THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE PERSUASIVE COMMUNICATION OF TELEVISION EVANGELISTS

by

ROSEMARIE SCHMIDT
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We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

[redacted]

Dr. J. F. Kess

[redacted]

Dr. J. Arthurs

[redacted]

Dr. R. A. Hoppe

[redacted]

Dr. W. J. Harker

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

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Supervisor: Professor J. F. Kess

ABSTRACT

The process of persuasion has received a great deal of scholarly attention, yet it remains today an incompletely understood phenomenon. One of the basic components of any attempt at persuasion is language. However, comparatively little research has been done to determine whether certain kinds of linguistic techniques might function to enhance the persuasive impact of a message or, alternatively, whether it is possible to identify specific linguistic features as characteristic of the use of language to persuade. Two studies which have attempted to address these questions examined the persuasive messages of television advertising. The fact that both studies examined only one type of persuasive message, however, leaves open the possibility that some of the linguistic features found to characterize these messages might, in fact, be artifacts of advertising style as opposed to characteristics common to persuasive language use.

This research was therefore undertaken to study the role of language in persuasion in two ways. First, it comprises an attempt to refine our understanding of how language might function in persuasion by examining relevant work from a variety of disciplines both in terms of theoretical ap-

proaches to the process and in terms of the actual linguistic techniques which have been discussed as enhancing the persuasive impact of a message. Second, in order to test the generalizability of the linguistic features found to characterize persuasive language in television advertising, a comparative study was undertaken. Here another group of televised messages for which persuasive intent could be assumed were examined to determine whether the linguistic categories derived from television advertising could also be found in another form of persuasive language use. The messages used for comparison were comprised of the promotional segments of five television evangelists' broadcasts. In the subsequent analysis of these data it was found that many of the linguistic techniques which had been identified as characteristic of persuasive language in television advertising also occurred in the speech of television evangelists. Some of the categories set forth as exemplifying persuasive language use, however, were not found in the data. Those linguistic techniques which were found in both types of messages were considered to lend support to the previous interpretations of these devices as characteristic of language used to persuade. With regard to those features not found in the data, however, it could only be concluded that they do not necessarily correspond with persuasive intent. The results of this study, while suggestive, are not conclu-

sive. They do, however, point to interesting questions which might be pursued in future research. Some of these are mentioned in the concluding portions of the study.

Examiners: [redacted]

Dr. J. F. Kess

[redacted]

Dr. J. Arthurs

[redacted]

Dr. R. A. Hoppe

[redacted]

Dr. W. J. Harker

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Persuasion is a topic which has interested scholars since the time of Aristotle. Although it has received a variety of definitions over the years, a composite of the most common meanings for the term would define persuasion as the process of inducing a voluntary change in someone's attitudes, beliefs, or behaviour through the transmission of a message (Bettinghaus, 1968; Anderson, 1978). This definition specifies that the change brought about must be voluntary so that violent and coercive measures such as brainwashing and torture are not considered instances of persuasion. It addition, it might be mentioned that the pre-eminent means for transmitting a persuasive message is language. This is not to deny that gestures, music, and even art might have a persuasive appeal, but rather to assert that these channels are employed to a much lesser degree and that their role is generally secondary to the verbal component which carries the message.

In human society, persuasion constitutes a non-violent means whereby conflicts and differences of opinion can be resolved. Because of its role in interpersonal relations,

it has even been considered by some to be the primary tool of civilization (Bettinghaus, 1968). Yet, there is perhaps today a tendency to consider persuasion to be primarily an instrument of such ventures as commercial advertising or classical oratory. Such a conceptualization overlooks the fact that this process is also a normal part of everyday conversation in which speakers regularly switch roles from agent to recipient of persuasion. Although the degree to which someone wishes to persuade another during the course of a conversation may vary greatly, persuasion remains such an integral part of normal discourse that it is difficult to define parameters by which to distinguish it from the conversation in which it occurs (Anderson, 1978).

The use of language to induce a voluntary change in the recipient of a message occurs in many contexts. For example, the psychotherapeutic interaction has been recognized for over two decades now to constitute a persuasion process (Strong & Claiborn, 1982). Within the domain of psychotherapy, an extension of normal processes of linguistic intervention are also found in the use of language to induce trances for clinical hypnosis (Watzlawick, 1978). In addition to the various interpersonal contexts that comprise settings for persuasion, the mass media are also widely used for this purpose. In the printed media, for example, newspaper and magazine editorials as well as advertisements uti-

lize language in attempts to persuade readers to adopt a position or to buy a product. However, despite the impact of the printed word, it is still primarily through speech that we communicate with one another, and the ever-increasing use of the electronic media of radio and television promises, if anything, to strengthen the dominant role of spoken language in our society (Anderson, 1978). Television, in particular, provides a well-developed example of the use of spoken language for persuasive ends. In addition to the large scale use of commercial advertising to influence consumers, the role of television in political persuasion has reached a point where in North America even a country's choice of national leader is now widely attributed to his ability to project the appropriate image over this medium.

The fact that language is an integral part of virtually any persuasive attempt raises the question of precisely how this element enters into the process. Most research done on persuasion has tended to assume that the role of language is primarily a function of such content factors as the number, type, and arrangement of arguments presented in support of a position. Recent work from a variety of disciplines, however, has begun to demonstrate the potential of other aspects of language use for enhancing the persuasive impact of a message. Of particular interest in this regard is the use of linguistic techniques to convey implicit information,

since it has been found that verbal information is processed not only in terms of that which is explicitly stated but also in terms of that which is implied. Unfortunately, most of the work which bears on the question of how language itself might affect the persuasive impact of a message has not come from the field of persuasion research directly. Rather, current knowledge about the effects of language on the thoughts or perceptions of recipients of a message has largely been the result of work on related processes such as those found in psychotherapy and hypnosis, as well as general linguistic analyses of the manipulative or deceptive techniques used in various kinds of communication today.

Exceptions to this trend, however, can be found in the research of Robin Lakoff (1981) and Michael Geis (1982). Both studies were conducted to determine what linguistic features might characterize persuasive discourse by examining the language used in one of the most overt forms of persuasion, television advertising. An essential assumption underlying this work was that television advertising is largely successful in persuading viewers to buy the products advertised. Consequently, actual features found to characterize this type of language use were discussed in terms of how they might function to enhance the persuasive impact of the message. One possibility not considered in these studies, however, was that the linguistic categories isolated

might not all constitute persuasive language as such, but might rather reflect peculiarites in the register of advertising English. That is, the fact that both studies focussed specifically on one type of persuasive message leaves open the possibility that at least some of the linguistic techniques found to characterize this form of persuasion might be artifacts of advertising style as opposed to actual enhancers of the process. If these same techniques were also found to characterize other types of persuasive messages, however, this would lend support to Geis' and Lakoff's interpretation of their role in persuasive communication.

1.1 STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The purpose of the present study is two-fold. First, it comprises an attempt to refine our understanding of the role of language in the persuasion process by examining the relevant literature from a variety of disciplines both in terms of theoretical approaches to persuasion and in terms of the actual linguistic devices discussed as enhancing the persuasive impact of a message. Second, in order to test the generalizability of the linguistic features found by Lakoff and Geis to characterize the persuasive language of television advertising, a comparative study has been undertaken utilizing another group of televised messages for which persuasive intent could be assumed. The messages chosen for this pur-

pose were taken from the broadcasts of television evangelists. The study, then, comprises an examination of the promotional segments of these broadcasts to determine if the linguistic features isolated by Lakoff and Geis with regard to television advertising can also be found in another form of language used to persuade.

Chapter II

LITERATURE SEARCH

2.1 THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO PERSUASION

There is currently no generally accepted theory which deals with the process of persuasion (Himmelfarb & Eagly, 1974; Reardon, 1981). However, a considerable amount of conceptual work has been done to attempt to account for what is involved in the process of bringing about a voluntary change in the cognitions or behaviour of the recipient of a message. Much of this work has focussed specifically on the cognitive processes involved, but some has attempted to address the issue from a linguistic perspective, in terms of how language itself might contribute to the persuasion process.

This section will, therefore, comprise a somewhat eclectic search of the literature for theoretical work which bears on the issue of what is involved in persuasion, both from a cognitive and a linguistic perspective. In particular, it is designed to address the question of how language enters into this process. To begin, a somewhat historical survey of models which have dominated work in this area for the past several decades will be conducted, following which

the discussion will proceed to an examination of more recent theoretical approaches which deal specifically with the role of language in influencing someone's thoughts or perceptions.

2.1.1 Process Models

With regard to the necessary and sufficient conditions for persuasion to occur, it is generally agreed that the situation must have three essential components: a source or speaker, a message, and a recipient or hearer. Beyond this, however, the process by which one person can induce a voluntary change in one or more people remains an incompletely understood phenomenon.

In recent history, by far the largest proportion of theoretical and experimental work on persuasion has come from the field of social psychology under the heading of Attitude Formation and Change Research. Work in this field began in the early 20th century and received a large boost during World War II when the United States Army sponsored massive research programs to investigate propaganda and persuasion. Even after the war, this remained an area of lively interest, generating a large number of studies and a variety of theoretical models. It is said that research reached its peak in the 1950's and early 1960's, but a (non-exhaustive) search of the literature reported in 1972

that over 750 articles had been published on this topic in the preceding two-and-a-half year period (Himmelfarb & Eagly, 1974). Generally, this research has focussed on the construct attitude as that which is changed in persuasion. The conceptual definition of this construct has varied somewhat over the course of these investigations but most generally accepted definitions have viewed attitudes as similar to beliefs except in that attitudes have an evaluative, affective component which beliefs do not. For example, a representative social psychology text by Krech and Crutchfield defined a belief as an "enduring organization of perceptions and cognitions about some aspect of the individual's world", while attitudes were defined as an "enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world" (Himmelfarb & Eagly, 1974, p.5). By this definition, the two constructs differ only in that beliefs are affectively neutral, while attitudes contain an emotional, motivational component. Other definitions have focussed more on the evaluative nature of attitudes. For example, Katz & Stotland defined an attitude as "a tendency or predisposition to evaluate an object or symbol of that object in a certain way" (Himmelfarb & Eagly, 1974, p.6). Attitudes are further defined as containing three essential components: a cognitive (thought) component, an affective (feeling) component,

and a behavioural component which comes into play when a person is actually engaged in some action with regard to the attitude object.

Theoretical models generated to account for the process of attitude formation and change may be described as falling roughly into four groups: cognitive consistency theories, learning theory, social judgment theory, and functional theories. While details of individual models within any of these groups often vary considerably, the models still tend to follow one of the above frameworks.[1] For example, cognitive consistency theories essentially work on a drive-reduction model of behaviour, asserting that it is unpleasant for a person to maintain inconsistencies between related beliefs, knowledge, or evaluations. The discomfort which such inconsistency brings to an individual will motivate him to reduce these inconsistencies, notably by changing his attitudes.

The learning theory approaches, on the other hand, comprise attempts to generalize the learning paradigms developed in other areas of psychology to the study of attitude formation and change. However, just as there is considerable debate among learning theorists about the various conceptualizations of the learning process, so is there a var-

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[1] This analysis of persuasion theory and the summaries which follow are taken largely from the discussion presented in Himmelfarb & Eagly, 1974.

iety of approaches, each based on some individual learning theory, to the study of attitude formation. The question of how existent attitudes might be changed, however, has generally not received much attention within this framework.

The third group, social judgment theories, view attitude change as a function of those attitudes already held by an individual. These existing attitudes can then serve as a sort of reference point by which to evaluate new information or persuasive appeals. Within this framework it is assumed that related stimuli can be ordered around this reference point or "anchor" and subsequently be described in terms of distance or discrepancy from it. The person is seen as having areas or "latitudes" of acceptance, rejection, or noncommitment. Any persuasive appeal must fall within one of these latitudes, which, in turn, determines whether the new attitude will be accepted or rejected. It is predicted that attitude change will occur when a message falls in the acceptance range, and that the change will be greatest when the message falls on the outer limits of this range, or possibly just at the beginning of the latitude of rejection.

Functional theories differ from the other types in that attitudes here are related to the motivational function they hold for an individual. This is to account for the fact that people may both hold attitudes and change them for a variety of reasons; so that the same communication can have

a profoundly different effect, depending on what role the attitude being challenged has for the individual. Examples of functions that attitudes may serve include the instrumental function of gaining reward and avoiding punishment, the knowledge function, and the ego-defensive function.

The foregoing has been a very brief overview of the general theoretical perspectives which have tended to dominate the bulk of work done in the one discipline most concerned with the process of persuasion.[2] All of these general models have suffered a decline over the past decade, however, since empirical research has shown them each to be lacking in some fundamental way. In most cases it was discovered that the theory either could not be generalized or that it applied to a very limited base of phenomena which further research has often tended to shrink even more. In a few cases the theories "never generated empirical research programs of any scope", a fact which is considered to raise "serious questions about their ability to link to empirical phenomena" (Himmelfarb & Eagly, 1974, p. 598).

Consequently, recent research in social psychology has tended to be comprised of a findings-oriented search for variables that might influence the persuasion process. There is presently a preponderance of limited-range theories, each

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[2] For a detailed discussion of individual models within these groups see Himmelfarb & Eagly, 1974, and Reardon, 1981.

of which seeks to explain some small aspect of the process of attitude change, but no general framework to account for the process as a whole.

In a comprehensive review of past work on persuasion, Reardon (1981) suggests that, given current knowledge in the field, any adequate model for persuasion in the future will require a shift in conceptualization of the process, away from the common view that persuasion is something done to a passive recipient. Rather, it is asserted that such a model must take into account the fact that the recipient of a message plays an active role in his own persuasion as well as the effects of context in determining the success of any persuasive attempt.

In all of these process models, however, an account of the role of language in persuasion is conspicuous in its absence. Despite a general recognition of the message as one of the three essential components of persuasion, it would appear that most theoretical explanations of the process are content to assume that language is simply a means by which to convey information, with no inherent effect on the process itself. As will be demonstrated in subsequent sections, however, this view of language is not necessarily shared by other disciplines.

2.1.2 The Construct "World Image"

Some of the difficulties encountered by social psychologists studying persuasion over the past few decades also raise the question of whether the mental construct attitude is appropriate or sufficient, or whether perhaps the process of persuasion might have to do with a broader aspect of a person's cognitive make-up.

One construct which is mentioned frequently in the literature discussing the use of language to bring about a change in another person is that of world image. Essentially, this refers to the conception of reality which every person develops through his experiences, his interpretations of those experiences, and his subsequent ascriptions of value to the things in his world. As every person's experiences are unique, so is every person's world image, though individuals from similar social or cultural backgrounds will generally share many elements of their respective world images. Nevertheless, one's world image serves as a sort of map or guide by which to interpret new experiences, and also a filter which colours one's perceptions of the world (Bandler & Grinder, 1975; Watzlawick, 1978).[3]

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[3] This concept is also referred to as habitual frames of reference (Erickson et al., 1976); theory of reality (Fowler et. al., 1979); world-view (Anderson, 1978; Fowler & Kress, 1979); sense/ideational field (Leont'ev, 1977); version of reality (Reardon, 1981).

The essential difference between the construct world image and what has been defined as attitudes seems to be one of scope. World image is a mosaic of interconnected beliefs and associations which together form a cohesive body that cannot be analyzed into discrete component parts. It is for this reason that it is suggested by some that any effort to persuade someone to adopt a new perspective on an issue, or to behave in a way that he would not otherwise have done must address this fundamental world image in order for the change to be voluntary (cf. especially Leont'ev, 1977; Watzlawick, 1978).

2.1.3 World Image as a Right Hemisphere Function

The construct world image is utilized in a model developed by Watzlawick (1978) to account for the effective use of language in psychotherapy - a type of linguistic interaction which has been recognized for over two decades now as a form of persuasion (Strong & Claiborn, 1982). Essentially, the model is based on the striking similarities found between the cognitive processes required to develop a world image and the particular functions for which the right hemisphere of the brain is specialized. To explain, it has been established through research into hemispheric asymmetry, that the two hemispheres of the brain function very differently: the left hemisphere is specialized for logical and

analytical processes and such skills as are required for arithmetic problem solving and language use, while the right hemisphere functions in the holistic grasping of complex relationships, patterns, and configurations utilizing such skills as synthesis and integration (Springer & Deutsch, 1981; Watzlawick, 1978). Since a person's world image is comprised of a complex synthesis of his experiences and interpretations thereof, this model suggests that the development of a world image is essentially a right hemisphere function. The specialized skills of the left hemisphere are subsequently utilized in the rationalization of this basic image which it analyzes into component parts, making concrete the concepts and images it contains, and finally drawing seemingly inescapable conclusions based on the analysis. This rationalization, once established, becomes self-verifying so that the original image is not questioned, but any contradictory input simply leads to a further elaboration and refinement of the analysis by the left hemisphere. Thus, by this model, the goal of bringing about a change in someone's world image would be greatly facilitated if one could somehow bypass these left hemisphere functions. However, the fact that the left hemisphere is also far more specialized for language processing than the right makes this particularly difficult to accomplish by verbal means. Yet the right hemisphere does have some verbal abilities and

the two hemispheres are also known to function independently to a certain extent, suggesting that it might, in fact, be possible to use language in such a way as to address specifically one or the other hemisphere. According to this model, then, in order to bypass the linguistically dominant left hemisphere one would use linguistic structures which are difficult to process analytically, thereby blocking these cognitive functions - characteristic of left hemisphere processing - and allowing the right hemisphere or world image to be accessed. It is suggested that communication with the right hemisphere can be facilated through the use of various linguistic devices such as metaphor, aphorisms, condensations, rhyme, and rhythm which resemble right hemisphere functioning more than most types of language use. Essentially, however, the important feature of language designed to effect change in this model is the use of evocative language to stimulate the hearer's mental participation in experiencing a new perspective which can then be incorporated into the existing complex which comprises his world image.

