unhu.* (And my parents, too, would be happy if you accept my request. They often say your family is has good manners.) (19)

VIII. The source uses an altruistic strategy when he asks the target to please him:
A-a wauya Chinengemukaka changu! Wanonoka wasvika. Ndipe shoko rinokodza mwoyo Varaidzo. (O, you've come my Milk-like-beauty. You're a tad too late. Give me a heart-warming word Varaidzo.) (28)

IX. The source assures the target that he is an eligible bachelor thus allaying her fears that he might be seeking to use her: *Handina mukadzi ini. Iwe chete ndiwe wandinoda.* (I don't have a wife. You are the only person I love.) (30)

Arguments of the target

I. The target is dismissive of the source's attempt at getting her (target) to grant the source a chance to speak to her:

a) she urges him to leave her alone: *A-a ndisiye.* (A-a, leave me alone.) (2)

    b)   she has not time for him: *Handina nguva yekutaura newe munhu akashata kudaro.* (I don't have time to talk with you an ugly person like that.) (2)

    c)   she cannot risk facing her mother's ire because of him: *Hauna kukodzera kuti nditukwe namai vangu ndanonoka nemvura.* (You are not worth me getting scolded by my mother for coming late with water.) (2)

II.   The source threatens the target that if he does not get to the point, she will walk away: *Zvakanaka, chitaura. Asi wakarebesa nyaya, unosara uchitaura woga ndaenda.* (It's fine, speak. But if you speak for too long, you'll remain talking to yourself after I've gone.) (4)

III.   The source accuses the target of wasting her time saying sweet-nothings:

    a)   she pretends to be misunderstanding what the target is saying: *Uri kuti chiiko uchindipedzera nguva?* (What are you saying wasting my time?) (6)

    b)   she accuses him of engaging in blabber or nonsensical talk: *Ndizvo zvaungandimisire izvozvi zvisina musoro?* (Did you stop me for this senseless talk?) (6)

    c)   she urges the source to improve his behaviour: *Ukawana nguva ukwane.* (If you get time, try to have some manners.) (6)

IV.   The target challenges the source's assertion that she (the target) is beautiful: *Vangani vawakataurira mashoko mamwe chetewo?* (How many others did you say these same words to?) (10)

V.   The target accuses the source of being crazy: *Mukati makakwana nhai baba imi?* (Are you mentally stable?) (12)

VI.   The target justifies her unwillingness to fall in love with the source:

    a)   her mother has not approved of her getting married at this stage in her life: *Amai vangu vakati handisati ndava kukodzera kuita zvevarume.* (My mother said I'm not ready to chase after men.) (16)

    b)   she is still immature for marriage: *Ndisiyei ndichiri mwana mudiki.* Leave me, I'm still too young.) (16)

VII.   The target request for more time to think about the source's proposal. This is a delaying (negotiation) strategy she uses; even though she loves him, she is culturally not expected to say so during the first courtship encounter: *Chimbondipawo nguva ndimbofunga. Iyi haisi nyaya diki.* ((after a brief moment) Give me some time to think. This is not a small issue.) (18)

VIII.   The target seeks clarification first before she commits herself to a relationship with the source:

    a)   she wants to know if the source is not married already since detastes polygamy: *Hauna mukadzi here? Zvebarika neni hatifambidzani.* (Kundi there is something I want to ask

you before I give you the answer to the request you made yesterday. Don't you have a wife? Polygamy and I don't mix.) (29)

b) she warns him not to lie to her: *Ukandinyeperaka!* (If you lie to me!) (29)

XI. The target eventually agrees to be the source's lover but cautions him not to fool her: *Kana zvirizvo rega ndikuudze chokwadi. Ndino-no-kuda Kundi. Asi usazondirasisewo mumwe wangu. Handidi hangu munhu anonyepa.* (shyly, looking down) If that is the case, let me tell you the truth. I –I love you Kundi. But don't let me down my dear. I don't like a person who lies to me.) (31)

Comparison of source arguments and target arguments

The source (the suitor/ Kundishora) uses nine arguments and five subarguments versus the nine arguments and ten subarguments employed by the target (the young woman/ Varaidzo). The source struggles to initiate a love relationship with the target but is triumphant in the end after employing a number of compliance-seeking strategies. He starts off with a minimisation of imposition strategy when he promises to be brief (Source Arg. I) and then uses a liking strategy when he praises Varaidzo for being beautiful (Source Arg. II). In the positively-worded arguments III and IV, Kundishora makes use of a positive self-feeling strategy when he hints a future happiness and a positive altercasting strategy when he mentions that Varaidzo is expected to behaviour like the beautiful person she is, respectively. In Argument V, the source overtly states his love for the target (Source Arg. V Subarg. a)), promises to marry her before the end of the year (Source Arg. V Subarg. b)) and to provide for her when they get married (Source Arg. V Subarg. c)). In Argument VI, Kundishora nags Varaidzo to give him an answer, whereas in Source Argument VII, he uses the altruism strategy when he expresses how happy he would be if the target loves him (Source Arg. VII Subarg. a)) and then positive esteem when he mentions how his parents will be happy too (Source Arg. VII Subarg. c)). Kundishora again uses an altruistic compliance-seeking strategy in Argument VIII when he asks Varaidzo to give him heart-warming words. The most compelling compliance-seeking strategy is then used in Source Argument IX when Kundishora allays Varaidzo's fear that he might be married already by declaring that he is an eligible bachelor.

On the flipside, the target employs a number of compliance-resisting strategies even if in the end she accepts the source's proposal. Varaidzo's first argument is to dismiss the Kundishora's request to speak to her. She demands that Kundishora should not bother her (Target Arg. I Subarg. a)), she then says the she has no time to waste talking to an ugly person like the source (Target Arg. I Subarg. b)) and then warns him that he is not worthy of her risking scolding by her mother. In Target Argument II, she threatens to walk away if Kundishora continues prevaricating. In rather a

harsh tone, Varaidzo accuses Kundishora of wasting her time by speaking in unclear terms (Target Arg. III Subarg. a)), engaging in nonsensical talk (Target Arg. III Subarg. b)) and then encourages him to have some manners (Target Arg. III Subarg. c)). In Target Arguments IV and V, the target challenges the source's assertion that she is beautiful and accuses him of being crazy, respectively. The target then justifies her refusal to fall in love with the source saying her mother will not be happy if she finds out that the target is in love (Target Arg. VI Subarg. a)) and that she is still immature for marriage (Target Arg. VI Subarg. b)). Stereotypically, like any Shona woman, she requests for more time to think about the Kundishora's request in Target Argument VII. In Target Argument VIII, she first asks for clarification from the source that he is not married already (Target Arg. VIII Subarg. a)) and then warns him not to lie to her (Target Arg. VIII Subarg. b)). Lastly, when Varaidzo finally gives in to the Kundishora's request, she cautions him not to take her for ride.

Compliance

The source has succeeded in his attempt to initiate a love relationship with the target by using promises, insistence and altruism strategies in conversational turns 15, 17 and 19 respectively. This is shown in conversational turn 31 when the Varaidzo agrees to be in a relationship with Kundishora: *Kana zvirizvo rega ndikuudze chokwadi. Ndino-no-kuda Kundi. Asi usazondirasisewo mumwe wangu. Handidi hangu munhu anonyepa.* (If that is the case, let me tell you the truth. I –I love you Kundi. But don't let me down my dear. I don't like a person who lies to me.)

Message Dimensions

1.   Explicitness

The source uses low explicitness in the beginning of the conversation as he is probably unsure of how the target will react to him waylaying her on her way to the well. He asks the target to grant him a brief moment but he does not get to the point. He starts by praising the target so as to endear himself to her. This low explicitness results in the target threatening to walk away in conversational turn 4: *Zvakanaka, chitaura. Asi wakarebesa nyaya, unosara uchitaura woga ndaenda.* (It's fine, speak. But if you speak for too long, you'll remain talking to yourself after I've gone.). Kundishora then uses high explicitness in conversational turn 15: *Varaidzo mwoyo wangu wamera pauri. Ndinokuda Varaidzo. Ndide ndikuroore gore risati rapera. Ndikakuroora ndinokuchengeta zvakanaka ndichikushongedza nhumbi dzinodhura nekushanya newe kunzvimbo dzinovaraidza.* (Varaidzo my heart fell for you. I love you Varaidzo. Love me back so that I can marry you before

the year ends. If I marry you I will look after you well, buy you expensive clothes and take you to leisure resorts.)

2.   Dominance

The source uses high dominance when he promises to marry the target in conversational turn 15: *Ndide ndikuroore gore risati rapera.* Love me back so that I can marry you before the year ends. He further uses positive esteem strategy in conversational turn 19: *Nevabereki vangu vangafare kana wangondida. Vanogarotaura kuti mhuri yenyu ine unhu.* (And my parents, too, would be happy if you accept my request. They often say your family is has good manners.) Both conversational turns reveal that the source has high dominance over the target as he has the power to determine the direction and development of the love relationship he is initiating.

3.   Argument

The source uses high argument several times in this influence interaction but two clinching arguments are used in conversational turns 15 and 30. In conversational turn 15, Kundishora declares his love for Varaidzo, makes two crucial promises: to marry her before the end of the year and to provide for her in their matrimony: *Varaidzo mwoyo wangu wamera pauri. Ndinokuda Varaidzo. Ndide ndikuroore gore risati rapera. Ndikakuroora ndinokuchengeta zvakanaka ndichikushongedza nhumbi dzinodhura nekushanya newe kunzvimbo dzinovaraidza.* (Varaidzo my heart fell for you. I love you Varaidzo. Love me back so that I can marry you before the year ends. If I marry you I will look after you well, buy you expensive clothes and take you to leisure resorts.) In conversational turn 30, Kundishora assures Varaidzo that he really wants to fall in love with her: *Handina mukadzi ini. Iwe chete ndiwe wandinoda.* (I don't have a wife. You are the only person I love.)

5.6.6   Persuasive Message Six

Musikana nemukomana vachipana nhumbi (Engagement)
A: *Musikana* akadiwa (fiancée/ Source)
B: *Mukomana* akadiwa (fiancé/ Target)

Statement of the problem

A fiancée (A) attempts to escalate her love relationship with her fiancé (B). The source (fiancée) successfully manages to move her love relationship with the target (fiancé) to a level where he agrees to meet with her aunt so as to formalise their relationship.

Influence Goal

The influence goal which the source (A) uses in this message is **escalate relationship**. She persuades the target (B) to go with her to her aunt's village so that they can exchange love tokens. She is successful as evident in conversational turn 16 when the target says: *Zvakanaka. Kwatete tinoenda mangwana. Ndinopfuura nepano ndichikutora nemotokari yangu toenda kwaMugwanhira kwacho kwatete. Ndinovimba havandishore tete vako.* (It's fine. We're going to your aunt's tomorrow. I'll pass by and pick you with my car on our way to Mugwanhira village where your aunt stays. I hope she will not disapprove of me.) The fiancé even promises to come and fetch his fiancée on their way to her aunt's place.

Arguments of the source

I.   The source uses a liking strategy as she makes indirect request to the target to listen to her: *Kundi mudiwa pane nyaya yandinoda kukubvunza. Ndivimbise kuti hauzonditsamwira kana ndakuudza zvandiri kuda kukuudza.* (Kundi darling there is an issue I want to ask you. Please promise me that you won't get angry with me after I have told you what I want to tell you.) (1)

II.   The source uses a hinting strategy that she wants her love relationship with the target to move to another level. She does not state exactly what she hopes to achieve by taking Kundi to her aunt: *Kana wadaro zvakanaka. Umm toenda rinhi kunoona tete vangu?* (If you say so, then it's fine. Umm when are we visiting my aunt?) (3)

III.   Using a direct request, the source reasons that they need to know each other better:
a)   They have been seeing each other for some time now: *Unoziva kuti tava nenguva tichifambidzana.* (You know we have been dating for a long period now.) (7)
b)   Kundi should known by her relatives at this point in their relationship: *Zvakangonaka kuti ndinge ndichizivisa hama dzangu kuti iwe ndiwe wandiri kufambidzana naye.* (It's proper to formally inform my relatives that you're the one I'm dating.) (7)

IV.   In order to ensure Kundi agrees with her request for an exchange of love tokens in the presence of her aunt, Varaidzo uses a persuasive strategy of minimising the cost of the request to Kundi: *Hapana kana nhumbi inodhura inodiwa apa Kundi. Chero chese chaunenge wandipa ndinogamuchira.* (No expensive engagement token is needed here Kundi. Whatever you give me, I'll accept.) (9)

V.   The source affirms her love for the target: *Hapana chakaipa nazvo nekuti chako chichava changu, changu chichava chako munguva diki inotevera.* (There is nothing wrong with that because what is yours will be mine, what is mine will be yours soon.) (11)

VI.   The source promises to make would-be suitors know that she is now Kundi's fiancée: *Unenge wagona mudiwa Kundi. Ndinofamba ndakaipfeka kuitira vose vanoda kundinetsa vatambire kure vachiziva kuti ndakatorwa newe.* (You'll have done wonders dear Kundi. I'll walk around in it so that all who want to trouble me will stay far knowing that I'm taken by you.) (13)

VII.   The source uses positive expertise to convince the target that their visit to her aunt will not be a problem at all:

a)   She says her aunt is a reasonable person: *Toenda mangwana. Usatya hako, tete vangu vanonzwisisa. Ndivo ndakafana.* (We'll go tomorrow. Don't worry, my aunt is very understanding. It's her that I'm like. (17)

b)   She also claims that her aunt will receive her fiance with open arms: *Zvakare vakasunamuka zvekuti kungokuona vanokufarira ipapo ipapo.* (Also, she is very open and welcoming such that when she sees you she will accept you there and then.) (17)

VIII. Varaidzo claims to have praised Kundi when she spoke about him with her aunt: *Ndakangovaudza kuti wakanaka uye une tsika saka vakati ndakagona pandakakuda.* (I just told her that you're handsome and well-behaved, so she said I was right to love you.) (21)

Arguments of the target

I.   The target is friendly and open with the source so that she can state exactly what she wants to say: *Sununguka chimwe changu. Usatye kundibvunza chero chaunoda kuziva. Ndiripo kukufadza Varaidzo.* (Feel free my love. Don't be afraid to ask me anything you would want to know. I'm here to please you Varaidzo.) (2)

II.   The target assures the source that he will not be disappoint her:

a)   He urges her have faith in him: *Usatombondityira mudiwa Varaidzo.* (Don't worry about me my dear Varaidzo.) (8)

b)   He agrees to visit her aunt together with her: *Kwatete tinoenda pasina chinetso.* (We'll go to your aunt's without any problem.) (8)

c)   He requests for time so that he can find an appropriate love token to give to her: *Ndipe zuva rimwe chete ndinotsvaga chandinokupa kana tasvika kwatete vako.* (Just give me a day so that I can find something to give you when we get to you aunt's place.) (8)

III.   The target promises to give the source a love token: *Ndichakupa sikipa yangu yechikwata cheChelsea iya yandinodisa.* (I'll give you my Chelsea Football Club jersey which I treasure the most.) (12)

IV.   The target accepts the source's request and requests an assurance that the source's aunt will not disapprove of him: *Zvakanaka. Kwatete tinoenda mangwana. Ndinopfuura nepano ndichikutora nemotokari yangu toenda kwaMugwanhira kwacho kwatete. Ndinovimba havandishore tete vako.* (It's fine. We're going to your aunt's tomorrow. I'll pass by and pick you with my car on our way to Mugwanhira village where your aunt stays. I hope she will not disapprove of me.) (16)

V.   The target shows great enthusiasm towards the development of his love relationship with the source:

a)   He believes that the exchange of tokens will strengthen their love relationship: *Zvinofadza kana vakafarira rudo rwedu. Chiitiko ichi chichasimbisa rudo rwedu mudiwa.* (It's pleasing if she will appreciate our love relationship. This act will strengthen our love, darling.) (22)

b)   He begs Varaidzo not to change her mind on their relationship: *Ndapota usazoshandure pfungwa panyaya iyi*. Please do not change your mind on this. (22)

c)   He promises to take Varaidzo to his relatives too as a complementary gesture: *Tabvako tichanoona hanzvadzi yangu nemukoma wangu kuti vazivweo kuti ndiwe wandiri kudanana naye.* (When we come back (from your aunt's), we'll visit my brother and sister so that they may you're my lover.) (22)

Comparison of source arguments and target arguments

The source (Varaidzo) uses eight arguments and four subarguments to convince the target (Kundi) to escalate their love relationship to another level. On the other hand, Kundi uses 5 arguments and six subarguments to seek clarification and not necessarily to resist compliance with Varaidzo's request. Varaidzo starts by using indirect persuasive arguments (Source Args. I and II) just to make sure her request will not be turned down by Kundi. She gets to the point in Source Arg. III Subargs. a) and b). This is Varaidzo's main argument in this influence interaction. When Kundi shows a slight hint of hesitance about the request, Varaidzo uses a persuasive strategy of minimising the cost of the request in Source Arg. IV when she promises to accept an inexpensive love token. She then affirms her love for Kundi and promises him that she will let all would-be suitors know that she is taken by wearing his love token (t-shirt) oftenly, in Source Args. V and VI respectively. In Args. VII and VIII, Varaidzo uses positive expertise when she mentions that her aunt is not a difficult person and that she has already said positive things about Kundi to her aunt.

Contrastingly, the target is open and friendly with the source when the source uses hinting (Target Arg. I). He does this to allay her fears that he may not be ready to escalate their relationship to

another level. Kundi immediately agrees with Varaidzo's request for both of them to visit her aunt for a relationship formalisation ritual and promises to give Varaidzo his treasured Chelsea FC jersey, in Target Args. II and III. In Target Arg. IV, Kundi asks for an assurance that Varaidzo's aunt will not be hostile towards him. As a further sign that Kundi has accepted the escalation of this relationship, he glowingly speaks of the possible outcomes of their visit to Varaidzo's aunt's place: their love will grow, Varaidzo will hopefully not change her mind about their affair, and he will reciprocate the gesture by introducing her to his relatives (Target Args. V and VI).

