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„On power in the workplace: An Analysis of the speech acts of control and of complimenting in film productions *The Proposal* and *Erin Brockovich*"

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For my parents and my fiancé.

With love,
K.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of tables

List of figures

1. Introduction

It is enthralling how language and people change, transmute and eventually adjust their linguistic behavior to suit the situations and contexts in which they interact. This captivating comportment, both of speakers and listeners, has been the research activity of a linguistic branch of pragmatics for a long time. The word "pragma" comes from Greek and means "act". However, the scope of pragmatics is much wider and can be seen to include such areas as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and neurolinguistics (cf. Levinson 1983: 2). In the 1960's, pragmatics dealing with language as action received the name of Speech Act Theory, which was a revolutionary time in language study. Academics shifted from the study of language in an isolated context and began to look at language in terms of its communicative and interactive aptitude.

Language has a communicative and interactive propensity; every area of professionalism, regardless of whether it is businesses, technology or medicine, always deal to some extent with language use and its communicative and interactive predisposition. Studies at Business University of Vienna have left unforgettable and inspiring imprints and impressions on me, and have opened up new areas of language research. Language is the window to the mind of every single person and a trace of his/her individuality, and thus such courses as human resource, consumer behavior and generally marketing have revealed interesting aspects of linguistic research. For example, a linguistic study in the marketing sector might examine a target group's language patterns whilst making a decision whether or not to buy a product, or might examine the language patterns while seeking to gain new clients and preserve old ones. A linguistic study in the management sector might examine language patterns of managers and their subordinates when giving directives, requests or advice. The latter is the focus of this study.

An additional motivation to conduct such a study is a somewhat out-dated view of women's deficiency, and their apparent inability to be as productive as men. Generally, it was the deficiency theory of the 1970s, which made it almost impossible for women to hold a position of authority. This thesis aims at

demonstrating that this view is out-dated, and that currently, women are fully qualified, in terms of education and language use, to hold managerial positions in organizations. For these reasons I conduct a study, based on two films: *Erin Brockovich* and *The Proposal*, which identify "control speech acts", which were previously only considered in men's language. Moreover, the aim of this paper is to support the new view: saying that it is a man who is considered deficient and unskilled language user, while a woman is the new foundation for a linguistic model (cf. Cameron 2003a: 454) (see section 4.2.1.).

This very interesting observation, of men being deficient and women being the new linguistic model, has awaken my interest, and made me curious of how it looks like in the current time at the workplace. Do women and men differ linguistically while giving directives, requests or advice? Or is it rather all the same? What role does language have in formation of relationships at the workplace? Do men and women use the same linguistic strategies in order to exercise and maintain power and their hierarchical positions?

Moreover, it is captivating how one linguistic context differs from another. Each context has its own unique rules, procedures and directions. The workplace is an exclusive environment in which the language patterns are also distinct and divergent. This study seeks to uncover and discern the language patterns used by managers and their subordinates, as well as colleagues performing their job on the same hierarchical level, when giving directives, requests and advice, which are called, within the Speech Act Theory, "control speech acts". Therefore, control speech acts are the main focus of the study. The analyzed examples of the control speech acts come from the dataset, i.e. two American film productions.

Furthermore, this paper will trace the differences and alterations in the use of language by women and men during interactions. The gender study is approached from the perspective of gender theory, which says that it is gender and not sex that needs to be considered while attempting to understand the differences between men and women while exchanging speech acts (cf. Talbot 1998: 7-10). This claim forces the notion that gender is the socially acquired behavior rather than simple biological difference (cf. Cameron & Kulick 2003; Talbot 1998: 7-10). The focus in the gender study is on two different aspects of

language. Firstly, it is shown how (im)politeness strategies in the workplace allow participants to negotiate solidarity and equality on the one hand, and status and hierarchy on the other hand (cf. Yu 2005 in Meier 2010: 84; Tannen 1995: 70). The (im)politeness strategies are discussed on the examples of compliments from the dataset. Secondly, this paper will attempt to answer the question whether the notion "women's language" (Lakoff 1975), which is considered to be unsuccessful, unproductive, uncertain and vain because it is overly polite, hesitant and deferent (Crawford 1997: 2) is still applicable, or it is rather social power(lessness) that is responsible for how people talk and express themselves. In both cases the paper takes into consideration an indispensible element of language and workplace, which is power.

The structure of the thesis is following:

Chapter 2 offers an introduction to the practical study. Accordingly, it will make allowance for scripted versus spontaneous language, as the linguistic dataset comes from two American films. Next, the methodology, dataset and data processing procedure is outlined.

Chapter 3 provides the pragmatic background and introduces Speech Act Theory. It offers a short excursion into the world of the most famous Speech Acts Theorists: Austin, Searle, Bach and Harnish, Ballmer and Brennenstuhl. Later in this chapter the definitions of the control speech acts, that are of directives, requests and advice, as well as their categorizations are offered. These definitions and categorizations serve the basis for the practical study.

Chapter 4 focuses on the role of language in workplace relationships. It demonstrates how power is maintained through language in the workplace; furthermore the different kinds of power are discussed and explained. Power exercises in the workplace context are discussed with reference to role-relationships and obligation, expectations of compliance, cultural dimensions as well as politeness and rudeness. These dimensions in turn manage to force, form and establish specific patterns of communication in the workplace. Later it is shown how language has the potency to maintain gender inequality. For this reason, the notion of "women's language" introduced by Lakoff (1975) is revised, and in the end challenged, inevitably showing that gender has actually

nothing to do with patterns of "women's language" (cf. Lakoff 1975); rather it is social power(lessness) that is responsible for how people talk and express themselves, hence how they are seen and judged by others.

Chapter 5 examines the control speech acts in practice. The analysis is based on the dataset, that is on the dialogs coming from the two American films: *The Proposal* and *Erin Brockovich*. The great amount of action in the two films takes place in the workplace context, thus the two sources are a perfect match for the study. Consequently, within the practical part the theoretical milestones discussed in previous chapters are applied in order to discern the linguistic patterns as related to control speech acts at the workplace. By the use of examples stemming from the database the specific and characteristic patterns of language use are presented and discussed in detail. These give a holistic view of this particular and unique control speech act activity at the workplace. In the latter part the outcomes of the gender-related study are presented.

2. Introduction to the analysis

2.1. Exploring the workplace setting

Workplace talk occurs in a wide range of settings, including health-care, insurance service, and international business. It involves communications between people employed in different sectors and at different hierarchical levels. This in turn means that there are many relationships and roles within the workplace that can have serious implications for the formation of talk (cf. Koester 2004: 1). Interactions within the workplace are referred to as "institutional talk"; this term encompasses communication within "all kinds of workplace setting[s]" (Koester 2006: 3). The researchers who deal with institutional discourse observe that interactions in a workplace context "differ from ordinary conversation in a number of ways" (Koester 2006: 3). They underline the importance of three dimensions of interactions:

1. *Goal orientation*: 'an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or identity … conventionally associated with the institution.'
2. '*Special and particular constraints* on what one or both participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand.'
3. *Inferential frameworks and procedures* that are particular to specific institutional contexts.'

(Koester 2006: 3-4)

The goal orientation of interlocutors may be expressed in different ways, for example, "in the recurrence of particular types of discursive activity which can be associated with specific workplace practices, such as instruction-giving, decision-making, briefing" (Koester 2006: 4). The goal orientation of any interaction in a workplace may also be signaled by "the initiator announcing the purpose of the encounter, e.g.: Uh … just wanted to tell you about my … conversation with ↑ Tony" (Koester 2006: 4). The initiators frequently occur in the institutional talk, but rarely in normal conversations, in which "a specific reason for engaging in talk is not needed" (Koester 2006: 4).

Within institutional talk, there are various genres and sub-genres which need to be distinguished. One of them, and the second most frequent, is identified as a procedural or directive (cf. Koester 2006: 43). A significant peculiarity of the procedural or directive sub-genre is that "institutional interactions are often asymmetrical […]. Institutional roles may be linked to certain discursive rights and obligations, for example in terms of initiating and controlling interactions, asking questions, and so forth" (cf. Heritage 1997 in Koester 2006: 5). This sub-genre was widely analyzed by various researchers, who notice that "[r]oles and identities are […] not predetermined and fixed, but actively negotiated through talk" (Koester 2006: 6). Thus, language in the business world is an instrument that "is fundamental to *constructing* effective leadership identities, roles, relationships, practices and even corporate culture. Language is therefore so much more than just communication" (Baxter 2010: 3).

This particular propensity of language as an instrument, which manages to force, manage and exercise different kinds of power, thus building positive and/or negative relationships between a range of people at different levels within the organization, will be examined in this study. It will be done by focusing on the examples of control speech acts: directives, requests, and advice, and then in the gender-related study, by looking at the instances of compliments from the dataset.

2.2. Scripted language versus spontaneous language

The analysis is based on the transcripts of two American films: *Erin Brockovich* and *The Proposal*. It is a prescribed text, i.e. fictional text produced for the film production. Therefore, acknowledging that "natural and fictional conversations differ in many ways" is necessary (Toolan 1989: 195). Naturally occurring language "is seen as arising from its context of situation, and different situations will predictably give rise to different language features" (Delin 2000: 3). Additionally, Aarts observes that "one of the most interesting phenomena in

natural language is the fact that speakers can convey messages that bear no direct relation to the lexical content of the utterances they produce" (1989: 128 in Vine 2004: 46).

Language is also referred to as semiotic system. Semiotics is closely connected to linguistic studies as, according to Jackobson, "[l]anguage is […] a purely semiotic system" (1990: 6 in Chandler 2007: 5). Semiotics is also categorized as one of the approaches to text analysis, as for example film scripts. The other approaches are: genre studies, text linguistics, narrative analysis, and more (cf. Ytreberg 1994: 54).

Mitry (2000: 156) looks at the similarities and differences between the verbal language and scripted language and notices that

> it is pointless to search for a similarity between them in linguistic structures, as though film language were merely a visual transportation. On the contrary, it is to be found *within what makes them essentially what they are*, i.e. within mental structures previous to any explicit form of language, where language – verbal or visual – finds its *implicit* bases through the intuitive formalization of a series of relationships, differences, [and] similarities […].

Moreover, Mitry (2000: 156) claims that these two languages do not exactly follow their "basic structures" but rather tend to adapt to the "formal and formalizing elements of the discourse" and organize these elements according to the discourses in which they appear (ibid.). It is also pointed out that the amount of the speech in verbal and film language differs. It differs because a film is produced with a purpose to depict some behavior patterns of the society in which it is staged (cf. ibid.). The amount and the content of speech performed by a character would inevitably point toward his/her character: "the sort of words a character uses and the way he uses them indicates his character more certainly than pages of description" (Merleau-Ponty in Mitry 2000: 160). Alejo Carpentier (in Mitry 2000: 163), an American novelist, notices that the language he used in his novels do not correspond to "real spoken language. […] [Because] in speech, there is something far more alive, out-of-true, out of control, which changes the movement – a logical syntax which has never really been captured".

A staged dialog is merely a "theatrical dialogue" produced with the purpose to enlighten the audience about the "thoughts, feelings and intentions of the heroes" (ibid.). The same refers to the film language, which is a developed language, lyrical rather than rational. However, it differs from a theatrical language significantly. The film language must fulfill one very important condition, namely, it must "correspond to the actual reality" (ibid.). While, film is conventionalized and stylized it depicts the life, behaviors and conducts of the authentic societies, and should be representative of it.

Similarly, Carter et al. (2008) draw a parallel between semiotics, i.e. the system of signs "where the individual elements – 'signs' – take their overall meaning from how they are combined with other elements", and film. Following their line of argumentation, films are the best examples for semiotic systems, as films

> are a system where different signs are combined in patterned ways […] [and these] conventions are highly culture-bound – in other words, different cultures have different semiotic systems.

(Carter et al. 2008: 2)

Some other theorists argue the same: "theories about the creation of television texts must be framed in the context of the cultural industries. That is to say, hierarchies, management and collective aspects of text production are of local importance" (Ytreberg 1994: 54). In that way, the production of the film's text involves a careful consideration of the cultural constraints and cultural sign systems governing a society, in order to depict the closest and the most credible picture of this humanity. It is done and maintained through visual effects as well as through language use. However, it needs to be noted that "the purpose of speech in the cinema is not to add ideas to images" (Mitry 2000: 161).

Language is also a sign system, which is deeply induced in human minds and every deviation from the commonly agreed standard is regarded as a misfire. Consequently, modern day script writers are very concerned about credibility issues. On the other hand, the fact that one of the films, *The Proposal,* is a romantic comedy needs to be taken into consideration. This means that its primary function is to portray humorous and sometimes exaggerated types of relationships, which in turn do not always account for a naturally occurring

language. The second film, *Erin Brockovich*, is a drama and depicts a real-life story. In spite of this, it needs to be highlighted that the dialogs were written by script writers, who are trained in and specialized in writing texts for special purposes such as film dialogs. The script writers' aim is to invoke and raise specific and desired reactions in an audience. With regard to the time of production, both films were produced approximately at the same time: *The Proposal* in the year 2009. *Erin Brockovich* in 2000, but the story took place between 2003 and 2008.

Therefore, for the purpose of the study (in spite of the previous claim that natural and fictional conversation differ in many ways), the interactions recorded from the dataset will be used to approximate real language use of American society. For this reason, the study will also provide an introduction and a discussion of the Cultural Dimensions model for the United States of America. The Cultural Dimensions model offers an insight into "a pattern of learned, group-related perceptions", such as language, attitudes, values, belief and disbelief systems, and behaviors (Singer 1998: 6 in Meier 2010: 76).

2.3. Methodology

The study will try to answer four major questions. Two of them relate to the chief topic of the paper: the control act head acts, whereas the two further questions to the minor part of the study: the gender-related study.

With regard to the major part of the study, the following questions will be addressed:

   1. *What forms of directives are the most frequent at the workplace?*

The aim of this question is to provide a general picture of control speech acts activity in the workplace. Such speech acts are identified in interactions between superiors and their subordinates, as well as between co-workers on the same hierarchical level in the organization. This question also pursues a

formal categorization of the control speech act head acts. Consequently, the classification of the most frequently occurring control acts is developed and presented in the section 5.1. In the dataset, imperatives are the most frequent forms in which control acts are performed, therefore the classification encompasses only imperatives and their sub-forms. The developed classification pursues the second question:

2. *Is there any correlation between the identified forms of control act head acts and the fundamental dimensions featuring at the workplace?*

The thesis makes an attempt to answer a question whether there is any link between the central dimensions and the forms chosen by the interlocutors. The explanation of the most interesting sub-types of identified control speech acts is offered in section 5.2. The analysis is approached from the angle of the pragmatic theory. In answering this question, this paper also identifies instances of control act head acts which are very difficult to classify, and these are referred to as "borderline cases". There are 16 instances of borderline cases in my databset, and one of these examples is explained and elaborated on in detail (see Example 13 section 5.2.)

The aim of the second and the minor part of the study is to trace and identify the gender-related types of linguistic styles when communicating.

3. *Does the language people talk is inherited on the grounds of their gender, or rather it is acquired due to their status, education, hierarchical position in an organization and experience?*

The study conducted on the control speech acts, which are closely associated with power exercise and power management through linguistic work, enables observations of the gender-related language use patterns as interconnected to the "powerless versus powerful language" features (O'Barr and Atkins 1998). The study will demonstrate that the way people talk is in a close relation to their status, education, hierarchical position in an organization and experience, rather than simply their gender.

The last question deals with the gender-related types of linguistic (im)politeness strategies, and is discusses on the examples of compliments.

4. What major functions do compliments serve in the workplace?

The study identifies the (im)politeness strategies embedded in compliments, and in consequence discusses the drives of the interlocutors while giving compliments at the workplace. The results show that complimenting at the workplace serves the purpose of establishing friendly and positive relationships on the one hand, and exercising and managing power, on the other hand.

2.3.1. Dataset

The data analyzed in this study come from two American film productions. The first film, *The Proposal*, is a romantic comedy directed by Anne Fletcher and written by Pete Chiarelli in 2000. The two main characters are Margaret, played by Sandra Bullock, and Richard, played by Ryan Reynolds. Margaret is the editor in chief in one of the most powerful American editorial companies, and Richard is her assistant.

The second film, *Erin Brockovich*, was directed by Steven Soderbergh and it is a true-based story of the title character played by Julia Roberts. It was filmed in 2000 and the story took place in 1996. Erin works as a file clerk in a lawyer company run by Edward L. Masry, played by Albert Finney.

The majority interactions of the two films take place within a workplace context, and are a perfect match for the study. In both films there is a woman and a man as the main protagonists, and they are employed on different hierarchical levels within their companies. The dialogs for the dataset come from carefully selected scenes, in which the protagonists either are in the workplace or talk about job related issues outside the companies. In the analysis the focus is on the dialogs between the four main characters, however, there are also some interactions that are uttered between their coworkers, in which one of the interlocutors is always one of the four main protagonists.

2.3.2. Data processing procedure

The initial processing involved careful listening to the interactions. During the listening process the interactions which were regarded as having the potential to fulfill the prerequisites of the study were collected. In the next step, the transcribing phase, all data was transcribed regardless of relevance. Then the next phase involved careful reviewing of the transcribed interactions, with the aim to select the ones that contain the linguistic features relevant for the study. After the dialogs were chosen the movies were analyzed again in order to look at the context of the interactions. The context was then noted. In the final step an attempt was made to organize them according to the linguistic features relevant for the study. Some were difficult to classify, either because there were two or more relevant linguistic features, or because there was difficulty categorizing the features.

Each phrase or specific dialog is assigned a code consisting of three letters. The first letter signals whether the utterance is categorized as a directive (d), a request (r), or advice (a). The second letter indicates who utters the utterance, and the third letter indicates the addressee, for example [dEM], means that Erin directs Masry. In the end, the interactions are described in terms of context, and potential relevant features. Finally, the outcomes were reviewed in order to identify and detect the relevant linguistic features for the gender study. The analysis and the description of the gender-related features is offered.

3. Relevant theories and definitions

This chapter offers an insight into the world of speech acts. A short outline of Speech Acts theories is offered. Secondly, the definitions of the control speech acts: directives, requests and advice, and their categorization will be offered. Control speech acts are the main focus of the study and thus a deep understanding of these concepts is necessary. The control acts will be later examined between superiors and their subordinates, as well as colleagues performing their job on the same hierarchical level.

3.1. Speech acts

> *The performative is not just a type of utterances but a whole complex way of thinking about utterances, and language in general, useful in sociology, anthropology, philosophy, and theater studies.*
>
> *(Robinson 2006: 58)*

Language serves two paramount purposes; firstly it is an interactive activity which is concerned with communicative language use, and secondly it is concerned with the speaker's intentionality. A speech act is "a communicative activity defined with reference to the intentions of a speaker while speaking and the effects achieved on a listener" (Crystal 1992: 362 in Murcia-Bielsa 2000: 117). One of the most prominent Speech Acts theorists noticed that speaking a language is more than just uttering sentences; thus:

> speaking a language is performing speech acts [which express various intentions of the speaker], acts such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises, and so on; and more abstractly, acts such as referring and predicating; and, secondly, that these acts are in general made possible by and are performed in accordance with certain rules for the use of linguistic elements.
>
> (Searle 1994: 16)

Language as a performative activity, which has the potential to express the speaker's intentions, and which is formed according to certain rules gained an enormous interest among linguists and the philosophers of language and became a main research area in the sixties. Additional motivation for studying speech acts is that "all linguistic communication involves linguistic acts" (Searle 1994: 16). Previously, it was considered that a symbol, word, sentence and even a token are the units of linguistic communication (cf. Searle 1994: 16); however, linguists noticed that in order to call a symbol, word, sentence or a token a unit of linguistic communication it has to be produced with a certain kind of intention (cf. Searle 1994; Tannen 1994; Austin 1962), and according to Searle (1994: 19), with a certain kind of expressibility. Searle (1994 21) called it a "principle of expressibility [which means that] whatever can be meant can be said". Following this line of argumentation of Searle (1994: 21)

> speech act is the basic unit of communication, taken together with the principle of expressibility, [this] suggests that there are a series of analytic connections between the notion of speech acts, what the speaker means, what the speaker intends, what the hearer understands, and what the rules governing the linguistic elements are.

The year 1955 was a breakthrough not only in pragmatics, but also in other disciplines. It was that time when J.L. Austin (1911-1960), Harvard University professor of moral philosophy, made a significant discovery and called language a collection of "speech acts", and proposed that "to *say* something is to *do* something; or in which *by* saying or *in* saying something we are doing something" (Austin 1962: 12). In other words, when people use language they are "*doing things with words*" (Austin 1962: 12).