It might be mentioned that the particular structures discussed by Watzlawick as means to circumvent the left hemisphere are also used to a large extent in the induction of hypnotic trance. In the literature on the language of clinical hypnosis, however, they are discussed as means by which

to bypass the conscious mind and temporarily suspend habitual mental patterns, making it possible for the patient to experience new patterns of association at the unconscious level which in turn will enable him to reevaluate those previous interpretations of his experiences which have presumably left him ill-equipped to deal with the world (Erickson, et. al., 1976). Thus, the terms conscious and unconscious as they are used in hypnosis are analogous in function to the left and right hemisphere in Watzlawick's model (Watzlawick, 1978).

2.1.4 Linguistic Relativity Revisited

The relationship between language and the mind is also being explored in work stemming from a more linguistic orientation. For example, a growing body of literature is springing up around the thesis that the structure of a language influences the thought of its speakers (Bloom, 1981; Fowler & Kress, 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979). This idea was first popularized in the early part of this century as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis of Linguistic Relativity but fell into disrepute when some of the strong interpretations of this theory were shown to be patently unsupportable. Some recent work, however, has begun to suggest the possibility that parts of the theory might have been rejected prematurely. One particularly cogent work in support of this thesis

(Bloom, 1981) demonstrates that the presence or absence of linguistic structures by which tc express the more abstract reasoning processes can either facilitate or inhibit a language group's ability to use that process. Through the use of experiments, surveys and anecdotal information, Bloom shows that monolingual speakers of Chinese and English differ substantially in their ability to use cognitive processes for which only one of the languages has the corresponding structures. A case in point is the use of counterfactuals; statements in the form of If X had been the case, then Y would have happened. Chinese does not have a straightforward way in which to express this type of reasoning, and monolingual speakers of Chinese found it a great deal more difficult to follow a relatively complex line of reasoning in that mode than did English speakers.

Fowler and Kress (1979) argue that the principle of linguistic influence on thought holds, not only across languages, but also within any given language. That is to say, language can influence thought not only through the things which it is possible to express, but also through the particular structures utilized given the choices available in a language. This means, for example, that the linguistic form used to present events through the media and other social institutions can, in fact, influence the way that these events are perceived by the recipients of these communica-

tions. The recounting of such events through language involves a choice of lexical items and syntactic structures from an infinite array of possibilities which is not arbitrary. It is, rather, a systematic selection process determined by the world image of the source of the communication. While Fowler and Kress do not suggest that such choices are necessarily made consciously, they do maintain that the results of this selection process convey information about the world image of the speaker and also influence - in subtle ways - the recipient's understanding of the subject of communication. It should be noted, however, that this informative selection process occurs in every instance of language use, since it derives from one of the basic principles of language; namely, that language provides speakers with the possibility of constructing an infinite array of original sentences which are not only grammatically correct but also comprehensible to other speakers of the language. According to Fowler and Kress, the effects of this process in mass communications such as news reporting can include maintaining the existing social order by casting events in a light which is consonant with the views held by those in power. Yet, the subtlety of the process by which a bias is conveyed through overtly factual information makes it difficult to detect and therefore difficult to counterargue or object on the part of the recipients. Note that it is not only what

one says but also information deleted that creates the image conveyed.

To demonstrate this process, Fowler et al. (1979) conducted a comparative examination of different newspaper accounts of the same events. Despite the fact that these articles were not editorials, and had every appearance of ordinary factual reporting, they differed considerably from one another in the image conveyed of the event. By conducting an examination of such factors as lexical choice, terse, and transformations used, Fowler et al. demonstrated that it was possible to infer a great deal about the perspective from which each report was written even though it was ostensibly an unbiased, factual account.

2.1.5 Speech Act Theory

Another perspective on the use of language for persuasion can be found in the literature of speech act theory. Here language is studied in terms of how speakers use it to perform actions over and above the simple statement of a proposition. Taken in this light, it has been found that one of the most salient features of persuasion might, in fact, be how difficult it is to distinguish from other types of acts for which language is used.

In the initial formulation of the classification system of speech act analysis, persuasion was considered to be one

type of perlocutionary act, where perlocutionary speech acts were defined as those which intrinsically involve a particular response from the hearer (Austin, 1962). Such speech acts were contrasted with another major class, illocutionary acts, which did not necessarily require such a response, and which could be performed with an assertion containing a verb which stated what the act was. For example, to perform the illocutionary act of promising, it is possible simply to state to someone I (hereby) promise you that X and the act is successfully completed as soon as the hearer understands that the speaker intended to make a promise. One cannot, however, say I hereby persuade you that X to perform the act of persuading. Similarly, other perlocutionary acts such as startling, amusing, and insulting cannot be performed in this way. Another criterion for the differentiation of illocutionary and perlocutionary speech acts is that in reporting an illocutionary act one could say In saying X I did Y (e.g., In saying "I'll be home at ten", I made a promise), whereas for perlocutionary acts it would be more appropriate to say By saying X I did Y (e.g., By saying "Brown is a known felon" I persuaded him (to vote for Jones)).

Work which followed Austin's initial classification of illocutionary and perlocutionary acts, however, showed this system to be problematic for several reasons. First, the fact that there is no way to guarantee that a hearer will

respond in any particular way to an utterance makes it difficult to develop a system of rules for what may constitute a perlocutionary act, since the intention to secure a specific response in no way assures success in the attempt. Second, contrary to the commonly accepted definition of speech acts, persuasion does not generally occur through the production of one utterance alone. Rather, a speaker might attempt to persuade his audience of something through a series of utterances including perhaps some combination of premises, supporting arguments, conclusions, and even suggestions. That is, the perlocutionary act of persuading may often consist of a sequence of illocutionary speech acts, which, when taken together have the underlying intention of persuading, even though none of them alone could be appropriately described as comprising that act. Furthermore, although the illocutionary acts comprising a persuasive attempt might all be successfully performed in that the hearer understands what the speaker intended each utterance to be, this still does not ensure that the hearer will be persuaded. Thus, it was decided to abandon the notion of "perlocutionary act" altogether since it did not seem possible to specify the necessary and sufficient conditions for their successful performance (Searle, 1969). This meant that persuading could no longer be considered a distinct act to be performed by a speaker. Instead, speech act theory came to

consider persuasion as one of a variety of perlocutionary effects which might be obtained through the performance of illocutionary acts, but over which the speaker could not be considered to have any real control. One could therefore speak of perlocutionary intentions and perlocutionary effects of a speech act, but not of perlocutionary acts as such, since intentions and effects bear no consistent relationship to one another by which to define the act.

Some recent work has been done to attempt to revive the notion of perlocutionary act by formulating constitutive rules which take into account the securing of an appropriate response from the hearer as a condition for the successful completion of the act (Gaines, 1979). There have also been some attempts to analyze sequences of utterances as individual units comprising distinct acts (Ferrara, 1980; Holdcroft, 1979; Fotion, 1971). Although these approaches to discourse analysis have intriguing implications for the status of persuasion in speech act theory, they have not generally been taken up in work in speech act analysis. At present, the use of language to persuade continues to be considered primarily as a consequential effect rather than an act which speakers perform. Therefore, by this analysis, the only way to identify persuasion is by referring in retrospect to the effect which an utterance or group of utterances has had upon the hearer.

2.1.6 Summary

Although the topic of persuasion has received a great deal of scholarly attention, the complexity of the process is attested to in both the variety and number of process models put forth, none of which has yet been able to account for even a major portion of the experimental results of persuasion research. Among the shortcomings of these models is a failure to recognize the recipient as an active participant in his own persuasion or the impact that contextual factors and language itself might have on the process. The role of language is, however, discussed in a model developed to account for the persuasion that occurs in therapeutic discourse. This model utilizes the broader construct world image in conjunction with recent developments in our understanding of how the brain functions to suggest that language can enhance the persuasive impact of a message by blocking the analytical cognitive processes characteristic of left hemisphere functioning, thereby enabling the world image to be accessed and influenced directly.

The thesis that linguistic structure can have an impact on thought has also found support in recent work in linguistics. Although no attempt is made to specify the cognitive processes involved, it is suggested that linguistic processing takes into account the information which is inherent in the structures used to convey a message. The implicit na-

ture of such information, moreover, increases the likelihood that it will escape the attention of the recipient of a communication, thereby enhancing the potential power of this aspect of language use to influence the recipient's perspective. While the use of structures which convey additional, implicit information is common to all types of language use, it nevertheless represents one subtle means which can be used intentionally to manipulate the hearer's perceptions of the subject under discussion.

In speech act theory, one major result of examining persuasion from a linguistic perspective has been the realization that a speaker's intentions with regard to his utterance and the actual response he obtains from the hearer can be widely disparate. Largely for this reason, persuasion has come to be defined in this literature as both an intention and an effect of language use but not a definable act.

2.2 THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE PERSUASION PROCESS

As demonstrated in the preceding section, there is some basis in theory for the view that language itself, in the way that a message is composed, can have an impact on persuasion. In this section, work from a variety of related disciplines will be surveyed to determine what kinds of linguistic techniques might contribute to this effect. While some of this work has focussed on the relationship between

language and persuasion directly, much of the information relating to this question derives from analyses of how language itself is processed by recipients of a message, both in regular linguistic communication and in the specialized use of language for trance induction in psychotherapy.

2.2.1 Experimental Findings

Experimental studies conducted to determine the persuasive effect of different message characteristics have produced a variety of results of which perhaps the most salient one has been to demonstrate the complexity of the persuasion process (Reardon, 1981). Since most of this work has not focussed on language *per se*, but rather on the effects of such factors as number, type, and arrangement of supporting argumentation, the results of this work are of limited relevance to the question of how language itself might affect persuasion. Nevertheless, it might be mentioned that in these experiments the effects of variations on argument type and number were generally found to depend to a significant degree on various characteristics of the source and recipient of the message. Included among these interacting factors are such things as the number of recipients sharing the final decision based on the message and the number of independent sources presenting arguments in support of a position (Harkins & Petty, 1981), prior disposition of the reci-

pient toward the source and topic (Anderson, 1978) and whether or not the recipient's expectations with regard to the message are confirmed (Montgomery & Burgoon, 1977).

At least one linguistic technique has also been found to interact with receiver characteristics in determining the persuasive impact of a message. This is the use of rhetorical questions. Here it was discovered that the use of this device had completely opposite effects depending on whether the recipient of the message had a high or low level of personal involvement in the subject of the communication (Petty et al., 1981). These effects were explained by referring to the fact that other experiments have shown that the degree to which a recipient is personally concerned with the content of a message will affect the type of cognitive processing strategy that he uses to evaluate the arguments presented to him (Chaiken, 1980; Harkins & Petty, 1981). People with a high level of personal involvement in a topic tend to pay closer attention and base their decision primarily on such factors as the number and quality of the arguments presented in the message, whereas relatively uninvolved recipients of a persuasive message tend to use a more heuristic strategy, for example, utilizing such features as source expertise and likability more than the logical merit or number of supporting arguments in deciding whether to change their position (Chaiken, 1980). In the case of rhetorical ques-

tions, then, high-involvement subjects actually found the use of this type of question distracting, making them less sensitive to the quality of argumentation than they were when the same arguments were presented as assertions. Low-involvement subjects, however, showed greater sensitivity to the quality of argumentation when the message contained rhetorical questions than when it did not. This effect was explained by the fact that rhetorical questions essentially ask the hearer to think about the topic, thereby increasing the level of message-based thought for low-involvement subjects, a processing strategy which they would not normally have engaged in to the same degree (Petty et al., 1981).

Some experimental work has been conducted specifically to determine whether certain linguistic devices or stylistic features might have an impact on persuasion. Unfortunately, this research has generally suffered from a lack of comparability between operational definitions of the variables studied, resulting in findings which have tended to be mixed and difficult to interpret in relation to one another (Reardon, 1981). Thus, while there is some evidence to indicate that metaphor and simile enhance the persuasive impact of a message (Reinsch, 1977), a series of experiments conducted to test the effects of other stylistic features failed to uncover any consistent effects of message style on persuasion (Sandell, 1977). One consistent result of research on

the effect of linguistic style, however, has been to show that the persuasive impact of a message is affected by style insofar as the style of the message is perceived by the recipient to be similar to his own (Giles and Powesland, 1975; Sandell, 1977). Thus, it has been found, for example, that even though speakers with a standard (prestige) accent are generally accorded more credibility and their arguments are judged to be more sound, a recipient with a non-standard accent will still be more persuaded by a message delivered in the register which most closely resembles his own (Giles & Powesland, 1975).

2.2.2 Information Processing and Persuasion

Much of the recent experimental work which bears on the issue of how message characteristics might enhance persuasion has stemmed from a current interest in information processing as an adjunct to the use of language to persuade (Reardon, 1981). Here it has been found that recipients of verbal messages can employ what might be called different levels of processing. That is, the meanings which individuals derive from any given message can vary from a relatively shallow comprehension of only that which is directly asserted to the deeper levels of understanding that result when a hearer utilizes his knowledge of the world to infer propositions which are implied though not stated in a message (Mo-

naco & Harris, 1978). In experimental settings it has been found that this depth of processing can be manipulated to a certain extent through task instructions. However, in the absence of such instructions, subjects characteristically infer not only logically implied propositions but also additional information which their past experience or background knowledge suggest as probable interpretations (Harris & Monaco, 1978). For example, a sentence such as The novice skater tripped on the ice might be interpreted as including the proposition the skater fell even though this is not a necessary consequence of the original sentence. Such inferences, once made, are then stored in memory together with the explicitly stated information, so that in recognition or cued recall tasks people do not tend to differentiate between the two types of material (Masson & Alexander, 1981; Thorndyke, 1976). Furthermore, it has been found that whenever individuals do use inferences, this level of processing actually improves memory for the material presented (Monaco & Harris, 1978). The impact of implicit information in language processing has also been demonstrated in a study conducted by Greene et al. (1982) in which subjects were warned either before or after presentation of a message that it might contain misleading information. Here it was found that subjects who were warned prior to receipt of the message tended to read it more carefully and thereby increased

their resistance to the misleading information slightly. When the warning was given after the message, however, it did not serve to increase resistance at all. These findings also add evidence in support of the view that implied information is encoded into memory during the initial processing of a message.

A particularly dramatic example of the impact of implicit information on verbal information processing was provided in two experiments conducted to determine the effect of such information contained in questions regarding an event which was already in the subjects' memory (Loftus & Palmer, 1974). In these experiments subjects were shown a film of an automobile accident and then questioned about events in the film. It was found that those subjects who were questioned with sentences using the verb smash tended to estimate that the cars were travelling at higher speeds than those whose questions contained bump or hit. Furthermore, a week later, this first group was more likely to report having seen broken glass even though there was none in the film. Such findings attest to the importance of implicit information in the processing of language, as well as the impact that such information can have on memory, even retroactively.

2.2.3 The Language of Clinical Hypnosis

The persuasive power of implicit information conveyed through language is well-documented in the literature of clinical hypnosis (Bandler & Grinder, 1975; Erickson et al., 1976; Grinder & Bandler 1981; Grinder, et al., 1977). In fact, a great deal of work in this area has concentrated specifically on elucidating the means provided by language to convey information indirectly, to make implications as opposed to explicit assertions. In trance induction, the use of indirect forms of speech is seen as a way to bypass the hearer's conscious resistance to implied assertions and suggestions while at the same time engaging his active participation in the communication by inviting him to interpret unspecified information in a way that is personally relevant to him. While this is a highly simplified account of what actually occurs in hypnosis, the result of the systematic use of normal patterns of indirect speech is that the hearer will eventually come to focus his attention inward, much as we all do in daydreaming, to the extent that he is no longer aware of the world around him or consciously directing his own thoughts. When this occurs, the hearer is said to be in a trance state. In hypnosis, this state is considered to be particularly useful for psychotherapy because it essentially frees the individual from the constraints of the habitual patterns of thought that characterize his normal, conscious

mental processes. Since the problems of people seeking psychotherapy are often impossible to resolve within the confines of what are essentially "erroneous mental sets and limited frames of reference" (Erickson et al., 1976), the induction of trance provides a means whereby the individual can be led to experience new patterns of association and consequently new approaches to problems that would have been insurmountable within the confines of his existing world image.

It might be mentioned here that the trance state is not unique to hypnosis. It is, in fact, a state which everyone experiences naturally from time to time, often during moments of inner reverie or daydreaming, times when one is so preoccupied in thought that actions become virtually automatic. What is interesting about trance in hypnosis, however, is the fact that a state in which both conscious attention and its consequent, conscious, voluntary control are suspended, can be induced in a hearer strictly through the instrumental use of language. Yet, from the work done by the renowned clinical hypnotist, Milton Erickson (Erickson et al., 1976), as well as other studies of the language used to induce trance (Bandler & Grinder, 1975; Gindhart, 1981; Grinder et al., 1977), it is clear that the language used in hypnosis does not consist of incantations or mystical devices. Rather, it is comprised of a systematic and principled

selection of normal conversational structures and linguistic devices. Furthermore, similar processes are also used in some forms of psychotherapy (Grinder et al., 1977; Watzlawick, 1978) and, much less systematically, in ordinary discourse (Erickson et al., 1976). Generally, the feature that makes the use of language in hypnosis unique is the relatively high proportion of structures that permit multiple meanings to be derived, and devices by which information can be conveyed indirectly or implicitly. According to Erickson, the choice of how to express oneself in trance induction is based on two essential principles: 1. say what you wish to say as indirectly as possible; and 2. speak as much as possible in the style of the person you are addressing (Erickson et al., 1976). In this way it is said that conscious resistance to information which can only be inferred is minimized, while the subjective sense of comfort and being understood is maximized.

The second principle, matching one's style to that of the hearer, is used not only in hypnotherapy, but also in some forms of regular psychotherapy (Watzlawick, 1978). It involves a careful observation of the forms of expression that characterize a person's speech. For example, it seems that people tend to favour certain sensory modalities in their perceptual processing of the world and that this is generally reflected in their language (Bandler & Grinder, 1976).