Compliance

The source has succeeded in her attempt to escalate her love relationship with the target. She has done this by minimising the enormity of request, affirming her love for the target and promising to be faithful in the relationship in conversational turns 9, 11 and 13. This is shown in conversational turn 16 when Kundi agrees to visit Varaidzo's aunt together with Varaidzo: *Zvakanaka. Kwatete tinoenda mangwana. Ndinopfuura nepano ndichikutora nemotokari yangu toenda kwaMugwanhira kwacho kwatete. Ndinovimba havandishore tete vako.* (It's fine. We're going to your aunt's tomorrow. I'll pass by and pick you with my car on our way to Mugwanhira village where your aunt stays. I hope she will not disapprove of me.) Kundi further agrees to give Varaidzo a love token and also promises to introduce her to his relatives as a complementary gesture.

Message Dimensions

1.   Explicitness

The source uses low explicitness at the start of the influence interaction as she is unsure of the target's likely response to her request. She then use high explicitness throughout the interaction once she realises that Kundi is happy with her request. An example of her high explicitness can be found in conversational turn 7: *Unoziva kuti tava nenguva tichifambidzana. Zvakangonaka kuti ndinge ndichizivisa hama dzangu kuti iwe ndiwe wandiri kufambidzana naye.* (You know we have been dating for a long period now. It's proper to formally inform my relatives that you're the one I'm dating.) Her request is very clear and straightforward, hence Kundi responds in conversational turn 8 by saying he is not afraid of visiting Varaidzo's aunt.

2.   Dominance

The source uses low dominance in this interaction as indicated by her use of indirectness (hinting) in her first two arguments. Source Arg. I: *Kundi mudiwa pane nyaya yandinoda kukubvunza. Ndivimbise kuti hauzonditsamwira kana ndakuudza zvandiri kuda kukuudza.* (Kundi darling there is

an issue I want to ask you. Please promise me that you won't get angry with me after I have told you what I want to tell you.)

She has low dominance because this is a tricky situation which needs to be handled carefully. Kundi has the option to say they should not escalate their relationship to the formalisation stage for one reason or another. The fact that she uses endearments (*mudiwa* = darling), minimises her request (conversational turn 9) and assures Kundi that her aunt will be welcoming to him indicate that she has low-to-medium dominance.

3.   Argument

The source has used high argument as evidenced by her use of rational explanation in persuading the target to accept escalating their love relationship to the next level. Varaidzo's main argument comes in conversational turn 7 when she first justifies her request before she makes it. She has calculated the success of her request on the basis that the justification will make Kundi understanding the reason for the request: *Unoziva kuti tava nenguva tichifambidzana. Zvakangonaka kuti ndinge ndichizivisa hama dzangu kuti iwe ndiwe wandiri kufambidzana naye.* (You know we have been dating for a long period now. It's proper to formally inform my relatives that you're the one I'm dating.)

5.6.7   Persuasive Message Seven

Baba nemwanakomana (Father-son subsystem)
A: *Baba* (Father)
B: *Mwanakomana* (Boy)

Statement of the problem

A father (A) attempts to de-escalate his relationship with his son (B). The source (father) successfully manages to diminish or end his relationship with the target (son) as he banishes him from the family homestead.

Influence Goal

The influence goal which the source (A) uses in this message is **de-escalate relationship**. He forces the target (B) to leave the family homestead. He is successful as evident in conversational turn 12 when the target says: *Ndobva baba. Ndinanasekuru.* (I'll leave, father. I've uncles.)The son cheekily says he will leave for his paternal uncles which is an indication that he has complied with his father's request to move out of the family's life.

Arguments of the source

I.   The source makes a direct request/command:

   a)   for the target to leave the family homestead: *Mangwana usunge kwako unozvitsvagira pako pekugara!* (Tomorrow, gather all your things and go find somewhere to live!) (1)

   b)   he warns the target he no longer wants to see him within the family homestead: *Handichada kukuona pano, wanzwa!* (I don't want to see you here, do you hear?) (1)

II.   The source provides the reason for chasing the target away from the family homestead. This is the real reason for the de-escalation of this relationship: *Basa rekuparadza upfumi hwangu. Unoda kuparadza upfumi hwangu ndisati ndafa. Kuzoti ndafa, pane chaunochengeta iwe?* ((You're) good at destroying my wealth. You want to destroy my wealth when I haven't died. When I die, do you think there'll be something you'll keep?) (3)

III.   The source is dismissive of the attempt by the target to placate him:

   a)   he tells his son to shut up: *Tibvirepo!* (Get lost!) (5)

   b)   he states unequivocally the 'crime' committed by his son: *Unofunga handizive kuti ndiwe wakatengesa mombe yangu yatakashaya mwedzi wapfuura?* You think I don't know that it's you who sold my cow which went missing last month? (5)

IV.   He uses the guilt strategy when he:

   a)   accuses the target of being quiet when he knew the people   who stole the family cow that went missing a few weeks before: *Saka iwe waiziva hako kuti mombe yakatengeswa uchiramba wakanyarara pose pataiitsvaga?* (So you knew that the cow had been sold yet you remained quiet when we   were looking for it?) (7)

   b)   threatens the target by issuing an ultimatum: *Ibva wabva pano mangwana mangwanani chaiwo. Ndikakuona pano ndinokuponda!* (Leave (my homestead) early morning tomorrow. If I see here, I will murder you!) (7)

V.   The   source   uses   aversive   stimulation   when   he   accuses   the   target   of being a black sheep of the family: *Iwe ndiwe mwana muparadzi chaiye.* You are the real prodigal son. (9)

VI.   The source points out the shortcomings of the target:

   a)   he advances that education has not transformed the target; *Kukuendesa kuchikoro, chabuda hapana. Basa kuda kuparadza upfumi hwangu.* (I sent you to school yet nothing came out of that. Your desire is to destroy my wealth. (11)

   b)   he orders the target to go and find a job; *Enda unotsvaga basa uzvichengete.* (Go and look for a job so that you can look after yourself. (11)

c) he uses negative esteem: *Mai vako vakatsamwa nemabasa ako aya ndokusaka vakangonyarara.* (Your mother is angry due to your behaviour that's why she is quiet.) (11)

d) he uses negative expertise when he foretells the target's bleak future: *Uchatambura hako asi ini handikendenge zvachose.* (You'll suffer but I don't care at all.) (11)

VII. The source warns the target to behave himself when he gets to his uncles' place: *Usanovabira mombe dzavo ikoko! Mwana wepi!* (Don't go and steal their cattle too! What kind of a child!) (13)

Arguments of the target

I. The target either feigns ignorance or requests for explanation or does both: *Chiiko nhai baba? Zvaita sei?* (What's wrong, father? What has happened?) (2). This is a negotiation compliance-resisting strategy he uses here.

II. The target refuses to accept responsibility:

a) he is defensive: *Baba hapana mhosva yandapara ini.* (Father, there's no crime I've committed.) (4)

b) he questions his father's sense of fatherhood: *Muri baba rudzii vanodzinga mwana wavo pamba?* (What kind of a father are you who chases away his child from home?) (4)

III. The target fends off the accusation by blaming his friends for the disappearance of the family cow: *Aaaah ishamwari dzangu dzakaitengesa.* (Aaaah! It's my friends who sold it.) (6)

IV. The target agrees to leave the family homestead but uses an identity management strategy when he mentions that his mother is not happy with his banishment: *Zvakanaka baba. Kana zvirizvo zvamafunga ndobva hangu pamusha penyu. Asi amai ndoziva kuti havapindirane nemaitiro enyu.* (It's fine, father. If that's what you want, I will leave your homestead. I know my mother doesn't agree with your actions.) (10)

V. The target accepts his banishment but hints that he will go to his uncles who are more welcoming than his parents: *Ndobva baba. Ndinanasekuru.* (I'll leave, father. I've uncles.) (12)

Comparison of source arguments and target arguments

The source (father) has used seven arguments and ten subarguments in order to persuade, in a forceful way, the target (son) to leave the family homestead. The target uses five arguments and two subarguments in his defence though unsuccessfully as the father-son relationship de-escalates. In Source Arg. I Subargs. a) and b), the father makes his intention very clear when he orders his son to leave the family homestead and warns him not to show up at the homestead again. In Source Arg.

II, the father provides the reason for his harsh decision: the son is accused of destroying his father's wealth by selling one of his cattle without the father's knowledge or permission (Source Arg. III Subarg. b)). The father is livid with his son's complicity in the selling of one of his cattle (Source Arg. IV); he questions his son's quietness when the family was busy looking for the missing cow (Source Arg. IV Subarg. a), and he threatens to kill his son if he ever sees him (son) at the family homestead (Source Arg. IV Subarg. b). In line with his lividness, the father uses aversive stimulation accusing his son of being the proverbial Prodigal Son in Source Arg. V. In Source Arg. VI, the father first itemizes the shortcomings of his errant son (Source Arg. VI Subargs. a) and b)) and then uses negative esteem when he points out that his son's behaviour has affected his mother and finishes with negative expertise (Source Arg. VI Subargs. c) and d) respectively.). The source finishes his disengagement tirade with a sarcastic warning to the target that the target must not steal his uncle's cattle as it stealing is now his habit.

On the contrary, the target uses fewer arguments to hold on to a floundering relationship with the source. He starts off by feigning ignorance of the reason of his father's ire. He asks a seemingly innocent question (Target Arg. I) which is a negotiation compliance-resisting strategy. In Target Arg. II, the son refuses to accept responsibility for the economic problems the family is facing and further challenges his father for being unfatherly when he banishes him. In Target Arg. III, the target shifts blame for the stolen family cow to his friends. After being blowbeaten verbally by his father, the son accepts his banishment but uses an identify management strategy when he mentions that his mother does not agree with his father's ill-treatment of the target (Target Arg. IV). Seeing that the relationship is damaged irreparably, the target ends his weak argument by saying he will move to his maternal uncles.

Compliance

The father has succeeded in his attempt to de-escalate his relationship with his son. He has done this by using guilt and threatening, and then using aversive stimulation in conversational turns 7 and 9, in that order. This is shown in conversational turn 10 when the son complies with the father's order for the son to leave the family homestead: *Zvakanaka baba. Kana zvirizvo zvamafunga ndobva hangu pamusha penyu. Asi amai ndoziva kuti havapindirane nemaitiro enyu.* (It's fine, father. If that's what you want, I will leave your homestead. I know my mother doesn't agree with your actions.)

Message Dimensions

1.   Explicitness

The source uses high explicitness throughout this harsh persuasive message. The reason for his directness is the fact that he is the aggrieved member of this relationship. High explicitness is evident even in conversational turn 1: *Mangwana usunge kwako unozvitsvagira pako pekugara! Handichada kukuona pano, wanzwa!* (Tomorrow, gather all your things and go find somewhere to live! I don't want to see you here, do you hear?). His message is clearly that the target should leave the family homestead.

2.   Dominance

The source has low dominance in this persuasive message. He issues a warning in conversational turn 1: *Handichada kukuona pano, wanzwa!* (I don't want to see you here, do you hear?) (1); a threat in conversational turn 7: *Ibva wabva pano mangwana mangwanani chaiwo. Ndikakuona pano ndinokuponda!* (Leave (my homestead) early morning tomorrow. If I see here, I will murder you!); and uses aversive stimulation in conversational turn 9: *Iwe ndiwe mwana muparadzi chaiye.* (You are the real prodigal son.)

3.   Argument

The source has low argument as he makes a direct request in conversational turn 1: *Mangwana usunge kwako unozvitsvagira pako pekugara! Handichada kukuona pano, wanzwa!* (Tomorrow, gather all your things and go find somewhere to live! I don't want to see you here, do you hear?), and uses the guilt strategy in conversational turn 5: *Unofunga handizive kuti ndiwe wakatengesa mombe yangu yatakashaya mwedzi wapfuura? (*You think I don't know that it's you who sold my cow which went missing last month?)

5.6.8   Persuasive Message Eight

Mudzimai nemurume (wife-husband subsystem)

A: *Mudzimai* (Wife)

B: *Murume* (Husband)

Statement of the problem

The source (wife) attempts to obtain permission of the target (husband) to get her hair done. The husband (B) is resistant at the beginning of the influence interaction but eventually gives his wife (A) the permission to get her hair done.

Influence Goal

The influence goal which the wife pursues in this persuasive message is **obtain permission.** The wife is faces resistance by her husband initially until she is victorious as is evident in conversational turn 16 when her husband says: *Chiendai kunogadzirwa bvudzi racho. Saka motonorukwa nebvudzi rokutengaka sezvo musingagutsikane nerenyu rekuzvarwa naro?* (You may go and fix your hair. So you can go and have artificial hair since you're not satisfied with your natural beauty?)

Arguments of the source

I.   The source uses a hinting persuasive strategy when she introduces her request to be allowed to get her hair fixed: *Baba vevana tarisaiwo zvaita bvudzi rangu. Kukwasharara seren'anga kudai.* (Father of my children look at the state of my hair. So dry like a witchdoctor's.) (1)

II.   The source then makes a direct request when the target does not play ball: *Ndoda kunogadzirwa musoro baba vaTonderai.* (I want to go and have my hair fixed father of Tonderai.) (5)

III.   The source employs nagging to get permission from her husband:

   a)   she says her hair is in a bad state now: *Bvudzi rangu harichaita iri.* (My hairstyle is terrible now.) (7)

   b)   she uses negative esteem strategy when she mentions her intention to attend Tobias's wedding: *Ndingaendawo kumuchato waTobias naizvozvi zvandakarukwa? Vanhu vangasandiseka kuti nhamo iya yava kutaura?* (Can I go to Tobias's wedding with this hairstyle? Will people not laugh at me saying our poverty is now speaking (prominent)?)

IV.   The source uses a positive esteem strategy as she attempts to armtwist her husband: *Handizvo baba vevana. Kungotiwo ndionekere pane vamwe vakadzi. Vose vagogutsikana kuti muri kugona kundichengeta.* (No, that's not it my children's father. It's only that I'll look presentable among other people. They should all agree that I'm being look after well.) (9)

V.   The source employs a negative self-feeling strategy when she mentions that how she appears in public has a bearing of who people will perceive her husband: *Unogona kushorwa kana usina kuzvishongedzawo zvakanaka. Mungazvide here vanhu vandishore pamusaka pevhudzi*

rangu? (You can be criticised if you're not well-dressed. Would you like it if people criticise me because of my hair?) (11)

VI. The source uses a guilt strategy when she mentions that she will be embarrassed by her hairstyle even if her husband may not feel the same: *Aiwa, zvekugerwa kwete. Ndinganyarire pai? Munongoziva kutaura kwevanhu. Kana mukasanyara imi ini ndini ndinonyara.* (No, no shaving. How will I survive the embarrassment? You know how people talk. If you're unashamed, I will be the one ashamed.) (13)

VII. The source uses an altruism strategy when she says she distastes being laughed at: *Ini kusekwa hangu handidi baba vevana.* (I don't like being laugh at, my children's father.) (15)

VIII. The source makes use of image management strategy when she mentions that she is just following fashionable hairstyles: *Hongu. Inga ndizvo zviri kungoita vamwe vose baba vevana. Handingasaririrewoka pakugadzirwa musoro.* (Yes. This is what everyone is doing, my children's father. I can't be left behind on the habit of fixing hair.) (17)

IX. The source uses a nagging persuasive strategy when she suggests where her husband can borrow the money for fixing her hair: *Ko tingadii? Tozoona zvekuita kuti mwedzi upere. Munogona kukwereta kushamwari dzenyu. Handiti munombovabatsirawo here?* (What can we do? We'll see what we can do to get to month end. You can borrow (money) from your friends. Isn't it that you often help them?) (19)

Arguments of the target

I. The target tries to resist compliance with the source's request to have her hair fixed by pretending to misunderstand the request:

II. The target offers an elaborate excuse for turning down the source's request:

    a) he claims the hair was fixed fairly recently: *Iwo musoro wamakagadzirwa vhiki mbiri dzapfuura idzi.* (This hairstyle was done two weeks ago [do you know].) (6)

    b) he claims that fixing the source's hair this time will be wasteful spending: *Hamuonewo here kuti mava kuda kutambisa mari?* (Don't you see that you now want to misuse money?) (6)

III. The target rationalizes his refusal to comply to the request:

    a) he advances that the source is not the one wedding: *Ko ndimi munenge muchichata here? Munoda kugadzirwa musoro kupfuura muchati?* (Is it you who will be wedding? Do you want to get your hair fixed better than that of the person wedding?) (8)

    b) he dismisses the source's contention that she will be judged by other wedding attendees: *Munoraramira vanhu here? Munhu angotaura unake ushate.* (Do you live for other people? A person will talk (about you) whether you are beautiful or ugly.) (10)

c) he says the source should not focus on pleasing other people: *Mungazvigone here zvinoda vanhu? Hamuraramire vamwe vanhu.* (Can you please everyone's desire? You don't live to please other people.) (14)

IV. The target makes an alternative suggestion to deal with the request: *Aiwa, zvekugerwa kwete. Ndinganyarire pai? Munongoziva kutaura kwevanhu. Kana mukasanyara imi ini ndini ndinonyara.* (No, no shaving. How will I survive the embarrassment? You know how people talk. If you're unashamed, I will be the one ashamed.) (12)

V. The target accepts with the source's request: *Chiendai kunogadzirwa bvudzi racho. Saka motonorukwa nebvudzi rokutengaka sezvo musingagutsikane nerenyu rekuzvarwa naro?* (You may go and fix your hair. So you can go and have artificial hair since you're not satisfied with your natural hair?) (16)

VI. The target attempts to trivialise the source's request by saying the family is going to reprioritize its expenses: *Zvino totobvisa mari yacho yemusoro pane yechikafu?* (So now we'll have to take some of the grocery money for your hairdo?) (18)

Comparison of source arguments and target arguments

The source makes use of nine arguments and two subarguments whilst the target offers six arguments and five subarguments as he tries to resist the source's request for permission to get her hair fixed. The source has used hinting and direct request persuasive strategies in Source Args. I and II. In Source Arg. III, she employs nagging: she mentions that her hair is looking terrible (Source Arg. III Subarg. a)) and then she uses negative esteem persuasive strategy when she mentions that people at the wedding will talk about the family's financial situation just by merely looking the sorry state of her hair (Source Arg. III Subarg. b)). Positive esteem, negative self-feeling and guilt persuasive strategies are used by the source in Source Args. IV, V and VI. The source's clinching argument is the one she offers in Source Arg. VII when she says: *Ini kusekwa hangu handidi baba vevana.* (I don't like being laugh at, my children's father.). She finishes her persuasive argument with an image management strategy (Source Arg. VIII) and nagging (Source Arg. IX).