In the first stage of the analysis Austin (1962) made a distinction between two types of utterances. The first he called "constantives", which are used for conveying information, and "performatives" or "performatories", used for performing actions (cf. Austin 1962). Before Austin's remarkable discovery, it was commonly believed that utterances do nothing else but state something or convey information. However, Austin called attention to the fact that an utterance, in order to state something, must be either "true" or "false" (Austin 1962: 12), e.g. *The snow is white*. Taking into consideration such utterances as: *I now pronounce you man and wife*, *I bet you five pounds*, *I christen this ship*

the Mr. Stalin, or *I promise I'll be there on time*, one cannot say if they are "true" or "false" as they do not *state* things, but they rather *do* things. In other words, "[t]hey don't convey information; they perform the actions that they seem superficially to be merely describing" (Robinson 2006: 58). In the end, such statements transmute and change reality. However, in order to make the performative work, or as Austin (1962) calls it "happy", it has to fulfill some conditions or rules:

> (A.1) There must exist an accepted conventional procedure having a certain conventional effect, that procedure must include the uttering of certain words by certain persons in certain circumstances, and further,
> (A.2) the certain persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked.
> (B.1) The procedure must be executed by all participants both correctly and
> (B.2) completely.
> (Γ.1) where, as often, the procedure is designed for use by persons having certain thoughts or feelings, or for the inauguration of certain consequential conduct on the part of any participant, then a person participating in and so invoking the procedure must in fact have those thoughts and feelings, and the participants must intend so to conduct themselves, and further
> (Γ.2) must actually so conduct themselves subsequently.
>
> (Austin 1962: 15)

If one of the six rules is violated, the performative will be "unhappy", and different kinds of "infelicities" befall it. Not accomplishing A1., A.2, B.1, or B.2 leads to the performative not being achieved at all and is a "misfire", whereas not accomplishing one of the opposing rules of Γ.1 or Γ.2 leads to insincere acts and abuse of the procedure (cf. Austin 1962: 16). Accordingly, the performative acts lead to a transformation of the world and reality, they are not just simple utterances but rather "radically different ways of imagining the world" (Robinson 2006: 59).

Austin's (1962) statement that all utterances are speech acts made him rethink his primary distinction of constantives and performatives. Consequently, he came up with a more specified classification and proposed to analyze utterances on three levels. The first level is the "propositional" or the "locutionary act", "the act of 'saying something'". On the second level there is the "illocutionary act" which is the "performance of an act *in* saying something" (Austin 1962: 100). On the third level Austin (1962) distinguishes the

"perlocutionary act" which means that the speaker by or through saying something effects the listener. For the point of illustration: "locution: He said to me 'Shoot her!', illocution: He urged (or advised, ordered, &c.) me to shoot her, perlocution: He persuaded me to shoot her" (Austin 1962: 101).

Later, during Austin's lectures the audience learns about further, more precise and detailed classification of performatives. He distinguishes five general classes and gives specific examples of verbs that constitute the five classes (see Table 1. section).

Category	Explanation	Examples of verb phrases
Verdictives	Speech acts pronouncing judgment; they have an effect in the law, on ourselves and others	acquit, convict, find, hold (as a matter of law), interpret as, understand, read it as, rule, calculate, reckon, place, put it at, grade, assess, characterize, estimate, date, make it, rank, value, diagnose, etc.
Exercitives	Speech acts exercising power, rights or influences	appoint, degrade, demote, dismiss, excommunicate, name, order, sentence, levy, choose, bequeath, warn, pray, urge, proclaim, countermand, enact, dedicate, command, fine, vote for, claim, etc.
Commissives	Speech acts that commit the speaker to a certain course of action	promise, covenant, contract, undertake, bind myself, give my word, be determined to, intend, declare my intention, mean to, propose to, envisage, guarantee, vow, dedicate myself to, adopt, espouse, plan, shall, engage, pledge myself, agree, etc.
Behabitives	Speech acts reacting to other people's behavior and fortunes	apologize, thank, deplore, commiserate, compliment, condole, congratulate, felicitate, sympathize, resent, don't mind, pay tribute, criticize, grumble about, complain of, applaud, overlook, commend, deprecate, blame, approve, favor, welcome, bid you farewell, bless, curse, toast, drink to, wish, dare, defy, protest, challenge
Expositives	Speech acts conveying information, clarifying of reasons, arguments, and communications (primary constantives)	affirm, deny, state, describe, class, identify, remark, mention, interpose, inform, apprise, tell, answer, rejoin, ask, testify, report, swear, conjecture, doubt, know, believe, accept, concede, withdraw, agree, demur to, object to, adhere to, recognize, repudiate, correct, etc.

Table 1. Austin's categories of speech acts (adapted from Austin 1994:150-160)

The discovery of performatives by Austin in 1955 had an astounding effect on thinking and perceiving reality in different fields, such as anthropology and sociology, which have started to argue that the "performative magic is the origin of language" (Robinson 2006: 59); in the theater world "people have retheorized dramatic performance in terms of this performative power to transform reality […]. The performance brings an entire world into being" (Robinson 2006: 59); and lastly philosophers, historians of philosophy, and historians of science

have noted the radical implications of thinking about language in terms of this [power of] transformation of reality. [And that] language, and all human knowing based on language, is merely a passive record of what lies around us. There are objects; and then there are more or less objective representations of those objects.

(Robinson 2006: 59)

The discovery has opened up a new area of linguistic research and many linguists devoted themselves to pinning down the new conception. Consequently, in 1969 Searle, a famous American philosopher, made an attempt to improve Austin's primary model. He noticed that Austin's classification still lacked some categories and did not cover all of the possible speech acts. Consequently, he proposed some changes in Austin's taxonomy.

Next, in 1979 Bach and Harnish also approached Austin's classification in the same way Searle did. They developed another classification. Their biggest success was the introduction of a new distinction. They shifted their "attention from language as an abstract system or descriptive device toward speaking as an action in the social world, an action for which an actor (the speaker) was responsible" (Du Bois 1993: 48).

In 1981 Edmondson (1981: 80) identified another component of an utterance, namely the "interactional act", which seeks to explain how one utterance relates to the other utterances in discourse. In the same time Ballmer and Brennenstuhl (1981), the representatives of the so-called Berlin Group, undertook a different approach to the classification of speech acts. They introduced the lengthiest model by grouping all of the possible performative verbs, altogether 4800 English words, into 600 speech-act categories (cf. Robinson 2006: 85).

The table below offers a summary of the above introduced competing Speech Act theories and the terminology of the corresponding models.

	Austin	**Vendler**	**Searle**	**Bach/Harnish**
State information	Expositives	Expositives	Representatives	Assertives
Commit speaker to action	Commissives	Commissives	Commissives	Commissives
React to behavior	Behabitives	Behabitives	Expressives	Acknowledgments
Exercise authority	Exercitives	Interrogatives Exercitives	Directives	Directives
Pronounce judgment	Verdictives	Verdictives Operatives	Declarations	Verdictives Effectives

Table 2. Competing Speech Act Theories (Robinson 2006: 85)

3.2. Control act head acts: directives, requests and advice

Ervin-Tripp (1990: 308 in Vine 2004: 26) introduces the term "control acts", which collects under one umbrella all three phenomena mentioned above.

> Control acts are any moves which could be interpreted either by the speaker or the hearer as an attempt to affect the behavior of an addressee or hearer. The term 'request', 'order' and 'command' are used in everyday English to indicate types of directives to another person to act. While languages in complex societies typically have a large vocabulary for particular speech acts, we can simplify by conceptually distinguishing a family of control acts, of which the directive is just one type.
> (Ervin-Tripp et a. 1990: 308 in Vine 2004: 26)

Following this definition, a directive, request and advice are types of a speech act which belongs to a family of control acts, which aim at affecting the behavior of the addressee. Vine (2004: 27) notices that this general term has two main advantages, as "it provides a blanket term which covers a range of acts [and] is not in common use". The term control act encompasses an assortment of speech acts that "attempt to get someone to do something" with varying degree (Vine 2004: 27). For this purpose, in the course of the analysis the term control acts will be adopted when talking about the three phenomena: directives,

requests and advice. Additionally, the term directive will be adopted in order to talk about speech acts which aim at exercising authority and control over the listener; the term request to talk about speech acts which ask for verbal or non-verbal action; and the term advice to talk about speech acts which aim at getting the addressee to carry a particular action, which is in the interest of the addressee and/or in the interest of the company.

3.2.1. Definition of directive

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) examined and developed a model for classroom talk analysis. For the purpose of the analysis they came up with a definition of a directive. In the classroom the directive involves the teacher asking "the pupil to do but not say something" (Sinclair and Coulthard 2975: 50 in Vine 2004: 23), in other words, a directive involves a physical act. In order to elicit a verbal response they distinguish "elicitation acts". Searle (1976) does not make such a distinction, but still mentions that by the use of directives the speaker attempts in "varying degrees […] to get the hearer to do something", and "questions are a species of directives since they are attempts by S [speaker] to get H [hearer] to answer – i.e. to perform a speech act" (Searle 1976: 11). Smit (2010) also makes such a distinction between verbal and non-verbal responds. Following her point of argumentation

> speakers can either give or demand whatever is at stake (metaphorically described as commodity), which in turn can be either goods and services or information. This leads to the four primary speech functions, of which all but statements can function as exchange initiators. Questions, defined as demanding information, elicit verbal responses, while offers and commands, both of which fall into what is often described as directive, concern actions and goods, i.e. non-verbal commodities.
>
> (Smit 2010: 227)

A brief definition of a directive offered by Gleason and Grief (1983: 141 in Vine 2004: 24) recognizes it as "any utterance whose intent is to cause the hearer to do something".

directive
("an attempt to get someone to do some-thing")

control act
(".. to do something non-verbal")

question
(".. to do something verbal")
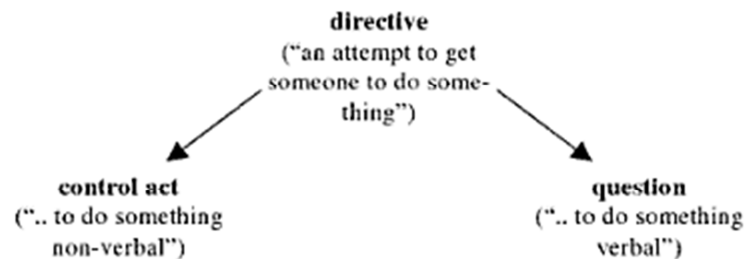
Figure 1. Terminological distinction (Smit 2010: 232)

For the purpose of this study a directive is understood as a control act, which aims to elicit either a non-verbal response, or a verbal response. A directive can also be realized by means of different linguistic strategies as "requests, commands, prohibitions, instructions and the like" (Huddleston 1984: 351 in Murcia-Bielsa 2000: 119) and as "an order or instruction, especially one issued by a central authority" (The Free Dictionary). This infers that (1) there are various ways of getting someone to do something (2) with varying degrees of affect; (3) and by people with varying degrees of power. Therefore, the common concern of speech act analysis of directives is the power distribution and power exercise, and consequently, who uses which forms of directives, as well as the wide range of available forms of expression (cf. Vine 2004: 24). Generally, the ways or the strategies used whilst managing relations between the interlocutors, which is a very relevant issue in a workplace context, is referred to as "linguistic politeness" (cf. Thomas 1995: 158 in Smit 2010: 228). These include strategies that aim at improving relations between the coworkers and these strategies that aggravate them (for further discussion see sections: 3.1.2., 3.2.3.1., .3.2.3.2).

3.2.1.1. Giving directives

The study conducted by DeCapua and Huber on seeking and giving advice by the American speakers (1995: 125) uncovered a number of interesting facts. They found out that in "American society being seen as ordering someone is 'perilous to social harmony'". This discovery has very serious significances when considering the way American speakers tend to give directives. Furthermore, they observed that American speakers tend to use the mitigation strategies "in order to avoid the appearance of unwarranted bossiness, badly asserted authority or presumption" (ibid.). DeCapua and Huber list the mitigation strategies which they detected in their study:

> When something similar happened to me …
> I knew someone/I had a friend who …
> If I were you, I'd …
> Given what you've told me, I'd suggest …
> Knowing how you love/hate/feel/, I'd think about …
> I think it might be a good idea if …

> (DeCapua and Huber 1995: 125)

The conclusion of DeCapua and Huber's study is there is a tendency for mitigation strategies to change the directives into advice.

DeCapua and Huber (1995) note that the American speakers tend to avoid being seen as bossy and to assume authority and thus use the mitigation strategies, which in the end transform a directive into advice. In contrast to that, the current study detects a tendency for directives. They seem to feature in a context such as workplace. Nevertheless, there are some linguistic means, which help the speaker to modify the force of the control acts. Thus, this paper distinguishes such linguistic devices which strengthen the force of the directive, and they are called upgraders, as well as such linguistic devices which weaken its force, and they are called downgraders (see section 4.1.).

3.2.2. Definition of request

Requests are widely analyzed in a range of studies; however, it is still difficult to find an exact definition. One of the difficulties of defining a request is that many researchers use either the word directive or request to talk about the same phenomenon, or even use it interchangeably in the run of their analysis. In Ervin-Tripp's (1976, 1977) influential work, which is said to be the basis for the studies of requests and directives, requests are elaborated on, by using the label directives (cf. Vine 2004: 24). Goatly (1995) and Sealey (1999: 25) use "either *request* or *directive* according to which term seems best to fit each example" (in Vine 2004: 25).

Other attempts to make a systematic distinction between a directive and a request have focused on the context as a distinguishing factor. Yates (2010: 113), for instance, argues that a directive and a request "cannot be reliably identified other than on contextual grounds. Thus they can only really be distinguished through reference to context and the nature of the power relationship between the interlocutors." Geis (1997: 17) on the other hand, looks at the usage of the illocutionary-force such as *please* and draws the attention to the fact that the context is the distinguishing factor here as well. For example, saying in a store: "*A large pineapple, please*" or *"A large pineapple"* (Geis 1997: 17) would not make a difference. Both of the statements would be understood as a request, however the first one is a polite version of saying it.

> So it is the context, not the appearance of *please* that determines *A large pineapple* is a request. *Please* is better viewed as a politeness marker redressing the face-threat associated with making a request. In fact, the word *please* occurs in offers (e.g., *Please have another cookie*) and invitations (*I'm giving a come as you are party tonight. Please come*), as well as requests, from which it follows that it is not an illocutionary force marker of just requests. What it seems to do is redress the face-threat associated with acts that presuppose the willingness of the addressee to agree to the act.
>
> (Geis 1997: 17)

According to Vine (2004: 25), politeness plays an important role in distinguishing between the two notions, and therefore "requests are regarded as polite ways of getting someone to do something".

Bilbow (1997: 23) distinguishes between the two control acts on the basis of three features:

> The identification of an utterance as a directing or a requesting speech act usually rests on not only lexico-grammatical realization of the utterance, but also: (1) certain prosodic features of an utterance; and (2) consideration of the relative roles of speaker and hearer.

The other difficulty when defining a request is that various researchers characterize and classify it differently. Ervin-Tripp et al. (1990), as well as some other researchers who follow the work of the early Speech Act theorists, for example Pufahl Bax (1986), classify requests as a subtype of directives. The latter distinguishes also "commands" as a further sub-category (cf. Vine 2004: 25). Conversely, Labov and Fenshel (1977: 63 in Vine 2004: 25), who take the opposite approach, "identify two types of requests, 'mitigated' (which include petitions, pleas and suggestions) and 'unmitigated or aggravated' (which include orders, commands, demands)" (Vine 2004: 25). There are some other general definitions, for instance, Blum-Kulka et al. give a definition of a request as a "'pre-event act' which expresses 'the speaker's expectation of the hearer with regards to some prospective action'" (in Vine 2004: 24). Edmondson (1981: 141) also characterizes a request as a "pre-event". This pre-event might refer to the immediate future, and consequently has been labeled a "now-request", or might refer to the near future and has been labeled a "then-request".

For the purpose of this study, a request is understood as a polite way of asking for something (adapted from Vine 2004: 25), either for an activity or for a verbal response, but the distinguishing aspect is the context of the speech acts in which they are uttered, and the implications in terms of power exercise, role-relationship and obligations, expectations of compliance and the right of refusal (for further discussion see chapter 4.1.1.). For the sake of illustration: *Can you open the window?* is a polite way of asking for an activity, and therefore is classified as a request in this study, as it also gives the possibility of a refusal.

Whereas *Open the window* is a directive and, depending on the role-relationship between the interlocutors, there is little or no right of refusal. That is, the speaker expects the addressee to comply.

3.2.3. Definition of advice

As in the case of directives and requests, there is also a "lack of consistent terminology or clear definition" of advice (DeCapua and Huber 1995: 119 in Vine 2004: 25). Bach and Harnish (1979) in their classification of speech acts situate "advisories" as a sub-category of their "directives" category. They define "advisories" as: "what the speaker expresses is not the desire that H [hearer] do a certain action but the belief that doing it is a good idea, that it is in H's interest" (Bach and Harnish 1979: 49). Advice-giving was classified as a sub-genre of procedural/directive discourse based on naturally occurring data (cf. Tsui 1994 in Koester 2006: 47), and a sub-category of directives (cf. Bach and Harnish 1979). According to Tsui (1994 in Koester 2006: 47) within the framework of "classic directive", what Tsui calls "mandatives", "the advice-giver tries to get the addressee to carry out a particular action, but, as Tsui points out, the addressee need not necessarily comply (unlike with mandatives, where compliance is assumed)." Such a distinction suggests that "advice-giving discourse is different in a number of ways from other directive discourse" (Koester 2006: 47).

Compliance or not, as well as obligation or not is, indeed, a very relevant issue in the workplace. When investigating advice-giving speech acts, as well as requests, these two factors play an extremely important role, and in most cases it is a question of authority, expertise as well as intimacy (see Example 10 and Example 12 section 5.2.1.).

3.2.3.1.   Advice-giving and advice-seeking

In the study of advice-giving speech acts, both in public and personal contexts between American English speakers, DeCapua and Huber (1995) were interested in the social norms concerning authority, expertise and intimacy. For the purpose of their study they formulated "three sets of questions that need to be considered in any advice exchange and [they] address very different dimensions of advice" (ibid.):

1. How are the roles of authority and expertise allocated by interlocutors? In other words, who is asked for advice, and who grants and or assumes the authority to give advice? Furthermore, perceptions of authority and expertise can be asserted, assumed, denied, accepted, challenged, and changed as the interaction proceeds.
2. How accurately is the problem presented by interlocutors? All advice, at least ostensibly, is directed toward solving some perceived concern. Factors such as the apparent gravity of the problem …, context or setting of the speech event…, type of advice (solicited vs. unsolicited), and especially intimacy between the interlocutors show the importance of congruence in interlocutors' definitions of what is to be 'solved'.
3. What are the linguistic means available to interlocutors as advice is being sought and/or given? Factors of gravity, intimacy, authority, expertise and setting can influence the semantic, syntactic and stylistic choices here, too.

(DeCapua and Huber 1995: 119)

DeCapua and Huber (1995: 120) enumerate few factors that need to be born in mind. In their consideration of intimacy, they note that "[i]n order for advice-givers to know what is helpful or beneficial for another person, there must be some assumption of either intimacy or shared background between advice-givers and –receivers"; only then is the advice interpretable and appropriate (cf. Locher 2006: 38). Otherwise, the advice may not "match the advisee's own perception of the problem" (ibid.). Authority and expertise allocation between the speakers are factors which feature in every type of advice. The asymmetry between the two is maintained as follows:

> In unsolicited advice, the advice-givers take upon themselves the role of expert, authority and concerned person. In solicited advice, advice seekers explicitly request the help of another person whom they believe has both expertise and concern for their problems.
>
> (DeCapua and Huber 1995: 122)

If the advisor presumes authority, then it is an unsolicited type of advice, and if the authority is granted to the advisor by the advisee, then it is a solicited type of advice. In the case of unsolicited advice there is always jeopardy for the advice-giver that his/her presumed authority may be challenged. In everyday situations unsolicited advice is generally accepted, but in workplace context it is not a rule.

> Advice serves to establish or maintain rapport, to flatter, to help, to reprimand, distance and dominate. However, regardless of the ostensible role of advice in a particular situation, there are inescapable messages of authority, expertise and intimacy in advice. In advice events, advice-givers either assume these roles (such as in unsolicited advice) or are granted them (solicited advice).
>
> (DeCapua and Huber 1995: 128)

Other factors, such as the accuracy of the problem statement, context or setting of a speech event, and the linguistic means available were not the main aim of DeCapua and Huber's study; however, they do underline their significance, as every single factor may have an impact and effect on the linguistic choice of the interlocutors. The main attention of the study was to find out whether advice-seekers choose to turn for advice to people they recognize as more credible, like non-intimate professionals, professionally published/written advice, or they choose intimates, or no one. They found out that the majority would turn to intimates (148 instances out of 266), 77 to professionals, and 41 to no one (cf. Locher 2006: 38). The conclusion of the study is that "advice-seeking may be a rapport building-mechanism" (DeCapua and Huber 1995: 124).

Another study conducted by DeCapua and Dunham (1993: 519 in Locher 2006: 31) on advice-seekers and advice-givers in public contexts such as radio shows infers that:

the principal strategies of advice-seekers seem to be the explanation, elaboration, and narration, while the advice-givers appear to have three major goals: 'to help callers clarify their problems, to help them explore their options, and to offer direction, usually regarding some action to be taken in the future.'

The study conducted by DeCapua and Huber on seeking and giving advice by American speakers (1995: 125) found out, with respect to giving directives, that "in American society being seen as ordering someone is 'perilous to social harmony'". Thus the speaker chooses the mitigation strategies (see the list of the strategies 2.6.1.1.), which in the end transform a directive into advice. On the other hand, their study found out that in written sources such as advice columns, there is a preference for imperatives which include *should* or *need*. This preference they explain with reference to the acknowledged authority beforehand:

> In these situations and others where there is an openly acknowledged difference in status and/or expertise, advice-givers are more direct and explicit. This may be due to the fact that the authority role is already clearly defined; the position of authority on the part of the advice-giver is not in dispute or being negotiated, and neither is intimacy at stake.