Thus, a person who attends more closely to his visual perceptual channels may tend to use terms and expressions that relate to this modality, such as I see what you mean, that's very clear or try to picture this. In addition to the visual modality, there are also the auditory and kinesthetic modalities that can be reflected in a person's choice of expression. The psychotherapeutic technique entitled Neuro-linguistic programming, which has borrowed heavily from studies of the language used in hypnosis, utilizes - among other things - an awareness of the expressions that reflect the dominant sensory modality of the client to enhance the level of communication between him and the therapist (Grinder & Bandler, 1981).

A final point which might be mentioned about hypnosis before proceeding with a discussion of the actual linguistic devices used to induce trance is that the successful induction of trance is said to be predicated to a considerable degree on the hypnotist's ability to confuse the client's conscious cognitive processes (Erickson et al., 1976). Some techniques, such as the use of logical paradox, are designed specifically for this end, but many of the indirect forms of expression used also constitute attempts to keep the client somewhat confused.

Among the actual linguistic devices commonly used for hypnosis, some are designed specifically to stimulate the

active participatcn of the hearer in interpreting an utterance in such a way that it will be relevant to him personally. These techniques work on the common premise that in decoding a message, a recipient tends to interpret, not only the meaning of the words, but also attempts to infer the point of that which is said. If this pcint or force of the utterance is difficult to ascertain from the surface structure alone, then the tendency is to infer a meaning which is relevant to the person at that mcment. Furthermore, ccnscious resistance to such an interpretation, even though it may be the one intended by the speaker, has been fcund tc be greatly diminished if the hearer derives it himself from a structure which does not set this meaning cut explicitly (Bandler & Grinder, 1975).

Four linguistic devices which permit the speaker tc be artfully vague in this way are the use of unspecified referential indices, selectional restrictions, deletion and nominalization transformations, and various types of ambiguity. An example of the use of unspecified referential indices would be the sentence People can make the most of learning experiences which contains two such terms: people and learning experiences. In a therapeutic setting, a client will generally derive not only the conventional meaning of such an utterance but also an interpretation which is relevant to him in the immediate context, namely, I can make the most of this learning experience (Grinder & Bandler, 1981).

Utterances in which selectional restrictions are violated, as in metaphorical speech, also function in similar ways. Thus, if a therapist speaks of how a houseplant can feel happy, he has not only violated a selectional restriction on the predicate *feel*, which specifies that its subject must be a sentient being, but he has also left it to the client to derive a relevant meaning from the utterance (Erickson et al., 1976). The value of therapeutic metaphors, in which entire scenarios are depicted and resolved metaphorically has also been attested to in extensive work which has focussed specifically on this aspect of engaging the client's active mental participation in his own healing (Gordon, 1978; Jaffe & Bressler, 1980).

The deletion and nominalization transformations provide means whereby information which would normally be included in the basic form of the sentence can be omitted from the surface structure. In normal conversation, this information can be unambiguously derived from the context, but these types of transformations also lend themselves to the omission of crucial information, while appearing well-formed and complete on the surface. When they are used in this way, the hearer is left with a great deal of latitude in attributing meaning to those parts which are unspecified. Thus, for example, the sentence *You have learned so quickly* has deleted information as to what has been learned, while *There*

is the satisfaction of knowing that X does not specify who is satisfied by whom by this knowledge (Bandler & Grinder, 1975).

The process of engaging the hearer's active - though unconscious - participation in deriving the relevant meaning from an utterance can also be stimulated through the careful use of the various types of ambiguity - phonological, syntactic, scope, and punctuation - to convey a secondary message (Gindhart, 1981; Grinder & Bandler, 1981; Watzlawick, 1978). To help ensure that the ambiguity will be perceived by the client, ambiguous portions of an utterance are generally marked by slight alterations in voice tone or tempo.

Linguistic devices used to make assertions or suggestions in such a way as to circumvent conscious resistance include the use of implied causality, presupposition, and the various forms of indirect suggestion. The term implied causality refers to the process of linking two unrelated sentences to produce compounds which imply a logical connection by virtue of their structure. The first part of a compound so formed generally describes some readily verifiable part of the hearer's experience, while the second part contains the hypnotic suggestion. In its weakest form, such sentences are linked with the simple conjunction and, as in You are breathing in and out and you can begin to relax. Stronger versions of this technique establish a temporal connection

between the sentences, using connectors such as while, when and as. Thus, a sentence like As you sit all the way down in that chair you will go into a deep trance connects two unrelated phenomena in such a way that the hearer is invited to infer some element of causality (Erickson et al., 1976; Grinder & Bandler, 1981).

Structures involving presupposition are also used extensively in hypnosis because they allow the speaker essentially to presuppose that which he doesn't want questioned (Grinder & Bandler, 1981). In hypnosis the use of this device usually consists of presenting the hearer with an array of options, all of which presuppose the actual desired response. For example, the sentence I wonder if you'll quit smoking tomorrow or the next day or possibly next week presupposes that the hearer will quit smoking. While native speakers can generally derive the presuppositions contained in an utterance, their ability to do so decreases dramatically as the number of presuppositions increases. It is the implicit nature of presupposition, coupled with the distraction of having to consider overtly mentioned options that makes them so effective in slipping by a hearer's conscious attention (Bandler & Grinder, 1975; Grinder & Bandler, 1981).

Bandler and Grinder (1975) identified a total of 32 different syntactic environments in which presuppositions

occur. Of these, five entail simple presuppositions of the existence of an entity. For example, the use of proper names, generic noun phrases and quantifiers such as some, all, and many all presuppose the existence of that which is referred to in these contexts. The remaining 27 syntactic environments mentioned contain presuppositions of more than the simple existence of an element. Some of these structures are listed below.

1. Subordinate Clauses of Time: clauses identified by the cue words before, after, during, when, etc. For example If the judge was home when I stopped by her house, she didn't answer presupposes I stopped by her house.
2. Pseudo-cleft Sentences: sentences beginning with It was/is + a noun argument. For example It was the extra pressure which shattered the window presupposes something shattered the window.
3. Change-of-Place Verbs: come, go, arrive, etc. For example If Sam has left home, he is lost presupposes Sam has been at home.
4. Negative Questions: For example, Didn't you want to talk with me? presupposes I thought you wanted to talk with me (Bandler & Grinder, 1975, pp. 257-261).

Suggestions are also made indirectly in hypnosis by utilizing the following structures: questions embedded in an

assertion about the speaker (e.g., I wonder if you can lift your arm), yes/no questions (e.g., Can you touch your nose?), and embedded commands (e.g., It's true that people can, John, count backwards from 100). Both the embedded and yes/no questions are regular conversational structures used to make polite requests. The embedded commands, however, are somewhat unusual in that they are constructed by inserting the hearer's name after the auxiliary verb of a general statement. To interpret the final portion of the sentence as a suggestion requires that the first part not be considered well-formed. Yet, it has been found that people tend to respond to utterances of this type as if they were requests, but with far less resistance than if they were said directly (Bandler & Grinder, 1975).

2.2.4 Critical Linguistics

In a somewhat radical departure from traditional linguistic inquiry, some language scholars have also begun to concern themselves with the ways in which language can be used to manipulate the perceptions of recipients of linguistic communication. The term critical linguistics, coined by Fowler et al. (1979) to refer to their study of the covert control that can be exercised through language, is now being applied to other work of a similar nature (cf. Fairclough, 1982). A basic assumption underlying this work is that the

relationship between form and content in language is not entirely arbitrary, but that form, in fact, signifies content to some extent (Fowler et al., 1979). Thus, in this literature, linguistic structures are examined from a functional perspective, in terms of the additional information which they may carry or the information which they permit the speaker to obscure.

For example, adjectives have been identified as particularly amenable to the conveying of impressions which supplement that which is overtly stated (Bolinger, 1980, Fowler & Kress, 1979). First, as is the case with many lexical items, adjectives tend to be evaluatively scaled as positive or negative, as in new as opposed to old. Second, the construction of adjectives through the addition of the -able or -ible suffixes makes it possible to ascribe an evaluative dimension to a noun without stating explicitly who the source of the evaluation is, for example, an undesirable guest. Furthermore, the arrangement of adjectives itself signals meaning. For example, popular modern music does not mean the same thing as modern popular music since the positioning of the adjectives since the positioning of the adjectives makes the one closest to the noun more strongly associated with it in a semantic sense as well (Bolinger, 1980). As pointed out by Mitchell (1979), it seems that as the distance between modifiers and the thing being modified

increases, so does the hearer's impression of remoteness in the relationship between them. Thus, a different impression is created when a modifier precedes the noun than when it follows it, as in the corner bench as opposed to the bench in the corner. Perceptually, a prenominal modifier seems to describe an integral property of the noun, giving the impression of classification as opposed to evaluation (Fowler & Kress, 1979). This fact can be exploited by placing attributive adjectives in prenominal position, as in a harmless lie. Here the noun phrase actually contains a concealed proposition which, according to Bolinger (1980), is much less likely to be challenged than if it were stated explicitly.

Certain transformations have also been widely discussed as means by which the hearer's perceptions can be directed and misleading information can be conveyed (Bolinger, 1980; Fowler & Kress, 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979; Mitchell, 1979). For example, the passive transformation tends to diminish the impression of a relationship between the agent and the action performed by focussing attention on the person or object acted upon (Mitchell, 1979). When coupled with agent deletion, this impression is made even stronger; a fact which can be potentially misleading. Compare, for example, the different impressions created in the following sentence, depending on the presence or absence of the portion enclosed

in brackets: The defendant was judged to be innocent (by his mother). Similarly, the use of the experiencer deletion transformation can serve to omit what might be important information to the hearer by not specifying who it is making the judgment implicit in verbs such as seem, be obvious and stand to reason which undergo this transformation (Bolinger, 1980).

Also of interest in this regard is the use of modal auxiliaries such as will, can, and might, modal adverbials such as conceivably and sentence adverbs such as unfortunately and rightly. In these types of lexical items, speakers can provide evaluative statements as to the proposition contained in the utterance without making their personal responsibility for these judgments explicit (Fowler & Kress, 1979).

The use of clausal connectors to specify the relationship between sentences is also mentioned as a means of conveying additional information (Bolinger, 1980). For example, some words like but, however, and instead are used to link independent clauses, whereas words such as till, after, before, and which signal that the sentences they connect have some kind of dependency relation.

Other means for the subtle manipulation of impressions include reification, or the materializing of abstractions (thereby creating the impression that they have a concrete

referent), the connotative meaning of words, and the use of epithets instead of adjective + noun combinations (Bolinger, 1980).

Finally, Fowler and Kress (1979) discuss various techniques of classification which speakers can use to focus the hearer's attention. One of these techniques, which they term relexicalization, involves constructing new terms or changing the meaning of existing terms for some area of experience. Alternatively, speakers may inobtrusively focus their audience's attention onto topics which they consider to be important through overlexicalization, or the use of a large number of synonymous terms for the same referent (Fowler & Kress, 1979). Both of these linguistic techniques effectively signal areas of preoccupation for the speaker without necessitating direct assertions to that effect. Furthermore, through redefinition and the use of near-synonyms, Fowler and Kress maintain that it is possible also to reorient the hearer's perceptions of the objects so described.

2.2.5 The Stylistic Figures of Rhetoric

The study of Rhetoric is a field which has traditionally been concerned with the use of reasoned discourse to persuade. For purposes of analysis, such discourse has been divided into three conceptual areas: Invention (Inventio),

or the discovery and development of relevant information; Disposition (Disputio), the arrangement of the information; and Style (Elocutio), the manner in which the arguments are presented in language (Campbell, 1972). Within the area of Style, certain linguistic devices have been isolated which are said to improve the effectiveness of speech. The following is an abridged version of the list presented in Marsh (1967).

1. Figures involving repetition
    a) Repetition of sounds in words:
        i) hiatus, e.g., solo oboe
        ii) assonance, e.g., advocated action
        iii) alliteration, e.g., sweet soothing song
        iv) homeoteleuton, e.g., preservation, conservation, beautification
    b) Repetition of words in phrases
        i) epanophera - the repetition of the first word in successive phrases
        ii) antistrophe - the reptition of the last word in successive phrases
        iii) interlacement - the repetition of the first and last words of successive phrases
        iv) transplacement - the random repetition of words

v) synonymy - the paraphrasing of a previous statement

2. Tropes

a) onomatopoea, e.g., clash, hiss, ding-a-ling

b) metonymy, e.g. he fell victim of the bottle

c) paraphrasis, e.g., the breath leaves the body for dies

d) synecdoche, e.g., all eyes are upon him

e) simile, e.g., as quiet as a mouse

f) metaphor, e.g., she was a flower

g) allegory - extended and figurative comparison

h) hyperbaton - upsetting the usual word order

It might be mentioned that while the stylistic figures of traditional rhetoric are considered to have a positive impact on persuasive oratory, they are a result, not only of experience, but also of prescription and tradition. Since the aesthetic aspect of style is also an element of rhetoric, it is not clear to what degree such figures affect the aesthetic appeal as opposed to the actual persuasiveness of a message.

2.2.6 Summary

As can be seen from the preceding section, the work which bears on the impact of language on the thoughts and perceptions of recipients of a message has emanated from a variety

of disciplines. One common thread throughout much of this literature, however, has been to note the importance of primarily unconscious processes of inference, which draw on such cues as sentence structure, arrangement of words, presupposition, and connotative meaning to process a context which lends meaning to the utterance, and which is later not separated from it in recall from memory. Part of the power of such indirect forms of expression seems to derive from the fact that although the information therein is conveyed to memory alongside that which is directly stated, it is not consciously attended to in the same degree during processing and therefore is not as likely to be challenged as assertions which are stated directly.

In the practice of hypnosis, the facilitation of this type of unconscious processing is a stated goal, so that many of the linguistic devices used are actually aimed at the inhibition of conscious analytical processes. The active role played by the hearer in his own persuasion is emphasized in hypnosis and supported by the results of research on the role of inferences in verbal information processing.

2.3 THE LANGUAGE OF TELEVISION ADVERTISING

Lakoff (1981), in a discussion of persuasive discourse, noted that an essential identifying feature of persuasive communication is its quest for novelty of expression. As she puts it "persuasive discourse wears out; ordinary conversation does not" (p. 31).

Evidence for the role of novelty in persuasive communication was taken from examples of television advertising which were found to exhibit the following types:

1. lexical novelty or neologism (e.g., devilicious)
2. morphological or syntactic novelty (e.g., the soup that eats like a meal)
3. syntactic innovation
   a) absence of subjects and verbal auxiliaries (e.g., Tastes good! And nutritious too!)
   b) odd uses of the definite article (e.g., Next time I'll buy the Tylenol. Diaper keeps moisture away from baby's skin)
4. semantic anomaly (e.g., Cleans better than another leading oven cleaner)
5. pragmatic novelty (e.g., conversation in mini dramas: "Fill it to the rim." "With Brim.")

Lakoff accounts for this extensive use of linguistic novelty as follows. First, anything neolcgistic, because it

violates the Maxim of Manner,[4] draws attention to itself, and by capturing the hearer's attention increases the impact of the message. Second, through this viclation of the Ccoperative Principle, neologism forces the hearer to interpret, and therefore to participate in the disccurse. According to Lakoff, this active role played by the hearer, in turn, enhances learning and retention, and ccnseguently also persuasion.

To date, two major studies have been conducted specifically to examine the language used in advertising. The first of these (Leech, 1966) was published almost two decades ago and used data taken frcm different types of advertising found in Great Britain. The other (Geis, 1982) examined contemporary North American advertising presented over the medium of television. Because of the differences between British and North American English usage, we will confine our discussion to the findings of the North American study.

In Geis' research approximately 800 televisicn ccmmercials collected between 1978 and 1981 were examined to determine, not only what linguistic features might characterize this form of persuasive communicatcn, but also what the viewer might be expected to understand from what is said.

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[4] Grice's fourth ccnversational maxim: "Be perspicucus; avoid obscurity of expressicn, avoid ambiguity, be brief and be orderly". (Grice's complete principles cf ccnversation are outlined in Appendix I).

Among his findings was the recognition cf two general approaches taken by advertisers in their language use. The first was considered by Geis tc be a manipulative use of language in that the impact of the message does not depend on the recipient's conscious evaluation of its content. A common manipulative technique cited invclves the frequent repetition of the product name with little or nc supporting argumentation given as to the merits of the product itself. Geis, however, was more interested in the second type of language use which he considered to be more truly persuasive in that the viewer is presented with a message whose impact derives frcm his evaluation of the arguments or claims which it contains.

Results of his subsequent analyses of the commercials studied indicate that there is a variety of linguistic techniques common to a large proportion of television advertising. Included among these are the following.

1. The use of imperative structures to make suggestions (e.g., Try Ex-Lax pills, the overnight wonder)
2. The use of adjectivalization processes (e.g., buttery, creamy, crispy)
3. Rhetorical questions (e.g., Why hasn't someone invented a better toothbrush)
4. Elliptical comparatives (e.g., the new Chevette has more head room, more seat and legroom, more trunk room)

5. The use of count nouns as mass nouns (e.g., a lot more Chevette for a lot less money)
6. The terms introducing and announcing to attract viewer attention (e.g., Introducing the first roast beef sandwich big and tasty enough for Burger King)
7. Product names which constitute mini-advertisements for the product (e.g., Soft & Dri deodorant)[5]

Probably the major finding of his research, however, was the discovery that advertisers favour indirect means of making claims for their products. That is, rather than making explicit assertions as to the value or effectiveness of their product, they invite the reader to infer this information through a process of conversational[6] or conventional implicature. Conventional implications derive from the actual semantics of a sentence in terms of lexical meaning and the semantic component inherent in structures such as questions and imperatives. For example, the question Who ate the cantaloupe? conventionally implies, among other things, that someone ate the cantaloupe. In Geis' analysis, conventional implicatures also include logical entailment relations, since they have in common the fact that, if the entailed or implied proposition of a sentence is cancelled, the result is a semantically anomalous sentence. For exam-

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[5] This list and most of the examples given were taken from Geis, 1982, p. 139.