On the contrary, the target attempts to resist compliance by pretending to misunderstand the source's request in Target Arg. I. In Target Arg. II, the target offers two excuses for his non-complaince with the source's request: the source's hair was fixed recently (Target Arg. II Subarg. a)) and it is expensive to fix the source's hair (Target Arg. II Subarg. b)). To further show that he is not prepared to grant the source's request, the target provides a rational argument in Target Arg. III: he says the source will not be the one wedding and therefore should not worry about fixing her hair (Target Arg. III Subarg. a), the source should not fear people's judgements of her hair (Target Arg.

III Subarg. b), and the source should not be worried about pleasing other people (Target Arg. III Subarg. c). In Target Arg IV, the target makes an alternative suggestion before accepting the source's request in Target Arg. V. Last but not least, the target attempt to trivialise the source's request by saying that it is not a family priority in Target Arg. VI.

Compliance

The wife has been successful in her attempt to persuade her husband to give her obtain permission to go and fix her hair. In order to be successful in her persuasive attempt, she has used positive esteem, negative self-feeling, guilt and altruism in conversationa turns 9, 11, 13 and 15, correspondingly. This is shown in conversational turn 16 when her husband complies with her request: *Chiendai kunogadzirwa bvudzi racho. Saka motonorukwa nebvudzi rokutengaka sezvo musingagutsikane nerenyu rekuzvarwa naro?* (You may go and fix your hair. So you can go and have artificial hair since you're not satisfied with your natural hair?)

Message Dimensions

*1.	Explicitness*

The source uses low explicitness in conversational turn 1 as she is testing her husband's reaction to her request to have her hair fixed. After gaining his attention, the source uses high explicitness throughout the persuasive message. High explicitness is evident in conversational turn 5: *Ndoda kunogadzirwa musoro baba vaTonderai.* (I want to go and have my hair fixed father of Tonderai.)

*2.	Dominance*

The source uses high dominance as evidenced by her use of a positive esteem strategy in conversational turn 9. Here she attempts to armtwist her husband: *Handizvo baba vevana. Kungotiwo ndionekere pane vamwe vakadzi. Vose vagogutsikana kuti muri kugona kundichengeta.* (No, that's not it my children's father. It's only that I'll look presentable among other people. They should all agree that I'm being look after well.)

*3.	Argument*

The source uses low argument characterised by her use of direct request and guilt strategies. In conversational turn 5, she makes use of a direct request: *Ndoda kunogadzirwa musoro baba vaTonderai.* (I want to go and have my hair fixed father of Tonderai.) Furthermore, in conversational turn 13 she makes use of the guilt strategy when she says: *Aiwa, zvekugerwa kwete. Ndinganyarire pai? Munongoziva kutaura kwevanhu. Kana mukasanyara imi ini ndini ndinonyara.*

(No, no shaving. How will I survive the embarrassment? You know how people talk. If you're unashamed, I will be the one ashamed.)

5.6.9   Persuasive Message Nine

Vanamukurungai (Fathers-in-laws)
A: *Tezvara* (Father of daughter-in-law)
B: *Mukurungai* (Father of son-in-law)

Statement of the problem

The source (A/father of the dead daughter) attempts to enforce his right to be informed of his married daughter's illness and to enforce on the target (B/the father of his son-in-law) the obligation that he should be compensated first before he can allow them to bury his dead daughter who died without him being informed of her illness. He wants an appeasement token in the form of a live goat.

Influence Goal

The influence goal which the source seeks to achieve is **enforce rights and obligation**. It is his right to be informed of his daughter's sickness as he is her father. Because his in-law failed to inform him of this before his daughter passed on, he now demands that his in-law meets the cultural obligation of paying him a live goat as compensation. The father of the dead daughter is successful in getting compliance on both fronts. In enforcing the right mentioned earlier, he is successful as the father of his son-in-law concedes in conversational turn 6: *(achirova gusvi akachonjomara, nguwani iri paibvi) Nyamasvisva kutadza kuri muvanhu mhanduwe! Tinokumbira ruregerero. Takatadza kusakuudzai nezveurwere hwemwana wenyu.* ((clapping hands respectfully, squatting with (his) hat on his knees) Nyamasvisva, to err is for human beings mhanduwe! We ask for forgiveness. We erred by not informing you about your child's illness.) As for the obligatory compensation, the father of his son-in-law promises to pay it in conversational turn 20: *Zvanzwikwa Nyamasvisva. Mbudzi tinobata. Maita basa matirerutsira.* (It has been heard Nyamasvisva. A goat we will pay. Thank you for making it easy for us.)

Arguments of the source

I.   The source uses the aversive stimulation persuasive strategy when he accuses the target of:

a) not informing him about the illness of his dead daughter: *Iwe Mapfumo sei usina kundiudza kuti mwanasikana wangu arwara?* (You Mapfumo, why didn't inform me that my daughter was sick?) (1)

b) neglecting his sick daughter: *Maive anachiremba here kana n'anga? Maiti anopora imi musina kumurapisa?* (Were you doctors or even witchdoctors? You thought she would recover yet you did not seek treatment for her?) (3)

II. The source employs a direct request in his attempt to enforce his right to know about his dead daughter's sickness on the target: *Nhasi munotondiripa. Makatamba nemataka pasina mvura. Ndaiti kukura musoro injere izvo makazara mvura.* (Today you've to compensate me. You played with dirt (mud) when there was no water to clean it with. I thought having big heads was a sign of wisdom yet they are full of water.) (5)

III. The source uses the guilt persuasive strategy when he complains about the fact that his daughter died without her relatives by her side: *Mwana wangu kushayawo here akauya kuzomupepa? Imi muchivanza kurwara kwake. Maida kuti afe mugomudya?* (Sure, my child had no one by her deathbed? You were hiding her sickness. You wanted her to die so that you could eat her?) (7)

IV. The source threatens the target:

a) that he will not participate in the burial of his daughter knowing very well that the son-in-law's father cannot buy her without the source's permission: *Handinzarwo inini. Makandidheerera mukati hapana zvandinoita. Zvino nhasi wangu handivige pano. Muchaona zvekuita naye mwana wangu. Vanhu vepi vasina matyira! Zvamakaona arwara makadii kundiudza ini nyakutumbura? He-e iwe Mapfumo wakadii kundiudza kuti mwana wangu ava panhowo yerufu?* (You don't play with me. You fooled me thinking there's nothing I can do. Now today I won't bury mine here. You'll find what you can do with my child. What type of people who are not afraid! When you saw that she was ill, why didn't you inform me the one who gave brought her into this world? Hey, you Mapfumo why didn't you inform me that my child was on her deathbed?) (9)

b) he nonverbally threatens the target: *(achimunongedza nemudonzvo)* (pointing at him with his wooden walking stick)

V. The source uses a negative altercasting persuasive strategy when he reminds the target of the target's clan's great tradition of respecting cultural norms: *VekwaMazvimbakupa havana kumbopusa kudai. Muri anaTembo vekupi imi musingazive tsika dzinotevedzwa kana muroora arwara?* (Those of Those-Of-Who-Yearn-To-Give are not this ignorant. You're Tembo from where who don't know the norms to follow when a daughter-in-law falls sick?) (11)

VI. The source uses threats to enforce the obligation that the target should compensate him first before he can help with the burial of his daughter:

   a. he refuses to get into the house where his daughter's body is lying in state: *Mumba handipindi.* (I will not get into the house.) (13)

   b. he warns that he will not sleep at the bereaved family's house: *Kana pano handirare. Musare mudye mwana wangu mukore.* (Even here I will not sleep. Remain behind and eat my child.) (13)

   c. he threatens to go back to his house: *Ndaenda ini. Handina makuva embwa.* (I'm going away. I don't have dogs' graves (I'm brave).) (15)

VII. The source warns the target that the avenging spirit of his dead daughter will haunt the target's family if they bury his daughter without the source's permission: *Kana muchida kuviga vigai moga asi hokoyo nengozi! Moda kubata moto, munotsva ihe-e!* (If you want to bury (her), bury but beware of the avenging spirit! You want to touch fire, you'll get burnt!) (17)

VIII. The source orders the target on what to do:

   a. he makes a direct request of the compensation he wants: *Chibatai mbudzi tibate basa kuti ndipinde mumba umu.* (Now pay me a goat so that we can do this job for me to get into this house.) (19)

   b. he warns the target's family to never make the same mistake again: *Asi musazvipamhe vanaChihota kuita kunge mazunguzirwa.* (But don't do it again you Chihota behaving like toadpoles.) (19)

IX. The source elaborates on his direct request: *Musazouraya mbudzi. Yangu ndinotakura ndoratidza vekwangu.* (Don't kill the goat. Mine I will take with me and show to my relatives.) (21)

X. The source jokes with the target to ensure the compensation is paid: *Madaro chete mwana wangu tinoviga tose. Ko paukamaka. Handiti takaroorerana?* (If you do that we'll bury my child. We are family. Isn't it we inter-married?) (23)

Arguments of the target

I. The target has offered an excuse for not informing his daughter-in-law's father about her illness: *Taiti kungokosora kwemazuva ose Unendoro. Hatina kuziva kuti hosha iyi ichakura zvekusvika pakutora munhu.* (We thought it was ordinary coughing Unendoro. We didn't know that this disease would become serious to the point of kill a person.) (2)

II. The target uses the expected cultural way of apologizing:

a) he uses nonverbal communication to show his contrition about his mistake: *(achirova gusvi akachonjomara, nguwani iri paibvi)* (clapping hands respectfully, squatting with (his) hat on his knees) (6)

b) he addresses his daughter-in-law's father by his clan praise name (Nyamasvisva) to show respect and also calm him down (6)

c) he apologises on behalf of his whole family hence the use of the plural prefix **ti-** (we) in *Tinokumbira ruregerero.* (We ask for forgiveness.) (6)

III. The target accepts that his family erred by not informing the source about the sickness of his daughter and begs for forgiveness: *Pakakanganiswa Nyamasvisva. Chidzorai mwoyo mhanduwe-e tiradze mwana wenyu pasina bongozozo.* (An error was made Nyamasvisva. Soften your heart Stranger so that we can bury your child peacefully.) (8)

IV. The target accepts the 'crime' his family committed and uses other clan praise names of the source in order to soften him: *Pakareswa Unendoro, Nzou Samanyanga. Takakanganisa tinobvuma mhosva yedu.* (An error was made Unendoro, Elephant One-With-Big-Horns. We erred; we accept our mistake.) (10)

V. The target continues acknowledging his family's mistake but makes a direct request for the source to participate actively in the burial of his daughter: *Tinobvuma kuti takakanganisa. Chipindai mumba muone mwana wenyu wataisa kuchikuva. Ruregerero mhanduwe!* (We accept that we erred. May you get into the house and see your child whom we have put on the raised platform. Forgive us my fellow!) (12)

VI. The target begs the source to behave like a grown-up and asks for them to negotiate: *Munhu wemukuru haadaro. Chigarai pasi Nyamasvisva titaurirane sevaroodzani.* (An adult doesn't behave like this. Please sit down Nyamasvisva so that we can talk like people who inter-married.) (16)

VII. The target personally exonerates himself from his family's lack of judgement:

a. he was not around when his daughter-in-law was dying of sickness: *Kungoti ini mukurungai wako ndaive ndisipo. Zvakadai hazvaiitika dai ndaive pamusha. Vana vanotadza.* It's only that I, your in-law, was not here. This kind of thing would not happen if I were here. Children make mistakes. (18)

b. he pleads for forgiveness on behalf of his family: *Mwoyo wemukuru indove yedzvinyu. Regererai vana Mhukahuru, Samanyanga vari Horekore.* An adult's heart is a lizard's dung. Forgive children Big-Animal, One-With-Big-Horns who are in Horekore.) (18)

VIII. The target accepts his obligation to pay compensation to the source and thanks him for being understanding: *Zvanzwikwa Nyamasvisva. Mbudzi tinobata. Maita basa matirerutsira.* (It has been heard Nyamasvisva. A goat we will pay. Thank you for making it easy for us.) (20)

IX.   The target makes use of Shona proverbs to soften the heart of the source: *Kutadza kuri muvanhu.* (To err is humane.) (14), and *Mwoyo wemukuru indove yedzvinyu.* An adult's heart is a lizard's dung. (18)

Comparison of source arguments and target arguments

The source makes use of ten arguments and eight subarguments as he attempts to enforce his right to know the health condition of his daughter and also enforce the obligation to be compensated by the target whilst the target uses nine arguments and five subarguments as he resists compliance. The source uses aversive stimulation in Source Arg I Subarg. a) and b) where he asks difficult accusatory questions. Direct request and guilt persuasive strategies are used in Source Arg. II and III, respectively. He then issues verbal and nonverbal threats in Source Arg. IV Subarg. a) and b) in that order. In exposing the target's lack of good judgement, the source uses negative altercasting in Source Arg. V where he accuses the target of lacking understanding of cultural expectations. To show his determination to enforce his rights, the source issues some more threats in Source Arg. VI Subarg.s a), b) and c). It is when he warns the target to beware of the avenging spirit (Source Arg. VII) that the target yields to his demand for compensation. In the last three arguments, the source orders the target to pay compensation (Source Arg. VIII), elaborates on his order (Source Arg. IX) and then jokes about their bittersweet relationship (Source Arg. X).

Contrastingly, the target offers an excuse (Target Arg. I) for failing to inform the source of his daughter's illness that led to her death. He further apologises in a cultural way nonverbally and verbally in Target Arg. II Subarg. a) and b), correspondingly. In Target Arg. III, the target accepts his family's mistake, and further addresses the source using the source's clan praise names in order to calm him (Target Arg. IV). The target pleads with the source to help bury his daughter (Target Arg. V), requests to negotiate the issue (Target Arg. VI) and then exonerates first himself and, second, his children (Target Arg. VII). When the source states his price, the target accepts obligation (Target Arg. VIII). During this influence interaction, the target also uses Shona proverbs to soften the heart of the source (Target Arg. IX).

Compliance

The target has complied with the attempt by the source at enforcing the source's rights and obligation regarding the death of his daughter without him being informed of her illness. This is evident when the target acknowledges his family's mistake and accepts to pay compensation to the source in conversational turn 20: *Zvanzwikwa Nyamasvisva. Mbudzi tinobata. Maita basa matirerutsira.* (It has been heard Nyamasvisva. A goat we will pay. Thank you for making it easy

for us.) (20) The source achieves compliance through the use of a combination threats, direct request and warning in conversational turns 9 and 15, and 19 respectively.

Message Dimensions

1.   Explicitness

The source has high explicitness as evidenced by his use of direct requests in conversational turn 1: *Iwe Mapfumo sei usina kundiudza kuti mwanasikana wangu arwara?* (You Mapfumo, why didn't inform me that my daughter was sick?)   and in conversational turn 5: *Nhasi munotondiripa. Makatamba nemataka pasina mvura. Ndaiti kukura musoro injere izvo makazara mvura.* (Today you've to compensate me. You played with dirt (mud) when there was no water to clean it with. I thought having big heads was a sign of wisdom yet they are full of water.) His persuasive message is very clear: he wants answers for why he was kept in the dark about his daughter's illness, and also wants to be compensated as per Shona tradition.

2.   Dominance

The source has low dominance in this persuasive message as he uses threats and warnings predominantly. He issues a threat conversational turn 9: …*Makandidheerera mukati hapana zvandinoita. Zvino nhasi wangu handivige pano. Muchaona zvekuita naye mwana wangu…* (…You fooled me thinking there's nothing I can do. Now today I won't bury mine here. You'll find what you can do with my child…). In conversational turn 17, the source warns the target's family of **ngozi** (the avenging spirit): *Kana muchida kuviga vigai moga asi hokoyo nengozi! Moda kubata moto, munotsva ihe-e!* (If you want to bury (her), bury but beware of the avenging spirit! You want to touch fire, you'll get burnt!)

3.   Argument

The source has low argument in the influence interaction. He makes direct requests to enforce his rights and obligation. Conversational turn 19 is a classic example of the source's low argument: *Chibatai mbudzi tibate basa kuti ndipinde mumba umu. Asi musazvipamhe vanaChihota kuita kunge mazunguzirwa.* (Now pay me a goat so that we can do this job for me to get into this house.)

5.6.10 Persuasive Message Ten

Mudzimai nemurume (Wife-husband subsystem)
Source: *Mudzimai* (Wife)
Target: *Murume* (Husband)

Statement of the problem

The source (wife) tries to change the political opinion of the target (husband). She offers a number of arguments but is unsuccessful in the end as her husband refuses to join her in her new political home.

Influence Goal

The influence goal the source pursues in this persuasive message is change opinion. She attempts to change the political opinion of the target without success. She has joined a new political party and therefore asks her husband to follow suit but he flatly refuses to join her.