(DeCapua and Huber 1995: 126 in Locher 2006: 39)

In this study examples of solicited and unsolicited advice giving (see Example 10 section 5.2.1.) and advice seeking (see Example 12 section 5.2.1.) were found. As noticed by DeCapua and Huber (1995) such factors as intimacy, expertise and above all authority play an extremely important role while seeking and giving advice. Authority is most likely the decisive feature for the interlocutors while deciding if they need to or not reveal the requested information or enact the requested action (see Example 8 and 10). Additionally, Example 8 shows that advice given by the person in authority, which implicitly afflicts the personal and intimate sphere of the addressee, might be refused without any further consequences. Moreover this paper uncovers that expert knowledge, in case of people employed on the same hierarchical level within the company, might be used as a means of gaining power and control over the less experienced colleagues (see Example 12 section 5.2.1.).

3.3. Categorization of control act head acts

This subchapter gives an overview of different approaches of categorizing control head acts, and outlines the approach taken in the study. The control head acts are divided into two main groups, explicit and implicit head acts. In this study only explicit head acts are deal with as they appear most frequently and they depict the most interesting instances of the control speech acts. In view of that, these examples infer that an explicit way of communication in the workplace is the standard and preferred approach. Then, within the group of the explicit head acts different forms of their realization are distinguished. Again the focus is on only one form of realization, that is on imperatives. It is because there are 98 instances of imperatives, what makes it the prevalent group and the form most frequently used in the workplace. Moreover, the identified imperatives show another interesting propensity, and thus are clustered into further four sub-groups according to the forcefulness strategies embedded in them (see chapter 5.1.). Subsequently, the terminology, categories of the control head acts and the forms of their realization are outlined.

Vine (2004: 65) notices that it is quite difficult to make a comparison between the different studies examining control acts as researchers frequently use different labels for the identified head acts, and "frequently draw the boundaries between categories in different places." For instance, Ervin-Tripp (1976) categorizes the control head acts by linking the "contextual features to types of realizations" (Murcia-Bielsa 2000: 119) and thus classifies them "approximately according to the relative power of speaker and addressee in conventional usage and the obviousness of the directive" (Ervin-Tripp 1976: 29 in Murcia-Bielsa 2000: 119). Further she distinguishes between six types of directives: (1) "need statements" (*I need a match*), (2) "imperatives" (*Gimme a match* and elliptical forms like *a match*), (3) "imbedded imperatives" (*Could you gimme a match*?), (4) "permission directives" (*May I have a match*?), (5) "question directives" (*Gotta match?*), and (6) "hints" (*The matches are all gone.*). Ross (1968 in Murcia-Bielsa 2000: 119), on the other hand, proposes classification according to "differences in situation and motivation". In instructional genres he distinguishes a category of "personal directives" which is further specified as the

"hearer-interested" type. Ross' personal directive "has a clearly defined sender (A) and recipient (B)." In comparison, one of the simplest classifications of the head acts of directives and requests is presented in the study conducted by Bellinger and Gleason (1982). They group head acts into three main categories: "(1) imperatives (in the form of orders); (2) indirect directives (in the form of questions) and (3) implied directives (in the form of statements – the hearer must infer what action is required)" (Vine 2004: 65).

Regardless of the boundaries drawn between different places and forms for categorizing directives, it is important to consider the locution of different speech acts,

> because a purely formal categorization system does not adequately account for control head acts data. […] [On the other hand], to consider certain aspects of content before exploring form [will result] in a formal categorization that provides no real insights into the strategic use of language.
>
> (Vine 2004: 65)

The strategic use of language is meant by "hint[ing]", as in the classification of Ervin-Tripp (1976). Weizman (1989: 91) defines a hint as

> an utterance which, under certain circumstances, may be interpreted as an indirect request; but which, being inherently opaque, leaves the hearer uncertain as to the speaker's intentions, and leaves the speaker the possibility to opt out.

Ervin-Tripp (1976) groups "hints" as a category of directives, whereas Vine (2004: 65) remarks that "[t]o 'hint' is a strategy rather than a form and refers to features of the content", and it "leaves the speaker the possibility to opt out" (Weizman 1989: 91). The strategic use of language is related to the illocutionary force, i.e. the intensity of a request or a directive, which can range from begging to demanding. Searle (1979: 13), defining the illocutionary force, says that there "may be very modest 'attempts' as when I invite you to do it or suggest that you do it, or [there] may be very force attempts as when I insist that you do it." It became obvious that strategic use of language plays an important role in transmitting messages, and therefore linguists started to look at the realization patterns and their forces. Trosborg (1995: 225), for instance, undertook a study due to which a classification of request strategies came to life. She identified

four categories in which requests can be expressed, and in each category there are sub-strategies to express the requests:

Cat. 1	**Indirect request** Str. 1 Hints (mild) (strong)	I have to be at the airport in an hour. My car has broken down.
Cat. 2	**Conventionally indirect** *(hearer oriented conditions)* Str. 2 Ability Willingness Permission Str. 3 Suggestory formulae	Could you lend me your car? Would you lend me your car? May I borrow your car? How about lending me your car?
Cat. 3	**Conventionally indirect** (speaker based conditions) Str. 4 Wishes Str. 5 Desires/needs	I would like to borrow your car. I want/need to borrow your car.
Cat. 4	**Direct requests** Str. 6 Obligation Str. 7 Performatives (hedged) (unhedged) Str. 8 Imperatives Elliptical phrases	You must/have to lend me your car. I would like to ask you to lend me your car. I ask/require you to lend me your car. Lend me your car. Your car (please).

Table 3. Request strategies (Trosborg 1995: 225)

The following subchapter introduces the framework of the formal categorization of control head acts, which serves as the basis for my analysis. The boundary between the identified categories is placed according to the relative power of the speaker and the addressee and according to the degree of forcefulness strategies and forms chosen (cf. Irvin-Tripp 1976).

3.3.1. Direct and explicit head acts

Many researchers (for instance Baxter 2010, Vine 2004) call attention to ways or strategies used while managing relations between the interlocutors. Two of these strategies are referred to as "directness" and "indirectness" and happen to be a relevant issue in the workplace (cf. Thomas 1995: 158 in Smit 2010: 228). Directness and/or indirectness are one of the features that have been identified as being the individualistic and characteristic linguistic style of every individual person (cf. Tannen 1995: 139). Indirectness is defined as "a mismatch between the expressed meaning and the implied meaning" (Thomas 1995: 119 in Smit 2010: 229), or as "any type of deviation from a straightforward […], immediate […], explicit, and unambiguous expression of the things and issues meant (including their implications)" (Linell and Bredmar 1996: 419 in Smit 2010: 229).

During research for this study, direct or implicit control acts were the most common identified forms of exercising power; therefore it is important to enhance understanding of this notion. Directness, concerns the forcefulness of different forms (cf. Vine 2004: 66). The term directness is also used in many other related ways (cf. ibid.). For instance, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 202) developed a model which aims at distinguishing the varying degrees of directness. Their model is based on the theoretical works of Austin (1962) and Searle (1975). Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 202) distinguish three level of directness: (1) a direct level, (2) a conventionally indirect level, (3) a non-conventionally indirect level (compare to Trosborg 1995, Table 4 section 3.3.).

Lee (1987: 383 in Vine 2004: 66) undertakes a comparable approach and uses the word "indirect" when referring to non-imperative utterances operating as control acts. According to Lee's terminology, sentences such as: *can you close the window, I wonder if you can close the window* or *it's cold in here*, are interrogatives and declaratives respectively and are labeled "indirect", whereas a sentence as: *you close the window* is referred to as "direct" (Vine 2004: 66).

When considering other uses of this terminology, indirectness refers also to "unconventionally indirect" (eg.*: can you close the window*) and "the focus is on a particular sub-group of non-imperative utterances" (Vine 2004: 66). In this

sense imperatives are direct while interrogatives and declaratives are considered to be indirect.

At other times, "directness is also discussed as a gradable quality of utterances" (Vine 2004: 66), and in that sense the utterances can be put on a scale according to levels of politeness as related to degrees of directness (cf. Leech 1983; Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987). Blum-Kulka (1987) undertook this same approach and "asked informants to rate utterances on both politeness and directness scale" (Vine 2004: 66). The result shows that conventionally indirect utterances such as: *can you close the window*, "were rated as more direct than other indirect utterances" such as: *it's cold in here*, and in the same time were perceived as more polite by the informants (Vine 2004: 67).

Due to many various associations and uses of the direct and indirect labels, this paper adopts the name *explicit*, for utterances in which the agent and the action required are stated, and *implicit* for the utterances in which neither agent nor action required are stated. This distinction is proposed by Vine (2004: 67) "in order to differentiate this from the other types". Considering the following sentences will help with grasping understanding and differentiating these two notions from each other.

1. You close the window
2. Can you close the window
3. I wonder if you can close the window
4. It's cold in here

Explicitness, according to the approach chosen in this paper (adapted from Vine 2004), means that the agent and the action is clearly stated. Thus the sentence (1) is clearly explicit because the agent (*you)* and the action (*close the window*) are explicitly stated. Sentences (2) and (3) are also explicit. In these two sentences the action is embedded but still clearly stated and easy to process. However, the two sentences (2 and 3) differ in terms of politeness strategies. Sentence (3) is the more polite version of the same request. Sentence (4), on the other hand, is implicit because neither agent nor action required is stated. Implicitness in this context may be understood as in the "hinting" category (Ervin-Tripp 1976), which is regarded as being indirect, and "is a strategy rather

than a form" (Vine 2004: 65). For the purpose of this study, if a person utters sentences (1), (2) and (3) this person will be classified as being direct. If a person utters sentence (4), this person will be categorized as being indirect.

3.3.2. Imperatives

A range of studies show a tendency for use of imperatives in the workplace context. The study conducted by Brown (2000) shows that the control acts used in a particular context are "all imperative in structure, the canonical form of a directive, and they are all direct and explicit" (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 31). Another study conducted by Vine (2004) in a New Zealand company also reveals the tendency for using imperatives, either explicitly or implicitly. Vine (2004) identifies 364 control acts in 52 interactions between the employees at different job levels within the organization. 265 (73%) of the identified speech acts are directives, 52 (14%) requests, and 47 (13%) advice. Also this paper's database shows the tendency for using imperatives. In this database there are 184 identified instances of control acts. 123 are directives, 38 are requests, and 7 advice. There are 16 instances of control speech acts, which are labeled "borderline cases", because they are difficult to classify. One of the borderline cases will be discussed in detail (see Example 14 section 5.2.2.).

"Imperatives can be used to issue orders, commands, requests, threats, exhortations, permissions, warnings and advice – to mention some of their common use" (Huntley 1984: 103). Aarts (1989: 128) enumerates some additional uses, like: "wishes", "offers", "invitations", "instructions" and "curses". When accounting for the meaning of the imperative sentence Downes' (1977: 78) hypothesis should be born in mind. According to Downes (1977:78) all that is needed to account for the meaning of imperatives are the considerations of Searle's "felicity conditions" and Grice's "cooperative principle". These are the "non-linguistic facts that fall outside the scope of grammar and can only be explained in a theory of language use" (Vine 2004: 42). Also Davies (1979)

makes a distinction between linguistic and non-linguistic factors which have an influence on conveying the meaning of the imperative sentences. When attempting to pinpoint the meaning Davies (1979: 18) distinguishes between the "Literal Mood Meaning" and "significance".

> Literal MM is context independent. Categories of significance are derived from the combination of categories of literal MM and contextual features. One category of MM in combination of different sets of contextual features yields different categories of significance.
>
> (Davies 1979: 18)

Sadock (1974: 139) remarks that within the imperative form there are different sub-types to be distinguished. One of the sub-types is identified as "giving instructions/directions" (Vine 2004: 40; Sadock 1974: 139). This sub-type is defined by Sadock (1974: 139) as a

> sentence that lacks an overt subject, but whose logical subject refers to the addressee, and that contains a verb form homophonous with the infinitive. […] This communicative function of instructional sentences, such as those one finds in recipes and manuals and on labels, stands, for example, in sharp contrast to the function of request. Instructions of the kind are issued for the addressee's benefit, and not for the speaker's.

Sentences, such as: "*You take the first turning on the left*", are identified by Hirtle (1995: 265) as a "direction category", and classified as a sub-type of the imperative. Whereas, sentences such as: "[…] *get fresh whole peaches cut them in half and take the stones out and put muesli in the hollow* […]" are identified as an "instructional category" of how to do something, and frequently take the form of imperatives (Vine 2004: 41).

The "giving instructions/directions" sub-type features in a workplace context too. This study identifies some instances which are instructional rather than directive in function and they are expressed using modal declaratives and the imperative form. Interestingly, most of the imperatives are expressed by the inclusive personal pronoun *we*. Sadock (1974) notices that the instructions/directions are issued for the addressee's benefit, and not for the speaker's; however, it is not the rule in the workplace. They should be viewed in terms of power relations, and the speaker's and the listener's job obligations as well as joined effort in the name of accomplishing a shared goal (see Example 2 and 3 section 5.1.2.).

Another sub-type identified by a number of studies involves the use of *let's* as an imperative. In this study's dataset there are 6 examples of *let's* (for further discussion see Example 9 section 5.1.2.). Another imperative form involves the use of *see* (3x) and *look* (17x). These forms were identified as a "discourse management device" (Vine 2004: 41), and seeing that there are many instances of them in the dataset (20x) they seem to be an important linguistic device in the "institutional talk" (Koester 2006: 3).

Example 1:

1. *Look*, do me a favor Erin [dME]
2. *Look*, go back and see if he'll make a declaration [dME]
3. *See*, in a case like this, you only have [dME]
4. *See*, according to this [EM]

However, as they feature as a discourse management device and not as a control act they are not included in the analysis part of this paper. However, they are still an important device to mention. This imperative form does not request for an action. It functions more as an attention catcher and implies that the speaker has something to say or communicate.

3.4. Summary

The chapter has introduced the foundation of Speech Act Theory, which goes back to the year 1955. Consequently, the year 1955 was a breakthrough in various disciplines, including linguistics, which opened up a new research area, i.e. the Speech Act study. Subsequently, the chapter presents the models and classifications of the most famous speech act theorists, as well as some of criticism raised about them. The following sections acquaint the reader with the approach and the terminology used in this study, and thus definitions of the control head acts: directives, requests and advice, and their categorization is

offered. Further sub-sections give an insight into theories and introduce the relevant terminology, such as: explicitness versus implicitness, direct versus indirect, imperatives and their categorization, strategy, and the illocutionary force. The formal categorization of control head acts is outlined, and the boundary between the identified categories is stated. The boundary is placed according to the relative power of the speaker and the addressee and according to the degree of forcefulness strategies and forms chosen (cf. Irvin-Tripp 1976; Trosborg 1995).

4. The role of language in workplace relationships

*Men speak one way, women speak another, that's just the
way it is!*

(Karrakayn 1986 in Bradley 2007: 14)

In the seventeenth century it became apparent that language used by women
and men differ in many ways, such as phonology, morphology, syntax. The
chosen form of language was always an indicator of the speaker's gender (cf.
Coates 2007: 7). Currently, gender-exclusive and gender-preferential language
use still play a significant role in many languages around the world. Coates
(2007: 7) notes that "the difference between gender-exclusive and gender-
preferential usage seems to correlate with differences between non-
industrialized societies […] and industrialized societies, such as Britain and the
USA". Such an association is explained by "clearly demarcated gender roles" in
non-industrialized societies and "much less rigidly structured" gender roles in
modern industrialized societies (Coates 2007: 7). However, the process of
gender roles, speech attitudes and style creation in every discourse is more
complex. Considering the workplace discourse, such dimensions as hierarchy,
power distribution as well as cultural dimensions have a decisive effect and
impact on the process of construction and establishment. These dimensions
would force and establish the ways of communication. The supervisors would
learn how to express and exercise power through language, whereas the
subordinates would learn and knowledge the appropriate and inappropriate
linguistic behavior towards their superiors, and people in the same hierarchical
position. Additionally, aspects such as company's structure, organization and
corporate culture are of importance and relevance.

The following chapter aims at demonstrating how hierarchy, power, language,
as well as cultural dimensions manage to force, form and establish specific
forms of communication within the workplace. It will also be shown how
language has the potential to maintain gender preferential and privileged ways
of communication.

4.1. Language & Power

Ultimately, language is a means of transmitting a message and building up a communication process. Many researchers and academics who devoted themselves to the study of language observe that power is an indispensable component. Power is also a crucial concept to be considered in relation to workplace relationships between people employed at different levels; as "the power relationship between participants, along with institutional norms, 'are central to the way in which the discourse is developed and individual utterances are interpreted'" (Thomas 1985: 766 in Vine 2004: 5). Within organizations, power appears in many possible forms and façades. Power is closely linked to and reflected by authority; consequently, how much and what kind of power a person possess may be determined by their position within an organization. Therefore, it can assume a form of "legitimate power", a power distributed among people according to the hierarchy in an organization, and is

> gained by a title of official position within an organization. Legitimate power has inherent in it the ability to create feelings of obligation or responsibility. […] the socialization and culture of subordinate employees will influence to some degree how much power a manager has due to his or her position.
>
> (Marquis and Huston 2009: 296)

Power may also assume a form of "expertise", which is considered with skills, abilities and know-how of employees (Vine 2004: 1). Expert power is critical knowledge and may allow the employees to gain power over others who need that knowledge. The negative aspect of this is that expert knowledge "is limited to a specialized area […], [but] is fundamental to any profession" (Marquis and Huston 2009: 296). These two forms of power are referred to as "power over" (cf. Yeatman 1994 in Vine 2004: 1) or "coercive power" (Fairclough 1989: 33 in Vine 2004: 1). Coercive power, also referred to as "punishment power", is "based on fear of punishment if the manager's expectations are not met. The manager may obtain compliance through threats (often implied) or transfer, layoff, demotion, or dismissal" (Marquis and Huston 2009: 296). Its opposite,

called "reward power" and is achieved by the ability to reward or grant incentives. There is a collection of possible rewards and incentives, which a manager can use in order to motivate employees to work towards their organizational goals. If this method is effective, it will bring fruitful outcomes and "develop a great deal of loyalty and devotion toward leaders" (Marquis and Huston 2009: 296).

Another type of authority and power exercise is so called "referent power", that is

> power that a person has because others identify with that leader or with what that leader symbolizes. Referent power also appears when one gives another person feelings of personal acceptance or approval. It may be obtained through association with the powerful. People may also develop referent power because others perceive them as powerful. This perception could be based on personal charisma, the way the leader talks or acts, the organizations to which he or she belongs, or the people with whom he or she associates. People who others accept as role models or leaders enjoy referent power. […] Although correlated with referent power, charismatic power is distinguished by some from referent power. Referent power is gained only through association with powerful others, whereas charisma is a more personal type of power.

> (Marquis and Huston 2009: 296-7)

People can also obtain power by having "information that others must have to accomplish their goals" (Marquis and Huston 2009: 297). This kind of power is called "informational power" (ibid.). The last kind of power is referred to as "feminist or self-power" – "the power a person gains over his or her own life – and maintains that this power is a personal power that comes from maturity, ego integration, security in relationships, and confidence in one's impulse" (Marquis and Huston 2009: 297). The table below presents the discussed types of power and their sources:

Type	Source
Referent	Association with others
Legitimate	Position
Coercive	Fear
Reward	Ability to grant favors
Expert	Knowledge and skills
Charismatic	Personal
Informational	The need for information
Self	Maturity, ego strength

Table 4. Sources of power (Marquis and Huston 2009: 296)

Other nonlinguistic social factors also play a vital role in achieving and establishing power. These are information gathering and effective information use, as well as network system, physical intimidation and persuasion, and to some extent seniority principle (cf. Kedar 1987: V).

Nevertheless in the realization and/or exercise of power, it is the language that plays a central and critical role, and it is seen and understood merely as "the measure of one's ability or inability to obtain or maintain objectives, such as getting a job, winning a court case, getting elected to office, and so on, through discourse" (Kedar 1987: V). Austin (1962) notices that through language people are able to create their "performative identities"; thus what a person is, and how they are seen, perceived and considered to be, or even whether they are "heard" by others (cf. Tannen 1995) is linguistic work; as the "performative impact of the words on an audience" creates the speaker's identity (Robinson 2006: 64). Tannen (1995: 139) draws attention to the fact that every person has his/her own individualistic and characteristic linguistic style, i.e. speaking pattern, which constructs a speaker's identity.

It includes such features as directness or indirectness, pacing and pausing, word choice, and the use of such elements as jokes, figures of speech, stories, questions and apologies. In other words, linguistic style is a set of culturally learned signals by which we not only communicate what we mean but also interpret others' meaning and evaluate one another as people.

Tannen (1995: 139)

This paper deals with interactions between individuals and discursive strategies they decide to use in order to establish power and achieve their conversational goals. This kind of conversation is "instrumental and goal directed [and] people are involved in win/lose situations where language-use is a critical correlate of success or failure in goal achievement" (Kedar 1987: V). Such instrumental and goal directed conversations are generally called "public negotiations" and are one of the most common interchanges between individuals representing their discourse style. The discourse style in correlation with sociocultural constraints affects communicative interaction (cf. Kedar 1987: VI). The correlation of language and sociocultural constraints is taken for granted in three different approaches for analyzing language and power relation. The first one is presented by Maurice Bloch (1975) and "emphasizes the social and political constraints which affect the process and outcome of communicative situations" (Kedar 1987: VI). The second approach, represented by Robert Paine (1981), sees the individual's ability to create the "mood" of an interaction as crucial element. In others words, the individual "strives to have his audience see the world through his interpretation of it in his speeches" (Paine 1981 in Kedar 1987: VI). Since 1989 there has been another approach in investigating language and power: the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), from Norman Fairclough's book "*Language and power*" (2001). Fairclough's thesis is that language has the potency to maintain and change "power relations in contemporary society, [and that] ways of analyzing language can reveal these processes" (2001: viii). This analysis may be helpful in understanding these processes, and thus, "people can become more conscious of them, and more able to resist and change them" (ibid.). The main and shared assumption of Fairclough and the CDA practitioners is that language and power are entirely linked.