[6] Cf. Grice's Cooperative Principle, Appendix I.

ple, consider the following sentences and the result of cancelling the implied and entailed propositions, respectively.

Who ate the cantaloupe?

*I know that no one ate the cantaloupe, but who ate the cantaloupe?

John read a book and Mary went home.

*John didn't read a book, but John read a book and Mary went home.

Geis explained the use of conversational and conventional implicature in advertising on two grounds. First, by adhering to a literalist interpretation of what is said, advertisers protect themselves from prosecution for what might be indefensible claims. Second, it was reasoned that the viewers' cognitive defenses are much less likely to be stimulated by that which is not asserted directly. However, since the claims made in this way are strongly implied through the same techniques of conversational implicature which are regularly used in ordinary discourse to facilitate conversation, viewers will generally derive the intended interpretation, but with less counterargumentation. Thus it is hypothesized that this approach to making claims could actually make the message more persuasive in effect than direct claims stated explicitly.

Through a close examination of the actual claims made, Geis discovered that the literal strength of these claims is

often severely mitigated through the use of modal verbs such as can, might, may, could, and help. Yet, despite the fact that these modified claims are quite weak, they are used extensively in television advertising. This would indicate that they must have a more significant impact than their literal strength would indicate. In support of this contention, Geis cited a study conducted by Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976) which found that people often do not attend to certain modal elements in states of idle listening. Since television viewing is generally a context in which viewers are in a passive, idle state, these findings were considered by Geis to be likely to apply to the processing of information presented over this medium. Thus, it was reasoned that many of the claims used in television advertising might actually appear to the majority of viewers to be much stronger than they actually are.

Generally, then, Geis concluded that people untutored in logic do not tend to evaluate arguments on the basis of their logical validity. Rather, they apply the regular rules of conversational implicature in the interpretation and therefore also the evaluation of arguments presented to them. This fact combined with both the relatively inattentive state which characterizes television viewing and the real-time limitations on the messages presented over television - particularly in advertising - serves to make viewers

in this context much less sensitive to the detection of faulty argumentation or weak claims.

2.4 SUMMARY

The work of Lakoff and Geis on the language of television advertising is unique in that actual examples of language used to persuade are examined from the perspective of how they might serve to enhance the persuasive impact of the message. Unlike other work in which the results were derived from experimentation, experience or general linguistic analysis, these studies focussed on actual examples of language use which the authors assumed to constitute effective persuasion and then attempted to derive specific linguistic categories by which to characterize this type of language use.

Television advertising constitutes a somewhat specialized use of language, however, due to the time constraints on the length of the message as well as the potential interactions between what is said and the musical and visual effects which characterize this type of persuasion. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to determine whether other types of persuasive messages transmitted over this medium also contain the kinds of linguistic devices found in television advertising.

Chapter III

BACKGROUND TO THE PRESENT STUDY

3.1 DESCRIPTION

This research was undertaken to determine whether the kinds of linguistic devices said to characterize effective persuasion in television advertising could also be found in another type of language use intended to persuade. The data used for purposes of comparison were taken from the broadcasts of television evangelists, also known in the popular media literature as the electronic church.

By using televised messages in the comparison group, the effects of contextual factors on persuasion were kept constant between the two groups - television advertising and television evangelism. Furthermore, by selecting specific segments from the broadcasts used, it was also possible to assume with a relatively high degree of confidence, that the messages used were, indeed, persuasive in intent. In order to find support for these assumptions, however, it is necessary to consider briefly some of the essential characteristics of television evangelism.

First, although television advertising is a form of religious broadcasting, it differs from the kinds of religious

programming produced by mainline churches such as the Lutheran, Catholic, and Anglican denominations in several ways. For example, while televangelists - as they are coming increasingly to be known - share with the mainline churches the fact that it is a stated purpose of all religious broadcasting to recruit converts, they differ in the degree to which this goal is pursued. For televangelists the use of television is a matter of "fulfilling the great commission" of ensuring that every person on earth has the opportunity to hear the gospel (Hadden & Swann, 1981, p.90). In keeping with their view of God as a very active participant in world events, television and the other mass media are seen as God's provision of the means by which to carry out His Will, as shown in the following quote from evangelist, Rex Humbard.

> Precious Lord ... we thank You for this opportunity ... that You've entrusted into our hands the means to reach the entire world. Through radio, television and shortwave.[7]

Thus, one persuasive goal of televangelists is the prosyletizing of their viewing audience, which they seek to extend throughout the world.

A second point which distinguishes the broadcasting of televangelists from that of the mainline churches is that televangelists must pay for their broadcast time, while television stations have traditionally donated the time used

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[7] Rex Humbard, 1982, January 17 television broadcast

by these other denominations. Furthermcre, due tc the expense of broadcasting over televisicn cocpled with the fact that televangelists' ministries are not supported by an established network of churches, these ministries depend tpon the financial support of their audiences for their very existance (Hadden & Swann, 1981). Hence, televangelists must secure not only regular viewers but alsc sufficient contributions from them to carry the costs cf their television broadcasts. With regard to donations, hcwever, it should be mentioned that these are not always solicited directly. Instead, the ultimate goal of securing financial ccntributions is very often pursued by first simply getting the viewer to respond to the program. Various inducements such as gift offers, prayer requests, and telephone counselling are commonly offered as reasons for the viewer tc respond. The rationale behind this approach has to do largely with the fact that regardless of how a viewer responds, his name will automatically be placed on a ccmputerized mailing list through which subsequent appeals for contributions are sent. In the more successful ministries, these appeals come in the form of computer-generated letters which are personalized by inserting the person's name and other infcrmation specific to him, such as the nature or topic cf his last communication to the ministry. It is through these ccmputerized mailing lists that a great deal of the actual fund-raising for televangelists is done (Hadden & Swann, 1981).

The programs themselves are generally fast-paced and highly entertaining. They are characteristically divided into a series of short segments which include songs, a variety of speakers, interviews, film clips, and in most cases also a sermon. Although no two programs are exactly alike, one thing which each of the five programs used for this study had in common was the use of several of these segments specifically for purposes of promoting the ministry, the program itself, or the items or services offered. It was during these segments that viewers were also asked to either write or telephone the ministry in order to receive the aforementioned goods and services or to make a contribution to the ministry.

Thus, in addition to the religious issue of attempting to gain converts, the programs of televangelists also contain persuasive attempts of a more secular nature. That is, televangelists seek to persuade their audience to become regular or frequent viewers of the program and/or to respond to the program. Furthermore, although every segment of the broadcast could be considered to contribute to an overall persuasive effect, within the programs used for this study, certain segments were identifiably persuasive in intent since they were devoted specifically to the promotion of the program, the ministry, or the various items or services offered.

3.2 DATA

The promotional sections of five of the six most popular televangelistic programs comprised the data for this study. Popularity ratings were determined through audience statistics for 1980 provided by Arbitron, and published in Hadden & Swann (1981). The five programs selected on this basis were, in rank order, Oral Roberts and You, You Are Loved (evangelist, Rex Humbard), The Hour of Power (evangelist, Robert Schuller), Jimmy Swaggart, and The Old Time Gospel Hour (evangelist, Jerry Falwell). The particular broadcasts used for this study were taped on one of two consecutive Sundays, January 17 and 24, 1982.

The promotional segments isolated for analysis were defined as those parts of the program which contained appeals for viewer response or promotion of the ministry or the program itself. The data taken from these segments were restricted to include only those speech samples which were directed specifically toward the viewing audience. That is, conversations and interviews were not included in the analysis since these could not be assumed with confidence to be intended to persuade. The data were further restricted to include only the audio portions of the programs studied, thereby eliminating the non-verbal component of communication from analysis. While acknowledging the importance of non-verbal communication, it was felt that this was a justi-

fiable omission, since its inclusion would have complicated the analysis unduly. There is no established method for analyzing non-verbal communication and, since the data used did not include conversational interactions, it was reasoned that this component would not have significantly altered the message conveyed verbally.

3.3 APPARATUS

Programs were audio-taped on cassette from television signals received over the local cable TV system. These tapes were then transcribed using a Dictaphone machine and a typewriter.

3.4 PROCEDURE

3.4.1 Transcriptions

In transcribing the data from the recordings, punctuation was determined by referring to both intonation contours and verbal content. For example, a falling intonation was generally taken to signal the end of a sentence, while a rising intonation might signal a comma or question, depending on the content of the utterance. The grammar of colloquial speech can differ considerably from the more formal written form of language. For this reason, it was decided that in cases where there might be a discrepancy between intonation and grammatical "correctness", intonation would be given

preference in determining how the utterance should be punctuated. Thus, one word sentences and other grammatical anomalies (e.g., the sentence My message, the last revival) were recorded as such, so as to make the transcriptions as faithful a replication of the audio portion of the programs as possible.

Occasionally, the tapes contained a word or short segment which was unclear, and therefore difficult to identify. To ensure the accuracy of the transcriptions, the affected portion of the tape would be replayed several times in an attempt to identify the word in question. If these repeated listenings failed to resolve its identity, then a rough phonetic transcription of what the word sounded like was put in its place. This, in turn, was followed by a question mark and enclosed in brackets to signify its uncertain status, e.g., there will be a great (louder?) outpouring.

Finally, the reliability of the transcriptions was augmented during the subsequent timing of the individual segments. At this time the transcripts were re-read while listening to the tapes and corrected where necessary.

3.4.2 Isolation of Target Sections

As mentioned above, detailed analysis was conducted only on those sections for which it could be assumed that the speaker was attempting to persuade the audience. These sec-

tions were distinguished from others within a given program on the basis of the subject matter within the section. That is, it had to contain promotional material or some appeal for viewer response. Isolation of these sections was facilitated by the fact that the programs themselves were presented in distinct parts, separated by a song or a change in speaker. Although most of the promotional sections were clearly delineated in this way, there were two exceptions. In one case, the persuasive appeal followed directly upon the sermon, without any intervening song or change in speaker. Here, a change was signalled by the words ladies and gentlemen which indicated that the speaker was changing his mode to one of addressing the members of the audience more directly. This impression was supported by the topic of the utterances which followed, namely, an appeal for financial support for the ministry. In the second instance, the promotional section followed a prayer, whose end was signalled by the word Amen. The subsequent speech contained offers of literature and various other services provided by the ministry and was therefore considered to be an attempt to persuade the audience to respond.

3.4.3 Analysis

The data from each of the programs were searched for occurrences of the linguistic features discussed by Lakoff and Geis as characteristic of persuasive language in television advertising. Any given feature had to occur in at least two of the programs to be considered worthy of note. Specific examples found in the data were then compared with those of television advertising to determine the degree of similarity or types of differences that occurred within the general categories set up either by Lakoff or Geis. In cases where there was some ambiguity as to what should constitute the precise parameters of a particular variable, operational definitions were constructed for purposes of analysis. These are discussed in the corresponding section under Results and Discussion. Finally, in some cases it was found that, within a given category, the evangelists' use of language could be more accurately described by extending the analysis conducted to describe the language of television advertising to include variations which frequently occurred in the data. Thus, in these cases, an extrapolation of Geis' and Lakoff's method was undertaken to incorporate into the general category additional features which characterized the language of televangelists.

Chapter IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 LINGUISTIC NOVELTY

In Lakoff's analysis of persuasive discourse with reference to the language used in television advertising, an essential identifying feature was found to be an extensive use of novel terms and expressions. The kinds of linguistic novelty found were classed into five distinct groups: lexical novelty, morphological or syntactic novelty, syntactic innovation, semantic anomaly, and pragmatic novelty. Most of these types were also found to occur in the language of televangelists. While the use of novel terms and expressions did not occur frequently in the data, every broadcast surveyed did contain at least one example of a novel use of language.

4.1.1 Lexical Novelty

Two instances of lexical novelty were found in the data. In both cases existent lexical items were used to construct terms for concepts unique to the ministry in which they were used. One of these, possibility thinking, was coined by Robert Schuller to refer to the positive outlook espoused by

his ministry as a way of life to be followed in conjunction with the teachings of Christianity. The meaning of the term is relatively easy to derive from the lexical meanings of the items within the compound and the context of the program. This may be contrasted with the term seed faith, used by Oral Roberts to refer, essentially, to donations to his ministry (Hadden & Swann, 1981). Here the referent of the term is not transparent given the meanings of the lexical items which comprise it. Furthermore, references to seed faith during the course of the program serve to disambiguate its meaning only in very oblique ways. This will be discussed more fully in a later section (cf. Saying Things Indirectly). Nevertheless, given the fact that seed faith is discussed exclusively as a means by which someone can obtain miracles from God, it would appear from the data that the use of this term actually constitutes an attempt to reframe the concept of donation as something which benefits the giver, while obscuring any potential gains to be derived by the recipient of the donation.

4.1.2 Morphological or Syntactic Novelty

Several instances of what Lakoff classed as morphological or syntactic novelty also occurred in the speech of televangelists. Here existent terms were either used as belonging to a different part of speech class or they were set in

unusual syntactic environments. Some examples of morphological or syntactic novelty found include the following:

1. If you haven't got the first and second week('s letters) incoming, do it today ... (Oral Roberts)[8]
2. God wants to bless and prosper you. (Oral Roberts)
3. We're going to believe God for those letters that have come to us saying Rex, at prayer time, pray for me. (Rex Humbard)
4. (We will send you a book) containing facts about China you never knew existed. (Jimmy Swaggart)
5. I hope and pray that it's a blessing to you. (Jimmy Swaggart)

In examples (2) and (3) above, the novel use of prosper and believe results in a functional condensation, since the more conventional way of saying (2) would be God wants to bless (you) and make you prosper. Similarly, the actual meaning of (3) might be expressed grammatically in a sentence such as We're going to believe that God will answer the requests contained in those letters that have come to us. In this case, the condensation also involves a change in the semantic component, since the most likely interpretation of this sentence is not completely expressed in the actual terms used.

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[8] Each of the numbered quotations is taken from the broadcast of the evangelist whose name follows it.

4.1.3 Syntactic Innovation

Lakoff identified two types of syntactic innovation in television advertising; the absence of subjects and verbal auxiliaries, and odd uses of the definite article. One of these types, the absence of subjects and verbal auxiliaries was also found in the speech of televangelists.

6. Well, a real good song - Cast Your Bread Upon the Waters. (Oral Roberts)
7. Talks about a better place a better land. Entitled Heaven For Me. (Jimmy Swaggart)
8. Thousands of people together here for one of America's most positive and inspirational programs. (Robert Schuller)

The environments in which these instances of syntactic innovation occurred are similar in that they were all introductions. In (6) the name of a song was introduced immediately after it had been sung, while (7) and (8) preceded the items introduced, a song and the program, respectively.

4.1.4 Semantic Anomaly

Aside from the metaphorical use of language, two of the programs surveyed also contained instances of semantic anomaly.

9. As president of my corporation I am faced with many problems. Some of them are positive, some are negative. (Robert Schuller)

10. To provoke a soul-winning conversation. (Jerry Falwell)

Both these examples contain violations of the semantic selectional restrictions on nouns. In (6) the attributive adjective positive is used to describe problems, while in (7) the verb provoke is used with the direct object conversation. In both cases it is the conventional meaning of the noun which contributes to the anomaly. Problems are conventionally considered to be undesirable and therefore negative. Making a distinction between positive and negative problems involves an elimination of the negative connotations on the noun itself, making it affectively neutral. Similarly, the conventional meaning of conversation is that it is a cooperative exchange between speakers, while the verb provoke implies a level of confrontation or aggression on the part of the agent. The use of the modifier soul-winning in this case may soften the impact of the anomaly by suggesting that there is a class of conversation which can or must be provoked. Nevertheless, the use of conversation in this context remains anomalous unless one redefines its meaning to include such talk exchanges as arguments or disputes.

4.1.5 Summary

Generally, then, it would appear from the data that televangelists, like television advertisers, utilize various types of linguistic novelty in their persuasive speech. In some of the cases found, (e.g., seed faith, to believe God for ... letters, semantic anomaly), the linguistic novelty also contributed to a change in the conventional or connctative meaning of the terms used or items referred to in this way.

The only types of novelty identified by Lakoff which were not found in the data were odd uses of the definite article and pragmatic anomaly; a type of novelty found to occur in the somewhat stilted conversation of mini-dramas in advertising. Since the data used did not contain interviews or conversations, the absence of pragmatic anomaly is to be expected. The fact that the definite article was not used in odd ways by televangelists points to a difference between the two types of persuasion. Since the speech of televangelists tends to be less scripted and therefore more natural than that of advertising, it seems likely that this type of syntactic innovation is a feature which characterizes advertising language specifically.

4.2 MANIPULATIVE PERSUASION - REPETITION OF NAMES

In his analysis of television advertising, Geis mentioned the frequent repetition of product names as one common manipulative use of language which seems to function mostly in getting the hearer to remember the name. Unlike most television commercials, however, the programs used for this study each contained a variety of names which were generally repeated several times during the promotional segments. Since Geis was referring specifically to a high rate of repetition as constituting this type of manipulative persuasion, however, it was clear that those names repeated three or four times during the entire program could hardly be considered a manipulative use of language. Although Geis did not specify what might constitute a high rate of mention he did cite one example in which the morpheme yum was mentioned 24 times in a 30-second commercial for the product Bubble Yum. There can be little doubt that this would count as a high rate of repetition. The fact that the promotional segments in the current data varied in length from 4.7 (Oral Roberts) to 17.4 (Jerry Falwell) minutes, however, made it virtually impossible that any name could be repeated at an average rate of 48 times per minute throughout these segments and still maintain some semblance of normal language use. Nevertheless, this fact was not considered to preclude the possibility that the frequent repetition of names for mnemonic pur-

poses might also occur here. Hence, for purposes of analysis, bearing in mind the duration of the segments contained in the current data and the conversational nature of the language used, "high rate of repetition" was operationally defined as any name which was mentioned at least two times per minute, on average, during the course of these segments. Although the rate of two times per minute was set arbitrarily, it was reasoned that while this rate might still not be high enough to actually constitute a manipulative use of repetition, one could be fairly certain that any names mentioned less frequently than this would not be of interest in this regard. Results of a subsequent search of the data are set out in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1

Frequency and Rate per Minute of Highly Repeated Names by Evangelist

Evangelist	Name	Frequency	Rate
Oral Roberts	Oral	15	3.2
Rex Humbard	Rex	20	2.1
	God	19	2.0
Robert Schuller	Schuller	25	3.1
Jimmy Swaggart	Swaggart	15	2.5
Jerry Falwell	Faith Partners	34	2.1

In three of the programs studied, only one name was repeated more than twice per minute, and that was the name of the evangelist. In Rex Humbard's program the evangelist's name was still the most frequently mentioned, but God was also mentioned an average of two times per minute. One exception to the trend of mentioning the evangelist's name more frequently than any other was found in Jerry Falwell's Old Time Gospel Hour. Here it was the name of the regular contributors to the ministry, the Faith Partners, which was repeated most frequently, at a rate of 2.1 times per minute.