Arguments of the source

I.   The source uses a liking persuasive strategy when she addresses her husband as "*Baba vevana*/ Father of my children" and further hints at an attempt to convert her husband to politics: *Baba vevana nhasi kugungano remadzimai tadzidza nezvebato idzva reHappy People's Party (HPP). Aah, maruzirira!* (My children's father, today at the women's gathering, we learnt about the new political party called Happy People's Party (HPP). Aah, you missed out!) (1)

II.   The source employs rationalising persuasive strategy when she says she fears no one: *Baba vevana musangotyiswa nevamwe vanhu vakasikwawo naMwari. Vakatirova tinodzorera.* (My children's father, don't be intimidated by other people who were also created by God. If they beat us up, we will retaliate.) (5)

III.   The source attempts to change the opinion of the target by talking of the immediate personal recognition one gets when he/she joins a new party:

   a)   She has been given a position in HPP: *Ndapiwa chigaro chemutungamiri wemadzimai.* (I have been given the position of women assembly chairwoman.) (9)

   b)   She makes a direct request for her husband to join her: *Svondo rinouya tinoenda tose.* (Next week we'll go together.) (9)

   c)   She uses positive expertise to woo her husband into politics: *Pamwe mutodzoka mava sachigaro weMain Assembly sezvo muri nyanzvi yekutaura.* (Maybe you'll come back as the chairman of the Main Assembly since you're a good speaker.) (9)

IV.   The source offers a rational explanation for her fascination with her newly-found interest in politics: *Izvi handisiye. Kusiri kufa ndekupi? Torega kuita zvematongerwo enyika tinongotambura. Regai timboedza pamwe tingaunze shanduko muupenyu mevanhu vazhinji.*

(I'll not abandon this. Which is not dying? We stay out of politics and still continue to suffer. Let's try, maybe we can bring change in the lives of many people.) (15)

V.   The source makes a direct request for the target not to be a coward but to instead join in politics: *Itsumo inoshandiswa nemvutye iyi. Svondo rinouya, handei kumusangano weHappy People's Party tose.* (That's a proverb often used by cowards. Next week, let's go together to Happy People's Party meeting.) (17)

VI.   The source employs a nagging persuasive strategy as the target digs in: *Zvakakuomerai. Kutambura kwatiri kuita hamukuone? Pindai mune zvematongerwo enyika mugadzirise nyika.* (It's so difficult (to convince you). The suffering we are enduring you do not see it? Get involved in politics and fix the country.) (19)

VII.   The source explains her reasons for joining HPP: *Hongu ndiyo yakasunungura nyika asi yapererwa. Tarisai kuondonga kwayaita nyika: mabasa hapana, mari mumabhanga hamuna, zvinhu zvava kudhura, varwere havasi kurapwa. Aah! Svinurai baba vevana. HPP ndiyo mhinduro apa.* (Yes, it is the one that liberated us but it has run of ideas. look at how it has destroyed the country: no jobs, no cash in banks, commodities are expensive, the sick are not being cured. Aah! Open you eyes my children's father. HPP is the answer (here).) (21)

VIII. The source acknowledges the fact that the target has refused to change his opinion about joining HPP: *Aah! Zvakakuomerai chokwadi. Asi pamberi apo muchamuka henyu. Handiti zvinonzi vana vembwa havasvinure musi mumwe?* (Aah! It's really tough with you. But later on, you will wake up. Isn't it they say dog puppies don't open their eyes on the same day?) (23)

Arguments of the target

I.   The target (husband) uses nonnegotiation to resist compliance with the source's hinted request: *Imi muchatirovesa nemaZACU. Siyanai nechibato icho.* (You'll get us beaten up by ZACU people. Forget that (useless) party.) (2)

II.   The target uses a fear-arousing message in trying to resist the political overtures of his wife: *Musaite zvekutamba. Zvematongerwo enyika izvi zvine makuva mukati.* (Don't be playful. Politics has graves in it (physical casualties).) (6)

III.   The target offers an overt instruction to his wife to stop being active in HPP politics:

   a)   He is afraid their house will be destroyed by ZACU members: *Ibvai masiyana nebato iri mai mwana. Tinopisirwa dzimba.* (Stop getting involved with this party my children's mother. We'll have our house burnt down.) (10)

b) He is afraid of being physically abused by ZACU members: *Munoaziva maZACU kana auya. Munotirovesa imi.* (You know (what happens) when ZACU supporters come. You'll get us beaten up.) (10)

IV. The target request to know how the source ended up joining HPP: *Zvambobva nepi zvekuti munonomira pamberi pevanhu muchiita zvematongerwo enyika nhai mai mwana?* (Where did this come from that you go and stand infront of people engaging in politics my children's mother?) (12)

V. The target justifies his refusal to join his wife in politics: *Imika ndinokutyirai. Isu takaona vanhu vachipurwa nemaZACU takati zvematongerwo enyika hatiite. Siyanai nazvo izvi.* (I fear for you. We saw people being bashed by ZACU supporters and resolved not to participate in politics. Abandon this (participation in politics).) (14)

VI. The target uses a proverb to justify his unwillingness to join politics: *Imboitai. Isu vamwe vemutyutyu tongotarisa. Ko, makunguwo zvaakatya akafa mangani?* (Continue doing it (if that is what you wish). We, who are easily frightened, will observe. When crows got frightened, how many of them died? (Last sentence is a Shona proverb which roughly says that cowards do not often die.))

VII. The target vehemently refuses to join his wife in attending the next HPP meeting: *Uko handiende. Zviri nani kuswera zvangu ndichiveza duri pane kuita zvematongerwo enyika. Handidi zvekunetsana nevanhu.* (I won't go (especially) there. I would rather spend the day mortar-making than to engage in politics. I don't want to be in conflict with other people.) (18)

VIII. The target provides a rational explanation of his refusal to join politics: *Ini ndini ndingaigone nyika iyi ndisina kana kumbodzidza? Regai vakadzidza vatonge isu vasina kudzidza tichingovavhotera. Ndoenda kuHPP ko handiti ZACU ndiyo yakasunungura nyika?* (Am I the one to fix the country when I am uneducated? Let the educated rule whilst we the uneducated vote for them. Why should I join HPP yet ZACU is the one that liberated us?) (20)

IX. The target opts to concentrate on his pastime than to join politics: *Tozoona. Pari zvino ndomboita zvekuveza maturi.* (We'll see. For now let me concentrate on mortar-making.) (24)

Comparison of source arguments and target arguments

The source (wife) uses eight arguments and two subarguments in her attempt to change the political opinion of the target (her husband). Her husband has successfully managed to resist complying with his wife's request by using nine arguments and two subarguments. Looking at the wife's arguments, she tries to win over her husband by using a liking persuasive strategy as well as hinting at requesting her husband to join politics in Source Arg. I. In Source Arg. II, she rationalizes that if

violence is used against her in politics, she is ready to retaliate. She then goes into persuasive overdrive in Source Arg. III when she speaks of the personal gain she has made, i.e., being chosen as chairwoman of HPP Women Assembly, and then makes a direct request to her husband when she invites him to join her to the next meeting where he stands a chance to be chosen as the chairman of HPP Main Assembly (positive expertise strategy). The source provides rational explanations in Source Arg.s IV and VII, and also makes another direct request in Source Arg. V and then uses a nagging persuasive argument in Source Arg. VI. She reluctantly accepts that she has failed to persuade her husband to join her in politics in Source Arg. VIII.

On the flipside, the target employs a number of compliance-resisting strategies in this influence interaction. He starts of with a nonnegotiation strategy in Target Arg. I when he rebukes his wife for joining active politics. He then uses a fear-arousing argument in Target II when he talks of how dangerous politics is. In Target Arg. III, the target orders his wife to stop involvement in politics citing possible material damage the family can suffer as a result of her political activities. In Target Arg.s IV and V respectively, the husband seeks to know the inspiration for his wife to become politically involved and then justifies his refusal to join her citing pevious political violence he witnessed. He mentions a Shona proverb to justify his 'cowardice' in Target Arg. VI, vehemently refuses to join his wife in Target Arg. VII, and then provides a rational argument for his unwillingness to leave his pastime (mortar-making) in Target Arg. VIII. Last but not least, he indicates that he has not changed his opinion about being politically active in Target Arg. IX when he emphatically states that he will focus on his pastime rather.

Compliance

The wife has not succeeded in her attempt to persuade her husband to change his political opinion because the target used the following compliance-resisting strategies effectively: nonnegotiation, fear-arousing, citing possible material losses and justification (in conversational turns 2, 6, 10 and 14, respectively). This non-compliance is shown in conversational turn 18 when her husband flatly refused to join her in attending the next HPP meeting: *Uko handiende. Zviri nani kuswera zvangu ndichiveza duri pane kuita zvematongerwo enyika. Handidi zvekunetsana nevanhu.* (I won't go (especially) there. I would rather spend the day mortar-making than to engage in politics. I don't want to be in conflict with other people.)

Message Dimensions

1.   Explicitness

The source has high explicitness in this failed persuasive message. This is evident in her use of direct requests in conversational turns 9: *Svondo rinouya tinoenda tose. Pamwe mutodzoka mava sachigaro weMain Assembly sezvo muri nyanzvi yekutaura.* (Next week we'll go together. Maybe you'll come back as the chairman of the Main Assembly since you're a good speaker.)

and 17: *Itsumo inoshandiswa nemvutye iyi. Svondo rinouya, handei kumusangano weHappy People's Party tose.* (That's a proverb often used by cowards. Next week, let's go together to Happy People's Party meeting.). The wife's intention is made abundantly clear to the target in this persuasive message.

2.   Dominance

The target has high dominance in this persuasive message as seen by the use of a promise and positive expertise in conversational turn 9: *Svondo rinouya tinoenda tose. Pamwe mutodzoka mava sachigaro weMain Assembly sezvo muri nyanzvi yekutaura.* (Next week we'll go together. Maybe you'll come back as the chairman of the Main Assembly since you're a good speaker.)

3.   Argument

The source has both high and low argument in this persuasive message. High argument is reflected in the use of explanation in conversational turn 15: *Izvi handisiye. Kusiri kufa ndekupi? Torega kuita zvematongerwo enyika tinongotambura. Regai timboedza pamwe tingaunze shanduko muupenyu mevanhu vazhinji.* (I'll not abandon this. Which is not dying? We stay out of politics and still continue to suffer. Let's try, maybe we can bring change in the lives of many people.). Conversational turns 5 and 21 also contain rational arguments the source uses to try to convince the target to join politics. Low argument is evident in conversational turn 17 when the wife makes a direct request to her husband to join her political activism: *Itsumo inoshandiswa nemvutye iyi. Svondo rinouya, handei kumusangano weHappy People's Party tose.* (That's a proverb often used by cowards. Next week, let's go together to Happy People's Party meeting.).

5.7   SUMMARY

The data collection methods I used produced data which yielded some interesting insights, patterns and categories. Interviews allowed me to observe shifts in tone and facial expressions as respondents recounted episode of successful persuasion. Some of the respondents openly admitted

that the resorted to use positively-worded persuasive strategies when they knew they had **high dominance** in the influence interaction. But then there were moments when they felt the most effective compliance-seeking strategies were the negatively-worded one such as threats and warning as well as diplomatic avoidance and silent treatment. Not all persuasive attempts were successful despite there being a plethora of compliance-seeking strategies. The influence goals that respondents pursued are largely the same as those identified by Cody et al (1994).

There were some challenges with the interview data collection method. These included the difficult with maintaining respondent interest in the interview while I was busy scribbling down notes, some respondents deciding to opt out of the interviews mid-way, and with the use of audio recorder, there was an element of mistrust as to the purpose of the recording. On the positive side, interviews allowed me to start my analysis in the field when I read the notes to the respondent to check for accuracy. Some respondent would comment on their habitual persuasive strategies. From the analysis of different persuasive messages, I was able to see the advantages and disadvantages of the observational field research study I used. One of the merits of this method was that it allowed me to observe the participants in their natural environment which reduced the possibility of getting unreliable data. Another advantage was that the sample was small which made it manageable and easy to get their consent after I explained to the participants the purpose of this study. The major challenges were that still some participants seemed to behave unnaturally especially the young ones, and transcribing the recorded conversations was demanding. The biggest headache for me was retaining original meaning when I translated some Shona proverbs and other idiomatic expression into English. From these findings, a few pertinent conclusions can be drawn. These will be covered in the last chapter of this study.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS

6.1   SUMMARY

This study aimed to investigate the use of Marwell and Schmitt's (1967) compliance-gaining strategies by message sources and McLaughlin, Cody & Robey's (1980) compliance-resisting strategies by message targets in Shona family set-ups. Before doing so, I reviewed literature on persuasion including Jenny Thomas' politeness theory which included a detailed discussion of Leech's (1983a) Politeness Principle and conventional maxims, Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) superstrategies for Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs), Fraser's (1990) view of politeness as a conversational contract, and, also Spencer-Oatey's (1992) pragmatic scales for measuring politeness.

In Chapter 3 I then explored persuasive message production theories such as the Goals-Plans-Action and cybernetic control psychological theories, Wilson's (2002) compliance-gaining theory, the two strategy-selection traditions: the MBRS study compliance-gaining tradition and the constructivist tradition, and the goal-pursuit tradition as espoused by Dillard et al (1997). In Chapter 4, I reviewed literature on persuasive effects starting with Fishbein's (1967a) Summative Model of Attitude as it summarised by Daniel O'Keefe (2002: 46). Social and message factors as well as receiver and context factors explained by O'Keefe were discussed. Lastly, I studied Larson's (1995) process and content premises to ensure I was ready to carry out my study of persuasion in Shona family set-ups. In Chapter 5, I analysed interview and observation field study data and came up with the findings and comparisons discussed in the following section.

6.2   FINDINGS AND COMPARISONS

My research question was: how and why conversational partners in Shona family set-ups engage in persuasion. Content analysis of interview notes and audio recording transcript data revealed a number of insights in Shona persuasion. All respondents indicated that persuasion is something they engage in consciously and unconsciously at times. They do so while pursuing influence goals like change opinion, seek assistance, give advice, initiate a relationship, and so on. Furthermore, they start persuasion usually using positively-worded persuasive messages, but if that fails to produce the desired result, they change to more aggressive strategies which include threats and warnings. This answered the "how" part of my research question. Data analysis also revealed latent meaning including that target use explicitness, dominance and argument differently depending on the nature

and enormity of their requests. Running the risk of being accused of overgeneralising, I can conclude that adult Shona persuaders use clan praise names, explanations and analogies of successful neighbours when they try to persuade their younger siblings or their children to do something or to change their attitude or beliefs towards something.

On a technical level, the analysis of interview data was a huge challenge as I had to read several times my findings, change codes and categories and revisit the transcripts and memos. But I also learnt to apply a rigorous methodical, step-by-step content analysis plan. It is important to note that there is an overlap of some compliance-seeking strategies and compliance-resisting strategies. Strategies which overlap are walking away, silent treatment and explanation. From the interview data, some uniquely Shona persuasive strategies that emerged were the use of clan praise names and Shona proverbs, analogies of successful people and reference to the Bible (the latter is largely linked to moral appeals). These strategies seemed to be highly effective due to their elimination of the non-compliance option, for example, use of clan praise names is a direct appeal to a shared common identity, thus individual members of the same clan are expected to behave in the same way as the clan itself. One interview respondent said, "*VanaTembo havadaro.* / Those of the Tembo totem don't behave that way." to his son who was misbehaving. The son promptly stopped misbehaving. Sociologists would ascribe this behaviour to the effect of socialisation during a person's formative ages of personal development. The conscious or subliminal desire to belong to a group forced message targets to comply with the particular requests. Using an inductive mode of analysis, it can then be concluded that clan praise names are an integral part of persuasion among the Shona people. Brinkmann and Kvale define induction as "the process of observing a number of instances in order to say something general about the given class of instances" (2015: 224).

A textual analysis of the persuasive messages enabled me to identify the influence goal in each persuasive message with ease. Furthermore, identifying, comparing and evaluating source and target arguments for the ten messages become monotonous but the bonus was that it exposed new insights in how Shona family members engage in the art of persuasion. Such insights include the fact that sources use a miscellany of compliance-seeking strategies in each influence interaction and message dimensions of explicitness, dominance and argument are dependent on the nature of the relationship between the source and target, the enormity of the request and the setting. I can conclude that source arguments show why compliance achieved whereas message dimensions account for how it is achieved in an influence encounter. Lastly, identifying and justifying source arguments that secured target compliance was not a tough ask.

It should be noted that out of the ten messages, only in one message was compliance-seeking unsuccessful (Persuasive Message Ten). In the nine successful messages, the sources did not get outright target compliance with their requests. The most prevalent compliance-seeking strategy was direct requests which means sources had high explicitness in such messages. Another observation was that adult participants resorted to using negatively-worded persuasive messages such as threats, warnings, negative altercasting and negative esteem when they are persuading young targets. The interview transcripts revealed that sometimes adults resort to imposing themselves when there is resistance by young message target. A female respondent, 49, of Parow, said*, "Ndomuudza kuti, "Iwe uri kuzoita uchida usingadi." / I will tell him or her, "You're going to do it, like it or not." Lines 56-57(***Appendix B***) Also, just like the interviews data revealed, clan praise names were used by sources as part of positive esteem strategies in persuasive messages. Targets used negotiation and justifying strategies to resist compliance with sources' requests. Both sources and targets employed several arguments and subarguments during the influence interactions. In terms of message dimensions, high argument and high dominance were used by sources in persuasive messages whose influence goals were gaining assistance, initiating relationship, ensuring social harmony and changing opinion.

Comparatively, both interviews and observation data have revealed that the prevalence of the use of more than one compliance-seeking strategy in any persuasive encounter, the transition from positively-worded persuasive messages to negatively-worded persuasive messages when sources encounter resistance by targets, and the use of manipulation in word or action by both young and old persuaders. In husband-wife persuasive instances, the husband, if he is the source, tends to use direct requests (high explicitness), explanations and threats (maybe due to patriarchal influences). When the wife is the source, she tends to make indirect requests (low explicitness) phrased as questions initially ("*Hamuonewo here kuti tanonoka kurima mwaka uno?* / Don't you see that we have delayed ploughing this season?) before she uses explanations.

6.3   CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is so much written about Western and Asian persuasion but very little about African persuasion in general and Shona persuasion in particular. It is my hope that my research findings will contribute a Shona perspective to research on persuasion. The findings validate conclusions made by Dillard et al (1989) that in persuasion a goal is a desire to modify the behaviour, belief or attitude of a message target. Both in interviews and the nine of the ten messages I have analysed, the message sources successfully influenced the message sources using mostly a combination of compliance-seeking strategies. The sources attempted to change their targets' behaviour, beliefs and

attitudes to varying degrees of success. The theoretical framework I used was largely reflected in these messages although there were some situations that seemed to offer new insights about persuasion. These are the role of social identity as revealed by the use of clan praise names, the centrality of religious beliefs as evidenced by references to the Bible, the role of third parties as shown by children who use intermidiaries to soften their targets, and the use of Shona proverbs. These are areas which need further research as they promise to offer a rich window into the Shona persuasive psyche.