4.1.1. Control acts and power exercise

The instrumental and goal directed character of interactions is extensively taken into consideration in a wide variety of disciplines and it is one of the most prominent themes when considering workplace interactions and communication. Koester (2006: 43) found out that procedural and directive genres are the second most frequent in workplace discourse. Control acts aim at exercising authority and control over the listener, by directing, requesting and advising others; i.e. their goal is to make the listener do what the speaker wants him/her to do. Control acts are realized in various ways, by means of different linguistic strategies. Consequently, as regards any kind of phenomena, also in the workplace, there are some aspects that must be taken into account. Taking into consideration the three types of control acts there are few factors that are of importance and relevance. The sub-sections introduce them.

4.1.1.1. Role-relationship and obligation

The first highly important factor in every workplace is the role-relationship between the interlocutors. Vine (2004: 28) notices that the forcefulness of the speech acts increases proportionally to the speaker's authority. If the speaker is in a position of authority there are more probably orders and requirements to be identify. If, however, "the speaker is not in a position of authority over the hearer, the utterance is a *request* or *requestive*" (Vine 2004: 28). In addition to orders, requirements and requests, there are also *pleads* and *suggests* that aim at getting the others to do things (cf. Green 1975: 120 in Vine 2004: 28). They differ again on the kind of power relationships between the speakers. Labov (1972), for example, in his discussion of linguistic rules notices that they are "quite remote from any social value" (1972: 251) and they are just machinery for people to express their thoughts. However, the closer to the surface structure of language, the more probable the social affection is (cf. Labov 1972: 251). Such

a connection Labov observes in the case of commands or requests for action, with obvious reference to power and/or status, and role-relationship.

> If A requests B to perform an action X at a time T, A's utterance will be heard as a valid command only if the following preconditions hold: B believes that A believes (=it is an AB-event that)
>
> 1. X needs to be done for a purpose Y
> 2. B has the ability to do X
> 3. B has the obligation to do X
> 4. A has the right to tell B to do X.

(Labov 1972: 255)

When the speaker believes that he/she has "the right to tell" the hearer what to do or to elicit the answer, then such a request is referred to as a "valid command" (Labov 1972: 255). The valid command features in a situational environment such as the workplace, which "involves people working in a context where there are clear status differences and role-obligations" (Vine 2004: 28). Therefore, the valid command can be understood as the speaker's responsibilities and obligations to instruct and/or direct, and consequently make the hearer to do his/her job. It is also the hearer's responsibility and obligation to fulfill his/her tasks (cf. Vine 2004: 28).

> Of course, the degree to which each person has the authority to ask something of another, or the right to tell someone to do something in a specific way, does vary. I therefore distinguish between the three types by saying that a superior can give a directive to a subordinate, but that a similar utterance from an equal to an equal or from a subordinate to a superior is generally interpreted as a request, and sometimes advice. Advice can be given by anyone to anyone else. Often when someone gives advice to a superior or an equal it is because they have a different type of authority.

(Vine 2004: 28)

As presented, the question of role-relationships and obligations is always the question of how much and what kind of authority it encompasses, and what kind of power is involved. Consequently, as people in authority gain more power, a "negative" and/or a "positive" face might be maintained. The negative face of power is best illustrated in "I win, you lose" situation, and reflected in "dominance versus submission" aspect. The positive face of power "occurs

when someone exerts influence on behalf of – rather than – over someone or something" (Marquis and Huston 2009: 296).

4.1.1.2.   Expectation of compliance and the right of refusal

Another crucial feature to consider when analyzing power at the workplace is the issue of the expectation of compliance and the right of refusal. These two notions are closely correlated. At the workplace there are various role-relationships between employees, and thus, different obligations in terms of their job performance. Some employees' job is to order others, whereas another job is to comply. However, who orders and who expects others to comply, and who is to comply or to have the right of refusal is not always as straightforward as it may seem.

At the workplace there are specific kinds of interactions, in which directives, requests and advice are the most frequent ways of communication. Control acts aim at instructing and getting someone to do something, and that is what the workplace discourse is mainly about. Before control acts are issued, there needs to be clearly established role-relationships. This is usually done through power distribution. Bilbow (1997: 23) elaborates on this issue and notices that

> directing speech acts relate to courses of action (inside or outside the meeting room), which it is hoped (in the case of requests) or anticipated (in the case of commands) the hearer(s) will undertake. The force of propositions contained in directing speech acts is significantly greater than the force contained in suggesting speech acts.

The main difference between requests and commands, in terms of compliance, seems to be that requests "leave to the addressee the option of refusal to comply whereas the command does not" (Alam 1980: 129 in Vine 2004: 29). Of course the hearer can also refuse to fulfill the command, but in most cases there will be negative consequences for the refuser (cf. Vine 2004: 29).

The issue of having a choice or not is not always straightforward. If a manager gives a directive to a subordinate, it will be in most cases acted upon. However, the dataset shows that sometimes the subordinate might negotiate or ask for further explanations or instructions; or there might be a delay of the action. In the dataset there is also an instance of not complying with a directive, which can have negative consequences; it could lead to the dismissal of an employee (see Example 22 section 4.3.2.).

4.1.1.3. Benefit from the action

Following role-relationships, obligations, compliance and the right to refuse, there is another relevant issue when considering power and the three control acts: directive, request and advice at the workplace. It is the cost/benefit distinction. This distinction has implications when distinguishing between the three control acts at the workplace.

On the grounds of the cost/benefit distinction, the distinction between a directive, request and advice can be formulated. Hence, "the purpose of a request is to involve the hearer in some future action which has positive consequences for the speaker and may imply costs to the hearer, whereas a piece of advice or a warning is intended to be in the sole interest of the hearer" (Trosborg 1994: 15). Therefore, in the classic directive and/or request situation it is normally the person who gives the directive/request who will also benefit from it; however, at the workplace the benefit from the action "always has implications in terms of benefit to the organization because the actions relate to the addressee's work obligations" (Vine 2004: 29). Pufahl Bax (1986: 675) and Ervin-Tripp (1990: 308) note the same relation between a directive and a request and the benefit/cost implication. The benefit from the action is on the site of the speaker, and enacting the control act is the hearer's job obligation. They also remark that advice differs fundamentally; the benefit from the action

lies on the site of the addressee; however, in a context such as the workplace, it usually has implication for the well-being of the company.

The idea of a benefit is not always a straightforward issue, even within the workplace, in which the benefit typically has implications to the organization. In the database utterances are coded as directives and requests, which primarily are beneficial to the speaker, as the directed/requested action relates to the speaker's job obligations, and enacting it is the hearer's job obligation. Advice is coded as being primarily beneficial to the hearer; however, with implications for the well-being of a company. The data also shows instances of advice to be beneficial both to the hearer and the company (see Example 2 section 4.1.1.).

All three factors are necessary to consider when differentiating between the three control acts: directives, requests and advice. The table below introduces these factors.

Control acts		Speaker higher status	Hearer has right of refusal	Benefit to speaker
Directing	Directive	yes	no	yes
	Request	no	yes	yes
Suggesting	Advice	maybe	yes	no

Table 5. Factors differentiating directives, requests and advice (Vine 2004: 31)

As presented, factors such as relative status can have serious implications in terms of benefit/right of refusal and in most cases is sufficient in order to distinguish between a directive and a request. Advice differs fundamentally. The relative status does not play such a great role; however, it is always more probable that advice issued by a superior will be more likely followed than the other way round. Separating out these factors might be difficult as they "rely on each other and it is hard to define them independently" (Vine 2004: 31).

4.1.2. Impoliteness and rudeness in the struggle for power

Isn't all impoliteness a matter of power?

(Locher in Culpeper 2008: 17)

Impoliteness and its "quasi-counterpart", politeness, are relevant for consideration with regard to power relations in the workplace. It is important to understand that these two notions are not polar opposites, "but should rather be viewed as points along a continuum" (Schnurr et.al. 2008: 212). Watts and Locher (2005) situate these notions on a scale ranging from over-polite to polite and non-polite to impolite behaviors.

| IMPOLITE | NON-POLITE | POLITE | OVERLY POLITE |
| Negatively Marked | Unmarked | Positively marked | Negatively marked |
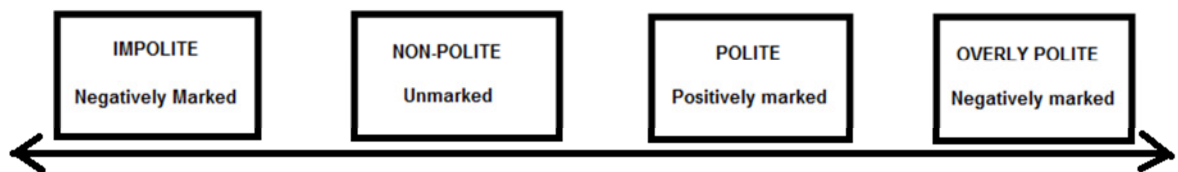
Figure 2. An integrated model of (im)politeness and markedness (adapted from Locher and Watts 2005: 12)

These notions revolve around the concept of "face" (Goffman 1967: 5 in Goldsmith 2007: 220). Face is

> the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself [or herself] [...] in terms of approved social attributes. [And facework is] the action taken by a person to make whatever he [or she] is doing consistent with face.
>
> (Goffman 1967: 5 in Goldsmith 2007: 220)

Therefore, politeness is always considered with face threatening and face saving acts. It "is a strategy which results from speaker's attempt to avoid or minimize damage either to their own face or the face of their interlocutor(s)" (Vine 2004: 5-6). "Directives, requests and advice are all FTAs [Face Threatening Acts]. The 'assessment of the seriousness of FTA' (Brown and

Levinson 1987: 76), involves considerations of the social distance between the speaker and hearer, the relative power of the two participants, and the ranking of the imposition of the FTA" (Vine 2004: 6). Therefore, the level of politeness, is assessed and determined by means of the three above stated factors: (1) the social distance between the interlocutors, (2) their relative power, and (3) the ranking of the imposition (cf. Vine 2004: 6). Power plays a critical role in assessing the level of politeness. Impoliteness, on the other hand, is defined as a "behavior that is face-aggravating in a particular context" (Bousfield and Locher 2008: 3). More precise and detailed definitions recognize the speaker's intentions as a very important aspect in understanding impoliteness (ibid.). Consider these three:

1. "I take impoliteness as constituting the issuing of intentionality gratuitous and conflictive face-threatening acts (FTAs) that are purposefully performed."

(Bousfield 2008: 132)

2. "Impoliteness, as I would define it, involves communicative behavior intending to cause the 'face loss' of a target or perceived by the target to be so."

(Culpeper 2008: 36)

3. "*impoliteness* occurs when the expression used is not conventionalized relative to the context of occurrence; it threatens the addressee's face (and, through that, the speaker's face) but no face-threatening intention is attributed to the speaker by the hearer."

(Terkourafi 2008: 70)

Bousfield and Culpeper underline that the speaker's intention of impoliteness and the consequent recognition of it by the hearer is significant. Terkourafi notices that "the recognition of intentions constitutes 'rudeness' rather than impoliteness" (Bousfield and Locher 2008: 4). According to Terkourafi (2008: 70)

> following recognition of the speaker's face-threatening intention by the hearer, marked rudeness threatens the addressee's face (and, through that, the speaker's face in the addressee's eyes – although it may also constitute it in the eyes of another participant, including the speaker him/herself); when over-politeness leads to rudeness proper it threatens the speaker's face.

Impoliteness plays a very important role in establishing relationships, and will be further discussed from the perspective of relational work, which "can be understood as equivalent of Halliday's (1978) interpersonal level of communication" (Locher and Watts 2005: 11 in Culpeper 2008: 21) and is defined as "the work people invest in negotiating their relationships in interaction" (Locher and Watts 2008: 78). The process of negotiating participants' roles within an interaction "has become a major focus of gender and discourse research" (Vine 2004: 6). Gender is one of the aspects that foreground the social identity. Language and social practices also play a very fundamental role in constructing social identity. Moreover, construction of social identity is an ongoing process, in which power relationships between the interlocutors are not stable as well (cf. Vine 2004: 6).

> Power […] is not a static feature of an interaction, it is actively maintained and negotiated throughout. We can talk about how people enact power in the workplace, much in the way that gender in discourse researchers discuss the enactment of gender.

> (Vine 2004: 6)

Thus, people use politeness and/or impoliteness strategies in the workplace in order to negotiate their relationships and power.

> Politeness towards a subordinate can be interpreted as an indication that the more powerful protagonist is concerned with constructing good workplace relations, and in developing rapport and maintaining collegiality: that is, the expression of collaborative power vs. coercive power or, in Ng and Bradac's terms 'power to' vs. 'power over'.
>
> (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 6)

Impoliteness may be used in the workplace by subordinates "in order to challenge their superiors and to subvert existing power relationships" (Schnurr et.al. 2008: 211). Previous researches identified different subcategories of impoliteness, such as "motivated and unmotivated impoliteness", "mock impoliteness" (cf. Culpeper 2005), or "sanctioned aggressive facework" (Schnurr et al. 2008: 212). However, identification of what are negatively marked and inappropriate behaviors in interactions is very often difficult and unclear, and "requires a great deal of local contextual knowledge in its interpretations" (ibid.). In this analysis contextual knowledge plays a key role not

only in identifying of what are negatively marked and inappropriate behaviors, but also in understanding such factors as: power distribution, role-relationships, and motivations of the interlocutors.

Different workplaces tend to develop their own ways of expressing (im)politeness as well as understanding and identifying what is negatively marked and what is appropriate behavior. "Norms concerning what counts as unmarked and appropriate behavior are negotiated among the members of workplaces or working groups who form distinct communities of practice" (Schnurr et.al. 2008: 213). Community of practice is an

> aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of their mutual endeavor.

> (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464 in Schnurr et al. 2008: 213)

According to Wenger (1998) three factors are especially responsible for the development and creation of communities of practice. The first involves "mutual engagement (including regular interaction)"; the second a "negotiated enterprise (e.g., the shared organizational objectives of the team or group)" (Schnurr et al. 2008: 213). The third factor is distinguished as "a shared repertoire developed over period of time (which may include specialized jargon, routines, running jokes, etc.)" (Schnurr et al. 2008: 214). In this way, the members of communities of practice shape and actively contribute to the construction of the rules and norms of what are acceptable and unacceptable behaviors. "Conversely, by challenging these norms and by doing impoliteness, they question and attempt to subvert existing power relations" (Schnurr et al. 2008: 214). It can be concluded that power and (im)politeness are closely interconnected. "One of the main functions of impoliteness is to abrogate power" (Schnurr et al. 2008: 214), whereas, one of the main functions of politeness is to establish and maintain friendly relationships and relational solidarity between the interlocutors.

4.1.3. Cultural Dimensions Model

> *Culture is more often a source of conflict than of synergy. Cultural differences are a nuisance at best and often a disaster.*
>
> *(Geert Hofstede, www.geert-hofstede.com)*

Bloch's (1975) hypothesis that social and political constraints affect and influence the process and outcome of communicative situations, might have had its beginning due to Hofstede's influential study conducted between 1967 and 1973. Hofstede, a prominent Dutch organizational sociologist, collected a large database from IBM employees on their values scores (cf. www.geert-hofstede.com). These value scores reflect a part of

> learned, group-related perceptions – including both verbal and non-verbal language, attitudes, values, belief systems, disbelief systems and behaviors – that is accepted and expected by an identity group

> (Singer 1998: 6 in Meier 2010: 76)

Initially, Hofstede included in the database only the forty largest countries, and later extended it to fifty countries (cf. www.geert-hofstede.com). Generally, the IBM study shows that there are national and regional social groupings that very much affect the behavior, i.e. actions as well as linguistic behavior, of societies and organizations. What Hofstede also observed is that these behaviors and attitudes are persistent and stable across time. Hofstede developed four primary dimensions and called them Cultural Dimensions. These are Power Distance (PDI), Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI), Masculinity (MAS), and Individualism (IDV). After some time the fifth dimension was added, which has been developed by Chinese scholars and tested in twenty three countries, the Long Term Orientation (LTO).

Hofstede's cultural study is the most prominent and widely known across the globe. His study aroused a lot of interest and praise, as well as criticism. The main criticism is directed toward the methodology (cf. Piepenburg 2011). It is also pointed out that the outcomes of the study are nearly 40 years old and thus

out-dated. Consequently, various researchers question the validity and reliability of the study. One of the latest tests show that the Masculinity/Femininity (MAS) and Uncertainty Avoidance (UA) dimensions for Germany and the UK do not longer support Hofstede's findings (cf. Piepenburg 2011). Therefore, developing a new study or replicating the study of Hofstede is recommended.

The Cultural Dimensions Model captures and reflects the attitudes and behaviors of people in different countries. Moreover, different studies conducted on cross-cultural investigations of speech acts (e.g. apologies, requests, compliments) regularly show and maintain that "(1) norms of speech act performance will differ across cultures. (2) such differences can cause misunderstanding, and (3) an identification of the differences can lead to improved intercultural communication" (Meier 2010: 75). Additionally Tannen (1989: 193) claims that due to the general cultural communicative differences there will also be differences as to "when to talk; what to say; pacing and pausing; listenership; intonation and prosody; formulaicity; indirectness; and cohesion and coherence."

However, one cannot forget that these behaviors are general for a specific country or a region, and that there is always a degree of deviation from the standard. Yet, the Cultural Dimensions model, which exposes highly socialized behaviors, will be very helpful in understanding the personal motivations of the protagonists in the study, and in consequence the choice of linguistic styles and the linguistic devices in order to achieve their goals. Thus, the motivations, i.e. the question of *why* to say and/or do something, "reside, in part, in underlying cultural values and beliefs as they are situationally and discursively enacted" (Meier 2010: 77). Moreover, Hofstede notices on the basis of his study that

> people carry 'mental programs' that are developed in the family in early childhood and reinforced in schools and organizations, and that these mental programs contain a component of national culture. They are most clearly expressed in the different values that predominate among people from different countries.
>
> (Hofstede 2001: XIX)

The study gives insights into the way the cultures operate and, therefore, allows making judgments and interactions more effective. This paper argues that Hofstede's statement has implications and motivations for the linguistic behavior

of different people in various countries. Meier draws attention to the fact that "underlying cultural values and beliefs play an important role in speech act performance as mediated by perceptions of context" (2010: 75). She argues too that "an awareness of underlying cultural variables and their potential influence on speech act performance will contribute to more effective negotiation of meaning and identity" (ibid.). With regard to that, O'Barr and Atkins (1998: 386) state that the way American woman speaks

> is also part of the cultural meaning of speaking 'like a woman'. Gender meanings draw on other social meanings; analyses that focus on sex in isolation from the social position of women and men thus tell us little about the meaning of 'women's language' in society and culture.

The speech acts produced by women are formed by the cultural constraints and values that specific culture cultivates; the same is true for men.

The figure below presents the relationship between underlying cultural values, beliefs and linguistic choices as mediated by context.
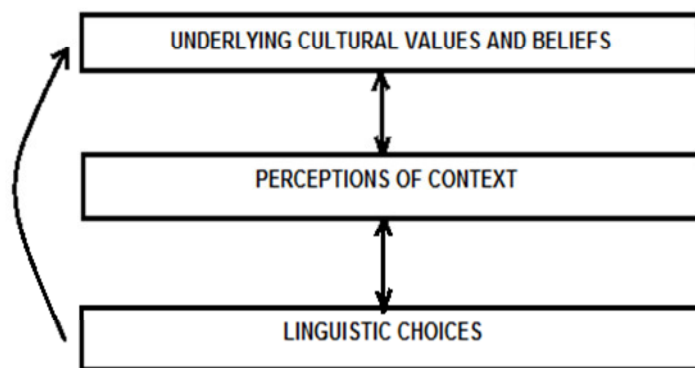
Figure 3. Culture, context, language connection (Meier 2010: 77)

Context in this framework "is viewed as consisting of 'dynamic and constitutive properties'" (Goodwin and Duranti 1992: 5 in Meier 2010: 77). The dynamic aspect of context maintains that there are no permanent and fixed social relationships and non-verbal/verbal behaviors, but rather they are constantly negotiated and shaped (cf. Meier 2010: 77). "Each time we talk, we literally enact values in our speech through the process scripting our place and that of

our listener in a culturally specific social scenario" (Holquist 1990: 63 in Meier 2010: 77).

All of the interlocutors in this study come from the United States of America. It is also the country in which the movies were filmed and contextualized, therefore the Cultural Dimensions model will be presented for the USA, with a purpose to "provide a heuristic lens through which one can explore the relationship between culture and speech act performance" (Meier 2010: 78).