In many cases the name was not mentioned in isolation, but rather as a part of a larger name for a product, group, or institution belonging to the ministry. This could be seen as analogous to the repetition of the morpheme yum in the Bubble Yum commercial except that in the case of the televangelists' programs it was still a full name which consistently received a high rate of mention.

Although none of these rates approached the frequency of repetition found in the Bubble Yum commercial, it is still possible that they constitute a manipulative use of repetition in the sense Geis referred to. The fact that four of the five programs mentioned the evangelist's name more often than any other lends support to this interpretation, since it is, after all, the evangelist himself who is the focal point of his ministry. The fact that the name God was also

mentioned almost as frequently as the evangelist's name in one of the programs is perhaps not surprising considering the fact that these are religious broadcasts, yet it is difficult to see any relationship between the use of this name and a type of persuasion which functions in getting the hearer to remember the name. One might speculate that since the name God and the name Rex received almost the same rate of mention, often occurring in close proximity (e.g., God gave Rex a special vision. God has called Rex and ...), it might be that this frequent use of God constitutes, in part, an attempt to associate the two names.

To summarize, then, the programs of televangelists tend to contain relatively frequent repetitions of their own names. Although the rate of repetition is not as frequent as that found in some television commercials, this does not preclude the possibility that it may function, even by design, to get the audience to remember the name. Certainly, it would be rare, in normal conversation, for any name to occur at an average rate of once every thirty seconds in addition to all pronominal references to the individual. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the rate at which these names were used here might in fact be, to some degree, contrived for mnemonic purposes.

4.3 NAMES AS MINI-ADVERTISEMENTS

In his study of television advertising, Geis found that although proper nouns are generally thought to have strictly a referring function, the choice of lexical items used to construct the names of products advertised could result in the name itself having a persuasive impact. Thus, for example, a name like Soft & Dri for a deodorant could itself be a mini-advertisement for the product.

Unlike most television advertising, however, televangelists' programs involve the promotion of a number of identifiable "products". Included among these are the program itself, the group comprised of regular financial contributors, as well as the various items or services offered during the program. An examination of the names given to these various "products" showed that many of them do, indeed, convey information which could function in helping to promote them.

Perhaps the most interesting of these are the names given to the groups comprising regular financial contributors to the ministry.

11. The Faith Partners (Jerry Falwell)
12. The World Outreach Partners (Jimmy Swaggart)
13. The Prayer Key Family (Rex Humbard)
14. The Possibility Thinkers' Club (Robert Schuller)

Of these names, two describe the group as partners, one is called a family, while the other is a club. All of these

head nouns have in common the semantic feature [+belonging]. That is, these lexical items could be said to contribute to the impression that the regular contributors to a ministry are all part of a close or even exclusive group. The impression of an offer of belonging is supported by an assertion made by Jerry Falwell that one of the items sent to Faith Partners in return for their monthly contribution would make them "a part of the inner circle". Similarly, the term club tends to connote not only belonging but also exclusive access to those who are members. In the case of Robert Schuller's Possibility Thinkers' Club, the implication of exclusivity is reinforced by the fact, mentioned during the program, that members receive I.D. cards identifying them as such, even though membership in this club is an automatic result of pledging one's monthly support.

All of these names have been constructed from noun compounds which function as premodifiers + a head noun. By referring to the contexts of the programs, the particular choice of lexical items used as modifiers in describing the group can be seen as a type of assertion as to its nature or value. For three of these names, the meaning of the name seems to be quite transparent. Thus, one might conclude that members of Jerry Falwell's group are partners in their faith, Jimmy Swaggart's partners further his world outreach, and Robert Schuller's club is an exclusive group comprised

of people who probably live by the philosophy of possibility thinking.

In the case of Rex Humbard's Prayer Key Family, however, the decision to use the terms prayer and key to modify the head noun family can best be understood if other elements of the program are brought into consideration. For example, during the broadcast, a few minutes are set aside for what is referred to as prayer time. During this time, Rex Humbard specifically blesses the members of the Prayerkey Family and he later also mentions the fact that their names are in the (Golden Anniversary) Prayer Key Family Book. The actual prayers he says include requests for physical as well as spiritual healing on behalf of those who have sent him prayer requests. Later on in the program he asks his viewers to send in prayer requests. An inference which could reasonably be drawn from these observations is that there must be some advantage to having Rex Humbard pray for one. It seems likely that at least some viewers would conclude that the benefit to be derived has to do with the possibility that Rex Humbard knows something special about how to reach God in such a way that prayers get answered. The prenominal modifiers prayer key, then, would reinforce such a conclusion by conveying the impression that prayers made for members of this group hold the metaphorical key which will enable them to gain access to God more directly.

The names of four of the programs themselves alsc carry information which might be construed as constituting mini-advertisements for the programs themselves. For example, The Old Time Gospel Hour conveys the impression that the program resembles, perhaps, the revival meetings of a bygone era. That this might be an attractive proposition to viewers of televangelists' programs is supported by a statement in the introductory segment of Jimmy Swaggart's prcgram which characterizes it as an "cld fashioned spirit filled revival service". In the case of Robert Schuller's Hour of Power, the name is somewhat more open to interpretation. One might, for example, infer that something powerful is conveyed during this hour which viewers of the program can tap into. Viewers familiar with the program might further associate this reference to power with the philosophy of possibility thinking upon which this ministry is based, as in "the power of possibility thinking". In either case, it is certainly conceivable that the reference to power in the title of the program might stimulate pcsitive associations for viewers who feel a lack cf personal power in their lives.

Finally, the names You Are Loved and Oral Roberts and You both convey a sense of intimacy by focussing on the viewer through the use of the second persen pronoun. In the case of You Are Loved this name also constitutes an assurance to

the viewer, although the use of an agentless passive in the structure of the sentence leaves it open to the viewer to determine for himself who it is that loves him. The most likely interpretations, given the context of the program, are Rex Humbard or God, or perhaps both.

The names for products or services promoted during the programs surveyed also very often contain information which could help in their promotion. These include Jimmy Swaggart's China Diary, Living Positively One Day at a Time: Volume 2 for 82, The Prayer Hotline, and The New Hope Telephone Counselling Service. In each case the choice of lexical items used in the name serves to convey an impression about the nature of that to which it refers.

Thus, it would appear that the televangelists' data lend support to Geis' findings with regard to the use of names in persuasion. That is, not only is the choice of lexical items to name something not arbitrary but it can also serve to characterize that which is named in such a way as to become a mini-advertisement for the product itself.

4.4 MITIGATION OF CLAIMS

In television advertising it was found that the literal strength of claims made is commonly mitigated through the use of modal verbs such as may, can, and help. Since Geis did not offer a definition of what he took to be claims in

television advertising, it might be surmised that their identification is a relatively simple matter in this context. Unfortunately, this was not found to be the case in the more extended discourse contained in the current data. On the contrary, it became quickly apparent that to distinguish what should count as claims in this context from other speech acts such as assurances, promises, predictions, and simple assertions of fact would require more than an intuitive understanding of the term. Webster's Third International Dictionary (Unabridged) defines claim as

> an assertion, statement or implication (as of value, effectiveness, qualification, eligibility) often made or likely to be suspected of being made without adequate justification.

This definition places a great deal of weight on the subjective judgment of the hearer regarding the justification which might underly any given assertion. For this reason it was felt to be of limited value in its present form as a criterion by which to identify claims in textual analysis. Speech act analysis has also defined claims only so far as to say that they belong to the class of Representatives, acts in which the speaker represents that which he says as being true (Searle, 1975a). Therefore, in the absence of any constitutive rules by which to identify claims, a modified version of Webster's definition was used as a working definition for purposes of analysis.

> A claim is an assertion, statement or implication (as of value, effectiveness, qualification, eligi-

> bility) which predicates a past or present event and whose justification is not readily verifiable.

In this definition, the specification that claims must predicate a past or present event is made in order to distinguish them from promises and predictions. The condition that the proposition contained in a claim not be readily verifiable also helps to differentiate claims from assertions of a factual nature (be they literally true or not).

By this definition, then, an examination of the claims found in the data would indicate that televangelists are somewhat less careful than television advertisers in the claims that they make. For example:

15. (Andre Crouch, the guest singer is) loved by thousands, yes by millions. (Oral Roberts)
16. God has called Rex and given him a vision of a worldwide outreach to searching and starving souls. (Rex Humbard)

In fact, only two instances of mitigation were found, neither of which used modal verbs.

17. (Through the people just mentioned) probably we're getting in more Bibles than anyone else (to China). (Jimmy Swaggart)
18. When you consider the fact that we're on nearly 400 television stations, 500 radio stations, reaching literally the potential every household in North America, and throughout Australia, the Phillipines, the

islands of the sea - many parts of the world. (Jerry Falwell)

The mitigation contained in both these sentences results in rather stilted constructions. In (17) the claim is mitigated through the use of the adverb probably while (18) contains two types of mitigation. The adjective nearly definitely applies to the phrase which immediately follows it, but its scope may also include the number of radio stations mentioned. In either case the literal strength of the claim is severely reduced, since it is the speaker's judgment that the actual number is close to 400; it could conceivably vary between 350 and 399 and still make the claim literally true. The second type of mitigation is found in the awkward construction literally the potential every household where the insertion of the modifying phrase the potential significantly weakens what would otherwise be a very strong claim indeed.

Some of the claims made by televangelists could be classed by subject into types. One such type contained an assertion as to the personal participation of God in furthering the work of the ministry.

19. God continues to bless this ministry to searching and starving souls. (Rex Humbard)
20. God has made it possible for use through a network of effort that I can't describe to you (to get Bibles into China). (Jimmy Swaggart)

Another type of claim mentioned the number of people actually converted or "reached" by the ministry in its outreach efforts.

21. Thousands get saved on a regular basis. Watching, listening to our television, radio programs. (Jerry Falwell)
22. As Rex led them in prayer, literally hundreds of thousands acknowledged Jesus Christ in their hearts and minds. (Rex Humbard)
23. As Rex spoke to hundreds of thousands in stadiums across Brazil, the Holy Spirit touched hearts. And many found a saviour. (Rex Humbard)

In his discussion of the language of television advertising, Geis mentions the term many which, while frequently used, can vary in strength depending on the context in which it occurs. Generally, it seems to assert that the number or proportion indicated is significant in the eyes of the speaker resulting in a claim which is difficult to falsify. As exemplified in (18) and (23) the use of many also occurs in the claims made by televangelists. In (18) the intended strength of the quantifier is made explicit by the examples which precede it, but in (23) the numerical referent of many is completely open to intepretation. There is, however, an implication through the preceding sentence that since hundreds of thousands were spoken to, at least several thousand

must have "found a saviour". In fact, many of the claims found in the data utilized indirect speech forms which required some measure of inference in their interpretation. This will be discussed in the following section.

4.5 SAYING THINGS INDIRECTLY

One feature of television advertising which Geis found particularly interesting was the prevalence of speech forms which convey information that must be intepreted through processes of conventional or conversational implicature. As outlined in Chapter 2, conventional implicature derives from the conventional meaning of the words in an utterance and the semantic component entailed in its structure. Conversational implicature, on the other hand, also utilizes such information as is provided by the context, shared background knowledge and beliefs, as well as the Cooperative Principle and conversational maxims set out by Grice (1975).

In the language of televangelists, many instances of claims and assertions were found which required some measure of conventional or conversational inference in their interpretation.

24. Father, help each one here and millions watching by television to prepare to meet God. (Jerry Falwell)
25. Our way of saying thanks for helping to proclaim God's word to millions of needy people. (Jerry Falwell)

Sentence (24) conventionally implies the proposition millions are watching by television. This can be demonstrated by the test for conventional implicature, cancellation, which results in the anomalous sentence *Millions are not watching by television, but help each one here and millions watching by television. Similarly, (25) conventionally implies that we proclaim God's word to millions of needy people. This sentence also contains the conversational implication - by the Maxim of Relation - that the needy people referred to are in need of God's word, not food or money or shelter. This demonstrates a feature which Geis also found in television advertising, namely, that conventional and conversational implicature often occur together in the same utterance or string of utterances which form an argument. This interaction of the two types of implicature is further exemplified in the following set of utterances from Oral Roberts' program.

26. What we've built here in the City of Faith is a medical centre with the most advanced design and technology of any medical centre in the world. But more important, we've brought together people from all over the country who believe in medicine AND believe in prayer. And THAT is really what makes the difference.

The final sentence in this set conventionally implies that there is a difference between the City of Faith and other medical centres in the world, and further, that this difference can be attributed to something already referred to. By referring to the linguistic context of the preceding utterance (including the stress on and and the Maxim of Relation, it can be shown that this sentence further implies through conversational implicature that the difference referred to can be attributed to the additional feature of a belief in prayer. For many people, this might conclude the inferences that they would draw from these utterances. For those who are familiar with Oral Roberts' ministry, however, there is another proposition implied in these utterances which depends on shared background knowledge and beliefs. The necessary background information is the fact that Oral Roberts himself is a known faith healer. He not only began his television ministry as a faith healer, but continues to conduct healing services in his untelevised meetings throughout the country (Hadden & Swann, 1981). A listener who is aware of these facts and who shares Oral Roberts' belief in faith healing might also infer that the way in which a belief in prayer "makes the difference" in the City of Faith is through invoking God's help in healing, or more succinctly, through faith healing.

Most of the cases of conversational implicature found in the speech of televangelists were similar to those of television advertising in that they required that inferences be drawn on the Maxim of Relation. For example, Rex Humbard says during his program:

27. Neighbour, some day we'll stand before the Lord. And the Lord is either going to say well done, or he's going to look at us and say you haven't done a good job. I want to send you my fiftieth anniversary that I've been in God's work golden medallion.

The final sentence in this set contains a change in topic and its relevance to the preceding utterances must be inferred through a process of conversational implicature. Since the first two sentences seem to comprise a form of warning to the hearer, one could infer - by the Maxim of Relation - that the point of the following sentence is to offer a way in which the unpleasant possibility mentioned earlier can be avoided. That is, this sentence conversationally implies that by supporting Rex Humbard in God's work, the listener can at least increase the possibility that the Lord will say "well done".

Other examples of conversational implicature arising from the Maxim of Relation include the following:

28. Tell them that you'd like to pledge your support every month. And prepare yourself for a better life. (Robert Schuller)

29. We preach the simple Bible plan of salvation. Thousands get saved on a regular basis. Watching, listening to our television radio ministry. (Jerry Falwell)

In both cases the implication is that there is a relationship betweeen adjacent clauses. It seems reasonable to assume that many listeners will infer that this relationship is causal.

A rather subtle use of inferential processes was found in the use of prenominal modifiers.

30. Today, from our world headquarters in Baton Rouge Louisiana ... (Jimmy Swaggart)
31. This program is sponsored by the Oral Roberts Evangelistic Association ... and made possible by seed faith gifts of friends and partners of the ministry. (Oral Roberts)

In (30) the term <u>world headquarters</u> conversationally implies that there are other headquarters in other parts of the world by the Maxim of Quantity and a shared knowledge of what might have been said but wasn't; i.e., <u>national headquarters</u> or simply <u>headquarters</u>. In (31), the use of <u>seed faith</u> as a prenominal modifier on the head noun <u>gifts</u> conventionally implies that seed faith constitutes a type of gift to the ministry. This is a particularly interesting use of implicational processes when viewed in light of

preceding references to seed faith in the program. As mentioned earlier (cf. Linguistic Novelty), seed faith is a novel term constructed by Oral Roberts. During the course of the program it is referred to several times, often in conjunction with a form of explanation. For example, the first time it is mentioned, Oral Roberts says:

32. I get to thinkin(g) about seed faith. Planting our seeds and expecting our miracles back.

As in (32), other definitions of seed faith proffered throughout the program (many of which occur during the "non-promotional" segments) all work on an agricultural allegory with no reference to gifts to the ministry. Viewers are told that in the same way that a farmer does not expect to reap a harvest without first sowing a seed, so must people sow seeds of faith in order to reap the harvest of miracles from God, which are mentioned as including physical, spiritual, and financial aid. The audience is further instructed that they must "plant a seed to meet (their) need". However, the resolution of what might constitute a seed faith in concrete terms is left to the very last sentence of the program and depends for its interpretation upon processes of conventional implicature within that sentence combined with conversational implicature from the background information provided during the program itself. Although seed faith does, in fact, refer to donations (Hadden & Swann,

1981), the ways in which the term is used serve, if anything, to obscure this meaning. In fact, it would appear from the contexts in which seed faith occurs, that the construction of this term actually constitutes an attempt by Oral Roberts to redefine the concept of donation as something which benefits the giver as opposed to the recipient of the gift. The fact that the actual meaning of the term can only be derived through rather complex inferential processes further suggests that Oral Roberts does not want his viewers to think of seed faith as donations until they are already convinced of the idea of planting seeds and expecting miracles back. In this instance, then, the use of linguistic novelty combined with indirect speech forms actually results in a somewhat deceptive use of language.