Literature on politeness theory has revealed that people choose to be polite or impolite for a number of reasons. In my research study, I have found out that in Shona families, politeness is exhibited by conversational partners to maintain social harmony. This is evident in persuasive messages involving parents and their children. In audio recording transcript (Appendix B), the female respondent indicated that she respectfully resist persuasion by her younger sister by pretending to be listening to her request to chastise their sister-in-law yet she (the respondent) who stick to her decision to maintain relational harmony in their family. As pointed out by Brown and Levinson (1978), politeness is a face-saving act for both the message source and the message target. Just like Wilson's theory of persuasive message production advances the notion that pursuit of goals is the underlying drive in persuasion, it became clear from my study that message sources employ, consciously or unconsciously, Marwell and Schmitt's (1967) compliance-seeking strategies to either alter the behaviour or belief or attitude of message targets. This is made abundantly clear in Persuasive Message One when the father (message source) is able to give advice to his delinquent son (message target) which advice is only accepted ultimately when he issues a warning to his son. The change of strategy during the dialogue by the source is also consistent with the thinking of persuasion theorists who argue that interactants engage in self-monitoring of their strategies. Other compliance-seeking strategies that were frequently used were hinting, nagging, direct request, warning and guilt. In the same message mentioned above, the father also makes an explicit recommendation so that his son does not misconstrue his advice. In the literature I reviewed in Chapter 4, it was indicated that message factors such as message structure, message content and sequential-request strategies play crucial roles in persuasion. As aptly demonstrated in Persuasive Message Eight, the wife (source) uses the foot-in-the-door (FITD) sequencing of her request to have her hair fixed. She first asks for permission to go to a salon (small request) and then leads her husband (target) into agreeing to give her the family's grocery money so that she can pay for the fixing of her hair. She then suggests that her husband should borrow money from his friends if the family faces a financial crisis before payday (large request). A new insight I gleaned from the data analysis and interpretation was that the use of Shona proverbs and clan praise names is common in

parent-child and adult-adult influence interactions. When it comes to resisting compliance with sources' requests, targets use a mixture of justifying, negotiation, nonnegotiation and face management.

Although this study was able to find out key aspects of persuasion in Shona families, a few practical implications can be pointed out which can be considered for future research. These are:

(a)   focus should be paid on how successful sources use a multiplicity of compliance-seeking strategies in one influence encounter.

(b)   an examination of the source's use of foot-in-the-door and door-in-the-face request sequencing depending on the nature and enormity of the request can be done.

(c)   an examination of other persuasive strategies that go beyond speech acts can be done also. These strategies include, inter alia, physically helping the target, sympathising and empathising with the target in times of distress, being polite and exercising information or referent power (Addler & Rodman, 2006: 310).

One limitation of my study could be that my bias as the researcher could have coloured my findings. The questions I asked my interview respondents could have been different but since I was conducting structured interviews with an interview protocol, it was impossible not to ask some leading questions. I wanted to collected data that challenged or verified my theoretical framework. As for the observation data collection method, the sample knew me as I come from a neighbouring village. I am also a product of the same Shona culture; it is possible I unconsciously recorded what I wanted to hear or see and left out other factors in the influence interactions. Selection bias was another limitation. A different sample could probably produce different data. Also, maybe my analysis of the persuasive message could be done differently, and this could produce slightly different study findings. To reduce the effect of these biases, careful recording and keeping of each data during analysis phase was done (Creswell, 2013: 366). Hopefully, I have put in place a textual analysis method that many future researchers will find helpful.

I recommend that future study of persuasion among the Shona should look at source and context factors as well as the role of nonverbal communication such as voice, distance, hand gestures, and facial expressions in persuasion. I further recommend an exploration of word selection (diction/semantics) in successful or failed persuasive messages and the use of a mixed methods research on Shona persuasion.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interview Protocol/ *Gwaro retsvagurudzo*
Interview Protocol: Persuasive messages in Shona family set-ups (*Gwaro retsvagurudzo: Mashoko ekutsvetera mumhuri dzavaShona*) Time of interview/*Nguva yetsvagurudzo*: Date/*Zuva:* Place/*Nzvimbo*: Interviewer/*Mubvunzi*: Interviewee/*Mubvunzwi:* Age/*Makore*: Sex/*Rudzi:* Marital status/*Mamiriro ekuroorwa*: Level of education attained/*Zero rekudzidza:*   **Behavioural detail/** *Zvine chekuita newe* 1.   Which persuasive strategies do you often use? Rank the strategies from first to last./ *Ndedzipi nzira zvekutsvetera zvaunowanzoshandisa?Ronga nzira dzacho kubva kune yaunonyanyoshandisa kusvika kune waunoshandisa zvishoma.*   2. Have you ever been persuaded in your family? Explain what happened./ *Ko iwe wakambotsveterwa here mumhuri yenyu? Tsanangura zvakaitika.*   3.   Which persuasive strategies are often used in your family?/ *Ndedzipi nzira dzekutsvetera dzinowanzoshandiswa mumhuri yenyu?*

4. Which persuasive resisting strategies do you often use in your family?/ *Ndedzipi nzira dzekuramba kutsveterwa dzaunowanzoshandisa mumhuri menyu?*

5. Explain one incident where you struggled to persuade your relative./ *Tsanangura chiitiko chepawakanetseka kutsvetera hama yako.*

Opinions/ *Zvaunofunga*

6. Do children persuade in similar ways to adults in your family? Explain. *Ko, vana vanotsveterawo here zvakafanana nevakuru mumhuri yenyu? Tsanangura.*

7. How different is modern persuasion in families to what was in the past? *Kutsvetera kwanhasi kwasiyanei nekwakare?*

8.   What are your views of persuasion in families? *Ko, munofungeiwo pamusoro pekutsvetera mumhuri?*

9.   Thank you for participating in this interview. The information your have provided will be treated confidentially and will be used for academic purposes only. / *Ndatenda kubatsira kwenyu patsvagurudzo ino. Mhinduro dzamapa dzichachengetedzwa uye dzichashandiswa mune zvekudzidza chete.*

APPENDIX B

AUDIO RECORDING TRANSCRIPT

Mubvunzi (Interviewer): Ndokutendai nokubvuma kuti ndikubvunzei pamusoro pekutsvetera mumhuri yenyu.
I would like to thank you for accepting to answer my questions about persuasion in families. I would

Ndinoda kukuvimbisai kuti zvamuchataura pano zvichashandiswa pabasa rangu rechikoro chete uye zita
like to assure you that what you will say will be used for my academic studies only and your name

renyu handiritaure kune vamwe vanhu.
I won't divulge it to other people.

Ndinoda kuti mundiudze nzira dzekutsvetera dzinoshandiswa mumhuri yenyu. Kana muchitsvetera
I would like you to tell me the persuasive strategies you use in your family. When you are persuading

munhu chinangwa chenyu chinenge chiri chei? Ko, nzira dzekuramba kutsveterwa dzamunoshandisa
a person what will be your goal? Which compliance-rejecting strategies do you use?

ndedzipi? Ko, pane pamakambotsveterwa mukabvuma imi musingadi here? Pane musiyano
Is there a situation where you were persuaded and you agreed grudgingly? Is there a difference

wekutsvetera kwevana nevakuru here? Ko, kutsvetera kwanhasi kwasiyana here nekwakare?
between persuasion by children and by adults? How is persuasion today different from what it was in the past?

1   *Mubvunzwi (Respondent): Hameno ndikapindura mibvunzo yenyu yose nemazvo. Nyaya yekutsveterana inoitika kakawanda.*

2   *I don't know if I will answer all your questions successfully. Persuasive issues happen often.*

3   *Kazhinji nzira dzandinowanzoshandisa kutsvetera hama yangu ndeyekutaurirana nekuonesana kuti*

4   *Often the persuasive strategies I use to with my relatives are negotiation and exploration of*

5   *zvinhu zvakamira sei ndichivaonesa chikonzero chekuti izvi zvakanakirei uye zvakaipirei. At the end of*

6   *how issues are while I point out the reasons for why they are good or bad. At the end of the day,*

7   *the day, anofanira kuita decision yake. Ndogona kumupa mufananidzo yevanhu vaanoziva mumhuri*

8   *the decision is his or hers. I may give examples of familiar people in the family*

9   *kana pabasa vakambotora nzira iyi ikavasvitsa apa. Take this person as a role model kuti nyangwe*

10   *or at (my) workplace who made this decision and it led them to here. Take this person as a role model*

11   *akatora nzira iyi yakaita abudirire. If you are to be successful, you have to be able to make a decision.*

| 12 | *that even he or she took this decision and was successful. If you are to be successful, you have to be able to make a decision.* |

| 13 | Pandinenge ndichidai ndinenge ndaona kuti munhu agumirwa saka ndinenge ndichida kuti ave neumwe |

| 14 | *When I will be doing this, I woud have seen that the person has run out ideas so I will trying to get him* |

| 15 | muono. Taking life from a different perspective zvinomubatsira. |

| 16 | *or her to have a new perspective. Taking life from a different perspective will help him or her.* |

| 17 | Dzimwe nguva mumwe anonetseka kuita decision kuda nekuda kwevaanofamba navo saka ndinenge |

| 18 | *Sometimes, someone struggles to make a decision maybe because of the company he or she keeps, so I* |

| 19 | ndichida kumuonesa kuti ava vaari kufamba navo hazviogne kuti ubudirire |

| 20 | *will be trying to show him or her that with the company he or she keeps it is impossible to be successful* |

| 21 | kubhururuka iwe uchifamba nemadhadha. Ehe, ndinoshandisa tsumo nokuti dziri loaded with meaning. |

| 22 | *at flying when you walk (play) with ducks. Yes, I use proverbs because they are loaded with meaning.* |

| 23 | Dzinonyatsojekesa zvinoda kutaurwa. |

| 24 | *They clarify what will be being said.* |

| 25 | Kazhinji makakatanwa mumhuri anoita kuti ndirambe kutsveterwa. Ini satete mukuru anonamata |

| 26 | *Often family conflicts cause me to refuse being persuaded. As the eldest aunt who is spiritual* |

| 27 | mumhuri ndinoda kuti vanhu tibatane tiite chinhu chimwe chete semhuri imwe chete asi unoona |

| 28 | *in our family, I like us to be united and do the one thing as one family but you see* |

| 29 | munin'ina anogona kuti "Mukoma izvi zviri kuitwa nemuroora zvakashata." Ndinonyatsoona kuti |

| 30 | *my young sister may say, "Sister, what sister-in-law is doing is bad." I know that* |

| 31 | muroora hapana chaakanganisa asi kuti nyaya iri personal iyi. Ini satete |

| 32 | *our sister-in-law has not done anything wrong but that this issue is due personal differences. As the* |

| 33 | vakuru nemhaka yekuti ndinoda kuchengeta relationship handimuudzi kuti zvauri kutaura izvi |

| 34 | *eldest aunt who likes to maintain our relationship, I won't tell her that what she is saying* |

| 35 | zvakashata asi ndinomira nedecision yangu. |

| 36 | *is bad but I will stick by my decision.* |

37 *Pandakambotsveterwa ndikabvuma nyangwe ndaisada ndepepfuma yababa vangu vakafa. Pamusha*

38 *One incident when I was persuaded and agreed unwillingly was about my late father's estate. Our*

39 *pana mai. Mwana akanzi asare achichengeta zvinhu zvababa ndigotwe*

40 *mother is the one at our homestead. Our last born was given the responsibility to look after our father's*

41 *asi gotwe ane zvinhu zvake zvekuti haana nguva yekutarisa mombe dzababa. Agere pamusha pari zvino*

42 *estate but he has his own property such that he has no time to look after our father's cattle. Our eldest*

43 *namai ndimukoma wangu. Hanzvadzi dzimwe idzi hadzinei nezviri*

44 *father is the one staying at our homestead with our mother. My other brothers have no interest in the*

45 *pamba. Anoti anoda kuita zvakati anenge achida kutoshandisa munda kana mombe asi*

46 *family issues. He who says wants to do something will be doing so to use the family land or cattle but*

47 *zvekuchengeta pfuma yababa havanei nazvo. Ini handikwanise kuvamisa pakadai sezvo ndisiri kumusha*

48 *looking after father's estate is something they do not like. I can't stop them since I am not staying at* kwacho. Ndinozongoenderana navo nekuti ndiri kure…

49 *home. I just agree with them because I am far from home…*

50 *Kutsvetera kwevana nekwevakuru kwakasiyana nokuti vanoshandisa nzira dzakasiyana. Vanhu vakuru*

51 *Children and adults persuade differently because they use different strategies. Adults*

52 *ndinovapawo muono wangu ivo vopawo muono wavo voona kuti ndezvipi zvavangasarudze. Kumwana*

53 *I explain to them my views and they also give me theirs but they will choose what they want. To a child*

54 *ndinoshandisa experience yazvandakaita saka ndotomuudza kuti arege zvaanoda kuita atevedze*

55 *I cite my experience of the issue and tell him or her to stop whatever he or she wants to do and follow*

56 *zvandinoda nekuda kweexperience yangu. Ndomuudza kuti, "Iwe uri kuzoita uchida usingadi." I*

57 *what I want because of my experience. I will tell him or her, "You're going to do it, like it or not."*

58 *overpower ndichishandisa position, authority and experience.*

59 *I overpower using my position, authority and experience.*

60 *Kutsvetera kwakare nekwanhasi zvasiyina. Kare mwana aiti akaudzwa zvekuita nemunhu mukuru*

61 *Today persuasion has changed from what it was in the past. In the past, when a child was told*

62 *aitevedzera pasina kupikisa. Iye zvino vana vava kuda kureasona zvakanyanya.*

63 *to do something by an elder, he or she would follow without arguing. Nowadays children want to argue*

64 *They are so frank. Dzimwe nguva vanenge vari right saka ini semubereki ndogona kutoteerera zvaada.*

65 *often. They are so frank. At times, they will be right so as the parent I have to follow what they want.*

66 *Dzimwe nguva vanoshandisa social media. Social media inzira yekutaurirana saka inoshandisa*

67 *Sometimes they use the social media. Social media is a communication channel used to persuade.*

68 *pakutsvetera. Zvakangofanana nekutaurirana takatarisana. Tinotaurirana kusvika taonesana. Zviri*

68.1.1 *It is similar to face-to-face communication. We discuss until we agree. It's up to the*

69 *kumwana kuti anozvitora here kana kuzvirasa.*

70 *child how he or she will accept or refuse the request.*

APPENDIX C
PERSUASIVE MESSAGES

Persuasive Message One

Baba nemwanakomana wavo (Father-son subsystem)

A: *Baba* (Father)

B: *Mwanakomana* (Son)

1. A: Zviiko zvauri kuita kuchikoro zvaita ndidevedzwe nemukuru wechikoro? (What is happening at school that has caused your headmaster to call me in?)

2. B: Aah handizivi baba. (Aah I don't know.)

3. A: Hauzivi iwe uriwe uri kuenda kuchikoro kwacho? (You don't know yet you're the one attending that school?)

4. B: Pamwe inyaya yekupindura kwandakaita mudzidzisi weSvomhu. (Maybe it's the issue of me backchatting my Maths teacher.)

5. A: Handina mwana anotuka vadzidzisi, wazvinzwa? Kuita ikoko kunonyadzisa mhuri. Amai vako neni tinogara tichikuudza kuti ukudze vakuru vako. (I don't have a child that insults teachers, do you hear? That way of behaving embarrasses the family. Your mother and I often advise you to respect your elders.)

6. B: Hongu baba, asi VaMuswewembudzi vaive vakanganisa pavakatituka tatadza bvunzo. (Yes father, but Mr Muswewembudzi had offended us when he scolded us for failing a test.)

7. A: Saka iwe ukati ndini makoya anozvigona? Wava kutungamira vamwe kushungurudza mudzidzisi? Chiterera unzwe. Ini pandaienda kuchikoro baba vangu havana kumbobvira vadeedzwa kuchikoro nokuti nguva iyoyo mudzidzisi aikosha. Ndiye woga aive nebhasikoro munharaunda yedu ino saka taimuona samambo. Zvako zvekuti unoita nhidigori mukanwa memudzidzisi uzvirege. (So you thought you're the expert? You're now leading others in abusing the teacher? Now listen. When I was going to school, my father was never called in because then a teacher was an important person. He was the only person who owned a bicycle in this area, so we used to see him as a king. Now you should stop your habit of playing in your teacher's mouth (Idiomatic expression for being irritatingly disrespectful).)

8. B: Mudzidzisi vacho ndivo vanoitawo dambe nesu saka hatizozive pekugumira kana tava kuseka navo. Mudzidzisi vakatozoiita nyaya pakauya mukuru wechikoro achiti taiita ruzha. Pasina izvozvo hamaitombonzwa nezvenyaya iyi. (The teacher is the one who is playful with us so we don't know when to stop when we're joking with him. The teacher made it an isuue only after the headmaster came in complaining that we were making noise.)

9. A: Unoita dambe nemudzidzisi! Ndozvaunoendera kuchikoro? Wandishamisa Rueben! Unomboziva kunetseka kwandiri kuita kutsvaga mari yako yechikoro? (You are playful with the teacher! Is that why you're going to school? You surprise me Rueben! Do you know how much I struggle to raise your school fees?)

10. B: (anombononoka kupindura) Ndinozviziva baba. ((he delays answering momentarily) I know (the reason), father.)

11. A: Zvino ukadzingwa chikoro unozovei muupenyu hwako? Dzidzo yakakosha zvikuru. Inoita kuti mwana wemurombo apedzisire ava mupfumi. Unoda kuzorarama upenyu hwegunguwo rinopona nehwakumukwaku? (Now if you're expelled from school, what are you going to be

in your life? Education is very important. It changes the child of a poor man into a rich person. Do you want to survive a meaningless life like a falcon?)