The figure below presents the scores of the four dimensions for the USA.
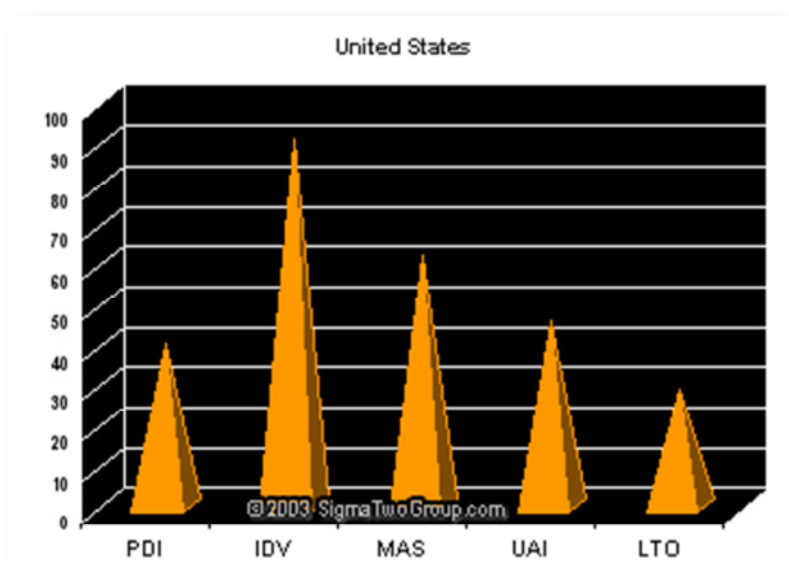
Figure 4. Hofstede Cultural Dimensions, scores for the USA

Power Distance (PDI)

Power Distance is one of the four dimensions Hofstede analyzed. PDI relates to the acceptance and expectation of people that power is distributed unequally (cf. Hofstede 2001: 79). Inequality appears because "different societies put different weights on status consistency", and it is maintained in such areas as: "prestige, wealth, and power" (ibid.). With regard to organizations, Hofstede (2001: 79) notes that inequality usually appears in boss-subordinate relationships, and is due to power distribution, which is "inevitable and functional".

The United States scores 40 for the PDI, which is the lowest ranking dimension compared to the world average of 55.

> This is indicative of a greater equality between societal levels, including government, organizations, and even within families. This orientation reinforces a cooperative interaction across power levels and creates a more stable cultural environment.

> (www.geert-hofstede.com)

Low power distance is also an indicator for individualistic societies, and maintains relatively high value placed on egalitarianism (cf. Meier 2010: 79).

Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI)

Uncertainty Avoidance represents the degree of people's tolerance of uncertainty and ambiguity. However, should not be confused with risk avoidance (cf. Hofstede 2001: 145). "It indicates to what extent a culture programs its members to feel either uncomfortable or comfortable in unstructured situations" (www.geert-hofstede.com). The USA scores 46, far below the world average of 64. This suggests that this society is

> more tolerant of opinions different from what they are used to; they try to have as few rules as possible, and on the philosophical and religious level they are relativist and allow many currents to flow side by side. People within these cultures are more phlegmatic and contemplative.

> (Hofstede 2001: 145)

Such a society is more open and tolerant for "variety of ideas, thoughts, and beliefs" (ibid.). Expressing one's feelings and emotions is not expected by their environment (cf. ibid).

Masculinity versus Femininity (MAS)

Masculinity, with its polar opposite: femininity, refers to the ways different societies cope with the issue of gender and role distribution (cf. Hofstede 2001: 279). The masculine countries are known for men dominating a "significant

portion of the society and power structure" (www.geert-hofstede.com). In this dimension the USA scores 62, which is the highest, compared with the world average of 50. "This situation generates a female population that becomes more assertive and competitive, with women shifting toward the male role model and away from their female role" (ibid.).

> The masculine model is considered to be the professional model: this applies to communication, standards of behavior, processes and practices in an organization. The cultural view is that men's ways of doing things are the standard or norm.
>
> (Still 1996: 71 in Holmes 2006: 4)

Individualism (IDV) versus Collectivism

Individualism versus collectivism expresses "the degree to which individuals are integrated into groups" (www.geert-hofstede.com). "Individualistic tendencies are characterized by a greater concern for autonomy and individuals' needs and rights" (Meier 2010: 79). In individualistic societies it is common that relationships and ties between individuals are loose: "everyone is expected to look after him/herself and his/her immediate family" (www.geert-hofstede.com). Conversely, collectivism is "characterized by giving priority to one's identity as a member of a group; in-group concerns take priority over individual needs" (Meier 2010: 79). For the collectivistic societies belonging to organized groups, for example families which are very often extended including uncles, aunts and grandparents, is of priority. The members of such families take care of and protect themselves, and in turn demand "unquestioned loyalty" (www.geert-hofstede.com).

Seven countries in Hofstede's research score the highest in Individualism (IDV) Dimension and the USA, with the score of 91, is the highest. The others are: Australia (90), United Kingdom (89), Netherlands and Canada (80), and Italy (76) (cf. geert-hofstede.com).

Long Term vs. Short Term Orientation (LTO)

Long term versus short term orientation dimension was developed by use of a questionnaire designed by Chinese scholars. The study was conducted among students in 23 countries around the world.

> It can be said to deal with Virtue regardless of Truth. Values associated with Long Term Orientation are thrift and perseverance; values associated with Short Term Orientation are respect for tradition, fulfilling social obligations, and protecting one's 'face'.

> (www.geert-hofstede.com)

These values are found in the teachings of Confucius, one of the most prominent Chinese thinkers who lived around 500 B.C, but the dimension relates to countries without a Confucian heritage too (cf. www.geert-hofstede.com).

The United States scores the lowest, 29, among the countries which have this dimension added, compared with the world average of 45. This infers that the USA belongs to a group of societies who strive for meeting one's obligations and responsibilities, and value cultural traditions in particular (cf. www.geert-hofstede.com).

Various theorists developed other dimensions aiming at explaining diverse behaviors among different cultures and societies. For instance, Hall (1976) introduced High-context versus Low-context cultural factors. He argues that every culture has different ways of communicating, and thus they can be grouped according to the linguistic styles they perpetuate. "In high-context groups the message is often indirect, being implicit and inferred from context or shared experience" (Meier 2010: 79). This linguistic style is more typical for collectivistic groups (cf. Meier 2010: 79). "In low-context groups, in contrast, information tends to be more explicitly and directly articulated, which is correlated with individualism" (ibid.). As the USA scores the highest in individualism, it may be infered that the society might opt for more direct and explicit way of communication.

4.1.4. Implications for performing speech acts

A study on effectiveness of requests and directives, with relation to collectivism-individualism and high- versus low-context dimensions, has shown that Americans seek clear request strategies, as related to low-context culture (Kim and Willson 1994 in Meier 2010: 82). Another study, which examines the use of requests, commands and suggestions, in relation to individualism and power distance, shows that Americans frequently perform a

> denial of a directive intent (e.g. *I'm not trying to tell you what to do…*) […] This was interpreted as signaling the Americans' reticence to inhibit the free agency of the individual, a reflection of their relatively greater valuation of individualism. Further support for this was found in the interview data where the Americans made frequent reference to the importance of individual empowerment.

> (cf. Fitch 1994 in Meier 2010: 82)

A study in an eight-item discourse completion test (DCT) conducted in order to explain different apology behavior among Polish, Hungarian and American speakers relates the outcome of the study to individualism and power distance dimensions (cf. Suszczynska 1999 in Meier 2010: 82). Suszczynska (1999) has commented that Americans, who were not making as many remarks about themselves (e.g. self-dispraise, non-intentionality) as the other nationalities did, as well as their more frequent avoidance of direct public confrontation might be related to the "American's greater concern with invasion of their individual domain, a reflection of egalitarian and individualistic tendencies" (Meier 2010: 82). Another study on apology also showed the tendency of American speakers to more frequently use strategies that "reflected a greater value placed on individual freedom, choice, and responsibility (cf. Meier 1996 in Meier 2010: 83).

Another study made the attempt to explain the correlation between complimenting and power distance. Complimenting and compliments responses is an important issue for this study. In the gender-related study this paper approaches a question, that deals with the gender-related types of linguistic (im)politeness strategies, which will be discussed using compliments as an example.

The Americans' "relatively low power distance orientation was viewed as contributing to their more frequent complimenting of those of higher status, demonstrating greater comfort with interacting across social distance" (cf. Yu 2005 in Meier 2010: 84). They opted for compliments of appearance and possession, which can be explained "by the value they place on newness" (ibid.). Also the frequent use of compliments was associated with a strategy of negotiating solidarity and equality in the face of hierarchy and power distribution (ibid.). With regard to compliment responses, it was observed that 80% of Americans responded with acceptance or positive elaboration (cf. Cedar 2006 in Meier 2010: 85), and their responses were usually short and concise, such as *thank you* (cf. Nelson et al. 1996 in Meier 2010: 85), without any assessment or further evaluation of the compliment, which could, otherwise, result in a disruption of a smooth discourse (cf. Golato 2002 in Meier 2010: 85).

4.2. Language, gender and power

4.2.1. Language and male dominance

The interest of academics in distribution of power between the two genders in relation to language dates back to 1922. At that time, Jespersen published a report about "different women's and men's forms in the speech of the Carib people" (Thorne and Henley 1975: 5). In the report it is stated that:

> men have a great many expressions peculiar to them, which the women understand but never pronounce themselves. On the other hand, the women have words and phrases which the men never use, or they would be laugh at scorn. This it happens that in their conversations it often seems as if the woman had another language than the men.

(Rochefort in Jespersen 1922: 237)

This difference in the linguistic behavior of different genders was primarily associated with the "dominance theory", in which a woman "stands for a whole tradition of patronizing and sexist commentary by male linguists before feminism" (Cameron 1998: 216). From that time on, the topic of "men's and women's languages […] remained one of the esoteric cubbyholes of language study" (Thorne and Henley 1975: 5). As a result, the 1960's brought about a new academic interdisciplinary field, sociolinguistics, and academics started to look for the differences in the speech as a consequence of nonlinguistic variables such as race, age, social setting, and political relations (cf. ibid.). In the late 60's and early 70's the women's movement initiated and focused the interest of the academics on the topic of sex differences in English (cf. ibid.).

Over time, academics became eager to more closely examine sex differences. Taking into consideration the correlation of language, gender and power there are few very interesting approaches that seek to explain this parallel. Thorne and Henley (1975) see this triangulation through the spectrum of the "dominance" theory (cf. Lakoff 2003: 161). They state that "the fact of male dominance – built into the economic, family, political, and legal structures of society – is also central to language and speech" (Thorne and Henley 1975: 15). They continue with words as follows:

> The male is associated with the universal, the general, the subsuming; the female is more often excluded or is the special case. Words associated with males more often have positive connotations; they convey notions of power, prestige, and leadership. In contrast, female words are more often negative, conveying weakness, inferiority, immaturity, a sense of the trivial. Terms applied to women are narrower in reference, than those applied to men, and they are more likely to assume derogatory sexual connotations which overshadow other meanings. This derogation, Schulz observes, is related to the process of stereotyping and is also present in other situations of dominance, e.g., racial and ethnic situations.

Schulz (1975) illustrates that many terms which aim at denoting females become semantically derogatory, that is, they acquire negative, sometimes sexist meaning over a time. Moreover, feminist linguists observed a very striking feature of language use; namely, the "asymmetrical treatment of women and men, of male/masculine and female/feminine concepts and principles" (Pauwels 2003: 553). The consideration of men/the male as the prototype for human

representation diminishes the status of women/the female, and thus, represents them as the "powerless", the "subsumed", the "invisible", or the "marked" ones (Pauwels 2003: 553). The invisibility of women is realized by use of masculine forms, while addressing women. Whereas, making them visible, consequently makes them marked at the same time; in this linguistic process, various grammatical (morphological) changes are required (cf. Pauwels 2003: 553).

Thorne and Henley (1975: 16) find another instance of an asymmetrical treatment of women. They draw attention to the "nonreciprocal naming patterns" on the verbal level in relations between men and women (ibid.). It is observable in many different work settings, like business, hospitals, universities, that women are very often referred to by their first name, which is a sign of disproportionality in terms of hierarchy. Women are found on the bottom and men at the top of work hierarchies (ibid.). Moreover, Lakoff (in Thorne and Henley 1975: 16) draws the conclusion that women in media commentary and talk shows are sooner and more often addressed by their first name in comparison to men.

Interruption is another linguistic means by which subordination and power over women may be exercised. Men tend to interrupt women more often than women interrupt men (cf. Zimmerman and West in Thorne and Henley 1975: 16). What is more, women allow such a behavior time and again, inevitably showing and exhibiting their submission (cf. Zimmerman and West in Thorne and Henley 1975: 16).

Linguistic correctness is another issue which has implications for power and dominance. Many sociolinguistic researchers observed that "women [more] consistently use 'Standard' forms than men" (Talbot 1998: 19). Already in 1954 such a behavior was associated with power and status consciousness:

> Women, it seems, are considerably more disposed than men to upgrade themselves into the middle-class and less likely to allocate themselves to the working-class - a finding which confirms the common observation that status consciousness is more pronounced among women.
>
> (Martin 1954:58)

Consequently, such linguistic behavior of women using standard forms more consistently, might very much result from their subordinate social status and because they are "more likely to be judged on appearances than men. Men, on the other hand, are judged by what they do, so that they are not under pressure to use the prestige variants" (cf. Trudgill 1972 in Talbot 1998: 24; see also Lakoff 1975 and Thorne and Henley 1975: 91-2).

There are many more linguistic strategies which aim at diminishing women's status and causing their subordination. However, these strategies are not the focus of this study. The brief sketch aims at awaking the awareness that for a long time the women's language has been associated with powerlessness and subordination. This view has been perpetuated for too long, and has raised lots of criticism. Some attempts have been taken in order to question this disparaging view. Nowadays, this view changed into an opposite one. Cameron (2003a: 454) takes into consideration the linguistic abilities of men and women and notices that:

> more and more mainstream discourse on language and gender stresses the opposite proposition – that women are actually superior to men. The problem of the unassertive and or insecure women speaker may not have disappeared entirely, but it is increasingly being eclipsed by anxiety about a quite different phenomenon, namely the problem of the inarticulate, linguistically unskilled men. It the new deficit model, it is men who are represented as deficient, and women whose ways of speaking are frequently recommended as a model for them to emulate.

The aim of this paper is to support the new view: saying that it is a man who is considered deficient and unskilled language user, while a woman is the new foundation for a linguistic model (cf. Cameron 2003a: 454). Therefore, the next sub-chapter's intention is to challenge this misleading interpretation of the 1970s, and to prove the new view.

4.2.2. "Women's Language" or "Powerless Language"?

Lakoff's (1975) influential and provocative essay on "woman's language" was first introduced in 1973 in an article *Language and Society* (Crawford 1997: 23). Later, the term of "woman's language" changed to the book's title, *Language and Woman's Place* (1975), which is "often hailed as the first ever work of feminist linguistics" (Cameron 1998: 216). Lakoff suggested that women use language in a way that is unsuccessful, unproductive, and uncertain because it is overly polite, hesitant and deferent (Crawford 1997: 2). In other words Lakoff (1975) presented women as subordinate and "disadvantaged language users" (Talbot 2003: 474). Furthermore, by comparing the language of women not to the language of men, but to naturally occurring language of men, Lakoff expressed her sympathy with Jespersen's (1922) assumption that "'women's language' is a special or deviant case" (Cameron 1998: 216). Lakoff's (1975) explanation for women's language stems from her account from an androcentric view.

> Its andocentrism lay principally in the fact that she accounted for women's language in term of its deficiencies – its deviation when measured against a norm, which was assumed to be male – and thereby, curiously for feminist scholarship, marked out the boundaries between Us and Them with women on the outside.
>
> (Talbot 2003: 474)

According to Lakoff's (1975) standpoint woman is expected from early age to "speak like a lady: to be more conservative of expression, polite, indirect and refined than men" (Baxter 2010: 55). This account leads to the classic "double bind" (Baxter 2010: 55):

> […] a girl is damned if she does and damned if she doesn't. If she refuses to talk like a lady, she is ridiculed and subjected to criticism as unfeminine. If she does learn [lady-like language], she is ridiculed as unable to think clearly, unable to take part in a serious discussion: in some sense as less than fully human. These two choices which a woman has – to be less than a woman, or less than a person – are highly painful.
>
> (Lakoff 1975: 5)

Uchida follows the same line of argumentation and situates Lakoff within the "deficit" theory (Uchida 1998: 280-85).The notion of "language deficiency" and its "double bind" is a very influential conception, and had "an important effect on the language of a generation of women in the business world" (Baxter 2010: 55). In the 1970s and 1980s this idea generated from the view that women should undergo communication training. It was believed that some people, and especially women, are irrational, and thus, not able to express themselves clearly and explicitly (cf. Crawford 1997: 2).

Table 6 presents the features and characteristics of women's language considered to be "deficient".

Lexical hedges or filters	you know, sort of, well, actually, you see
Tag questions	"She is very nice, isn't she?"
Rising intonation on declaratives	"It's really good?"
'Empty' adjectives	wonderful, lovely, charming, cute, nice, super
Precise color terms	magenta, aquamarine, mauve, taupe
Intensifiers	really, so, totally, e.g. "It was so nice to meet you"
Mitigating expressions	just, sort of, perhaps, maybe, kind of, a little bit
Hypercorrect grammar	consistent use of standard verb forms
'Super-polite' forms	indirect requests: "Won't you please take a seat"
Euphemism and understatement	"He passed away"; "That wasn't very nice"
Avoidance of strong swear words	bother, my goodness, oh dear, oh my god
Emphatic stress	"It was a brilliant performance"
Apologies	"I'm so sorry that…"

Table 6. Features and characteristics of women's language considered to be "deficient" (adapted from Baxter 2010)

Lakoff's "deficit" theory, as well as her view that women speak a powerless version of men's language was widely criticized. It was also questioned because of the methodology, or rather lack of it. Lakoff simply described her

experiences and observations. She failed to "appreciate the multi-functionality of all language forms" (Baxter 2011: 333).

Generally, the deficient theory of the 1970s, made it impossible for women to hold a position of authority. They were considered unsuitable for such a vacancy. This paper demonstrates that this view is out-dated, and that women are fully qualified, in terms of education and language use, to hold managerial positions in the workplace. For this reason the study is based on two films: *Erin Brockovich* and *The Proposal*, which identify control speech acts, which were previously only considered to be a component of men's language. Additionally, the study aims at discerning the language patterns that feature at the workplace.

The second part of the study shows that language is constantly changing and developing due to the environmental influences. The transformation of language is described and demonstrated from a number of examples from the dataset. This thesis shows that people speak differently according to various contexts, which are independent of their gender. The next sub-chapter collects the indispensible theory, which I use in the gender-study.

4.2.2.1.   Challenging the "Woman's Language" theory: A Case Study

As diminishing as it was for women to be regarded a "deficient" or "deviant", it generated many responses to Lakoff's interpretations. Consequently, O'Barr and Atkins (1998: 377) launched a "30-month study of language variation in trial courtrooms which […] included both ethnographic and experimental components". They recorded 150 hours of trials in a North Carolina superior criminal court. The hypothesis of their study was that the "so-called 'women's language' is in large part a language of powerlessness, a condition that can apply to men as well as women" (ibid.). Their examination shows that "the features which were identified as constituting 'women's language' have shown clearly that such features are simply not patterned along sex lines." (ibid.).

Subsequently, O'Barr and Atkins (1998: 378) propose renaming the described phenomena by Lakoff (1975) and label it "*powerless language*",

> due to its close association with persons having low social power and often relatively little previous experience in the courtroom setting; […] and finally, it calls for a refinement of our studies to distinguish powerless language features from others which may in fact be found primarily in women's speech.

O'Barr and Atkins (1998: 380) observe that some of the female witnesses conform to the "women's language" features identified by Lakoff (1975); however, they also note a "considerable variation in the degree to which women exhibited these characteristics". The study identifies the ten most frequently appearing language features amongst women in the courtrooms, and these served as the baseline for the investigation of sex-related speech patterns (O'Barr and Atkins 1998: 379-380).

Hedges.	"It's sort of hot here."; "I'd kind of like to go."; "I guess…"; "It seems like …"; and so on.
(Super) polite forms	"I'd really appreciate it of …"; "Would you please open the door, if you don't mind?"; and so on.
Tag questions	"John is here, isn't he?" instead of "Is John here?"; and so on.
Speaking in italics	Intonational emphasis equivalent to underlining words in writing language; emphatic *so* or *very* and so on.
Empty adjectives	*Divine; charming; cute; sweet; adorable; lovely*; and so on.
Hypercorrect grammar and pronunciation	Bookish grammar; more formal enunciation.
Lack of a sense of humor	Women said to be poor joke tellers and to frequently 'miss the point' in jokes told by men.
Direct quotations	Use of direct quotations instead of paraphrases.
Special lexicon	In domains like color where words like *magenta*, *chartreuse*, and so on are typically used by women.
Question intonation in	For example, in responses to the question, "When

	declarative contexts	will dinner be ready?", an answer like "Around 6 o'clock?", as though seeking approval and asking whether that time will be okay.

Table 7. Features occurring in high frequency among women in the courtrooms

The examiners closely analyzed the speech acts of six witnesses, three of whom were women and three were men. The outcomes show that the characteristics primarily identified as "women's language" do not only apply to women's speech only but to men as well.

	Women			Men		
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*
Intensifiers	16	0	0	21	2	1
Hedges	19	2	3	2	5	0
Hesitation Forms	52	20	13	26	27	11
Witness asks Lawyer-like questions	2	0	0	0	0	0
Gestures	2	0	0	0	0	0
Polite Forms	9	0	2	2	0	1
Sir	2	0	6	32	13	11
Quotes	1	5	0	0	0	0
Total (all powerless forms)	103	27	24	85	47	24
# of Answers in Interview	90	32	136	61	73	52
Ratio (# powerless forms for each answer)	1.14	0.84	0.18	1.39	0.64	0.46

Table 8. Frequency distribution of Women's Language in speech of six witnesses in a trial courtroom (O'Barr and Atkins 1998: 382)

The results show that both women and men adapt similar features of Lakoff's "women's language". It also shows that some women employ many features of WL, whereas others are far away from them. The same can be observed with regard to men. The speech of the three males "varies along a continuum of high to low incidence of WL features" (O'Barr and Atkins 1998: 383).