Another indirect speech form noted by Geis involved the tendency of advertisers to favour vague language in the statement of propositions which might otherwise be subject to empirical verification. This was also found to apply to the speech of televangelists where the use of vague speech forms often resulted in sentences which gave the hearer a great deal of latitude of interpretation for the referents used. Oral Roberts and Robert Schuller, in particular, seemed to favour this kind of language use.

33. When Oral Roberts founded a university in 1968 he was looking for a special kind of student. A person who

wanted to make a difference. Since that time, Cral Roberts University students HAVE made a difference. O.R.U. competes with the best. Write the Director of Admissions ... And find out just how special YOUR life can be. (Oral Roberts)

34. Something good is going tc happen to you. (Oral Roberts)
35. And believe me, these messages really help. (Robert Schuller)
36. The new year provides us with a great opportunity to pursue new goals and challenges. Daily inspiration and motivation are a must. (Robert Schuller)
37. This devotional guide can be the key to your new year. Last year's guide was a life support to possibility thinkers around the world. The new guide will be equally helpful. (Robert Schuller)
38. Why not call your friends, neighbours and loved ones to tune in to (the program) where ... personal needs are met in body, soul and spirit. (Jimmy Swaggart)

As shown in these examples, vague language was often used to make claims about the products or services being promcted or, as in (38), even the program itself. Geis interpreted this kind of language use in televisicn advertising as one means by which advertisers can make assertions or claims about their product which sound good, but which are literal-

ly so weak as to have virtually no empirical consequences. This interpretation would seem to hold for the use of vague language by televangelists as well. Certainly it would be difficult to dispute any of the claims or assertions listed above. Yet, the similarity between examples such as these and the use of unspecified referential indices in clinical hypnosis suggests another possible interpretation. In hypnosis, terms which allow the listener a great deal of latitude in interpretation are used as a means of engaging his active participation in deriving a personally relevant meaning from that which is said. If recipients of a message do, in fact, tend to process the information contained therein in terms of how it applies to them personally, then the use of this type of vague language could also have a significant impact on the persuasion of individuals within a mass audience by maximizing the diversity of personal interpretations that can be derived from a given message.

4.6 ADJECTIVALIZATION PROCESSES

Another linguistic feature found to be common in television advertising was the use of adjectivalization processes; constructing adjectives from other parts of speech. Frequently, this was done through the addition of a -y suffix, as in buttery flavour, or the use of noun compounds, as in lemon taste, thereby creating noun phrases which functioned like similes.

The language of televangelists was found to be similar to that of television advertising insofar as adjectivalization processes were also used extensively. However, the kinds of adjectivalization processes used differed considerably from those mentioned by Geis. First, televangelists did not generally employ -y suffixation, except in such common terms as daily, weekly and monthly. Second, although nouns were frequently used as adjectives in prenominal position, the compounds constructed in this way did not generally function as similes. Rather, there was a marked tendency among all five programs to use a variety of adjectivalization processes in the construction of noun phrases comprised of a long series of modifiers followed by a head noun.

39. the television radio ministry Old Time Gospel Hour (Jerry Falwell)
40. four time Grammy winner B. J. Thomas (Oral Roberts)
41. this brand new for 1982 daily devotional guide (Robert Schuller)
42. the well-worn last year's book (Robert Schuller)
43. my fiftieth anniversary that I've been in God's work golden medallion (Rex Humbard)
44. soul-stirring Bible preaching (Jimmy Swaggart)
45. an old fashioned spirit filled revival service (Jimmy Swaggart)

From these examples it can be seen that various parts of speech were used as prenominal modifiers, including a phrase in (41) and a clause in (43).

Geis discusses the use of adjectivalization processes in television advertising as a means by which a literally subjective description can be made which gives the appearance of being stronger than it actually is. This interpretation is supported by the findings of Fowler and Kress (1979) and Bolinger (1980) that adjectives placed in prenominal position give the appearance of classification to descriptions which may in fact be the speaker's evaluation.

In the examples listed above, the use of prenominal modification to make subjective attributions seems to apply to some but not all of the cases. For example, one might question the attribution of soul-stirring to the preaching referred to in (44). However, as can be seen in (39) and (40), the use of such prenominal modification and adjectivalization processes does not necessarily contain a subjective component.

Nevertheless, there are two things which all of these instances of adjectivalization have in common. First, the noun phrases constructed in this way all comprise a complex of descriptive assertions about the noun. Second, the fact that these descriptive terms all precede the noun means that a hearer must process and retain a series of attributes be-

fore he is informed of their referent. Given the physical context of television as a medium in which viewers are predominantly passive and which does not allow for questions, the critical processing of such constructions constitutes a formidable task which is perhaps more likely to result in confusion than anything else. That is, one might speculate that noun phrases of this type could actually function as an impediment to active critical processing, thereby reinforcing the receptive, passive state which normally characterizes television viewing.

4.7 IMPERATIVE STRUCTURES

Another feature of television advertising noted by Geis was the use of imperative structures to carry the force of suggestions. That is, although advertisers do not have the necessary authority over their audience to actually command them, they still utilize the sentence structure of commands to direct their audience to the desired course of action.

This was also found to be the case for televangelists, who, like advertisers, do not have the appropriate authority over their audience to effectively issue commands. Yet, in every program studied, direct command structures were, in fact, used extensively. Although Geis' interpretation of the actual force of such utterances in advertising was that they constituted suggestions, it was not at all clear from

the televangelists' data that many of these utterances would not be more accurately described as requests, pleas, or exhortations. To illustrate, consider the following examples.

46. So call the toll-free number now, and say "I'll give a gift of fifty dollars or ten dollars a month for five months", let me send you this gold medallion. (Rex Humbard)
47. So join that Faith Partner team. (Jerry Falwell)
48. But please, give what you can. I would beg if it would help. (Jimmy Swaggart)

In the literature of speech act analysis, all speech acts which essentially constitute an attempt by the speaker to get the hearer to do something are called directives (Searle, 1975a). Some directives, such as commands, require that the speaker have authority over the hearer for their successful performance as that act. If the condition of relevant authority does not hold, however, then any directive a speaker might issue, regardless of surface form, can only be interpreted as carrying a force weaker than that of commanding. Since a system of constitutive rules for distinguishing between such weaker directives as requests, suggestions, pleas, and entreaties has not yet been developed, however, the ascription of actual force remains largely a matter of interpretation.

As mentioned earlier, both televangelists and television advertisers use structures normally asscciated with direct commands to issue directives whose fcrce is weaker than that of commanding. In the case of televangelists, however, the force of a directive was also found to be conveyed through a variety of other surface structures. By applying Geis' approach of examining the language used with reference to the way in which an audience might be expected tc interpret any given utterance, it was possible to identify a total of nine distinct surface structure types used by televangelists to direct their audience to scme ccurse cf action. All of these had in common the fact that they predicated a future act of the audience, but they differed considerally in the actual structures used. Six of the types isolated were, in fact, indirect directives and so might require a ncte of explanation.

In ordinary discourse speakers often use indirect directives instead of the direct form for reasons of politeness. For example, it is generally considered more polite tc say Would you mind closing the door? to make a request thar to use a more direct form such as Please clcse the docr or even I request that you close the door. However, like other indirect speech acts, this type of directive requires scme measure of ccnventional or conversational inference in its interpretation. Often, for example, the illocutionary act

of issuing a directive is performed through another speech act with a different propositional content. Thus, the utterance Can you open the door? functions as both a question and a request, while I wonder if you could close the window is a request performed indirectly by way of an assertion about the speaker's state of mind. Despite their dual nature, indirect directives have been shown to be quite systematic in the form they may take (Searle, 1975b). Generally speaking, they involve a statement or a question having to do with either the felicity conditions on the illocutionary act, the reasons for doing the act, or a combination of the above in an embedded structure. The felicity conditions for directive speech acts set out by Searle (1975b, p.71) are as follows.

TABLE 2

Directive Speech Acts

Preparatory condition	H is able to perform A.
Sincerity condition	S wants H to do A.
Propositional content condition	S predicates a future act A of H.
Essential condition	Counts as an attempt by S to get H to do A.

According to Searle (1975b), the successful communication of the intended force of an indirect directive involves an un-

derstanding of not only the felicity conditions mentioned above but also the context of the utterance and the basic principles of conversation.

The types of indirect directive found in the data all shared the fact that they predicated a future act of the audience, but they differed in the degree to which contextual factors were required for their interpretation. The following, then, is a listing of the types of directives found in the speech of televangelists, with examples from the programs surveyed.

DIRECTIVES SET IN THE FORM OF COMMANDS

I. Simple commmand structures

49. Tell Rex you want to share with him in taking the message of Christ (sic) love throughout the world. (Rex Humbard)

50. Tell them that you'd like to pledge your support each month. (Robert Schuller)

II. Command structures whose predicate contains a statement which the audience is directed to repeat.

51. Call the toll-free number that's on your screen right now, ... and say "Rex, I'll give a gift of fifty dollars, one dollar for each year you've been in God's work". (Rex Humbard)

52. (Call)...and say "Jerry, I want to be a Faith Partner. I want to pray regular (sic) for this ministry. I want to give monthly". (Jerry Falwell)

III. Command structures embedded in a conditional structure.

53. If you haven't got the first and second week incoming, do it quickly and then get the third week in. (Oral Roberts)

54. If you still have questions, give us your telephone number. (Jerry Falwell)

INDIRECT DIRECTIVES

IV. Indirect directives embedded in a conditional structure.

55. If you ... are thinking about Liberty, then you need to write to Liberty Baptist College. (Jerry Falwell)

56. If you need an uplift during the week you can always call the New Hope telephone counselling service. (Robert Schuller).

V. Directives set in the form of a yes/no question.

57. Will you pay? (Jimmy Swaggart)

58. So would you dial us right now and tell one of the L.B.C. students or one of the staff members who answers, "I want to become a Faith Partner"? (Jerry Falwell)

VI. Directives set in the form of "Why not" questions.

59. Why not join me and be a member of Dr. Schuller's Possibility Thinkers' Club? (Robert Schuller)

60. Why not call your friends, neighbours and loved ones to tune in to (the program)? (Jimmy Swaggart)

VII. Embedded directives set in the surface form of an assertion about the speaker.

61. I want you to remember now, God wants to bless and prosper you. (Oral Roberts)

62. We're asking our Faith Partners everywhere ... to double your (sic) monthly commitment. (Jerry Falwell)

VIII. Embedded directives, as above, directed at God.

63. And then we're asking God to give us new Faith Partners. (Jerry Falwell)

64. By that we mean asking God to help us through those people who are the backbone of our ministry. (Jerry Falwell)

IX. Directives whose stated source is God or the Bible.

65. For it (the Bible) said "anoint with oil then pray the prayer of faith". (Rex Humbard)

66. God has called us to complete this task together. (Rex Humbard)

To summarize, then, the speech of televangelists was found to be similar to that used in television advertising insofar as both used direct command structures to convey a force which could only be interpreted as weaker than that of commanding. They differed, however, in that a similar force was also conveyed in televangelists' speech through a variety of other structures, many of which were, in fact, indirect speech forms. Although Geis noted a tendency in the language of television advertising to express propositions indirectly, this type of language use was not mentioned in his discussion as extending to include suggestions or otherwise conveying a force like that of a directive. Thus it would appear that this particular form of indirect expression is not shared between the two types of messages. Similarly, within the general class of imperative structures, the speech of televangelists also showed more variety than that reported by Geis for the language of television advertising.

4.8 LINGUISTIC CATEGORIES NOT FOUND

Of the categories set out by Geis as characteristic of persuasive language in television advertising, four did not occur in the speech of televangelists. These were: 1. the terms introducing or announcing used to attract viewer attention; 2. count nouns used as mass nouns; 3. elliptical

comparatives; and 4. rhetorical questions. The absence of these features in the data indicates that these particular linguistic devices said to characterize one type of persuasive language are not generalizable to all types of language intended to persuade, even over the same medium.

Chapter V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Results of this research lend support to most of the categories set out by Lakoff and Geis as characteristic of the persuasive use of language with reference to television advertising. In particular, the use of indirect speech forms and vague language were found to occur not only in the presentation of claims and arguments, as reported by Geis, but also in other kinds of speech acts, such as assurances and predictions (e.g., And believe me, these messages really help, Something good is going to happen to you), as well as in the issuing of directives. There was also strong support for Geis' finding that product names often have more than a referring function and can themselves carry information that might aid in their promotion.

With reference to the use of linguistic novelty, however, the findings were less unequivocal. Lakoff considered the use of novel terms and expressions to be an essential identifying feature of persuasive discourse. Although some examples of most types of linguistic novely isolated by Lakoff were also found in the televangelists' data, the fact that this type of device was not used as extensively in these

messages as some of the other categories discussed would suggest that these findings should be considered to lend only weak support to Lakoff's interpretation of the importance of novelty to persuasive discourse.

As reported by Geis, the literal strength of claims was also mitigated in televangelists' speech through a variety of linguistic devices, but the use of modal verbs for this purpose was not found in the data. Nevertheless, the problems encountered in distinguishing claims from other types of speech acts would suggest that further research in this area could benefit from a more explicit definition of precisely what should be considered to constitute a claim.

Similarly, the category manipulative persuasion with regard to the repetition of names requires clarification before it can be determined if a rate of repetition such as that found in the current data would actually serve a mnemonic function. However, the fact that the evangelist's name was repeated more frequently than any other in four of the five programs used would suggest that this might have been an intended effect, and so could be seen to lend some support to Geis' interpretation of this type of language use in persuasive discourse.

In the case of adjectivalization processes, the results were also somewhat difficult to interpret. Geis found the use of various parts of speech as premodifiers to

generally result in a form of functional simile but this was not found to be the case for the language of televangelists even though an extensive use of adjectivalization processes was also found to occur here. Rather, the most striking result of constructing adjectives from other parts of speech in these messages was a long string of modifiers placed before a head noun. The fact that these prenominal modifiers did not necessarily contain an evaluative component leads one to speculate that they might function in persuasive discourse of this nature to impede active critical processing and thereby reinforce the passive, receptive state characteristic of television viewing. However, such an interpretation must remain in the realm of pure speculation until some experimentation has been done to determine the relative ease or difficulty with which people can critically process information presented in this way.

Finally, Geis' findings with regard to the use of imperative structures were replicated in the speech of televangelists. However, contrary to Geis' interpretation, the use of these structures in the current data could not be confidently assumed to carry strictly the force of a suggestion. Furthermore, by examining the actual structures used to predicate a future act of the audience, it was found that a wide variety of surface structures were used by televangelists for the purpose of issuing a directive, many of which were, in fact, indirect speech forms.

The categories isolated by Geis or Lakoff which did not occur in the data used for this study were as follows: 1. the terms introducing or announcing used to attract viewer attention; 2. the use of count nouns as mass nouns; 3. rhetorical questions; 4. elliptical comparatives; 5. odd uses of the definite article; 6. pragmatic anomaly. As mentioned earlier, pragmatic anomaly of the sort identified by Lakoff was not expected to occur in the data, since conversations and interviews were excluded from analysis. With regard to the other features, however, their absence from the data indicates that these particular types of language use do not necessarily characterize language intended to persuade and, furthermore, may in fact be artifacts of one particular style of persuasive language use; that of television advertising.

In conclusion, there is today ample evidence to suggest that language itself can affect the persuasive impact of a message by virtue of the linguistic structures and devices used to convey information. In the absence of a generally accepted theory to account for the persuasion process, an understanding of the role of language must remain incomplete. However, conceptual work in both linguistics and psychotherapy suggests that it is not necessarily through processes of logical analysis that language affects persuasion, but rather through the ability of language to convey

implicit information through structure, arrangement, and the principles of conversation, utilizing the active participation - but not the conscious attention - of the recipient of a message to infer the actual meaning conveyed.

The possibility has been considered that the construct which must be addressed when considering the persuasion process is, in fact, much broader and more cohesive than the previously used attitudes which was defined in relation to a given topic. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the role of language in persuasion might have to do with the differential functions of the brain's two hemispheres, so that language can be used to enhance persuasion by blocking the analytical cognitive functions while increasing the level of participation on the part of the recipient through the use of evocative language or that which more closely resembles right hemisphere functioning.

The findings of this research seem to confirm the importance of implicit information in the language used to persuade, particularly in a context where recipients of the message are predominantly passive. However, the fact that only persuasive messages from one context were examined leaves open several questions which might be addressed in future research. For example, are recipients of a message actually more likely to accept presupposed or implied information without counterargumentation than that which is ex-

plicitly stated? Further, how do the present findings apply to conversational persuasion? That is, would the information conveyed using the linguistic devices found to be common among these two types of televised persuasive messages be less likely to be questioned or counterargued against in a setting in which the recipient can participate more overtly? Finally, how does the use of language for persuasion compare with other types of language use, such as, for example, expository discourse in which the intention is less to persuade and more to inform? It is through answers to questions such as these that we may come to understand more fully the impact that language can have in the persuasion process and, by implication, also learn about some of the ways that language works in the mind.

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Appendix A

H.P. GRICE'S PRINCIPLES OF CONVERSATION

Cooperative Principle:

Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

Conversational Maxims

Maxim of Quantity:

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange)
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Maxim of Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true.

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Maxim of Relation: Be relevant.

Maxim of Manner: Be perspicuous

1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly.[9]

Conversational Implicature

In a cooperative talk exchange the speaker may flout one of the maxims, thereby conveying infcrmation which the hearer must work out using the following data:

1. The conventional meaning cf the words used, together with the identity of any references that may be involved.
2. the Cooperative Principle and its maxims
3. the context, linguistic cr otherwise, of the utterance
4. other items of background kncwledge
5. the fact (or supposed fact) that all relevant items falling under the previous headings are available to both participants and both participants knew or assume this to be the case.

For example, if a letter of reference for a philcsophy position were to read "Dear Sir, Mr. X's command of English is excellent and his attendance at tutcri-

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[9] Grice, 1975, pp. 45-46.

als has been regular. Yours etc.", this would consitute a case of flouting the first maxim of Quantity. The implication that a hearer could be expected to draw using the data above would be that Mr. X is no good at philosophy.[10]

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[10] Grice, 1975, p.52.