12. B: Kwete baba. Asi apa ndopasina kana nyaya. Chandakatadza handichizive. (No father. But here there is no case at all. I don't know what wrong I did.)

13. A. Ungachiziva sei iwe wakura musoro? Pane wauchiri kuteerera iyewe? (How can you know when you have become big-headed? Is there someone you still listen to?)

14. B. Baba vadzidzisi vazhinji vanokuudzai kuti ndine unhu. (Father, most teachers will tell you that I've good manners.)

15. A. Saka uyu ndiye wawakadeerera? (So this is the one you undermine?)

16. B. Kwete baba. Iyi ndiyo mhosva yangu yekutanga. Ndokusaka musati mambodeedzwa kuchikoro pamusoro peunhu hwangu. (No father. This is my first misdemeanour. That's why you've never been called in regarding my behaviour.)

17. A: Mwanangu unofanira kukudza vadzidzisi vako. Ziva zvaunoendera kuchikoro. Nangana nekudzidza kwako wosiya zvimwe zvose izvi zvinovhiringa dzidzo yako. (My son you should respect your teachers. Know why you're going to school. Focus on your education and leave out all that will distract your education.)

18. B: Hongu baba. Handikunyadzisei. (Yes father. I won't embarrass you.)

19. A: Ngakaite kekupedzisira ikaka ndichideedzwa kuchikoro. Zvakaitikazve chako chikoro chapera. (Let this be the last time I am called in. If this happens again, that will be the end of your schooling.)

Persuasive Message Two (Gain assistance)

Amai nemwanakomana wavo (Mother-son subsystem)

A: *Amai* (Mother)

B: *Mwanakomana* (Son)

1. A: Nhai mwanangu Farai, haungandibatsirewo kukura chivanze? Pamba pangasatosvika nyoka isu vanhu tiripo tichirega pachimera masora? (My son Farai, can you help me weed the yard? Can this homestead not be invaded by snakes yet we're here leaving the weeds to grow?)

2. B: Ah amai ndakaneta ini. (Ah I'm tired mother.)

3. A: Wakaneta? Wakarara uchitakura mupfudze here? (You're tired? Did you sleep carrying cow dung manure?)

4. B: Kwete amai. Ndakangonetawo sezvinoita vamwe. (No, mother. I'm just tired like everyone else.)

5. A: Iwe nungo dzichakunetsa. (Laziness will trouble you.)

6. B: Siyanaika nesu venyungo. Tsvagai vemaricho vakubatsirei. (Leave us the lazy ones alone. Find some casual workers to help you.)

7. A: Unotaura nezvemaricho, mari yacho yekuvabhadhara unondipa? (You speak of casual labourers, are you going to give me the money to pay them?)

8. B: Handina mari yacho amai. Handishandeka ini. Kungoti chete nhasi amai ndine basa rechikoro randinoda kuita. (I don't have the money. I don't work. It's only that today mother I've schoolwork I need to do.)

9. A: Watanga manje. Uri kuda kunzvenga basa nekutaura zvemabhuku. (You start now. You're trying to avoid the work by mentioning the issue of books.)

10. B: Ndiri kurevesa amai. Handiti ndimi munoda kuti ndizove dhokotera? Ndine basa rechikoro randinoda kuita. (I really mean it mother. Isn't it you who wants me to be a doctor? I've schoolwork I've to do.)

11. A: Ko iro basa rechikoro ungatomukira kuita here nhai Farai? Unotanga waita basa repamba wozoita hako zvemabhuku. (Do you have to wake and start doing your schoolwork, Farai? You start with household chores first and then study.)

12. B: Dai maimboziva kuti ndine bvunzo rekuti ndiwane vanondibvisira mari mainzwisisa chinangwa changu. (If you knew that I've an examination so that I can get sponsors, you would understand my aim.)

13. A: Ndinozviziva kuti une bvunzo hombe. Kusakura kwekanguva kadiki ndiko here kungakutadzisa kuwana bhezari? Kana kuti uri kungoda kuramba kundibatsira kuita basa iri? Pamwe nungo dzakakubata. (I know you have a big examination (coming). Will weeding for a short period stop you from getting a bursary? Or you just want to refuse to help me to do this task? Maybe laziness has gripped you.)

14. B: Amai inga munoziva kuti ini handizeze basa. Kungotiwo pfungwa dzangu dzakanangana nebvunzo hombe iri. Mumwe mukana ndinozouwanepi? Imi nababa munoti hamuna mari yekuti ndienderere mberi nedzidzo gore rinouya. Saka ndoita sei zvino? (Mother you know that I don't shirk duty. It's just that my mind is focused on this big examination. Where will I get other chance? You and father say you don't have money for me to proceed with my education next year. So what should I do now?)

15. A: Uri nyanzvi iwe pazvemabhuku izvi. Kungoti verenge zvishoma unenge watobata zvose zvinouya mubvunzo. Wakafana nababa vako vaigona zvekuti bhe-e. (You're an expert on books. You just need to study for a short while to grasp all that will come in the examination. You're like your father who was (very) intelligent.)

16. B: Kugona ndinogona hangu asi ndinotofanira kushanda zvakasimba. Vamwe vari mubishi kuverenga izvozvi zvokuti patinonyora bvunzo iri vachaita mabiko. Hamuone here handiende zvakanyanya kunotamba nevamwe? (Yes, I'm intelligent but I've to work hard. Others are busy studying now such that when we write the exam they will feast (it will be easy for them). Don't you see that I don't often go and play with my friends?)

17. A: Aiwa zvemabhuku wozoita hako asi nhasi wotombobata badza undibatsire nebasa iri. Ndofa nebasa here ini ndakazvara? (No, you can study later but today you should take the hoe and help me do this task. Should I die of work when I gave birth (to children who should help)?)

18. B: Ndikafoira musazotsamwa. Ndimi munenge musina kundipa nguva yakakwana yekugadzirira. (If I fail, don't get angry. It's you who would have denied me adequate time to prepare.)

19. A: Wava kuda kutsvaga wekuzopa mhosva. Usangwarise Farai. Kusakura tinongotora nguva diki. Ini ndosakura iwe uchiunganidza masora nokunorasa mugomba rekombositi. Takamboriita basa iri gore rakapera uye hatina kusvika masikati tichiriita. (You're now looking for someone to blame. Don't be too clever Farai. We'll take very little time weeding. I'll weed while you rake all the weeds and throw them into the composite pit. We did this task last year, and we didn't work until noon.)

20. B: Kana madaro ndokubatsirai amai. Ndingarambe here kukubatsirai imi muri mai vangu? (If you say so I'll help you mother. Can I refuse to help you when you're my mother?)

21. A: Hamuone here Tembo, ndozvinoita vekwaMazvimbakupa izvi. Nungo ndedzenaSoko vakada kugara mugomo nekutya badza. (Don't you see Tembo (totem), this is what (people of) Mazvimbakupa (clan name) do? Being idle is for the Soko (totem) people who chose to live in the mountain due to fear of the hoe (farming).)

22. B: Chiiko chandisingakuitirei amai vangu? Ngatitangai basa racho zuva risati rapisa. (What is that I can't do for you my mother? Let's start the task before the day becomes hot.)

23. A: Chokwadi ngatitange basa. (Yes, let's start the task.)

Persuasive Message Three (Shared activity)

Hanzvadzikomana nehanzvadzisikana (Brother-sister subsystem)

A: *Hanzvadzikomana* (Brother)

B: *Hanzvadzisikana* (Sister)

1. A: Hanzvadzi yangu nhasi tinofanira kufara tose. (My sister today we should enjoy/be happy together.)

2. B: Chokwadi hanzvadzi. Pava nenguva kubva paya patakamboenda tose kugomo kunotsvaga mazhanje. (Yes, my brother. It's now a long time since we went together to the mountain to search for wild loquat fruits/ sugar fruits.)

3. A: Wanga wakaronga zvipi nhasi? (What are your plans for today?)

4. B: Hapana hapo chikuru chandanga ndakaronga. Ndinongosiya ndatsvaira mumba. Wafunga kuti tiite sei nhai hanzvadzi Munya? (There's nothing big I had planned. I'll just make I sweep the house. What have you planned for us to do today, brother Munya?)

5. A: Tinofanira kuenda kusvondo tose nhasi. Ndafunga kuti tibatsire mufundisi kudzidzisa vana nezveshoko raMwari. Zviya zvataimboita tichiri vana vaduku. Unofungei neizvi? (We should go to church together today. I think we should help the pastor to conduct Sunday school, that which we used to do when we were young. What do you think?)

6. B: Ipfungwa yakanaka chose. Izvi ndazvifarira. Waiwanepiko pfungwa iyi nhai Munya hanzvadzi? (This is a good idea. I'm excited. Where did this idea come from, brother Munya?)

7. A: NdiMwari vandituma. Saka wochigadziriraka tiende. (It's God who has sent me. So can you prepare so that we can go.)

8. B: Uuum handina hembe yakanaka yekupfeka kuti ndimire pamberi pevana ava. Unoziva kuti ndinoda kuonekera kana ndakamira mberi kwevanhu. (Uuum I don't have suitable clothes to wear and stand infront of these children. You know I like to dress smartly when I am going to stand infront of people.)

9. A: Hembe unongopfeka chero inoonekera. Chakakosha ishoko rauchange uchitaurira vana ava. (You can put on any smart clothes. What is important is the message you'll share with these children.)

10. B: Kuti kudaro? (Is that so?)

11. A: Hongu hanzvadzi yangu. Tinongobatsirana basa racho. (Yes my sister. We'll help each other to do the task.)

12. B: Ini ndichange ndichibata pangu iwe uchiita pako. (I'll do my duty and you'll do yours.)

13. A: Ini ndichaverenga vhesi raMatewo apo Jesu akashevedza Matewo kuti ave muteveri wake. Iwe uchadzidzisa vana vaduku kuimba kambo kekuti *Ndichakuitai varedzi vevanhu*. (I'll read Matthew's verse which talks of Jesus asking Matthew to be his disciple. You'll teach the young children the sing the song *I will make you fishers of men*.)

14. B: Munya wagona kusarudza zvekudzidzisa vana nhasi. Uchayeuka tichiita zvidzidzo zvevechidiki tichiimba kambo aka? Nofunga patinoimba nhasi vana vachafara. (Munya you have chosen what to teach the children today. Do you remember when we were in Sunday school singing this song? I think when we sing today, the children will enjoy themselves.)

15. A: Zvaifadza chose. Chiita zvekuchimbidza tiende kusvondo. Ini ndava kutogeza ndopfeka sutu yangu iya yandakatenga kwamuChina. (It was exciting. May you hurry up now so that we can go to church. I'm taking a bath and put that suit I bought from a Chinese store.)

16. B: Zvakanaka hanzvadzi. (It's fine my brother.)

(Vapedza svondo) (After church service)

17. A: Nhasi vana vafara zvikuru. Tagona kuita basa iri kunge tinogara tichiriita nguva dzose. (Today the children enjoyed themselves. We did the task very well like we often do it.)

18. B: Kana amufundisi vatenda. Vati tiuyezve svondo rinouya. Kunenge kune vana vaduku vanobva kune dzimwe nzvimbo saka mufundisi vanenge vachida kuti tivabatsire kudzidzisa vana ava kuimba. (Even the pastor was thankful. He asked us to come back next week. There will be childen from other regions so the pastor would want us to help teach these children how to sing.)

19. A: Kana tazvigona nhasi totadza nei svondo rinouya? Unoti chii? (If we've done this expertly today, why can't we do it next week? What do you say?)

20. B: Chokwadi nhasi tafara. Kuita senge tichiri ndumurwa. Svondo rinouya handei zvakare kusvondo tonobata basa raMwari tose. (It's true we enjoyed ourselves today. Like we are toddlers. Next week, let's go to church again and do God's work together.)

21. A: Vabereki vedu vachafarawo kana vanzwa kugona kwedu. Vanobva vaziva kuti vakakudza vana vanotya Mwari uye vanogona kuparidza shoko revhangeri. (Our parents will be happy also when they learn about our good deeds. They'll know that they raised god-fearing children who're able to preach the gospel.)

22. B: Vabereki chete here? Nyangwe vavakidzani vedu nevadzidzisi vedu. Taita maoresa. (Our parents only? Even our neighbours and our teachers too. We've done a good job.)

Persuasive Message Four (Change opinion)

Baba nemwanasikana (Father-daughter subsystem)

A: *Baba* (Father)

B: *Mwanasikana* (Daughter)

1. A: Nhai MaDhuve zvabuda maresults ebvunzo dzenyu gore rino muchange muchiitei? (MaDhuve now that your examination results are out, what are you going to be doing this year?)

2. B: Aaah baba ini hangu zvechikoro ndaneta. Ndoda kumbozorora. (Aaah! Father I'm tired of learning. I need to rest for now.)

3. A: Kuzorora! Asi unoshura nhai mwanangu? Kuzorora uchiitei? (Resting! Are you a bad omen? Resting, doing what?)

4. B: Aiwa baba. Bvunzo dzakandionesa moto. Ndombozorora ndichishanda mudzimba dzekudyira. (No, father. The examinations were difficult. I'll rest whilst working in restaurants.)

5. A: Chokwadi une zvakakugara. Kuramba kuenderera mberi nedzidzo uchida kushanda basa rinoitwa nyangwe nemunhu asina kupedza chikoro? Saka zvawakawana 9 points woturika certificate kumadziro yoshaya basa? (Really, you're possessed. Refusing to proceed with your education just because you want to do work which is done even by a drop-out? So with your 9 points, you want to shelve your certificate on the wall?)

6. B: Baba 9 points idzodzi dzakandirwadza kuwana. Zvekudzidza ndombomira ndichikura. (Father, those 9 points were painful to get. Let me stop learning, and concentrate on growing up.)

7. A: Unokura uchidzidza. Unoda kuzotambura muupenyu hwako? (You grow up whilst studying. Do you want to struggle in your life?)

8. B: Asi imi munorarama wani musina kunyatsodzidza? Ndinongoraramawo sezvamunoita izvi. (But you are surviving when you didn't get a proper education? I'll survive the way you're surviving.)

9. A: Inga ndakatambisa mari yangu ndichikuendesa kuchikoro. Mafungiro ako akasiyana neemunhu akabuda nemapoints aunawo. (I wasted my money sending to school. Your reasoning (now) is different from that of a person who obtained the points you got.)

10. B: Baba kungotiwo handina kunge ndakafunga zvekuenderera mberi nedzidzo. (Father, it's only that I had not thought of proceeding with my education.)

11. A: Mwanangu haungapedze A' Level une pfungwa dzinenge dzepwere. Asi wava kuda zvekuroorwa nhai Mercia? Zvino ziva kuti ini handina mwana anobva pamba pangu asina certificate yechaakadzidza akave nyanzvi. Kutadzawo here kunoita kana kakosi kehukoti zvako? Iko kuyunivhesiti unongonoita dhigiri rezvemari. Kana ukanetseka unongonyora supplementary exams uchitoenderera mberi nedhigiri rako. (My child you can't finish A' Level studies and still be immature. Do you want to get married now, Mercia? You should know that I don't have a child who will leave my homestead (getting married) without a professional qualification. You mean you can't even do a nursing course? At the university, you'll study a degree in finance. If you struggle you just write supplementary examinations and proceed with your degree studies.)

12. B: Ini hangu zvemabhukuzve bodo. Kurara ndakasvinura zvakare ndichinetsana nesvomhu kwete. (No more spending time studying for me. No more spending the night without sleeping working on some mathematical problem.)

13. A: Mercia usaite sezvinonzi unofa kana ukaenderera mberi nedzidzo. Wakamboona guva remunhu akafa nekuverenga? Nyangwe zvikakunetsa kupedza kudzidza degree rako zvigokutorera nguva yakareba, wapedza hapana anozoziva kuti wainetseka. Unowana basa rine mari yakapeta kagumi yauri kuda kunopiwa kuzvitoro zvekudyira. (Mercia don't act as if you'll die if you proceed with your education. Have you ever seen a grave of a person who died due to studying? Even if it may be difficult for you to complete your degree studies, and this may take more time than expected, when you graduate noone will know that you struggled (to complete your studies). You'll get a job that pays ten times what you want to get in restaurants.)

14. B: Kuti kudaro here baba? (Is that so father?)

15. A: Chokwadi mwanangu. Tarisa vanaGift nanaMaria ava vava kufamba nemotokari dzemari. Vakapedza nguva vachidzidza vakawana mabasa anobhadhara mari hobho. AnaShingo naAaron varipi? Vakangopedza chikoro nekutanga kutyaira motokari dzechingwa. Tarisa kusiyana kwavakaita kunge vasina kudzidza vose. (True my child. Look at Gift and Maria who now drive expensive cars. They spent time studying and ended up getting highly-paying jobs. Where are Shingo and Aaron? They completed their secondary education and started driving bread delivery vans. Look at the difference between them; it's as if they did not go to school together.)

16. B: Sezvo mati ndienderere mberi nedzidzo ndichangodaro asi pfungwa dzangu dzanga dzisisadi baba. (Since you have said I should proceed with my education, I'll do so but my mind totally switched off, father.)

17. A: Haunzweka mwanangu. Mava kufunga zvino maDhuve. Hona ini baba vako handina kuenda kuyunivhesiti. Basa rangu nderekutumwa nevakuru vepabasa pangu, vamwe vacho vadiki kwandiri. Vanohora mazakwatira isu vasina kudzidza tichipiwa nhutwa. Dzidzo haikurasise. (You see now my child. You're now thinking maDhuve. See me you father I didn't go to university. My job is that of being sent around by my bosses, some of them are younger than me. They're paid lots of money when we the uneducated get peanuts. Education will not let you down.)

18. B: Ndazvinzwa baba. Mangwana ndotomukira kukwira bhazi ndononyoresa zita rangu payunivhesiti kuMt Pleasant. Ndinokuvimbisai baba kuti ndonouya naro dhigiri reBusiness Studies. (I've heard (you) father. Tomorrow I'll catcht he earliest bus to go and register at the university in Mt Pleasant. I promise you father that I'll graduate with a Business Studies degree.)