Ultimately, "powerless language" is identified and defined as a language having "close association with persons having low social power and often relatively little previous experience in the courtroom setting" (O'Barr and Atkins 1998: 378). Thus person *A* scores second the highest, and "is a married woman, about 55 years old, who is a housewife" (ibid. :384). Person *D,* a man*,* scores the highest and is "an ambulance attendant, rather inexperienced in his job, at which he has worked less than 6 months. Age around 30. Marital status unknown" (ibid.). The presented data "indicate that the variation in WL features may be related more to social powerlessness than to sex" (ibid.). The authors conclude:

> this style is not simply or even primarily a sex-related pattern. We did, however, find it related to sex in that more women tend to be high in WL features while more men tend to be low in these same features. […] the individuals varied from social statuses with relatively low power to more power (for women: housewife to doctor; for men: subordinate job to one with a high degree of independence of action). Experience may also be an important factor […]. Associated with increasing shifts in social power and experience were corresponding decreases in frequency of WL features.

Based on the outcome of the study O'Barr and Atkins (1998) suggest a re-naming of the phenomena observed by Lakoff (1975) as "powerless language".

4.2.3.   Hierarchy, authority, confidence and politeness

> *We all know what confidence, competence, and authority sound like. Or do we?*
>
> *Tannen (1995: 139)*

Some linguistic evidence shows that "women and men may weight linguistic politeness differently" (Holmes 1990: 252). This evidence has serious consequences for how hierarchy, authority, confidence and competence will be maintained and considered by the two genders. Hence, if the linguistic

politeness is at variance between women and men, it might have an astonishing effect on their job performance and negotiating relationships, power, status and hierarchy in the workplace.

Based on the dataset, there are several interesting issues in regard to communication between men and women while performing speech acts in the workplace; these are considered to be in close relation to linguistic politeness strategies. Linguistic politeness strategies in the workplace are crucial features which can have serious implications for the relational work and power management. One of the linguistic politeness strategies is complimenting, and complimenting is one of the two areas of this gender study.

4.2.3.1. Politeness versus impoliteness

Linguists found out that women tend to use linguistic forms expressing politeness, especially positive politeness, more frequently than men (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987). One of the interpretations is that "women are more sensitive to the fact that what they are saying may threaten face, and so in private interactions, they are sensitive to the positive face needs of intimates and friends, and so they use more positive politeness". In public situations women also may try to avoid causing offence (cf. Brown 1980 in Holmes 1995: 109). Men, however, are used to talking to each other more "directly, 'straightforward' and unembellished", and this is also the speech style which is so overtly valued these days (Holmes 1995: 109).

As previously mentioned, impoliteness in the workplace is associated with a struggle for power, power management and relational work, thus people invest a lot of effort in order to negotiate their status, hierarchical position and their relationships. In the dataset there are examples of such struggles and examples of impolite and/or negative behavior of the interlocutors. There are also behaviors and interactions which exhibit polite and positive behavior, and they function as the relational work aiming at building up positive, cooperative and

encouraging relationships between the speakers. Both positive and negative behaviors are explained and elaborated on by turning to complimenting (see section 5.3.1.).

The identification and analysis of the speech acts of complimenting are based on Culpeper's (2005) 5-point model of offensive strategies for the speech acts aiming at negative and offensive conduct. The positive behaviors will be analyzed in relation to the politeness theory of compliments. The 5-point model identifies and describes a number of separate ways, so-called "superstrategies", "in which impoliteness can be generated and conveyed" (Bousfield 2008: 134). The five superstrategies are:

1. <u>Bald on record impoliteness</u>, it is a strategy which is

> typically being deployed where there is much face at stake, and where there is an intention on the part of the speaker to attack the face of the hearer and/or where the speaker does not have the power to (safely) utter an impolite utterance. This is, the utterance is deployed in a direct, clear and unambiguous manner.

> (cf. Culpeper 2005: 41 in Bousfield 2008: 134)

2. <u>Positive impoliteness</u>, this involves

> the use of strategies deployed to damage the recipient's positive face wants [These includes]: ignore, snub the other, exclude the other from the activity, disassociate from the other, be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic, use inappropriate identity markers, use obscure or secretive language, seek disagreement, make the other feel uncomfortable (e.g. do not avoid silence, joke, or use small talk), use taboo words, call the other names.

> (Culpeper 2005: 41 in Bousfield 2008: 134-5)

3. <u>Negative impoliteness</u>, this involves

> the use of strategies deployed to damage the recipient's negative face wants, [which include] frighten, condescend, scorn or ridicule, invade the other's space, explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect, put the other's indebtedness on record.

> (Culpeper 2005: 41 in Bousfield 2008: 134-5)

4. Off-record impoliteness, it is a strategy

> where the offence is conveyed indirectly by way of an implicature and could be cancelled (e.g. denied, or an account, post-modification or other type of elaboration offered, etc.) but where, according to Culpeper (2005: 44), 'one attributable intention clearly outweighs any other.'
>
> (Bousfield 2008: 135)

5. Withhold politeness, impoliteness may also be realized through

> the absence of politeness work where it would be expected. […] Failing to thank someone for a present may be taken as deliberate impoliteness.
>
> (Culpeper 2005: 42 in Bousfield 2008: 135)

4.2.3.2.   Compliments

Compliments are classified as speech acts (cf. Nelson et al. 1995: 110) "serving to increase or consolidate the solidarity between the speaker and the addressee" (Holmes 1995: 118). Paying a compliment is the most obvious way of positive politeness (cf. Holmes 1995: 116).

> A compliment is a speech act which explicitly and implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some 'good' (possession, characteristic, skill, etc.) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer.
>
> (Holmes 1986: 485 in Holmes 1995: 117)

In other words, compliments are kinds of speech acts which appeal to the hearer's "interests, wants, needs, goods", and this is the first positive politeness strategy identified by Brown and Levinson (1987: 102 in Holmes 1995: 116). Additionally, "the primary function of a compliment is most obviously affective and social, rather than referential or informative" (Holmes 1995: 118).

Results of different studies conducted on American speakers' ways of complimenting, show that American speakers tend to compliment frequently,

causing often embarrassment to non-native speakers of English (cf. Holmes and Brown 1987: 525 in Nelson et al. 1995: 111). Wolfson and Manes (1980) found out that "approximately 80% of American compliments fall into three syntactic patterns" (in Nelson et al. 1995: 111). Two thirds of the adjectives exhibiting positive semantic values used by American speakers are: "*nice, good, beautiful, pretty* and *great.* With regard to attributes appraised, Americans most frequently compliment personal appearance and ability" (cf. Wolfson and Manes 1980 in Nelson et al. 1995: 111).

Syntactic Patterns:	Examples:
NP is/looks (intensifier) ADJ	Your shoes are great.
I like/love NP	I love your perm.
PRO is ADJ NP	These are great cookies.

Table 9. American syntactic patterns of compliments (Wolfson and Manes 1980 in Nelson et al. 1995: 111)

A study conducted by Barnlund and Araki (1985 in Nelson et al. 1995: 112) demonstrated how American speakers tend to compliment most frequently on appearance (34%) and personal traits (33%). Moreover, "compliments are likely to be exchanged between individuals of the same sex, and between individuals in close, rather than distant, relationship" (cf. Knapp et al. 1984: 26 in Nelson et al. 1995: 112).

A different study conducted by Nelson et al. (1995: 118) offers the classification of compliments on the attributes praised. Researchers identified three categories of compliments: appearance, traits, and skill/work. The category appearance relates to one's physical look (haircuts, eyes, clothing, etc.). The category skill/work relates to the "quality of something produced through […] skill or effort: a well-done job, a skillfully played game, a good meal" (Manes 1983: 101). The category traits makes a reference to "personality characteristics such as loyalty, kindness, maturity and intelligence" (Nelson et al. 1995: 118). The outcome of the study shows that the most frequent compliments uttered by Americans were associated with the "skill/work" category (47%) (cf. ibid.). 43% of compliments were directed toward a personal appearance praising, which

focuses on "aspects of personal appearance which are the result of deliberate effort, not simply natural attractiveness" (Manes 1983: 99 in Nelson et al. 1995: 118). Only 10% of all compliments praised the "traits" (cf. ibid.).

The two different studies, cf. Barnlund and Araki (1985) and Nelson et al. (1995), show contradictory findings as to the attribute praised by the American speakers. According to Barnlund and Araki (1985) American speakers tend to compliment on appearance (34%) most frequently. Whereas, the study conducted by Nelson et al. (1995) found out that on the first place American speakers tend to compliment on the skill/work category (47%), and only then on personal appearance (43%). The contradictory findings might be due to the time span of ten years. The attitude of the speakers as well as their value scores might have changed and altered within the time.

Moreover, Nelson et al. (1995) found a correlation between the gender of the compliment giver and the attribute praised. "For example, the American males tended to compliment other males on skills and work, whereas American females tended to compliment other females on appearance" (Nelson et al. 1995: 124). Some other researches on complimenting as related to gender studies show that women give and receive considerably more compliments than men (cf. Holmes 1995: 122). Holmes (1995: 122-23) observes that "women gave 68% of all the compliments recorded and received 74 per cent of them". Compliments exchanged between male speakers ranged only 9%. The study also shows a lower frequency of women complimenting men (26%) (cf. ibid.). These observations suggest that complimentary speech acts are much more frequent in females' speech (cf. Holmes 1995: 122). Two different studies conducted on American speakers by Wolfson (1983 in Holmes 1995: 122) and Herbert (1990 in Holmes 1995: 122) reveal the same pattern.

Holmes (1995: 123) concludes that the evidence of unequal distribution of compliments between the two genders led

> to the suggestion that women and men may perceive the function of compliments differently. Women may regard compliments as primarily positively affective speech acts, for instance, expressing solidarity and positive politeness, while men may give greater weight to their referential meaning, as evaluative judgments, or to the potentially negative face-threatening features.

Tannen (1995: 66) investigates compliments and praise giving in a workplace context. She notices that "giving praise is a conversational ritual, and here too there are cultural as well as gender patterns […] Compliments are a conventionalized form of praise, and exchanging compliments is a common ritual, especially for many women" (Tannen 1995: 66-68). Tannen (1995: 70) observes that women are more likely to seek advice, praise or ask for feedback, which may be very dangerous to them as "giving praise […] is […] inherently asymmetrical. It […] frames the speaker as one-up, in a position to judge someone else's performance" (Tannen 1990: 69 in Holmes 1995: 119). The fact that women take the role of seeking the advice would inevitably put them one position down. Men, however, are less likely to ask for advice, praise, compliment or feedback as they

> are more likely to be on guard to prevent themselves from being put in a one-down position, because of the social structure of the peer groups in which they grew up. Because boys' groups tend to be more obviously hierarchical than girls', and the lives of the low-status boys can be made quite miserable, many men learn to avoid the one-down position and develop strategies for making sure they get the one-up position instead.
>
> (Tannen 1995: 70)

Conversely, women place a lot of value on good and friendly relationships and maintaining equality – hence, their chief assumption is that "no one should take the one-up position in too obvious a way" (Tannen 1995: 70). Consequently, Tannen (1995: 70) argues that because of their different attitude and value system, they

> are less likely to have learned to avoid talking in ways that could give someone else the chance to put them in the one-down position. Quite the contrary, many of the rituals they have learned involve taking one-down position but depending upon the other person to round off the ritual and pull them back up.

While complimenting, praising or feedback giving in the workplace is associated with negotiating solidarity and equality, on the other hand, it is associated with the struggle for power; for example negotiating status and hierarchy in the organizations (cf. Yu 2005 in Meier 2010: 84; Tannen 1995: 70). Which aspect

will be negotiated is governed and influenced by cultural values, the gender of the speakers, their intentions, and the hierarchical positions of the interlocutors.

4.3. Summary

The chapter has illustrated how there are many factors and dimensions that have a decisive impact on establishment and creation of communication in the workplace. It is a distinct and unique context and consequently there are rules and procedures governing it.

This chapter has dealt with various important and crucial topics, which have to be taken into consideration when approaching the analysis of any institutional talk (cf. Koester 2006: 3). It has been dealt with language and power and the relevant dimensions featuring in the workplace such as: role-relationship and obligation, expectations of compliance and the right of refusal, benefit from the action, impoliteness and rudeness, and last but not least, the Cultural Dimensions model introduced by Hofstede (1980), followed by implications for performing speech acts.

The chapter has continued to discuss language, gender and power as interconnected to the workplace. The findings in the distribution of power between the two genders and the relevant theories have been described. These are: the dominance theory, which further elaborates on political, social and linguistic consequences and constraints. The chapter has also explained the "women's language" theory introduced by Lakoff (1975) and the "powerless language" theory, which is O'Barr and Atkins' (1998) response to Lakoff's "deficiency theory". O'Barr and Atkins (1998) managed successfully to challenge the "deficiency theory", and thus proposed renaming it to "powerless language". In the final analysis this paper use the two contradicting theories in order to prove that the way in which people talk is in close relation to their status, education, hierarchical position in an organization, and their experience, rather than just simply their gender, and that linguistic style is constantly

changing and fluctuating due to influences and stimuli, as well as environments in which it is used.

Linguistic politeness theories with reference to gender theories have been also discussed. It has been demonstrated how "women and men may weight linguistic politeness differently" (Holmes 1990: 252), what might have serious consequences in terms of how hierarchy, authority, confidence and competence will be maintained and considered by the two genders in the workplace. The linguistic politeness theory serves the basis for the second gender study conducted, which revolves around an aspect of complimenting in a workplace setting.

5. Analysis

The practical part of this thesis is divided into two sections. The first part deals with the control acts by formally focusing on their head acts. The different sub-types of the control head acts, as well as their categorization according to form is provided. The control speech acts identified in the dataset in most cases take the form of the imperative. There are 107 (60%) instances of imperatives in 181 identified control speech acts.

The following table presents the identified control head acts and the identifies forms of imperatives.

Control head acts	
Form of realization:	**Number:**
directives	120 (66%)
requests	38 (20%)
advice	7 (3%)
borderline cases	16 (8.8%)
Total	181

Imperatives	
Form:	**Number:**
base form of verb	91 (83%)
you+imperative	10 (9.1%)
you+verb+ing+imperative	2 (1.8%)
let's+imperative	6 (5.5%)
Total	109

Table 10. Number of the control head acts and imperatives identified in the study.

The other 74 (40%) instances are either declaratives, for example:

1. *We are staying in a hotel* [MR]
2. *I'm letting you go* [MB] - meaning *You are fired*
3. *That's not how we work here. You don't just leave a message and take off* [ME]
4. *Now, I'll give you two months to find a new job, and then you can say you resigned* [MB]

or interrogatives. These are divided into two groups: requests for action and request for information.

Requests for action:

1. *You want to talk to me?* [RM]
2. *Could you hold on just a second?* [rME]
3. *You want him on the phone?* [rRM]

Requests for information:

1. *What's that?* [rEP]
2. *I was wondering - could you tell me who I'd talk to about maybe getting an advance on my paycheck?* [rEM]
3. *Are you done with the press release?* [rMR]
4. *You have how many plaintiffs now?* [rPM]

The second part of the analysis focuses exclusively on the gender study. The gender study has two motivations. The first drive is to trace out and discern politeness strategies amongst the two genders. The politeness strategies are identified using the examples of compliments. There are 7 instances of complementing in the dataset. Speech acts of complimenting were selected due to a correlation between complimenting and power within the workplace. This correlation is discussed in detail in the chapter 5.3.1. Secondly, based on the study conducted on the control speech acts, which are closely associated with power exercise and power management, the outcome of the gendered language use patterns as interrelated to the "powerless language" features (O'Barr and Atkins 1998) are presented. This study shows only observations and tendencies and not full statistical analysis. It is due to the "case study" nature of the research, small sample size, as well as differences and variations

in terms of the interlocutors' engagement in the verbal interactions - also the number and the length of the utterances they perform.

5.1. Categorization of control speech acts according to form

5.1.1. Imperatives

This section presents the findings of the study, and the categorization of the identified control speech acts according to form. The prevailing form in the database is the imperative. It is also the most obvious and recognizable way of issuing directives, requests or advice in each and every situation (cf. Vine 2004: 40). Many researchers conclusively agree that the imperative form is the most common and frequently used form featuring in the workplace (cf. Brown 2000, Holmes and Stube 2003, Vine 2004), because the imperative can be used in order to express a wide range of meanings, for example: "orders, commands, requests, threats, exhortations, permissions, warnings and advice" (Huntley 1984: 103) (for further information see section 3.3.2.).

5.1.2. Sub-forms of imperatives

i. _Giving instructions/directions_

The examples below show the way in which instructions/directions are given. Generally, "sentences that lack an overt subject, but whose logical subject refers to the addressee, and that contain a verb form homophonous with the

infinitive" (Sadock 1974: 139) are defined as giving instructions/directions within the workplace environment.

In the example below, Anna gives instruction to Erin on the procedures, order of events and daily routines of her new job. Anna uses an inclusive personal pronoun *we*, which functions as an indicator that the described actions also relate to the speaker. The speaker and the listener are on the same hierarchical level and thus, have the same job obligations to fulfill. The inclusive personal pronoun *we* would also refer to the other colleagues in the office.

Example 2:

Anna: *What we do in here* is keep track of all the case files. That way, at any time, *we can find* out a case's status; where it is in the office, stuff like that. *We file 'em all here, alphabetically*.

The example below appears to correspond to the example above at first sight; however on closer inspection differences can be identified. Potter, similarly to Anna, gives instructions on the procedures and actions to be undertaken. Potter also uses the inclusive personal pronoun *we*. However, when taking contextual knowledge into account, it becomes apparent that the use of the inclusive personal pronoun in this case has a different purpose. It functions as a softener–downgrader which diminishes and moderates the impact of the directives (lines 3 and 7). Vine (2004: 97) notices that the inclusive pronoun *we* "may soften the force of the control act because it shows that the speaker must do the proposed action as well." However, this example is even more complicated and complex.

Example 3:

1	Poter:	PG&E have proposed that they are liable from anywhere
2		between fifty million and four hundred million...Now, to
3		determine exactly what amount they will give, *we go* before a
4		judge...not a jury. They call it a test trial. You have how many
5		plaintiffs now?
6	Masry:	634.
7	Potter:	Well, they won't try that many at once so *we get them* in
8		groups of twenty to thirty, the worst cases - the ones who are
9		clearly the sickest, most life threatened - in the first group and
10		so on… and each *gets to go* before the judge to determine

          damages. If we went to trial, PG&E could stretch this over ten
12   years, with appeal aft-...
13

Potter is Masry's new partner to deal with an extremely difficult court trial. Potter is the expert who "got more toxic experience than anyone in the state" (Masry in *Erin Brockovich*). With this statement, Masry automatically positions Potter at the higher level than anyone else in the company. Masry acknowledges Potter as an expert who has the expert knowledge and the needed experience. In this sense Masry grants Potter authority. Conversely, Potter as being asked for help, assumes such expert power. Potter knows that his knowledge makes him superior; however, he does not want to be seen as controlling by others. Therefore, he decides to use the inclusive personal pronoun *we*, because "in American society being seen as ordering someone is 'perilous to social harmony'" (DeCapua and Huber 1995: 125 in Locher 2006: 39). The use of the inclusive personal pronoun functions here as a softener of the directives given by Potter to Masry, Erin and his assistant Theresa. Vine (2004: 97) also notices that the use of *we* on behalf of the superior/manager "raises the addressee to the same position as the Manager. It signals that both participants are cooperating together as part of the organization and the proposed action is something that everyone has to do." At the same time, Potter is the head lawyer dealing with the case; thus, one may deduce that he also has the assistants to prepare the documents and perform some actions for him, before he might use these in the trial room. That is why he explains to the others what is to be done. Potter himself will later use these documents in court. This is his obligation and job. Therefore cooperation is important in terms of accomplishing a shared goal; however every person has different tasks to complete beforehand.

The two examples differ in terms of power relations, and the speakers' and listeners' job obligations. In the first case, Anna and Erin are colleagues on the same hierarchical level, and thus they have the same job obligations. In the second case, Potter assumes the superior position because of the expert knowledge, and thus one of his job obligations is to instruct and direct, i.e. to tell the others what to do. The subordinates, on the other hand, are obliged to

follow the instructions given by the superiors. This instance demonstrates that there are various forms of giving orders, and different strategies of avoiding to be seen as bossy. In this paper, the inclusive personal pronoun *we* is added to the list of mitigation strategies identified by DeCapua and Huber (1995: 125 in Locher 2006: 39). This strategy, however, does not change the directive into advice; it merely downgrades it.

The "we-directives" have also been categorized in terms of the degree of explicitness and implicitness (Ervin-Tripp 1976).

> Ervin-Tripp (1976: 47-48) interprets utterances with *we* as implicit while those with *you* are explicit. The difference here would seem to be one of degree, however. Both are explicit, although of course *you* is more explicit than *we*. The choice of pronoun here affects the degree of explicitness, but the action is still explicit. The use of *we* instead of *you* therefore, is one device that can be used to soften a head act.
>
> (Vine 2004: 97)

Koester (2006: 45), in spontaneously occurring data, notices that a subordinate may ask a superior what is expected to be done. The subordinate signalizes his/her engagement in a directive discourse by saying: "*you want me*" or "*do you want…?*". In this data there is also an instance of such behavior. This distinction has been captured as "perspective" by Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989).

Example 4:

Margaret: Is Bob here?
Richard: I'm sure. You want him on the phone?
Margaret: We're going to his office. Grab your pad.

Margaret requests information, Richard provides the requested information; however, he is not sure what is the intention of the request, therefore explicitly asks his superior for further instructions or directions.