Appendix B

TRANSCRIPTS OF PROMOTIONAL SEGMENTS

ORAL ROBERTS - Oral Roberts and You

17/1/82

Announcer: Something good is going tc happen to you.

Announcer: Welcome to Sunday Celebration. (music) With Oral Roberts. (applause) Starring Richard Roberts. With special guest star Andre Crouch. The (clock?) puppets. And featuring the Oral Roberts University Singers. Ladies and gentlemen, Richard Rcberts! (applause)

(song)

(applause)

Oral: Well, a real good song - Cast Your Bread Upcn the Waters, and Richard, and the Oral Roberts University Singers sing it-or <u>anybody</u> sings it! I get to thinkin about Seed Faith. Planting our seeds and expecting our miracles back. You know our guest today is REALLY a testimony of casting your bread upon the waters. Andre Crouch. One of the DEAREST friends this ministry ever had. Loved by thousands, yes by millions. He writes his own music, he sings, not only with his voice, but

with his heart. Andre Crouch is a special person to us in the Lord.

(interview)

(song)

(interview and song)

Announcer: When Oral Roberts founded a University in 1968, he was looking for a special kind of student. A person who wanted to make a difference. Since that time, Oral Roberts University students HAVE made a difference. O.R.U. competes with the best. Write - the Director of Admissions, Oral Roberts University, in Tulsa Oklahoma. And find out just how special YOUR life can be. (music out)

Announcer: on the next Prime Time Celebration with Oral Roberts. (singing in background) Four time grammy winner B.J. Thomas makes a special guest appearance. And another grammy award winner the first lady of soul Aretha Franklin. The (cross?) Puppet Family. Richard Roberts and the Oral Roberts Singers. It's an Oral Roberts celebration. (drums, music)

(interview)

(song)

(interview)

Announcer: Dr. James Winslow, chief executive officer of the City of Faith Medical and Research Centre in Tulsa Oklahoma.

New voice: What we've built here in the City of Faith is a medical centre with the most advanced design and technology of any medical centre in the world. But more important, we've brought together people from all over the country who believe in medicine AND believe in prayer. And THAT is really what makes the difference.

Announcer: The City of Faith Medical and Research Centre in Tulsa Oklahoma - has been working for the goal of finding people who are dedicated to making the patient number one. Call area code 918 493 8181 and make your appointment at the City of Faith Clinic. Because our staff is ready to show <u>you</u> what this medical centre is all about. One thing's for sure. The City of Faith will change the way YOU look at medicine. (music out)

Announcer: Next week on Oral Roberts' Sunday Celebration, America's favorite singing quartet the Lennon Sisters makes a special guest appearance.

(song)

(interview)

(song)

Oral: Evelyn and I enjoyed <u>so</u> much opening our hearts to you today, We wish we had a little more time. 'Cause we know you're interested in God prosperin you. And if you'd like to know more about (how?) God will bless you, I'd like to send you a copy of my new book entitled

"Floodstage: Cpening the Windows of Eeaven". My mailing address is Oral Roberts, Tulsa Oklahcma, and in Canada, Oral Roberts Toronto, Ontario. I will send the book free and post paid. And you-(dyou?) partners, remember this is our Prayer Chain Mcnth. Twenty-four hours a day, every day of the month. Scmeone is praying around the clock. And I sent you four envelopes tc mail back and this is the third week. If you haven't got the first and second week incomin do it quickly and get the third week in,-do it today. Mail a letter today because we really can't pray the way we FEEL about you unless we get it back and can read what you have to say. The mailing address is Oral Roberts, Tulsa Oklahoma, and in Canada, Oral Roberts Torcnto Cntario. We care what God happens to you. Richard?

Richard: Dad, I'd like to say a special thanks to Andre Crouch for being our guest today, (applause) and I'd also like to thank the Cross Puppets, especially Dufus. And don't forget next week on cur program our special guests are going to be the Lennon Sisters.

Oral: It's going to be exciting. And I want you to remember now, God wants to bless and prosper you. And something good is going to happen to you.

Announcer: This program is sponsored by the Cral Roberts Evangelistic Association Tulsa, Oklahcma and made pcssi-

ble by Seed Faith gifts of friends and partners of the ministry. (whistling & music in the background)

17/1/82

REX HUMBARD - You Are Loved

Announcer:...that you are loved. You'll be sharing today's broadcast with ccmmunities across the United States. In Canada. Across Australia. In Africa. The Phillipires, and many islands of the sea. And throcgh special translations, this telecast is seen in Japan. Chile. Brazil. Argentina. And Paraguay. But mcst important we're sharing the next few mcments with you. So that you may truly know, that you are loved. (orchestra accentuates) Your musical hosts today are the Rex Humbard Family Singers. Featuring the Humbard grandchildren. Liz, and of course Rex and Maude-Aimee Hcmbard. Coming to you from beautiful Calloway Gardens. We're all here to share the message, you are loved.

Orchestra & choir: We are free to love each cther, ycu are loved.

Announcer: And now your Host, Rex Humbard.

Rex: Welcome to beautiful Caloway Gardens and today I'm going to tell you about our fiftieth anniversary taking the gospel of Jesus Christ around the world. And how you can have our anniversary golden medallicn and be a part of taking the gospel to every nation cn the face of the earth, this year. My message, the last revival. Someday there will be the very last revival and then Je-

sus will come back. And I feel it's going to happen in this generation. The grandchildren are here to sing Being Me, and now the ENtire Humbard family to sing, Some Glad Day Jesus Will Come.

(song)

Announcer: Rex Humbard celebrates his golden anniversary. Marking fifty years of broadcasting. (trumpets in background) God gave Rex Humbard a special vision for reaching the world through the media of radio and television. In 1932, Rex began regular radio broadcasts to share the message of God's love. In 1952, Rex pioneered weekly religious television. Today, as Rex enters his fiftieth year of broadcasting, God has blessed his calling by allowing the simple message of love to reach many lands in many languages. (man speaking Japanese) Through these specially prepared translated programs, Rex has shared each week the simple salvation message throughout Japan for the past seven years. God has shown us the beginnings of a great harvest of souls. (music, and man and woman speaking Spanish) In the Spanish language, Rex is currently reaching the nations of Argentina, Paraguay, and Chile every Sunday. As Rex has visited these areas, he has found a sense of fellowship. In many great stadium services the response was overwhelming. As Rex led them in prayer, literally hundreds of thousands acknow-

ledged Jesus Christ in their hearts and minds. (children singing "he's got the whole world in his hands...") The broadcast in the English language has not only been shared each week throughout North America, but also to the opposite side of the globe. Across the continent of Australia. The broadcast is also seen weekly in the Phillipines. Where God continues to bless this ministry to searching and starving souls. The program is even seen in such forsaken places as the world's largest prison. Rex through this program has become pastor and missionary to thousands who are confined and shut in. Even to these at the desolate (taled?) leprosy colony. Also, this telecast airs today in remote areas of Africa. Where many will hear the gospel message for the first time. (woman speaking Portuguese) Through the Portuguese translation of the program, the gospel message has been broadcast across the great nation of Brazil. As Rex spoke to hundreds of thousands in stadiums across Brazil, the Holy Spirit touched hearts. And many found a saviour. In this service in Rio, one hundred and seventy thousand people attended. More than one hundred and thirty thousand dedicated their lives to the Lord in this single service. Hundreds of thousands have been reached. Yet we are now only reaching half of the world. There are millions who have not yet heard the

message of God's love. Not even once. God has called Rex and given him a vision of a worldwide outreach to starving souls. Reaching people in need with a message of hope, wherever they are. In his word, God commands us to go ye into all the world and preach the gospel. Today it is possible. In this, the golden anniversary year, God has called us to complete this task together. (trumpets rise to crescendo)

Rex: This is the fiftieth year the I've been in God's work. And I want you to call the toll-free number that's on your screen now and say Rex, you have invested fifty years of your life in taking the gospel to the world. And now that you've taken the challenge to place the gospel on radio television and shortwave to reach the ENtire world THIS year, I want to be a partner and give <u>one</u> dollar for every year you've been in God's work. That's a fifty dollar gift, you can give it at <u>one</u> time, or you can give ten dollars a month for five months! When you do, I'm going to send you this golden anniversary medallion. It says to you, I was a part in taking the gospel to the entire world. Jesus said this gospel shall be preached in all nations as a witness. And you and I are going to do it! And this is the first generation that'll get the job done. And it's going to be done before Christ returns, and this is the year that

it's going to be done! Before this year is up, with your help, you can take a radio television or shortwave and go anyplace on the face of the earth and hear the message of Jesus Christ presented by this ministry. So call the toll-free number now, and say I'll give a gift of fifty dollars or ten dollars a month for five months, let me send you this gold medallion. (violin and piano)

(song)

(song - children)

(sermon)

Rex: Ladies and gentlemen now is the time for harvest and the last revival. And I believe that if you and I will renew our vow to go into all the world - that's what the Lord told us to do, and the minute this ministry-this is the fiftieth year of this ministry, and we're accepting the challenge. This year. Before this year's concluded. We will be preaching the gospel by radio, television and shortwave and LANGUAGES translated - another language, another transmitter, to reach another nation, until you can go anywhere on the face of the earch and hear the message of Jesus Christ presented by THIS ministry. For thirty years we've been working toward THIS year. Fifty years I've been in God's work and it's my GOLDEN anniversary and golden year. And I believe God's goinna let us do it. And some day. With radio. With

television. With shortwave. With missionaries. And with churches. As we're taking the gospel to the world and renewed our vow, God's gonna pour out his spirit. And because there're four and a half billion people over the face of the earth, they're going to hear there's going to be more people saved in one generation and the last revival, that have been saved from the day of Pentecost till now. And in the middle of this, the (trump?) of God's gonna sound and Jesus is coming back and catch away his church, for he's coming for a church without spot without wrinkle, and without blemish. Will you pray and be a part of this last revival. And now it's time for me to pray, and I want to pray that God's annointing will touch you. But also today, I have sent to you, many of you, the annointing oil for this prayer time. I want you to take the little (ad?) vial and annoint those with needs there in your home. And then we're going to believe God for these letters that have come to us saying Rex, at prayer time, pray for me. We're going to bless the Prayer Key Family who make possible this world wide ministry. Precious Lord, we come into your presence now and thank you for this opportunity and this generation. That you've entrusted into our hands the means to reach the entire world. Through radio, television and shortwave. And I pray the Lord that

YOU would pour out your spirit upon this fiftieth year that we've been in your work. And let this be accomplished because Jesus said this gospel SHALL be preached in all nations. And we're believing that it'll be done this year. Now Lord we come in behalf of those with needs. Those upon beds of affliction. Those that are sick and suffering. Those that do not know you. Those who have unsaved loved ones. That you'd go into that room and touch them and make them whole. Then we do not forget our Prayer Key Family whose names are in our Golden Anniversary Prayer Key Family Book. Lord, bless them for they lift up our hands and they make possible this ministry. And to all of this accomplished. And with your strength, we shall see the gospel preached in all nations, and the great (engathern?) of souls, and we will rejoice. As you return. Thank you, Jesus. For hearing our prayer. In the name of the Lord we've asked him. Amen. (choir fades out)

Rex: This week I want you to sit down and write me about those prayer meetings. The burdon you have upon your heart. Your unsaved loved ones. That one that's sick. For the Bible said confess your need to one another, and pray one for another. And next week at our prayer time I want YOUR request represented at the prayer altar. Be sure also to ask for the anncinting oil that we have

dedicated according to James five, fourteen so you can be annointed there in your home as we pray. For it said annoint with oil then pray the prayer of faith. And the Lord shall raise them up. Neighbour, some day we'll stand before the Lord. And the lord is either going to say well done, or he's going to look at us and say you haven't done a good job. I want to send to you my fiftieth anniversary that I've been in God's work golden medallion. This represents the people who have made possible the ministry of reaching half the world, and with faith we're gonna reach the rest of the world before this year is up by radio, television and shortwave. Call the toll-free number that's on your screen now, if it's busy, write it down and call back and say Rex, I'll give a gift of fifty dollars, one dollar for each year you've been in God's work. You can give it all at once, or ten dollars a month for five months. And ask for our fiftieth anniversary golden medallion. (chime music)

Announcer: Call today toll-free 1-eight hundred-331-seventeen hundred. Or if you live in Canada, call 112-eight hundred-268-6364. Tell Rex you want to share with him in taking the message of Christ love throughout the world. When you do, you'll receive this beautiful golden anniversary medallion. Commemorating Rex's fifty years of proclaiming the gospel of Jesus

Christ. If lines are busy, please write down the number and place your call later. Thank you for your anniversary gift. Together we can reach the world. Be sure to join us next week at this same time. And until then, remember, <u>you are loved</u>.

ROBERT SCHULLER - The Hour of Power

Man: As president of my corporation I'm faced with many problems. Some of them positive, some are negative. I've learned through possibility thinking, even the negative problems can be turned into golden opportunities. Why not join me and be a member of Dr. Schuller's Possibility Thinkers' Club. As a member you will receive a beautiful, mustard seed cross and an identification card. To be a member simply pledge your support each month. You'll receive a (prayer line?) each month along with a message directly from Dr. Schuller. And believe me these messages really help. There's a number on your screen, call it right now, there'll be a friend at the other end of the line. Tell them that you'd like to pledge your support each month. And prepare yourself for a better life.

(trumpets)

Announcer: From the Crystal Cathedral, in Garden Grove California, (music swells) we welcome you to Robert Schuller with the Hour of Power. Thousands of people together here for one of America's most positive and inspirational programs.

(song)

(Robert & congregation - "good morning")

(Robert gives thanks and expresses an expectation of powerful spiritual things)

(song)

(Bible reading for the day)

(song)

Announcer: As we take a moment from the sevice, I would like to invite you to join our congregation as they give their tithes and morning offerings. You too can support this ministry. Simply send your letter to Robert Schuller, Garden Grove California. That's Robert Schuller, Garden Grove California. Every Sunday, Dr. Schuller shares his message of possibility thinking. It does us all a world of good.-But really, we need this type of inspiration every day. That's why he has written a brand new devotional book. Living positively one day at a time, Volume 2 for 82. Last year the response to this book was overwhelming. So Dr. Schuller has written a new one for the new year. Practical (artidotes?) of positive living together with powerful Bible verses of affirmation - will show you how to really live positively. Dynamic themes teach you the day to day truths of the Bible. For instance, the monthly title for January states - a new year for a new you. Some day is today, and strive to abide, are but a few of the themes for the different months. If last year's devo-

tional book helped you, you'll want this new guide for 82. And if you still haven't discovered the strength of day to day positive living, then this bock is especially for you. Living positively one day at a time, vclume two for 82. Write for yours today. Simply send your letter of request to Robert Schuller, Garden Grove California. That's Robert Schuller, Garden Grove California. In Canada write Rcbert Schuller, Box 3 forty-two twelve Postal Station B, Vancouver, British Columbia. In Australia, the address is Robert Schuller, GPO Box double five seven, Sydney, New South Wales. In a moment, Dr. Schuller will share his message of possibility thinking, and later we'll tell ycu how to receive a copy of his words.-But now, let's return to the service.

(interview)

(song)

Robert: I suppose there is absolutely nothing I would rather do, and that's true for every pastor, than to try to put a fresh bloom on the rose of ycur mood every morning. Every day. Because you see we live from heartbeat to heartbeat. From mocd tc mood. Frcm daylight to dawn. Twilight and then morning again. How I wish I cculd make every day a great day fcr you. -And to attempt to do so, we have compiled a brand new for 1982 daily devotional guide. Three hundred and sixty-five pages, the

title is living positively one day at a time. It's volume 2 for 82. January. The whole month is entitled a new you in 82. And in February. Miracles to match you dreams. And in March. l-e-n-t spells lent. We define it let's eliminate negative thinking. Thirty days to help you recondition yourself. April. SOMEday is today. May deals with chains or change? June. How to make your dreams come true. July. Strive to come alive. August. Problems are only masked possibilities. September, how to put God's power to work today. October, the gifts God has for <u>you</u> this month. And November, tap into trust. December. The miracle of love's rewards. These are the twelve chapters that bind together three hundred and sixty five pages. And I just know what it will do for you. -The other day I was giving a speech back east and backstage came this handsome gentleman and his wife and his two beautyful children and he said. -Oh Dr. Schuller, we read this every day. And he had the well-worn last year's book. This year's book. Then he introduced himself to me. Rabbi - I was - I never heard anything more. I said Rabbi, Rabbi, don't you have better stuff? (chuckle) Oh, Dr. Schuller, he said, it's - it's wonderful. We read it every day at our breakfast table. So whatever your faith. You can draw strength from it. I know. Write today if

you're watching. Or if you're in the church. Send your envelope today, living positively one day at a time.

(song)

(sermon)

(song)

(blessing)

Robert's Daughter: It's been exciting tc be a part of this service today. And for the members cf the Crystal Cathedral I'd like to invite you to join us every Sunday for a positive uplift. Perhaps Dr. Schuller's message was especially meaningful to you. If so, be sure to request a copy of today's message printed in this bocklet. You can study Dr. Schuller's ideas and learn how to apply them to your life. Or pass cn this message to someone you know who needs help and direction. Either way, simply send your letter of request to Rcbert Schuller, Garden Grove, California. In Canada, write Robert Schuller, Box 3 - forty-two twelve pcstal station (d?) Vancouver, British Columbia. And in Australia the address is Robert Schuller, GPO Box double five seven, Sydney, New South Wales. The new year provides us with a great opportunity to pursue new goals and challenges. Daily inspiration and motivatien are a must. That's why Dr. Schuller has written a new daily devotional guide for 1982. Living positively one day at a time, it's vc-

lume 2 for 82. It contains dramatic stories of positive lives, bible verses, and positive affirmations for each day. Monthly themes with weekly guidelines show you step by step how to work toward your goals in conquering your challenges. This devotional guide can be the key to your new year. Last year's guide was a life support for possibility thinkers around the world. The new guide for 1982 will be equally helpful. To receive a copy of living positively one day at a time before the new year write today. Simply send your letters of request to Robert Schuller, Garden Grove, California. That's Robert Schuller, Garden Grove California. In Canada, write Robert Schuller, Box 3, forty-two twelve Postal station B, Vancouver, British Columbia. And in Australia, the address is Robert Schuller, GPO Box double five seven, Sydney, New South Wales. If you need an uplift throughout the week you can always call the New Hope telephone counselling service. Trained possibility thinking counsellors are available 24 hours a day. Simply dial area code 714 and the letters n-e-w-h-o-p-e. That's 714 and the words new hope. And now for Dr. Schuller and all of your friends here at the Crystal Cathedral, this is Jeannie Schuller. God loves you and so do we. (organ swells and then continues playing)

JIMMY SWAGGART

24/1/82

(music - country blues) - "I'm gonna lift up the name of Jesus".