19. A: Hekani waro. Ndozvinoita mwana wandakazvara izvi. Kana mai vako nehanzvadzi dzako dzichafara kunzwa kuti wava nemumwe mufungiro. (Now you're talking. This is what a child I gave birth to does. Even your mother and brothers will be happy to hear that you're now thinking otherwise.)

20. B: Baba maifanira kuita roya. Munovhevhetedza munhu akawirirana nemi. (Father, you should have been a lawyer. You influence a person until he/she agrees with you.)

21. A: Bvunza mai vako. Vanokuudza kuti pakutsvetera munhu ndiri nyanzvi. E-e, chirega ndinotsvaga mari yako yebhazi usati washandura pfungwa. (Ask your mother. She'll tell you that when it comes to persuading someone, I'm an expert. E-e, let me go and find your busfare before you've other ideas.)

Persuasive Message Five (Initiate relationship)

Mukomana nemusikana vachipfimbana (courtship)

A: *Mukomana* (Suitor)

B: *Musikana* (the suited)

1. A: Nhai ahanzvadzi miraipo ndimbotaura nemi kwekanguva. (Sister may you stop there please so that I can talk with you briefly.)

2. B: A-a ndisiye. Handina nguva yekutaura newe munhu akashata kudaro. Uye ndiri kumhanyira kutsime. Hauna kukodzera kuti nditukwe namai vangu ndanonoka nemvura. (A-a, leave me alone. I don't have time to talk with you an ugly person like that. Again I'm

rushing to the well (to fetch water). You are not worth me getting scolded by my mother for coming late with water.)

3. A: Aiwa handimbotori nguva yako yakareba. Ndingoda chinguvana   chidokodoko ndichitaura nemi ahanzvadzi. (No, I won't take long. I just need a few minutes speaking with you sister.)

4. B: Zvakanaka, chitaura. Asi wakarebesa nyaya, unosara uchitaura woga ndaenda. (It's fine, speak. But if you speak for too long, you'll remain talking to yourself after I've gone.)

5. A: Ndatenda VaChinengemukaka vangu. Chokwadi chimhandara   wakavakwa Mwari achada. (I'm thankful my Milk-like-beauty. Really young lady you were created when the Lord was still willing.)

6. B: Uri kuti chiiko uchindipedzera nguva? Ndizvo zvaungandimisire   izvozvi zvisina musoro? Ukawana nguva ukwane. Rega ndipfuurire hangu kutsime ini. (What are you saying wasting my time? You've stopped me for this senseless talk? If you get time, try to have some manners. Let me go to the well.)

7. A: Aiwa kani tanga wanzwa nyaya yangu. Zvichida ungaswere wofara nhasi. (No, please listen to my issue first. Maybe you may end the day in a happy mood today.)

8. B: Chingoti ga-aga-a kwete zvekuswerotenderera usingabude pachena. (Can you be brief, not this beating about the bush.)

9. A: Ndinovimba haundituke kana ndakutaurira zvandiri kuda.   Mwanasikanaka wakanaka… (I trust you won't shout at me when I say what I want. Young lady, you're beautiful…)

10. B: Haiwawo! Unondiita mwana mudiki nhai? Vangani vawakataurira   mashoko mamwe chetewo? Tibvirei munzira tipfuurire kutsime zvedu isu. (Com'on! You think I'm immature? How many others did you say these same words to? Move out of the way so I (we) can go to the well.)

11. A: Ndiwe chete wafadza meso angu. Uri chigutsameso changu. Zita rako unonzi ani? (You are the only who has satisfied my eyes. You are the apple of my eye. What is your name?)

12. B: Zvezita rangu ndozvadii? Tsve-e kutaura zvamandimisira,   nangananga nezita rangu. Mukati makakwana nhai baba imi? (What about my name? Now you've abandoned why you've stopped me, now you are focusing on my name. Are you mentally stable?)

13. A: Pfavisai mwoyo mai vemwoyo wangu. Handisi pano kuti ndikakavadzane newe. Munhu akanaka sewe haaite sezvauri kuita. Ndiripo kutaura mafadzamoyo chimwe changu. (Soften your heart, the mother of my heart. I'm not here to argue with you. A person as beautiful as you are will not behave the way you are doing. I'm here to tell you heart-warming words, my better half.)

14. B: Unopenga here? Ndiri mai vemwoyo wako pakudii? Ndiri chimwe chako pakudii? (Are you crazy? I'm the mother of your heart in what way? I'm your better half in what way?)

15. A: Varaidzo mwoyo wangu wamera pauri. Ndinokuda Varaidzo. Ndide ndikuroore gore risati rapera. Ndikakuroora ndinokuchengeta zvakanaka ndichikushongedza nhumbi dzinodhura nekushanya newe kunzvimbo dzinovaraidza. (Varaidzo my heart fell for you. I love you Varaidzo. Love me back so that I can marry you before the year ends. If I marry you I will look after you well, buy you expensive clothes and take you to leisure resorts.)

16. B: A-a zita rangu makariudzwa nani? Amai vangu vakati handisati ndava kukodzera kuita zvevarume. Ndisiyei ndichiri mwana mudiki. (A-ah, who told you my name? My mother said I'm not ready to chase after men. Leave me, I'm still too young.)

17.   A: Ndakatsvaga kubva kune vamwe. Pandakangonzwa kuti unonzi Varaidzo, ndakati ndiwe chete uchandivaraidza upenyu hwangu   hwose. Saka uri kuti chiiko nenyaya yangu? (I found [your name] from others. When I heard that you're called Varaidzo, I said you're the only one who will pleasure me my whole life. So what are you saying about my issue?)

18.   B: (papera kanguva) Chimbondipawo nguva ndimbofunga. Iyi haisi nyaya diki. ((after a brief moment) Give me some time to think. This is not a small issue.)

19.   A: Zvakanaka Varaidzo. Ndingafare chose kana ukangondida. Nevabereki vangu vangafare kana wangondida. Vanogarotaura kuti mhuri yenyu ine unhu. (It's fine Varaidzo. I would be happy if you accept my proposal. And my parents, too, would be happy if you accept my request. They often say your family is has good manners.)

20.   B: Mangwana ndichaenda kunotsvaga huni kujiri remazhanje saka   tozosangana ikoko ndokupa mhinduro. (Tomorrow I will go to collect firewood in the wild loquat forest so let's meet there so that I can give you an answer.)

21.   A: Nhasi handirare ndakamirira mhinduro yako. (Today [tonight] I won't sleep [I'll be] waiting for your answer.)

22.   B: Zita rako hauna kundiudza. (You didn't tell your name.)

23.   A: Ndinonzi Kundishora mwana wekwaMabwe. (I'm called Kundishora of the Mabwe family.)

24.   B: Uri wekwaMabwe asi handikuzive? (You're a Mabwe but I don't know you?)

25.   A: Hongu ndiri wekwaMabwe asi mai vangu havagare nababa vangu. Ndakakurira kwasekuru vangu kuGunguhwe. (Yes, I'm from the Mabwe family but my mother doesn't stay with my father. I grew up staying with my maternal uncle at Gunguhwe.)

26.   B: Zvakanaka ndokuona mangwana masikati. (It's fine; I'll see you tomorrow in the afternoon.)

27.   A: Ndinenge ndakakumirira padombo guru riya riri mujiri iri. (I'll be waiting at the (famous) big stone in that forest.)

(Mangwana acho) (The next day)

28.   A: A-a wauya Chinengemukaka changu! Wanonoka wasvika. Ndipe shoko rinokodza mwoyo Varaidzo. (O, you've come my Milk-like-beauty. You're a tad too late. Give me a heart-warming word Varaidzo.)

29.   B: Kundi pane zvandinoda kukubvunza ndisati ndakupa mhinduro pane zvawakandibvunza zuro. Hauna mukadzi here? Zvebarika neni hatifambidzani. Ukandinyeperaka! (Kundi there is something I want to ask you before I give you the answer to the request you made yesterday. Don't you have a wife? Polygamy and I don't mix. If you lie to me!)

30.   A: Handina mukadzi ini. Iwe chete ndiwe wandinoda. (I don't have a wife. You are the only person I love.)

31.   B: (achinyaranyara akatarisa pasi) Kana zvirizvo rega ndikuudze chokwadi. Ndino-no-kuda Kundi. Asi usazondirasisewo mumwe wangu. Handidi hangu munhu anonyepa. (shyly, looking down) If that is the case, let me tell you the truth. I –I love you Kundi. But don't let me down my dear. I don't like a person who lies to me.)

32.   A: Handikurasise Varaidzo. Iwe ndiwe uchave wangu narinhi. (I won't let you down Varaidzo. You're going to be mine until amen.)

33. B: Chihandei tinogara pasi pezimuti iro undiudze nyaya yako yekukurira kwasekuru zvakazara. (Let's go and sit under that big tree so that you can tell me the full story of you growing up with your uncles.)

34. A: Handei mudiwa. (Let's go my darling.)

Persuasive Message Six (Escalate relationship)

Musikana nemukomana vachipana nhumbi (Engagement)

A: *Musikana* akadiwa (fiancée)

B: *Mukomana* akadiwa (fiancé)

1. A: Kundi mudiwa pane nyaya yandinoda kukubvunza. Ndivimbise kuti hauzonditsamwira kana ndakuudza zvandiri kuda kukuudza. (Kundi darling there is an issue I want to ask you. Please promise me that you won't get angry with me after I have told you what I want to tell you.)

2. Sununguka chimwe changu. Usatye kundibvunza chero chaunoda kuziva. Ndiripo kukufadza Varaidzo. (Feel free my love. Don't be afraid to ask me anything you would want to know. I'm here to please you Varaidzo.)

3. Chokwadi here mudiwa? (Is that true darling?)

4. Chokwadi sununguka mudiwa. (Yes, feel free darling.)

5. Kana wadaro zvakanaka. Umm toenda rinhi kunoona tete vangu? (If you say so, then it's fine. Umm when are we visiting my aunt?)

6. B: Chero paunenge wada mumwe wangu. Kana ukati nhasi chaiye tinoenda. (Whenever you see fit my dear. Even if you say today, we'll go.)

7. A: Unoziva kuti tava nenguva tichifambidzana. Zvakangonaka kuti tinge ndichizivisa hama dzangu kuti iwe ndiwe wandiri kufambidzana naye. (You know we have been dating for a long period now. It's proper to formally inform my relatives that you're the one I'm dating.)

8. B: Usatombondityira mudiwa Varaidzo. Kwatete tinoenda pasina chinetso. Ndipe zuva rimwe chete ndinotsvaga chandinokupa kana tasvika kwatete vako. (Don't worry about me my dear Varaidzo. We'll go to your aunt's without any problem. Just give me a day so that I can find something to give you when we get to you aunt's place.)

9. A: Hapana kana nhumbi inodhura inodiwa apa Kundi. Chero chese chaunenge wandipa ndinogamuchira. (No expensive engagement token is needed here Kundi. Whatever you give me, I'll accept.)

10. B: Kana wadaro zvakanaka asi zvinoitawo here kuti ndikupe chinhu chandamboshandisa? (If you say so, it's fine, but is it acceptable that I give you something I have used before?)

11. A: Hapana chakaipa nazvo nekuti chako chichava changu, changu chichava chako munguva diki inotevera. (There is nothing wrong with that because what is yours will be mine, what is mine will be yours soon.)

12. B: Ndichakupa sikipa yangu yechikwata cheChelsea iya yandinodisa. (I'll give you my Chelsea Football Club jersey which I treasure the most.)

13. A: Unenge wagona mudiwa Kundi. Ndinofamba ndakaipfeka kuitira vose vanoda kundinetsa vatambire kure vachiziva kuti ndakatorwa newe. (You'll have done wonders dear Kundi. I'll walk around in it so that all who want to trouble me will stay far knowing that I'm taken by you.)

14. B: Ko, iwe uchandipei nhai Varaidzo? (What are you going to give me Varaidzo?)

15. A: Aaah! ndinoda kukushamisa nechandichakupa. (Aaah! I want to surprise you with my gift.)

16. B: Zvakanaka. Kwatete tinoenda mangwana.Ndinopfuura nepano ndichikutora nemotokari yangu toenda kwaMugwanhira kwacho kwatete. Ndinovimba havandishore tete vako. (It's fine. We're going to you aunt's tomorrow. I'll pass by and pick you with my car on our way to Mugwanhira village where your aunt stays. I hope she will not disapprove of me.)

17. A: Toenda mangwana. Usatya hako, tete vangu vanonzwisisa. Ndivo ndakafana. Zvakare vakasununguka zvekuti kungokuona vanokufarira ipapo ipapo. (We'll go tomorrow. Don't worry, my aunt is very understanding. It's her that I'm like. Also, she is very open and welcoming such that when she sees you she will accept you there and then.)

18. B: Ndizvo here? Handidi zvekunorumiswa nembwa vaona kushata kwangu. (Is that so? I don't want to have dogs set on me when she sees my ugliness.)

19. A: Aaah wakashata iyewe? Dai wakashata ndisina kukuda. Aiwa tete vangu usavatye nokuti ndakatovaudza kare nezvako. (Aaah! Are you ugly? If you were ugly, I would not have loved you. Don't worry about my aunt because I already informed her of you.)

20. B: Chokwadi hauite! Maitaura dzei chaidzo pamaitaura nezvangu? (Sure, you are marvelous! What were talking about exactly when you talked about me?)

21. A: Ndakangovaudza kuti wakanaka uye une tsika saka vakati ndakagona pandakakuda. (I just told her that you're handsome and well-behaved, so she said I was right to love you.)

22. B: Zvinofadza kana vakafarira rudo rwedu. Chiitiko ichi chichasimbisa rudo rwedu mudiwa. Ndapota usazoshandure pfungwa panyaya iyi. Tabvako tichanoona hanzvadzi yangu nemukoma wangu kuti vazivweo kuti ndiwe wandiri kudanana naye. (It's pleasing if she will appreciate our love relationship. This act will strengthen our love, darling. Please do not change your mind on this. When we come back (from your aunt's), we'll visit my brother and sister so that they may you're my lover.)

23. Zvakanaka mudiwa Kundi. (It's fine, darling Kundi.)

Persuasive Message Seven (De-escalate relationship)

Baba nemwanakomana (Father-son subsystem)

A: *Baba* (Father)

B: *Mwanakomana* (Boy)

1. A: Mangwana usunge kwako unozvitsvagira pako pekugara! Handichada kukuona pano, wanzwa! (Tomorrow, gather all your things and go find somewhere to live! I don't want ot see you here, do you hear?)

2. B: Chiiko nhai baba? Zvaita sei? (What's wrong, father? What has happened?)

3. A: Basa rekuparadza upfumi hwangu. Unoda kuparadza upfumi hwangu ndisati ndafa. Kuzoti ndafa, pane chaunochengeta iwe? ((You're) good at destroying my wealth. You want to destroy my wealth when I haven't died. When I die, do you think there'll be something you'll keep?)

4. B: Baba hapana mhosva yandapara ini. (Father, there's no crime I've committed.)

5. A: Pwapwa hapana mhosva yandapara. Tibvirepo! Unofunga handizive kuti ndiwe wakatengesa mombe yangu yatakashaya mwedzi wapfuura? Zvino ziva kuti rina manyanga

hariputirwe mumushunje. Nhasi zvose zvabuda pachena. ((parroting him) Father, there's no crime I've committed. Get lost! You think I don't know that it's you who sold my cow which went missing last month? You should know that that which has horns cannot be hidden in a sack. Today all has been revealed.)

6. B: Aaaah ishamwari dzangu dzakaitengesa. (Aaaah! It's my friends who sold it.)

7. A: Saka iwe waiziva hako kuti mombe yakatengeswa uchiramba wakanyarara pose pataiitsvaga? Ibva wabva pano mangwana mangwanani chaiwo. Ndikakuona pano ndinokuponda! (So you knew that the cow had been sold yet you remained quiet when we were looking for it? Leave (my homestead) early morning tomorrow. If I see here, I will murder you!)

8. B: Kubva ndinobva asi ini handina kutengesa mombe yenyu baba. (Leaving, I'll leave but I didn't sell your cow father.)

9. A: Mari yamainwa doro mavhiki apfuura imari yemombe yangu. Iwe ndiwe mwana muparadzi chaiye. Zvino ini ndapedza newe. Wozouya parufu rwangu. Handigare nemharadzi yakaita sewe. (The money you were drinking two weeks ago is the money you got from selling my cow. You are the real prodigal son. Now I'm done with you. Come back when I'm died. I can't live with a destructive person like you.)

10. B: Zvakanaka baba. Kana zvirizvo zvamafunga ndobva hangu pamusha penyu. Asi amai ndoziva kuti havapindirane nemaitiro enyu. (It's fine, father. If that's what you want, I will leave your homestead. I know my mother doesn't agree with your actions.)

11. A: Ibva! Munhu wepi asingachengeteke! Kukuendesa kuchikoro, chabuda hapana. Basa kuda kuparadza upfumi hwangu. Enda unotsvaga basa uzvichengete. Wakura nyangwe hazvo musoro wako usingatore zvakanaka. Mai vako vakatsamwa nemabasa ako aya ndokusaka vakangonyarara. Uchatambura hako asi ini handikendenge zvachose. (Leave! What kind of person who can't be looked after! I sent you to school yet nothing came out of that. Your desire is to destroy my wealth. Go and look for a job so that you can look after yourself. You're now a grown up person even if your head (mind) doesn't work properly. Your mother is angry due to your behaviour that's why she is quiet. You'll suffer but I don't care at all.)

12. B: Ndobva baba. Ndinanasekuru. (I'll leave, father. I've uncles.)

13. A: Usanovabira mombe dzavo ikoko! Mwana wepi! (Don't go and steal their cattle too! What kind of a child!)

Persuasive Message Eight (Obtain permission)

Mudzimai nemurume (wife-husband subsystem)

A: *Mudzimai* (Wife)

B: *Murume* (Husband)

1. A: Baba vevana tarisaiwo zvaita bvudzi rangu. Kukwasharara seren'anga kudai. (Father of my children look at the state of my hair. So dry like a witchdoctor's.)