Base form of verb

The most frequently identified form in the dataset is the imperative consisting of the *base form of a verb*. There are 91 (85%) examples out of 107 identified directives.

Example 5:

1. Go get him [dMR] (2x imperative)
2. Don't do it [dMB]
3. Get Frank's publicity schedule [dMR]
4. get my lawyer on the phone [dMR]
5. run down and get me [dMR] (2x imperative)
6. Look, go back and see [dME] (3ximperative)

This form is a very forceful one and usually does not give any right of refusal. There are also instances of a modified version. These involve the addition of a modifier after the imperative.

Example 6:

1. Fax these to this number, *okay*? [dMB]
2. Lemme see it, *will you*? [dME]
3. People. Listen, *please*. [dM]
4. Cross all your T's and dot your I's with this ruse, *Ms. Mills*.

Ervin-Tripp (1976: 31) identifies a range of such modifiers. These include post-posted forms such as: please, address forms, modal tags and okay (in Vine 2004: 75). The modifiers function as downgraders as they tone down the impact of a directive by adding a modifier; they are classified as lexical/phrasal modifications (cf. Vine 2004: 96). Other studies have attempted to explain the use of *please* in requests and directives. These studies found out that the use of *please* mainly occurs when there is a clear status or age difference (cf. Ervin-Tripp 1967), or the two participants do not often interact with each other (cf. Vine 2004: 99). In this study's data, *please* is only found twice, what may be explained by reference to the context, which is the workplace context. There is

no need to be overly polite. The actions requested refer to the participants' job obligations.

iii.   *You + imperative*

The *you + imperative* variant contains an overt person subject. By adding the personal pronoun *you*, the person who gives the directive refers to the addressee in an obvious way. Thus, by this reference the addressee is marked and made visible. Therefore, the *you + imperative* is perhaps even more forceful than the *base form of verb*.

Example 7:

1. You shut up [dRM]
2. You need to stop [dMR]
3. You need to make [dMR]
4. You need to figure out [dMR]
5. You'll shut up [dMB]

There are also modified versions of *you + imperative*, like:

Example 8:

1. you're making me editor for that [dRM]
2. You're promoting me [dRM]

This paper classifies them as a sub-type of *you + imperative*. The *you + imperative* sub-type is now/present time oriented, while *you + verb+ing + imperative* is future oriented. The now/present time and future time oriented subcategories are very much comparable to Edmondson's (1981) classification of a request as a "pre-event", in which he distinguishes the "now-request" and "then-request".

iv.   *Let's + imperative*

The *let's imperative* form is considered to be the least forceful form of an imperative realization. They are weaker than the previously discussed sub-forms because of embedding the first person plural form *us*. The *let's + imperative* account for only 6 (5.6%) out of 107 imperatives identified in the study.

Example 9:

1. Grab your broom and let's go [dRM]
2. Well let's finish big people business before mommy and daddy talk. Okay? [dMR]
3. Let's keep the dark side to ourselves [dRM]
4. Okay - let's try and settle down here [dME]
5. Let's be honest here [dSE] (2x)

5.1.3.   Summary of findings

This paper identifies 181 instances of control head acts, of which there are 120 directives (66%), 38 requests (20%), 7 advice (3%), and 16 borderline cases (8.8%). Within all control speech acts there are 107 instances of using an imperative form. The analyses show that imperatives are the most frequent linguistic means of issuing the control speech acts in the workplace setting, and "imperatives are generally the most forceful" means (Vine 2004: 90).

The study further demonstrates that it was possible to group the identified imperatives into four sub-categories. These sub-categories are categorized according to the form, and the form is in close relation to the forcefulness strategies, and therefore to the right or no right of refusal.

The *base form of verb* is the second most forceful sub-form, and most frequently occurring in the dataset (91 instances, which is 83%, out of 107 identified imperatives). Consequently, this sub-form gives no, or very little, right of refusal for the addressee (see Example 5). However, there are also further

sub-categories of the *base form of verb*, in which a modifier is added, which usually functions as a downgrader; it tones down the impact of the directive (see Example 6).

The next sub-form of an imperative form, the *you + imperative*, which contains the overt person subject, is the most forceful way of giving directives. There are 10 (9.1%) examples of this sub-form in the dataset (see Example 7). The reference to the addressee by adding the overt person subject makes the addressee marked, and thus visible. In a situation where a group of people talk, and one person refers to the other by saying: *You shut up*, the addressee is marked and manifested, and in consequence made visible.

The third way of issuing a directive identified in the dataset is the *let's + imperative*. This form is the least forceful method of directing others. They are weaker than the previously discussed sub-forms because the first person plural form *us* is embedded within the utterance, indicating that the speaker is also involved in enacting the requested action. There are only six instances (5.5%) of *let's + imperative*. Additionally, a study undertaken by Goodwin (1980) aiming at identifying specific speech acts with relation to gender, observed that some directives are expressed differently. "[t]he boys tended to use unmodified imperatives reflecting the hierarchical organization of their groups, while the girls used utterances by 'let's' or 'we gonna', and modalised declaratives, reflecting their more participatory decision-making styles" (Holmes 1990: 265). In this paper's data however, no such tendency is observed. Both females and males use the participatory decision-making style with corresponding frequency. There are three instance of its use by male, and three instances by female.

Another frequently identified form of control speech acts in the dataset is referred to as *giving instructions/directions*, and in the literature it is classified as a "procedural/directive discourse", which is "the second most frequent genre" in a workplace setting (Koester 2006: 43). The presence of the procedural or directive instances in the dataset suggest that it is an indispensible element of the workplace discourse. There are seven instances of giving instructions and directions, all of them are said explicitly. However, as the analyzed examples show, some superiors are thoughtful not to be seen as bossy and directorial (see examples 3 and 6), whereas others do not care much about it (see

examples 5 and 7). It also seems that subordinates are aware and approve of the instructional and directive discourse in the workplace setting, which consequently, is a very useful tool for them if they do not know and/or understand what they are expected to do or how to approach a specific task (see Example 4).

5.2. Identification of different sub-types of directives, requests and advice

There has been a great variety in how researchers categorize directives, requests and advice. Some of them use a straightforward method; whereas the others do not at all times clearly differentiate between form and function.

In this study the form is frequently used as the basis for categorizing the control speech acts. However, it is not always possible to relay on a purely formal categorization system as it does not adequately account for the control act head acts data. Therefore, in this study a distinction has been drawn between the head acts according to the features of the content.

In this section social factors are also considered such as: power distribution, role-relationship, obligation, expectation of compliance, and right of refusal, which play an important part in the workplace. These social factors have an enormous impact on the formation of speech, and assessing which speech acts are adequate and acceptable and which are not. Additionally, there is a distinction made between speech acts, in which the required action is clearly stated, and these are called explicit, and in which the required action is not stated. These are called implicit, and are not included in the analysis.

This section also focuses on two types of explicit head acts. In the first case the distinction is made only at the level of content. Thus, *solicited versus spontaneous* advice seeking is distinguish. In the second case the distinction is made on the basis of formal categorization, i.e. *modal verbs.* They are

distinguished according to the frequency of occurrence and according to the forcefulness strategies embedded in the modal verbs of necessity. Additionally, the features of content are taken into account; but each and every discussed example contains a modal verb.

The table below presents the frequency and the function of the identified modal verbs.

Modal verbs:	Frequency:	Function:
will	30%	
need to	75%	Modal verbs of necessity
others	25%	others

Table 11. Frequency of modal verbs

5.2.1. *Solicited or spontaneous*

DeCapua and Huber (1995) distinguish in their study between different sub-types of advice. One of the aspects they found very relevant and important in considering the power relation of the interlocutors is whether the advice is solicited or not (for further information see section 3.2.3.). In this dataset examples of unsolicited advice and spontaneous advice-seeking have been identified.

1	Erin:	I guess I'm not the right kind.
2	Masry:	Look, you may want to [ee-] I mean, now that you're working
3		here - *you may want to rethink* your...wardrobe a little.
4	Erin:	Why is that?
5	Masry:	Well...I think maybe some of the girls are a little uncomfortable
6		because of what you wear.
7	Erin:	Is that so? Well, it just so happens, I think I look nice. And as long
8		as I have one ass instead of two, like most of the "girls" you have
9		working here, I'm gonna wear what I like if that's alright with you?
10		*You may want to re-think* those ties you wear.
11	Ed:	[non-verbal response: Ed is self-conscious for the first time during
12		the talk. He looks down to his chest, and leaves.]

The dialog is an instance of unsolicited advice. The dialog takes place at work during a lunch break. As Masry enters the office he notices Erin sitting alone at her desk, while the other "girls" are out having lunch together. Masry recognizes it as a work-related problem between the colleagues, and if unresolved might have a long-lasting effect. The illocutionary act of Masry, i.e. his intention, is to solve the work-related problem, but it does not have the awaited perlocutionary effect. Masry seems to presuppose that his advice may be helpful and beneficial to Erin, and if followed might have a positive effect and in consequence change the relationships between the colleagues for better.

Masry is in a position of authority and due to his legitimate power, he feels free to give unsolicited advice. He gives advice although there is neither shared intimacy nor shared background between the two interlocutors. The locution act of Masry's advice aims at solving the problem, as related to the work context; however, the advice implicitly afflicts Erin's personal and intimate sphere. The advice is about the way the woman dresses, her style and identity through the clothes she chooses to wear. Masry realizes that this advice has intimate implications, and thus he uses a number of softeners, like: *you may* (2x), *a little* (2x), *well, maybe, some of the girls*. The entirety of the two sentences is constructed by the use of softeners, which downgrade the speech acts. It indicates that Masry undertakes a role of a concerned person. He does not exercise power or authority, because in the end he accepts Erin's style of dressing.

Erin's perlocutionary speech act indicates her irritation and dissatisfaction with Marsy's illocutionary speech act. Erin feels attacked by Masry's remark about how she dresses and finds it inappropriate, as it does not match her perception of the problem. In contrast to Masry, she responds using very direct and strong vocabulary to underline that she feels good and confident the way she looks. On the other hand, she does not want to sound as if she was challenging his authority, and therefore asks him for his approval. A second later, after her arguments were accepted by the authority, she responds in a form of advice too. She uses the repetition device (see lines 3 and 10), which aims at upgrading (cf. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 286) or strengthening the speech act. As Erin says it, one realizes that the speech act has also another purpose, namely, of mocking him, and in consequence, challenging his authority and maintaining her personal, charismatic power. Erin's illocutionary act of, suggesting the re-thinking of the ties, has the same effect on him, as it had on Erin before. His non-verbal response suggests that he feels good in what he is wearing, but perhaps he does not feel comfortable to respond anything, because of what he had just suggested to Erin a while ago.

i.   _Repetition_

Repetition belongs to a group of linguistic devices which aim at modifying and changing the force of the control or speech acts. Jones (1992: 434 in Vine 2004: 93) remarks that there are also some additional forces, different from syntactic form - which change the force of the speech act. These are the context, intonation, laughter, gestures, mimics, etc. Vine (2004: 93) further distinguishes between modifiers which are internal to the head act, and modifiers which are external to the head act, that it, sentences which surround the head act. They can be either lexical/phrasal or syntactic. Repetition, according to Vine's (2004) categorization, belongs to the internal lexical/phrasal devices.

In this dataset there is another example of repetition (lines 1 and 4-5).

Example 11:

1	Sanchez:	*Let's be honest here*. Twenty million dollars is more money
2		than these people have ever dreamed of.
3	Erin:	Oh, see, now that pisses me off. First of all, since the demur,
4		we now have more than four hundred plaintiffs...and *let's be*
5		*honest*, we all know there's more out there.

This instance, as well as the previous one, functions as an upgrader, and additionally serves the purpose of mocking or teasing. When taking intonation into consideration, it becomes clear that Erin is ridiculing Sanchez. The strategy of "frightening, condescending, scorning, or ridiculing" is described by Culpeper (2005: 41) as a negative impoliteness strategy, which produces a negative face work.

Example 12 depicts an attempt to solicit information. It is an attempt because Erin's illocutionary act of eliciting information does not have a satisfying perlocutionary effect. Anna responds irritated and does not give Erin the requested information. In this situation the issue of complying or not has implications for gaining the power over the others.

Example 12:

| Erin: | Anna? With this real-estate stuff; could you remind me, cause I'm a little confused about how exactly we do that. Why are there medical records and blood samples in real estate files? |
| Anna: | (exasperated) Erin, you've been here long enough. If you don't know how to do your job by now, I am not about to do it for you. |

By eliciting information, Erin places herself automatically on a lower position in comparison to Anna. Erin's request for information shows inevitably her lack of expert knowledge, and in consequence moves her to a subordinate position, although the two colleagues are on the same hierarchical level. Anna, on the other hand, uses her strong position - she has the knowledge and experience Erin needs to do her job, but does not want to reveal it. Anna seems to know that having critical and fundamental knowledge of the profession will be

beneficial to her, and will help her to gain power over Erin. Anna also knows that she does not have to respond to Erin's request. She can decide whether to comply or not, because due to the power-relationships, they are equals.

5.2.2. Modal verbs

Like repetition, modal verbs serve the purpose of modifying the force of the control acts (cf. Vine 2004: 105). The evidence shows that "the distribution of the different modals differs between written and spoken texts and according to the exact context" (Vine 2004: 105). In the British National Corpus (BNC) there is evidence that *will* is most frequently used, followed by *would* and *can* (equally frequent), and then *could* (Kennedy 2002 in Vine 2004: 105). The frequency of the modal verbs in this dataset was investigated. *Will* and *need to*, the modal verbs of necessity, prevail in the dataset (75%). Consequently, the study infers that modal verbs of necessity are an important part of communication in the workplace.

This section offers a categorization according to form, and according to the forcefulness strategies. Therefore, the features of content are also taken into account. The examples in this study containing modal verbs make reference to the previously discussed dimensions, and also demonstrate the power the manager has over his/her subordinate as well as what kind of strategies are available for the manager in order to get the employee do the job.

i.   *Will*

Quirk (et al. 1985: 229 in Vine 2004: 114) states that *will* denoting "willingness" is a meaning which "is common in requests and offers". In this dataset the interrogative form is the most frequent, where it serves the role of a downgrader, it softens the request.

Example 13:

1. Lemme see it, *will* you? [rME]
2. I'll probably be needing my own cell phone, *won't* I? [rEM]

There are also instances where it takes a form of a *pronoun + modal verb + main verb* structure. However, it is important to say that there are not many instances of *will* in this dataset, in comparison to the outcome of the British National Corpus (BNC), in which *will* is the most frequent case.

Example 14:

Margaret: When you walk through that door you represent me, and I *will* not have your personal life affect you at work [rMR]

This is a complex example, and is consequently difficult to classify, as it belongs to one of the borderline cases. The first part of the sentence resembles very much a zero conditional sentence: *when + Present Simple,* which implies that something must be taken for granted and that it is a general truth. Thereof, Margaret in an implicit way seems to remind Richard that walking "through that door" makes him an employee and Margaret's assistant, and thus he has some obligations and duties to fulfill. From the previous dialog between Margaret and Richard it can be subtracted that Margaret uttering this sentence refers to his appearance, and perhaps to his attitude towards the job.

Next she says:

Margaret: you've got hearts on your coffee cup, wicked bed head, and a wrinkled suit that you wore yesterday.

In the second part of the sentence Margaret in an implicit way requests his assistant to keep his personal life and work life separate. Margaret does not want the personal life of Richard to have any negative impact on his work performance. In order to stress this point, she uses the modal verb *will*. Vine (2004: 114) notices that "the speaker's use of *will* strongly asserts what will happen."

If the second part of the first sentence is modified, it might also be read as a threat: *if your personal life affects your job again, you will not walk through that door again*, meaning: *you will not be the employee here, thus not my assistant any more*. A threat has been classified as a control act by many researchers (for example:. Robinson 2006; Huntley 1984; Downes 1977). Nicoloff (1988: 503) defines threats as

> S (speaker) saying something to A (addressee) in order to get A to think that S is going to cause harm to A, with purpose of (a) frightening A (b) therby getting A to do as S wishes.

Threat, according to Nicoloff (1988: 502), is "the biggest stumbling-block […] [and] the most powerful counter-example one can oppose to the conventionalist conception of an illocution".

By threatening one tries to get somebody to do something and at the same time commit him/herself to a future action. In this context Margaret as Richard' manager, assumes the coercive power also called punishment power, which is "based on fear of punishment if the manager's expectations are not met. The manager may obtain compliance through threats (often implied) or transfer, layoff, demotion, or dismissal" (Marquis and Huston 2009: 296). The coercive power can only be indirect, and not part of the illocutionary force (cf. Nicoloff 1988).

Next Margaret says:

Margaret: If *you want me* to think of promoting you to editor, *I need you* sharp, focused and professional. [dMR] Got it? [rMR]

This utterance takes a form of a conditional sentence: *if + Present Simple, Present Simple*. By uttering this conditional sentence, Margaret assumes the

reward power. A reward increases the chance that the addressee will comply with the request. She tells him that she will promote him to editor, but under the one condition that he stays focused and professional. Margaret as a manager possesses an arsenal of strategies in order to get the employee to do the job and meet the organizational goals. Marquis and Huston (2009: 296) notice that "positive leadership through rewards tends to develop a great deal of loyalty and devotion toward leaders."

Margaret uses two contradicting methods at once. First she threatens her employee, and then implies rewarding him. The use of two opposing strategies aims at creating two different emotional reactions in the hearer. Margaret's illocutionary act has the purpose of awaking two different feelings, namely a fear of being laid off and happiness for being promoted. Margaret hopes that it will have the awaited perlocutionary effect, that is, Richard will understand the implications and go for the positive option, which may lead to improvement in his job performance and loyality.

These two short sentences are filled with a lot of different information. They demonstrate the power a manager can have over his/her subordinate as well as what kind of strategies are available for the manager to use in order to get the employee do the job. The strategies the speaker decides to use are threat and reward. Thus, the manager has the power either to dismiss or to grant incentives to the employee. Example 14 demonstrates, in terms of language use, how these two strategies are maintained. In the first case the speaker chooses the strategy of being implicit, but still the action is easy to elicit. In the second case, the speaker is direct and the action is clearly stated. Additionally, the speaker utters two conditional sentences. In general conditional sentences aim at expressing a condition and the result of this condition. In that way, these two sentences become even more daring and put Richard to the test. There is the condition and the result. If the condition is not fulfilled, there may be negative consequences. Otherwise, if fulfilled, the employee will be granted incentives.

ii.   *Need to*

Need to in this dataset occurs more frequently than *will*, while in the BNC it is only a marginal number of 0.2%. *Need to* not always is accepted as a modal verb, and Coates (1983: 49) and Palmer (1990: 127) distinguish between *need* the modal and *need to* the non-modal (in Vine 2004: 112). Biber et al. (1999: 484), on the other hand, calls *need to* a "marginal auxiliary" and classifies it as "semi-modal" (in Vine 2004: 112). According to Coates (1983: 52-58 in Vine 2004: 112) the function of the marginal auxiliary *need to* is comparable to the function of *must* modal verb and expresses the "obligation and necessity".

Example 15:

1. We need to call his authors and explain what happened [dMR]
2. We need to be able to contact the plaintiffs [dTE]
3. I need to stay focused [d Richard to himself]
4. You need to stop [dMR]
5. You need to make [dMR]
6. You need to figure out [dMR]

Vine (2004: 112) also identifies in her database some examples of *need to*, the marginal auxiliaries of obligation, and notices that the use of *need to* is softer than of *must*, "but the meaning is similar". Additionally Vine (2004: 112) observes that "*need to* allows the speaker to avoid direct reference to their own authority". Examples 4, 5 and 6 show such a manner. While Margaret directs Richard, by the use of *need* she avoids the reference to her own authority. If she used the modal verb *must* instead of *need to*, the directive would make an obvious reference to her authority. Thus, *need to* "implies [that] external forces require the task to be done, and therefore distances the control act from the speaker" (Vine 2004: 112). Examples 1 and 2 also involve the speakers in the activity. This would imply that there are some external forces, a superior, and/or a law, etc., which oblige also the speaker to enact the activity.

5.2.3.   Summary of findings

In the first part of the analysis a categorization according to the forcefulness strategies was presented. The study found out that modal verbs used in the database, i.e. the two American film productions, serve the purpose of modifying the force of the control acts. Subsequently, it was found that *will* and *need to* are the most frequently appearing modal verbs in the dataset. *Will* in most cases serves the role of a downgrader and takes a form of an interrogative sentence. Among the examples involving the use of the modal verb *will*, there is a very interesting borderline instance (see Example 6). It is a very complex example, which demonstrates:

- the power the manager has over his/her subordinate
- the available strategies for the manager in order to get the employee to do the job

The other modal verb identified in the dataset*, need to,* is also used in a way that it is possible to modify the impact of the directive. The examples show a tendency for the use of *need to*, when the speaker wants to avoid the reference to his/her own authority, and thus, distance himself/herself from the control speech act.

Biber et al. (1999: 493 in Vine 2004: 113) observes that the modal verbs of obligation and necessity "are less common than the other modal categories". The relatively low frequency of this type of modals may be reflected by "a general tendency to avoid the face-threatening force of expressions with an obligation meaning" (Biber et al. 1999: 489-490 in Vine 2004: 113). However, in a setting such as the workplace, the occurrence of this type is more common and may be explained by the reference to the job obligations of the people in authority, and by the expectation of compliance by the subordinates. *Will* and *need to* are the only modal verbs of obligation and necessity identified in the dataset. Both of them are used by the speakers with a purpose of down-toning the directive or the request. *Will* downgrades the impact, whereas *need to* allows the speaker to distance himself/herself from the speech act.