Announcer: The world outreach partners and friends of the Jimmy Swaggart ministries invite you to join Jimmy Swaggart and the entire crusade team for an old fashioned spirit-filled revival service. Why not call your friends, neighbours and loved ones to tune in to the finest in inspirational gospel music and soul-stirring Bible preaching where Christ is lifted up and personal needs are met in body soul and spirit. Today from our world headquarters in Baton Rouge, Louisianna, we hear the message in its entirety entitled, The Lamb of God. So come along now and share a blessing with us. As we present to you a man with a message for today's troubled world, Jimmy Swaggart. (music finishes)

Jimmy: Hello neighbour, I'm Jimmy Swaggart and welcome to our telecast today. I hope and pray that you <u>enjoy</u> the new format that we have for the 30 minute program, of course we're doing all we can to upgrade the 30 minutes to the hour, but I wanted to be a little more personal with you. And I felt that this <u>would</u> be what the Lord

would want, and I hope and pray that it's a blessing to you. And thank you for being a part of the telecast today. We're going to bring you back in just a little bit with a message entitled The lamb of God. I'm going to show you something what God said from the word of God that I THINK will be a blessing to you - You don't miss it, but first I want to bring you a song that I KNOW will bless you. Talks about a better place a better land. Entitled Heaven for me. (organ - few chords starting)

Announcer: From Dayton, Ohio, Brother Swaggart and the crusade team band with a beautiful song Heaven for me.

(song)

Jimmy: Praise God. Hallelujah to the lamb.

Announcer: And now from our world headquarters from Baton Rouge Louisiana, Brother Swaggart with today's message, The lamb of God.

(sermon)

Donny: Thank you Dad. Before Dad comes back let me take this time to invite you to attend the following Jimmy Swaggart crusades - On February the 12th, 13th and the 14th, we're going back to Honolulu, Hawaii for the third time. We're going to be in the Neil Blaysdale Centre, the service time's Friday and Saturday night at 7:30 - the doors will open at 6:00 sharp, and then Sunday night

at 6 p.m. the doors will open at 4:30. Now also. We re taking a tour to Honolulu during the same time. The dates for the tour February the 10th through the 17th - the cost is just 1175 from Dallas, 925 from los Angeles. We have a very nice Hawaiian tour brcchure prepared just for those cf you who would like more information regarding the tour. To receive it, all you have to do is simply write us or call us at the number or address you seen on the screen, and we will be happy tc see tc it that you receive this free brochure CN the Hawaii tour - but get that letter in the mail today. Dad...

Jimmy: Thank you so very much Dcnny. I hope you enjoyed the program today and I pray that it was a blessing to your heart and I hope that you can give us your undivided attention please for the next few moments. (pause) The door is opened a tiny bit. This entire month is designated the month for China. And I want you to see for just a few moments what I'm talking about.

(interview)

Jimmy: When you think that there's such a hunger there. People that want to know about God - One billion people in China. Through the man you just heard, I won't call his name - it's - we use the name Paul, but we're sending in Bibles to China. It's not done illegally. Scme, as I mentioned last week in the special, some effcrts

have have been made that were illegal, and hurt and hindered the work of God there. What we're doing is not illegal and through the people that you've seen on this little segment we've just shown you, probly we're getting in more Bibles than anycne else. This is a copy of the Bible right here. It's not expensive. It's just a little paperback edition in their language. Mandarin, and Cantonese with a little hymn book in the back of it. Stop and think about it. Most of you have never had anyone ask you for help. For China. It's been closed. Now thank God just a tiny bit is opening. God has made it possible for us through a network of effort that I can't describe to you, but it's working praise God. So many of them there need Bibles and want them. They probably don't have one Bible for each one thousand Christians. Will you pay? - We can send them in for $2 a piece. If you'd send $10, 20, 50, 100 dollars. A hundred dollars would buy 50 Bibles. Pays for the printing and the shipping of them in the way we get them in. For every one of you that write, we want to give you this book, the Jimmy Swaggart China Diary. It has a picture of all of our - I say a picture, hundreds of pictures in it - 48 pages is our gift to you. Our address will be given by our announcer in just a moment, but please give what you can. I would beg if it would help. For those

in China that have never had the opportunity to hear. They must hear. They must.

Announcer: For evangelist Jimmy Swaggart, I'm Jeff Blackwell with special thanks to all the partners of this world outreach ministry, who continue to make this program a reality. As Brother Swaggart mentioned, now is our chance to place Bibles into the hands of the spiritually hungry souls of China. A land of one billion people. They contain both the word of God and several hymns placed in the back of the Bible. Send as generous a gift as you can in the US to Bibles for China, Jimmy Swaggart, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 70821, That's Jimmy Swaggart, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 70821. And in Canada, Jimmy Swaggart, Post Office Box 10 20, Niagara Falls, Ontario. For all who write, we will send you a free new book entitled Jimmy Swaggart's China Diary. A 48 page book containing recent color photos, and facts about China you never knew existed. This program has been a presentation of the world-wide outreach of the Jimmy Swaggart ministry.

JERRY FALWELL - The Old Time Gospel Hour

17/1/82

Announcer: From the auditorium of the Thomas Road Baptist church in Lynchburg, Virginia. The Faith Partners and friends present Jerry Falwell. And the Old Time Gospel Hour. Celebrating 25 years of Christian ministry.

(choir)

(Man: Thank you you may be seated. Our pastor Dr. Falwell.)

Jerry: Thank you Jim Moon, and today I am delighted to tell you our speaker is a man who has been preaching sixty-two and one half years starting out on the banks of the big (Sandy?) and Fort (Gay?) West Virginia, and the trail of preachin the gospel led him all across the nation and around the world, I call him the prince of preachers. Dr. B. R. Lakin. He's on the platform, he has a cane with him, but it's purely for style he tells me, and he's ready to preach the gospel to ya. Age 80, but he doesn't want that known. And, uh, next week our television audience also has the privilege of hearing Dr. E. B. Hill. Pastor of the Mount Zion Missicnary Baptist Church, in Los Angeles California, one of the great black preachers of our generation, Dr. Ed Hill, our speaker for the televisicn audience next week on the

Old Time Gospel Hour. Our motto for 1982, is Breaking Through in 82. By that we mean asking God to help us through those people who are the backbone of our ministry. To double their monthly giving and their prayer efforts behind this ministry, those are Faith Partners. So that we can without any hindrance continue the tremendous outreach of the gospel of Christ through television and radio. When you consider the fact that we're on nearly 400 television stations, 500 radio stations, reaching literally the potential every household in North America, and throughout Australia, the Philippines, the islands of the sea - many parts of the world. What an opportunity we have. We either must decide we're gonna cut back and let inflation and the attacks of our enemies from the secular amoralist part of our - our world stop us or because of our faith press on. We're gonna slow down the growth of Liberty Baptist schools or press on. Well we've chosen to press on. And we're breaking through in '82 and we're asking our faith Partners everywhere, our existing Faith Partners double your monthly commitment. We're asking you people everywhere to join the Faith Partner team - more about that later. But I do hope you'll be listening carefully. Right now, Mark Lowrey. Graduate student of Libery Baptist College, and a <u>musical</u> evangelist, travels the churches,

communicating the gospel. One of cur own young people by the way. Mom and Dad are in the audience tonight as they always are. And, uh, well, he's just very special to us - he's - he's home fclk. He sings, with a tear in his heart and his voice. Mr. Mark Lowrey.

(song)

Jerry: Thank you Mark, and you pastors cut there who'd like to have this young man come by and give a ccncert in your church, just write tc us here about Mark Lowrey, just write to me in Lynchburg Virginia, and we'll pass it on to Mark. We have been, fcr a few weeks, offering to everybody who calls our toll free number, a free copy of the world's smallest Bible. We're not kidding about it, we're talking about all 66 bocks cf the Bible, all eleven hundred 89 chapters, and the multiplied thousands of words, all on one piece of microfilm, and this little package right here which we've devised, which tells the story of how to use this as a scul winning tccl. Inside, is the informatien of what the piece of microfilm contains. And how to USE it. To provoke a soul winning conversation. To get people talking about spiritual things. By the way this is the Bible itself, the entire King James version of the Bible, on this one piece of microfilm. And, uh if you don't believe that when you get it just get yourself about a hundred power micro-

scope and check it our word for word. We'll be glad to send one free to every person who dials the toll free number. One per household please. But, uh, call us 1 800 446 5000 - Ask for the world's smallest Bible. A free call, and a copy, a free copy of the world's smallest Bible. If you live in Virginia, Hawaii, Alaska or Canada that telephone number will not work for you, Write to me either in Lynchburg Virginia or Richmond Hill Ontario, and request your free copy of the world's smallest Bible. We're also right now enrolling young people for next school year. The 82/83 academic year at Liberty Baptist College Seminary Bible Institute and, uh if you as a high school senior are thinking about Liberty, then you need to write to Liberty Baptist College, Office of Admissions, Lynchburg Virginia, request a free catalogue. We'll send it to ya immediately. I'm just tryin' to get young people everywhere to be looking at us. And here's a good way to look at us. Several times a year we have here on Liberty Mountain what we call College for a Weekend. We invite high school juniors and seniors to come Liberty Mountain, live in the dormitories, attend classes, attend chapel, attend sporting events, church services here and decide is Liberty for me. And the next College for a Weekend dates are February 25 to 28. And if that's too soon, then April 15

through 18. And if you'd like to have more information and a brochure, simply write to College for a Weekend, Liberty Baptist College, Lynchburg, and ask for the brochure concerning College for a Weekend. Come and look us over. Mark Lowrey did, and he got here, and he graduated. And if he made it, anybody can. And these young people looked at us and they came, they're sharp kids, great singers, the sounds of Liberty led by Mr. David (Lenux?).

(song)

Jerry: Thank you Sounds of Liberty. If someone were to ask me what would be the one request you would make for the thing most needed in your ministry 1982, beyond the request for more prayer support, more prayer (worries?), more people to pray, and nothing of eternal importance ever happened apart from prayer. I would say the need to reinforce our existing team of Faith Partners, and to enlist thousands of additional brand new Faith Partners. Who're Faith Partners? In 1967, I felt led of God to put together a team of people who on a monthly basis through prayer and monthly support would make possible the outreach of our television, radio ministry world wide. At that time we asked our Faith Partners to give ten dollars monthly. And we enlisted several thousand and that number has grown through the years, and that

has been without any question the backbone of the television radio ministry Old Time Gospel Hour. We thank God for all the people who have supported every phase of the work but there's no question that those regular monthly gifts are that which has made it possible to stay on the air on 400 stations now nearly on televison and about 500 radio stations. But inflation since 1967, and I've showed you this the last two weeks, according to the Bureau of Statistics of - the Department of Labor, $10 in 1967 is worth $3.62 now on that basis. $10 then equals $3.62 today because of inflation. So we've never changed that basis. We've kept it right at $10. We've had to add new people, but we've been unable to add new Faith Partners as fast as the inflation problem has eaten away at our support base. And that is why we've had a number of crises the last several years. We're asking God to help us break through in 1982. Breaking through in 82 that's the theme. That is we want to increase our Faith Partner monthly support to the point where existing Faith Partners - those of you who have been and are Faith Partners will become very regular in your monthly support, and whatever you're giving monthly, that you'll double that, and then we're asking God to give us new Faith Partners. And I'm asking all my friends everywhere who want to see this program stay on the air to

call us. The toll free number and say, Jerry, I want to be a faith Partner. I want to pray regular for this ministry - I - I want to give monthly. I want to underwrite the program in the town, the community where I live so that my friends will hear the gospel. By the way, this ministry is dedicated to the gospel. I think we know what the gospel is. It's the death, burial and resurrection of Christ. I think we know what the plan of salvation is. (Romans?) 10, verses 9, 10, and 13 and hundreds of other verses. We preach the simple Bible plan of salvation. Thousands get save on a regular basis. Watching, listening to our television, radio programs. We want the program to stay on the air, and we want your help we need your help to do it. So would you dial us right now and tell one of the LBC students or one of our staff members who answers, I want to become a faith Partner. I'll ask you to do that immediately. As quickly as you've done that, we will send you this Faith Partner study Bible. This is it right here. The Faith Partner study Bible. It happens to be a King James version, it's a study Bible, it's a giant print. And there are lots of study helps in it. I-I preach from it, I always give the number, the page number of my text for that particular sermon. And all of our Faith Partners have this Bible. We'll send that to you imme-

dately. We'll send you three of the Jesus first lapel pins. Two of them are bronze, but one of them is a 24 carat gold-plated and only Faith Partners wear that. You see with the gold-plated pendant we know this is a Faith Partner. And uh, we'll send that to you immediately and we'll begin writing you once a month, a Faith Partner letter, we'll send you my printed sermon of the month, and we'll send you the little contact newspaper that, uh, keeps you posted on things that are going on - it just makes you a part of the inner circle. More important than what we send to you, is what you'll be doing by your monthly investment. When you call joining as a Faith Partner you're making a pledge. You'll be pledging at least $20 per month until Jesus comes to help underwrite and as God provides to help underwrite this program where you live. You'll be making a pledge that on a monthly basis you will give, <u>you</u> will pray, <u>you</u> will support this ministry, and help us continue preaching the gospel. Whatever God leads you to pledge, regardless of how much it is, it will help us. Many of our Faith Partners who've been with us through the years cannot double their pledge amount. They're gonna have to stay where they are. We understand that. We're simply hoping that many if not most can. Because inflation hasn't waited for us. Someone pointed out that if we

were to have $10 today compared to $10 in 1967, when the program started, we'd have to have $27 a month. Well that's a little too much to ask people across the nation in the grass roots to give. But I think most people CAN double their Faith Partner pledge and I hope every Faith Partner will do that. Join the team. When you call that number just say I want to be a Faith Partner. If you already are a Faith Partner, begin regularly, many of our people have been a little slack, get back into the groove. You can't maybe catch up what you've lost, but start now, faithfully guaranteeing this program stays on the air. Breaking through in 82 - If everybody does his or her part, we'll be able to maintain the ministry. And have great victories. So join that team of Faith Partners. Just before Dr. B.R. Lakin comes with his message this evening, Don Norman's going to sing, but joining him will be his son Tony who's a freshman at Liberty Baptist College, and, uh, also joining him, Vanessa Davis. One of our girls right here, graduate of LCA, our own high school, and a student at Liberty. Don, Tony, Vanessa.

(song)

(sermon)

(song)

(prayer)

Jerry: While our heads are still bowed, you called upon the name of the Lord and you meant it. In a few moments I'll invite you to walk down the aisles to publicly acknowledge what you've done in your heart already - and we'll give you some literature. Those watching by television if you'll write me, I'll send you that same literature. My booklet entitled How to get Started Right. If you still have questions give us your telephone number. And our soul-winning pastor Dale Grooms and other pastors will call you our expense and help you. If you have a prayer request, write us. We'll pray for you by name - answer you personally. If you want counselling. Call our prayer hotline and the deaf may do the same. How many here will say Jerry, I have a spiritual need in my life. Pray for me - would you raise your hands please just lift it up right now. I have a spiritual need and God knows what it is. All over this building, God bless every one of you. Let's stand to pray. Father, help each one here and millions watching by television to prepare to meet God. And to do it now, in Jesus' name. Amen. As we're still bowed in prayer, and no one is moving except those walking down the aisles, to accept Christ, our pastors are here to meet you, or go with you to a private prayer room where with an open Bible a trained counsellor will help

you. If you want to become a Christian, or as a Christian you want to come back to the Lcrd and start over, confess your sins, or you want to answer the call of God to the ministry or join this church right now, whatever your need is, all we're saying, will you come. (organ music in the background)

(congregation sings)

Announcer: Thank you for watching this Old Time Gospel Hour program. The generous gifts of the Faith Partners and friends of the Old Time Gospel Hour make this program possible. Our theme for this year is Breaking thrcugh in 82. If you would like tc keep this program on the air then why not become a Faith Partner toc? When you become a Faith Partner, we'll send you this beautiful giant print Faith Partner Bible. Our way of saying thanks for helping us proclaim God's word to millions of needy people. Just write Jerry Falwell, Lynchburg Virginia, 24514. In Canada, Jerry Falwell, Box 505, Richmond Hill Ontario. If you would like an audio cassette of today's program, write Jerry Falwell, Lynchburg Virginia, 24514 and enclose a $4 donaticn. Request prcgram number 483. Now may God richly bless you is our prayer.

VITA

Surname: SCHMIDT Given Name: ROSEMARIE

Place of Birth: WATERLOO, ONT. Date of Birth: July 2, 1956

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

WILFRED LAURIER UNIVERSITY, WATERLOO	1973 to 1975
UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH, ONTARIO	1977 to 1979
UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, B.C.	1980 to 1983

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B. A. 1980 University of Guelph, Ontario

Honors and Awards:

Wilfrid Laurier University Scholarship, 1973/74 and 1974/75

University of Victoria Fellowship, 1981/82

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Title of Thesis

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE PERSUASIVE COMMUNICATION OF TELEVISION EVANGELISTS

Author [redacted]

Rosemarie Schmidt

October 3, 1983