2. B: Rakanaka wani? (It's beautiful, isn't it?)

3. A: Rashata iri baba vevana. (It is bad, my children's father.)

4. B: Manga mafunga zvipiko adzimai? (What have you thought of my dear wife?)

5. A: Ndoda kunogadzirwa musoro baba vaTonderai. (I want to go and have my hair fixed father of Tonde.)

6.   B: Iwo musoro wamakagadzirwa vhiki mbiri dzapfuura idzi. Hamuonewo here kuti mava kuda kutambisa mari? (This hairstyle was done two weeks ago [do you know]. Don't you see that you now want to misuse money?)

7.   A: A-a paya ndakagadzirwa zvemari shoma. Bvudzi rangu harichaita iri. Ndingaendawo kumuchato waTobias naizvozvi zvandakarukwa? Vanhu vangasandiseka kuti nhamo iya yava kutaura? (positive altercasting) (A-a, that time I was done (a hairstyle) that was not expensive. My hairstyle is terrible now. Can I go to Tobias's wedding with this hairstyle? Will people not laugh at me saying our poverty is now speaking (prominent)?)

8.   B: Ko ndimi munenge muchichata here? Munoda kugadzirwa musoro kupfuura muchati? (Is it you who will be wedding? Do you want to get your hair fixed better than that of the person wedding?)

9.   A: Handizvo baba vevana. Kungotiwo ndionekere pane vamwe vakadzi. Vose vagogutsikana kuti muri kugona kundichengeta. (No, that's not it my children's father. It's only that I'll look presentable among other people. They should all be agree that I'm being look after well.)

10. B: Munoraramira vanhu here? Munhu angotaura unake ushate. (Do you live for other people? A person will talk (about you) whether you are beautiful or ugly.)

11. A: Unogona kushorwa kana usina kuzvishongedzawo zvakanaka. Mungazvide here vanhu vandishore pamusaka pevhudzi rangu? (You can be criticised if you're not well-dressed. Would you like it if people criticise me because of my hair?) (negative self-feeling)

12. B: Ko kugerwa zvinei? Handiti musoro musoro une kana usina vhudzi? (Why not have the hair shaved? Isn't it a head is a head with or without hair?)

13. A: Aiwa, zvekugerwa kwete. Ndinganyarire pai? Munongoziva kutaura kwevanhu. Kana mukasanyara imi ini ndini ndinonyara. (No, no shaving. How will I survive the embarrassment? You know how people talk. If you're unashamed, I will be the one ashamed.)

14. B: Mungazvigone here zvinoda vanhu? Hamuraramire vamwe vanhu. (Can you please everyone's desire? You don't live to please other people.)

15. A: Ini kusekwa hangu handidi baba vevana.(I don't like being laugh at, my children's father.)

16. B: Saka motonorukwa nebvudzi rokutengaka sezvo musingagutsikane nerenyu rekuzvarwa naro? (So you can go and have artificial hair since you're not satisfied with your natural beauty?)

17. A: Hongu. Inga ndizvo zviri kungoita vamwe vose baba vevana. Handingasariirewoka pakugadzirwa musoro. (Yes. This is what everyone is doing, my children's father. I can't be left behind on the habit of fixing hair.)

18. B: Zvino totobvisa mari yacho yemusoro pane yechikafu? (So now we'll have to take some of the grocery money for your hairdo?)

19. A: Ko tingadii? Tozoona zvekuita kuti mwedzi upere. Munogona kukwereta kushamwari dzenyu. Handiti munombovabatsirawo here? (nagging) (What can we do? We'll see what we can do to get to month end. You can borrow (money) from your friends. Isn't it that you often help them?)

20. B: Hongu adzimai. Chiendai ndisati ndashandura pfungwa. (Yes, my wife. Go now before I change my mind.)

21. A: A-a munenge mava kupenga kana modaro. Ndokuonai ndadzoka. (A-a, you'll be crazy if you do that. I'll see you when I come back.)

Persuasive Message Nine (Enforce rights and obligation)

Vanamukurungai (Fathers-in-law)

A: *Tezvara* (Father of daughter-in-law)

B: *Mukurungai* (Father of son-in-law)

1. A: Iwe Mapfumo sei usina kundiudza kuti mwanasikana wangu arwara? (You Mapfumo, why didn't inform me that my daughter was sick?)

2. B: Taiti kungokosora kwemazuva ose Mazvimbakupa. Hatina kuziva kuti hosha iyi ichakura zvekusvika pakutora munhu. (We thought it was ordinary coughing Mazvimbakupa. We didn't know that this disease would become serious to the point of kill a person.)

3. A: Maive anachiremba here kana n'anga? Maiti anopora imi musina kumurapisa? (Were you doctors or even witchdoctors? You thought she would recover yet you did not seek treatment for her?)

4. B: Ah pakakanganiswa. (Ah, that was a mistake.)

5. A: Nhasi munotondiripa. Makatamba nemataka pasina mvura. Ndaiti kukura musoro injere izvo makazara mvura. (Today you've to compensate me. You played with dirt (mud) when there was no water to clean it with. I thought having big heads was a sign of wisdom yet they are full of water.)

6. B: (achirova gusvi akachonjomara, nguwani iri paibvi) Nyamasvisva kutadza kuri muvanhu mhanduwe! Tinokumbira ruregerero. Takatadza kusakuudzai nezveurwere hwemwana wenyu. ((clapping hands respectfully, squatting with (his) hat on his knees) Nyamasvisva, to err is for human beings mhanduwe! We ask for forgiveness. We erred by not informing you about your child's illness.)

7. A: Mwana wangu kushayawo here akauya kuzomupepa? Imi muchivanza kurwara kwake. Maida kuti afe mugomudya? (Sure, my child had no one by her deathbed? You were hiding her sickness. You wanted her to die so that you could eat her?)

8. B: Pakakanganiswa Nyamasvisva. Chidzorai mwoyo mhanduwe-e tiradze mwana wenyu pasina bongozozo. (An error was made Nyamasvisva. Soften your heart Stranger so that we can bury your child peacefully.)

9. A: Handinzarwo inini. Makandidheerera mukati hapana zvandinoita. Zvino nhasi wangu handivige pano. Muchaona zvekuita naye mwana wangu. Vanhu vepi vasina matyira! Zvamakaona arwara makadii kundiudza ini nyakutumbura? He-e iwe Mapfumo wakadii kundiudza kuti mwana wangu ava panhowo yerufu? (You don't play with me. You fooled me thinking there's nothing I can do. Now today I won't bury mine here. You'll find what you can do with my child. What type of people who are not afraid! When you saw that she was ill, why didn't you inform me the one who gave brought her into this world? Hey, you Mapfumo why didn't you inform me that my child was on her deathbed?)

10. B: Pakareswa Unendoro, Nzou Samanyanga. Takakanganisa tinobvuma mhosva yedu. (We erred Unendoro, Elephant One-With-Big-Horns. We erred; we accept our mistake.)

11. A: VekwaMazvimbakupa havana kumbopusa kudai. Muri anaTembo vekupi imi musingazive tsika dzinotevedzwa kana muroora arwara? (Those of Those-Of-Who-Yearn-To-Give are not this ignorant. You're Tembo from where who don't know the norms to follow when a daughter-in-law falls sick?)

12. B: Tinobvuma kuti takakanganisa. Chipindai mumba muone mwana wenyu wataisa kuchikuva. Ruregerero mhanduwe! (We accept that we erred. May you get into the house and see your child whom we have put on the raised platform. Forgive us my fellow!)

13. A: Mumba handipindi. Kana pano handirare. Musare mudye mwana wangu mukore. (I will not get into the house. Even here I will not sleep. Remain behind and eat my child.)

14. B: Musatiomeserewo mwoyo Unendoro. Kutadza kuri muvanhu. (Please, don't be hardhearted towards us Unendoro. To err is humane.)

15. A: Ndaenda ini. Handina makuva embwa. (I'm going away. I don't have dogs' graves (I'm brave).)

16. B: Munhu wemukuru haadaro. Chigarai pasi Nyamasvisva titaurirane sevaroodzani. (An adult doesn't behave like this. Please sit down Nyamasvisva so that we can talk like people who inter-married.)

17. A: Kana muchida kuviga vigai moga asi hokoyo nengozi! Moda kubata moto, munotsva ihe-e! (If you want to bury (her), bury but beware of the avenging spirit! You want to touch fire, you'll get burnt!)

18. B: Ehe, hunde. Chokwadi tingatsve. Kungoti ini mukurungai wako ndaive ndisipo. Zvakadai hazvaiitika dai ndaive pamusha. Vana vanotadza. Mwoyo wemukuru indove yedzvinyu. Regererai vana Mhukahuru, Samanyanga vari Horekore. (Yes, sure. It really burns (the avenging spirit of the dead) It's only that I, your in-law, was not here. This kind of thing would not happen if I were here. Children make mistakes. An adult's heart is a lizard's dung. Forgive children Big-Animal, One-With-Big-Horns who are in Horekore.)

19. A: Chibatai mbudzi tibate basa. Asi musazvipamhe vanaChihota kuita kunge mazunguzirwa. (Now pay a goat so that we can do this job. But don't do it again you Chihota behaving like toadpoles.)

20. B: Zvanzwikwa Nyamasvisva. Mbudzi tinobata. Maita basa matirerutsira. (It has been heard Nyamasvisva. A goat we will pay. Thank you for making it easy for us.)

21. A: Musazouraya mbudzi. Yangu ndinotakura ndoratidza vekwangu. (Don't kill the goat. Mine I will take with me and show to my relatives.)

22. B: Dzinonzwa; hadzirimi. (They (ears) listen; they don't farm.)

23. A: Madaro chete mwana wangu tinoviga tose. Ko paukamaka. Handiti takaroorerana? (If you do that we'll bury my child. We are family. Isn't it we inter-married?)

24. B: Ndizvo chaizvo pachivanhu chedu. Tadzidza chidzidzo cheupenyu. (That's it according to our culture. We've learnt a life lesson.)

Persuasive Message Ten (Change orientation)

Mudzimai nemurume wake (wife-husband subsystem)

A: Mudzimai (Wife)

B: Murume (Husband)

1. A: Baba vevana nhasi kugungano remadzimai tadzidza nezvebato idzva reHappy People's Party. (My children's father, today at the women's gathering, we learnt about the new political party called Happy People's Party (HPP).)

2. B: Imi muchatirovesa nemaZACU. Siyanai nechibato icho. (You'll get us beaten up by ZACU people. Forget that (useless) party.)

3. A: Hapana anorohwa. Munhu wese ane kodzero yetsigira bato ranoda. (Noone will be beaten up. Everyone has a right to support of his/her choice.)

4. B: VeZACU havaite zvokutamba, munovaziva wani. (ZACU people are not playful at all. You know them.)

5. A: Baba vevana musangotyiswa nevamwe vanhu vakasikwawo naMwari. Vakatirova tinodzorera. (My children's father, don't be intimidated by other people who were also created by God. If they beat us up, we will retaliate.)

6. B: Musaite zvekutamba. Zvematongerwo enyika izvi zvine makuva mukati. (Don't be playful. Politics has graves in it (physical casualties).)

7. A: Hongu ndinogona kurohwa asi mirai ndimbokutaurirai zveHPP. (Yes, I may be beaten but wait so that I can tell you about HPP.)

8. B: Sakai imi ndimi mava mutauriri waro bato iri? (So you're now the spokesperson of that party?)

9. A: Ndapiwa chigaro chemutungamiri wemadzimai. Svondo rinouya tinoenda tose. Pamwe mutodzoka mava sachigaro weMain Assembly sezvo muri nyanzvi yekutaura. (I was given the position of women assembly chairwoman. Next week we'll go together. Maybe you'll come back as the chairman of the Main Assembly since you're a good speaker.)

10. B: Ibvai masiyana nebato iri mai mwana. Tinopisirwa dzimba. Munoaziva maZACU kana auya. Munotirovesa imi. (Stop getting involved with this party my children's mother. We'll have our house burnt down. You know (what happens) when ZACU supporters come. You'll get us beaten up.)

11. A: Hakuna zvakadaro. Nyika ino ndeyemunhu wose. Haisi yevakabata pfuti chete. (There's nothing like that. This country is for everyone. It's not for war veterans only.)

12. B: Zvambobva nepi zvekuti munonomira pamberi pevanhu muchiita zvematongerwo enyika nhai mai mwana? (Where did this come from that you go and stand infront of people engaging in politics my children's mother?)

13. A: Kutambura kwatiri kuita hamukuone here baba vevana? Slogan yedu inoti: munhu wose ngaafare muZimbabwe, mabasa angaawanike muZimbabwe, vanhu ngavasununguke muZimbabwe! (You don't see how people are suffering, my children's father? Our slogan goes: everyone should be happy in Zimbabwe, jobs should be found in Zimbabwe, people should be free in Zimbabwe.)

14. B: Imika ndinokutyirai. Isu takaona vanhu vachipurwa nemaZACU takati zvematongerwo enyika hatiite. Siyanai nazvo izvi. (I fear for you. We saw people being bashed by ZACU supporters and resolved not to participate in politics. Abandon this (participation in politics).)

15. A: Izvi handisiye. Kusiri kufa ndekupi? Torega kuita zvematongerwo enyika tinongotambura. Regai timboedza pamwe tingaunze shanduko muupenyu mevanhu vazhinji. (I'll not abandon this. Which is not dying? We stay out of politics and still continue to suffer. Let's try, maybe we can bring change in the lives of many people.)

16. B: Imboitai. Isu vamwe vemutyutyu tongotarisa. Ko, makunguwo zvaakatya akafa mangani? (Continue doing it (if that is what you wish). We, who are easily frightened, will observe. When crows got frightened, how many of them died? (Last sentence is a proverb which roughly says that cowards do not often die.))

17. A: Itsumo inoshandiswa nemvutye iyi. Svondo rinouya, handei kumusangano weHappy People's Party tose. (That's a proverb often used by cowards. Next week, let's go together to Happy People's Party meeting.)

18. B: Uko handiende. Zviri nani kuswera zvangu ndichiveza duri pane kuita zvematongerwo enyika. Handidi zvekunetsana nevanhu. (I won't go (especially) there. I would rather spend

the day mortar-making than to engage in politics. I don't want to be in conflict with other people.)

19.   A: Zvakakuomerai. Kutambura kwatiri kuita hamukuone? Pindai mune zvematongerwo enyika mugadzirise nyika. (It's so difficult (to convince you). The suffering we are enduring you do not see it? Get involved in politics and fix the country.)

20.   B: Ini ndini ndingaigone nyika iyi ndisina kana kumbodzidza? Regai vakadzidza vatonge isu vasina kudzidza tichingovavhotera. Ndoenda kuHPP ko handiti ZACU ndiyo yakasunungura nyika? (Am I the one to fix the country when I am uneducated? Let the educated rule whilst we the uneducated vote for them. Why should I join HPP yet ZACU is the one that liberated us?)

21.   A: Hongu ndiyo yakasunungura nyika asi yapererwa. Tarisai kuondonga kwayaita nyika: mabasa hapana, mari mumabhanga hamuna, zvinhu zvava kudhura, varwere havasi kurapwa. Aah! Svinurai baba vevana. HPP ndiyo mhinduro apa. (Yes, it is the one that liberated us but it has run of ideas. look at how it has destroyed the country: no jobs, no cash in banks, commodities are expensive, the sick are not being cured. Aah! Open you eyes my children's father. HPP is the answer (here).)

22.   B: Itai zveHPP yenyu moga. (Do you HPP thing on your own.)

23.   A: Aah! Zvakakuomerai chokwadi. Asi pamberi apo muchamuka henyu. Handiti zvinonzi vana vembwa havasvinure musi mumwe? (Aah! It's really tough with you. But later on, you will wake up. Isn't it they say dog puppies don't open their eyes on the same day?

24.   B: Tozoona. Pari zvino ndomboita zvekuveza maturi. (We'll see. For now let me concentrate on mortar-making.)

APPENDIX D

ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
MBRS	Miller Boster Roloff Soi
SEU	Subjective Expected Utility
RCQ	Role Category Questionnaire
GPA	Goals-Plans-Action
FITD	Foot-in-the-door
DITF	Door-in-the-face
LTM	Long-term memory
Arg.	Argument
Subarg.	Subargument
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease

APPENDIX E

Marwell & Schmitt's (1967) 16 Compliance-seeking Strategies

Strategy	Description
Promise	Offer a reward to get the target to comply
Threat	Promise to punish the target
Expertise (positive)	Target to be rewarded due to the nature of things
Expertise (negative)	Target to be punished due to the nature of things
Liking	Being friendly and pleasant to win over the target
Pregiving	Reward the target before requesting compliance
Aversive stimulation	Punish target, conceding only after compliance
Debt	Cite past favours to gain compliance
Moral appeal	You're immoral if you don't this
Self-feeling (positive)	You'll feel good if you comply
Self-feeling (negative)	You'll feel worse about yourself if you don't comply
Altercasting (positive) = manipulation	A person with good qualities would comply.
Altercasting (negative)	Only a person with "bad" quality would not comply
Altruism	Do it for me (I really need your compliance)
Esteem (positive)	People you value will be happy if you do this
Esteem (negative)	People you value will feel let down if you do not comply

Other strategies: hinting, nagging, deceit, direct request, warning, guilt, citing the Bible

Compliance-resisting strategies: justifying, overt refusal (nonnegotiation), negotiation, identity management, diplomatic avoidance, walking away, citing the Bible

APPENDIX F

PERSUASIVE MESSAGE DIMENSIONS (Dillard et al, 1997)

Explicitness (Directness) The degree to which the message source makes his or her intentions apparent to the target.	**High Explicitness:** Direct requests Explanation	**Low Explicitness:** Hinting
Dominance The degree to which the message source's behaviour implies that he or she has power/control over the target.	**High Dominance:** Promise Esteem Praise	**Low Dominance:** Aversive stimulation Threats Warning
Argument The degree to which the message source offers explicit reasons the target should comply with his or her request.	**High Argument:** Explanation Deceit	**Low Argument:** Direct request Guilt