The second part of the study made an attempt to identify different sub-types of control head acts recognized in the database. Consequently, the subsequent classification was offered:

- With regard to advice-giving there are two types of advice to be detected: solicited and unsolicited.
- With regard to advice-seeking there is spontaneous advice-seeking behavior to be detected.

When attempting to analyze advice, there are few important issues which need to be taken into consideration; these are: power relation of the interlocutors, intimacy or the shared background of the interlocutors, authority, expertise, and setting (cf. DeCapua and Huber 1995: 119). These factors have an enormous impact on the formation of speech and assessing which speech acts are adequate and acceptable and which are not. Consideration of all of the elements allows appropriate and interpretable analysis. This study also takes into account social factors, such as: power distribution, role-relationship, obligation, expectation of compliance and right of refusal, which all play an important role in the workplace.

5.3. Gender study

5.3.1. On politeness strategies: compliments

The present study deals with the speech acts of compliments and compliment responses. There are seven examples of compliments in this dataset. For the introduction to the diverse functions of compliments, refer to the section 4.2.3.2. The examples of compliments from the dataset, i.e. workplace setting, show that they may also serve further functions. Three major functions of compliments as relating to the workplace setting are distinguished: (1) to seek relational solidarity, (2) to decrease/increase power distance, and (3) to prepare

for a negative feedback, and one that occurs in ordinary communication, but the analysis shows that it may feature in the workplace too: (4) to tease and/or mock. Additionally, the study aims at determining whether compliments are used with different purposes by males and females, and whether there are any tendencies in their use by both sexes.

Examples from the dataset are analyzed with reference to politeness theory, with the chief assumption that a compliment's primary function is to do relational work and evoke a positive emotional state. However, later it will be shown that some compliments in a workplace setting are either uttered or responded to in a way that causes a face threat (see Example 21 section 5.3.1.), or explicitly denies the relational drive (see Example 20 section 5.3.1.). Note that sections 5.3.1. and 5.3.2. introduce the provided examples, whereas observations and conclusions are delivered in the sections 5.3.3. and 5.3.4.

i.   _Seeking relational solidarity_

Increasing or consolidating solidarity is of high significance in a workplace context. Consequently solidarity will increase and help to build up positive communication channels between the coworkers, which in turn, can result in increased work efficiency and friendly relationships. Examples 16, 17 and 18 are instances of positive relational work, and they aim at aggregating and consolidating solidarity between the interlocutors.

Example 16:

Masry: Great. _Good work_!

Masry: *You've done great work*, Erin. *Great work. I don't think three researchers could have done what you've done*.

Erin: Well..stick with me ... I'll have you swimming in Armani.

Example 18:

Erin: *You did good*, Ed.

The main function of the three above examples of compliments is to give praise for a good work performance. Examples 16 and 17 are uttered by a male, whereas example 18 by a female speaker. Both speakers use frequently *good* and *great* adjectives for expressing their praise, which are the most common adjectives used by the American speakers while issuing a compliment.

ii.   *Complimenting as preparation for negative feedback*
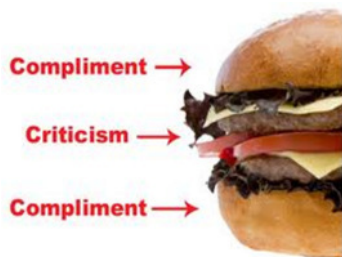
The so-called "feedback sandwich" (Alguire 2009: 175) is the most common approach in the workplace aiming at issuing negative feedback, in which positive feedback at the beginning is a precondition. It is the most common method as it delivers three types of information: "(1) what was done right, (2) what was done wrong, (3) what to do next time" (Alguire 2009: 175)..

1	Theresa:	Yeah, we had them couriered over. And listen, *good work.*
2		*They're a great start.* We're just going to have to spend *a*
3		*little time filling in the holes* in your research.
4	Erin:	Excuse me - Theresa, was it? There are no holes in my
5		research.
6	Theresa:	*No offense. There are just some things we need that you*
7		*probably didn't know to ask.*
8	Erin:	Don't talk to me like I'm an idiot, okay? I may not have a law
9		degree, but I've spent 18 months on this case, and I know
10		more about those plaintiffs than you ever will.

Theresa takes the approach of the feedback sandwich. Initially she says: *And listen, good work* (line 1), the first positive feedback, which is a compliment for a good work performance, then she draws attention to the fact that there are some *holes* (line 3) in the research, the negative feedback, i.e. the criticism, but in the end she mentions that Erin, who does not have any law education and very little work experience, probably did not know what to ask for. Thus, in the third phase of the feedback sandwich Theresa implies that it is not Erin's fault that she did not know what to ask for in the research. However now, as they are *going to have to spend a little time filling in the holes* (line 3), Erin will learn for the future what is important and necessary for such research.

iii. *Power war*

Example 20:

Margaret:	Cancel the call, move the meeting to eight. I got Frank to do publicity.
Richard:	*Nice job.*
Margaret:	When I want your praise, I'll ask for it. Is Bob here?

This example of paying a compliment by the subordinate to the superior is an instance of a power struggle, and has implications for increasing/decreasing power distance, negotiating solidarity and equality between the interlocutors. Yu

(2005 in Meier 2010: 84) notices that the American's relatively low power distance orientation (for further information see section 4.1.3.) results in a "more frequent complimenting of those of higher status, demonstrating greater comfort with interacting across social distance". Richard pays a compliment to his boss on a well-done job, which can also be viewed as feedback on her performance. However, Richard's positive politeness is rejected by Margaret. There are two reasons for rejecting it: (1) she is the superior and the only one who has the right to give feedback; (2) she plays the "cold authority" management style (Baxter 2010: 150).

> 'Cold' authority is all about role and rank, a command and control approach, which brooks no discussion and debate from subordinates. 'Cold' linguistic authority is used when it is necessary to establish clear boundaries and expectations: if there is a crisis, this kind of direct, instructional power can be particularly valuable.

> (Baxter 2010: 150)

In both cases, Margaret fights back Richard's insinuation and willingness to negotiate positive relational work, equality and solidarity. It is an obvious threat to her cold authority management style. If she accepted Richard's compliment, it would show her willingness for relational solidarity, which would mean decreasing power distance.

iv. *Off-record politeness and negative politeness*

Example 21:

Erin: (1) *Looking good Brenda*. (2) Have another bag of Doritos!

Although the first part of the speech act appears to be a compliment and is a positively valued utterance, the second part of the utterance suggests a negative message. From the previous interactions between Erin and Masry it is known that most of the girls working in the company "have two asses instead of

one" (cf. Erin). In this context the second part of the speech act is an obvious instance of "off-record politeness". By the use of implicature it conveys offense (cf. Culpeper 2005: 44). In other words, by saying the two sentences Erin actually teases Brenda, and suggests that she should stop eating Doritos because her body is out of shape. As Erin refers to a particular type of junk food, it presupposes that she saw Brenda eating Doritos many times.

This is also an instance of "negative politeness". The negative politeness strategy aims at damaging the recipient's negative face wants, for example, by ridiculing or explicitly associating somebody with a negative aspect (cf. Culpeper 2005: 41). That is exactly what Erin does. Firstly, she ridicules Brenda by saying that she looks good, although she means the opposite, and then she associates Brenda with a *bag of Doritos*, that is with junk food, which is known as unhealthy food which causes corpulence.

5.3.2. *Powerful versus powerless language*

The study conducted on the control act head acts, which are closely associated with power exercise and power management through linguistic work, enables observations of the gender-related language use patterns as interconnected to the "powerless versus powerful language" features (O'Barr and Atkins 1998). It has been demonstrated that while analyzing the control speech acts, it is indispensible to take into account a number of social factors, such as: role-relationship, obligation, right of refusal, cultural dimensions and politeness theory. All of these factors are ruled and governed by power relationships, that is, how much and what kind of power is involved and who possess power over whom. These have been illustrated using examples of the control speech acts stemming from the two American film productions focused on in this study.

The aim of this study is to present that linguistic style of women has become confident, direct, and explicit. Additionally, it also shows that linguistic style is not a stable characteristic, but changes and revolves over time. The

surrounding context in which it is spoken, significantly affects its formation and development. The study on "powerful versus powerless language" presents observations and tendencies, but not any statistical outcomes. It is not possible to do the statistics due to differences and variations in terms of the interlocutors' engagement in verbal interactions - the number and the length of the utterances they perform.

In this dataset almost all of the interactions are realized explicitly, and in a very direct and straightforward way regardless of gender. This way of communicating is generally ascribed to men's way of communication (cf. Holmes 1995: 109), and is also overtly valued in the American societies (cf. ibid.).

Example 22:

1	Margaret:	Hey, Bob.
2	Bob:	Ah. Our fearless leader and her liege. (Margaret
3		smiles.)
4	Margaret:	I'm lettin' you go, Bob.
5	Bob:	Pardon?
6		
7	Margaret:	You're fired.
8	Bob:	What? What are you talking about?
9	Margaret:	This isn't working out.
10	Bob:	You can't...
11	Margaret:	I asked you repeatedly to get Frank to do publicity. You
12		said it was impossible.
13		
14	Bob:	It is. He doesn't do publicity.
15	Margaret:	I just talked to him. He's in.
16	Bob:	But...
17	Margaret:	No more buts, Bob. I've been chief for a month and a
18		half, and this is the third time you've dropped the ball.
19		You didn't even call to ask him. All you had to do to
20		was pick up the phone. That's it. Now. I'll give you two
21		months to find a new job, and then you can say you
22		resigned. I won't tell a soul, my lips are sealed.
23		

Margaret talks to her subordinate. The dialog is realized in a very explicit and direct way. Margaret does not display any of the features of "women's language" identified by Lakoff (1975). She is very direct, explicit and straightforward. The same can be said about Bob. Additional information is given by Bob, who calls Margaret a "fearless leader" (2nd line). It can be inferred that Margaret is a person whom people associate with power, control, influence,

courage and authority. The same can be said about the linguistic style she exhibits.

The following example provides an interesting contrast to the previous dialog example. In this dialog Margaret talks to a person whom she cannot recall in her memory.

<u>Example 23:</u>

1	Gilbertson:	Margaret. Good to see you. I know how busy you are.
2		Congrats on the promotion. Read about it in P-W.
3	Margaret:	Yeah. Well, those announcements are silly, aren't
4		they? Like everyone who needs to know doesn't know
5		already.
6		
7		Have to admit, I can't place where we know each
8		other from.
9	Gilbertson:	Three years ago? We worked together.
10	Margaret:	Don't have it...
11	Gilbertson:	Remember "Dandelion's Desire?"
12	Margaret:	Oh my God, you read that manuscript with me? That
13		book is legend. Without a doubt the worst ever
14		written.
15		

In this dialog there are some traits of "women's language" (cf. Lakoff 1975) present, such as: tag question (line 3), *well* (line 3), implicit request for information (line 7), *oh my God* (line 12), i.e. avoidance of swear words. However, it could be argued that these features are not necessarily women's language patterns, but rather conducive with a linguistic style of being polite. Being indirect while requesting is identified as a politeness strategy; the less direct/explicit utterances are perceived as more polite (cf. Blum-Kulka 1987). However, as soon as Margaret remembers the person whom she is talking to, she is again direct, explicit and straightforward.

The two further examples below aim at demonstrating how the second female protagonist's linguistic style revolves and becomes gradually more secure, direct and confident.

Example 24:

1	Erin:	Mr. Masry?
2	Ed:	Yeah?
3	Erin:	*I was wondering*, *could you tell* me who I'd talk to about
4		*maybe* getting an advance on my paycheck? *Just* for
5		the weekend.
6		
7	Ed:	Jane's the office manager. She handles payroll and
8		petty cash. But she leaves early on Fridays.
9	Erin:	Oh. Okay. That's okay.

It is one of the first interactions of Erin and Masry, with Erin being the employee. Erin has worked in the company for only one week. There are some features of "women's language" (cf. Lakoff 1975) observable. Erin sounds insecure. Her request for information (line 3) takes the form of an extremely polite question (see Table 6 and Table 7 sections 4.2.2. and 4.2.2.1.). In the first part of the question she says *I was wondering* (line 3) (a super-polite form) and only then she asks the question, using a modal verb *could,* which expresses politeness. There are also two instances of hedges: *maybe* (line 4), and *just* (line 4). It can be said that Erin's way of talking conforms to the "women's language" identified by Lakoff (1975).

Another example shows how Erin's linguistic style evolves and becomes direct and confident. The dialog takes place eight months later. Erin talks to a highly positioned person in a law company cooperating with Masry's office.

Example 25:

1	Erin:	Internal PG&E documents, all about the contamination.
2		The one I like best says, and I'm paraphrasing here,
3		but it says yes, the water's poisonous, but *it'd be*
4		*better* for all involved if this matter wasn't discussed
5		with the neighbors. It's to the Hinkley station, from
6		PG&E Headquarters. Stamped received, March, 1966.
7	Potter:	Where did - how did you do this?
8	Erin:	Well, what with me not having any brains or legal
9		expertise, and Ed starting to lose his faith in the
10		system and all. *Am I right?*
11	Ed:	Oh yes. Completely. No faith...
12	Erin:	I just went on up there and performed sexual favors.
13		634 blow jobs in five days. Boy, am I ever tired.

It is one of the last conversations recorded. By then, Erin has got a lot of experience, and was a very effective, efficient and devoted worker. She sounds very confident, direct and professional. She feels free to give advice to a person in a much higher position than she is (line 3), that is she assumes power. There is also a control act to be found. Masry, her boss, is requested by Erin to confirm what she said (line 10).

She even dares to joke (line 12-13). What is more, Erin's joke makes a clear reference to a sexual act and is characterized as a dirty joke. Lakoff (1975) would argue that it is unacceptable behavior for a woman to tell a dirty joke because a woman is expected to "talk like a lady": "less confident, uncertain, more powerless version of male language, and consequently inferior" (cf. Lakoff 1975 in Baxter 2010: 55).

Baxter (2010: 152) observes that humor and telling jokes play a very important part in negotiating authority, and that "humor has typically been associated more with men" and that it is more typical for men to make sexual references (cf. Baxter 2010: 30). There are no "women's language" traits observable any more in Erin's speech (Lakoff 1975). Erin's linguistic style, due to her exposition to the workplace environment such as law setting, has changed and revolved significantly. Consequently, it can be claimed that Erin displays a male linguistic style and conforms to the "powerful language" style (O'Barr and Atkins 1998).

5.3.3.   Implications

Gender studies on complimenting reveal that women tend to compliment more than men do. However, this study shows a reverse pattern. This pattern may be explained by the reference to the context. The workplace context is a very unique one. It is mainly associated with work performance, effectiveness, efficiency and obligation, therefore a compliment uttered in the workplace might take a form of feedback. Feedback has an evaluative purpose, and it may have

a positive or a negative drive or it might combine them. The various linguistic studies underline that when it comes to evaluative, judgmental and referential meanings and opinions and compliments, it is the men who tend to compliment more often (cf. Holmes 1995: 123). The workplace is a context in which such a behavior is very common. Women, on the other hand, tend to associate complimenting with affective behavior, i.e. emotional conduct. Again, remembering that the speech acts are uttered in the workplace, women might not be as eager to give compliments as in informal situations. Therefore, women in the workplace context would rather generate compliments aiming at relational work. However, there is only one example of such a compliment uttered by a woman (see Example 18 section 5.3.1.). Another instance of a compliment aiming at relational work, which is also associated with decreasing power distance between the subordinate and the superior, is uttered by a man, who is in the inferior position (see Example 20 section 5.3.1.). This example clearly shows how a person in a higher stance establishes and maintains his/her superior position.

Examples of negative face work in the workplace environment have also been identified (see Example 21 section 5.3.1.). The example of negative politeness and off-record politeness has nothing to do with the job performance or any work related issues. Its aim is to tease, mock and evoke negative feelings in the addressee. From the context it is known that the two women - Erin and Brenda - did not like each other from the beginning. They regularly performed acts of teasing and mocking. However, a compliment which aims at threatening the face of the addressee is a very extraordinary and calculated way of performing the face-threatening act.

Another example of a compliment is categorized as part of a commonly used approach in the workplace for giving negative feedback (see Example 19 section 5.3.1.). It is referred to as "feedback sandwich" and its focus is on the evaluative and referential meaning, and is identified as males' linguistic style rather than females (cf. Holmes 1995: 123). However, in example 19 it is a woman who utters the compliment, as a part of a longer speech act, a speech act of the feedback sandwich.

With regard to the second part of the gender study – powerful versus powerless language – it is important to refer one more time to the study conducted by O'Barr and Atkins (1998), which suggests that:

> (1) WL features are not characteristic of the speech of all women;
> (2) WL features are not restricted to the speech of female speakers;
> (3) the scores of the speakers can be placed on a continuum (from high to low) – more women have high scores while more men have low scores.
>
> (cf. O'Barr and Atkins 1998 in Coates 1993: 134)

They suggest that women display women's language features as related to their powerless position in the society and lack of previous experience. They also observe that men and women display some of these features in varying frequency. The same observations have been made in this study. Margaret who has a very high position in the company displays almost no "women's language" features (cf. Lakoff 1975), but rather represents a powerful linguistic style. It is due to her high hierarchical position in the company. It may also be due to the cultural values, beliefs and accepted/unaccepted behaviors in that culture. The USA scores the lowest on the Long Term versus Short Term Orientation Dimension inevitably implying that people who belong to such a society strive for meeting one's obligations and responsibilities (cf. 4.1.3.). Thus, Margaret's linguistic style, which is very explicit, directive, and goal oriented suggests that she is a person who strives to meet her job obligations and responsibilities. There are no traces of her being unsure or incompetent, and hence, she is the editor in chief.

Additionally, the USA scores the highest of all countries on the Masculinity versus Femininity Dimension. This implies that women more often opt for the masculine model and men's ways of doing things. Consequently, women in such societies tend to be more assertive and competitive. They opt for the male role model (cf. www.geert-hofstede.com).

> The masculine model is considered to be the professional model: this applies to communication, standards of behavior, processes and practices in an organization. The cultural view is that men's ways of doing things are the standard or norm.
>
> (Still 1996: 71 in Holmes 2006: 4)

Holmes (2006: 64) gives an explanation of what is considered to be the "men's way of doing things" in management situation:

> A woman's leadership style is transformational and interpersonal while a man's style is based on command and control. Women managers promote positive interactions with subordinates, encourage participation, and share power and information more than men do […] women leaders use collaborative, participative communication that enables and empowers others while men use more unilateral, directive communication in their leadership.

With reference to the definition above, it can be concluded that Margaret's linguistic style conforms to a male style of communication, and that she represents the "powerful language" style (O'Barr and Atkins 1998). This observation also applies to ways in which females tend to utter control speech acts. Women are more frequently explicit and direct. Margaret recurrently commands and controls her subordinates, and she does it in a very explicit and direct way. Her linguistic style is powerful, authoritative, firm and assertive. Also Erin's linguistic style, which is at the beginning insecure, because of her lack of know-how and experience, becomes gradually more powerful and confident as she collects experience and expertise. It is the same in relation to the Cultural Dimension model, especially to individualism versus collectivism dimension. The USA scores the highest in IDV dimension, which suggests that "everyone is expected to look after him/herself and his/her immediate family" (www.geert-hofstede.com). As the audience get to know Erin, she is an unemployed women with two children. She desperately looks for a new job, in order to maintain her children. Erin's motivation is to look after her immediate family, to secure them the life standard and well-being. She works hard, learns, and in the end becomes very successful. Erin's behavior may also be explained by relating to the MAS and LTO dimension, as in the case of Margaret.

5.3.4. Summary of findings

In the dataset there are 7 examples of complimenting in the workplace identified; four of them are uttered by women and three by men.

The table below collects the compliments' drives and the gender-related tendencies of complimenting speech acts. Each tick stands for one compliment.

Compliment's drive:	Margaret ♀	Erin ♀	Theresa ♀	Masry ♂	Richard ♂
• Seeking relational solidarity		✅		✅ ✅	✅
• Denying relational solidarity/power struggle	✅				
• Complimenting as preparation for a negative feedback			✅		
• Teasing & mocking (negative politeness)		✅			

Table 12. The compliments' drives and the gender-related tendencies of complimenting speech acts

Three major functions of the compliments as relating to the workplace setting can be distinguished: (1) to seek relational solidarity (see examples 16, 17 and 18), (2) to decrease/increase power distance (see example 20), and (3) to prepare for a negative feedback (see example 19). Furthermore, one that occurs in ordinary communication, but the analysis shows that it may feature in the workplace too: (4) to tease and/or mock (see example 21).

With regard to the second part of the gender-related study, which is based on the scripted language, the linguistic style of the two females with reference to the "powerful versus powerless" language is analyzed. The following

conclusions can be made: women and men do not conform to all of the linguistic styles observed in various studies conducted by linguists and sociolinguist. It is because a specific setting forces the linguistic style, which is commonly associated with the male linguistic style. The study shows that people tend to adjust their linguistic style according to the requirements of the environment. Consequently, it can be argued that the way people talk is in a close relation to their status, education, hierarchical position in an organization, and experience, rather than simply their gender. As demonstrated in this study, linguistic style is constantly changing and fluctuating due to various influences and stimuli.

6. Conclusions

This thesis attempts to analyze the workplace context taking into consideration the crucial factors, power. The topic is approached by focusing on the Speech Acts of control: directives, requests, and advice, by formally focusing on their head acts. Consequently, while considering power and the speech act head acts of control in the workplace, there are important and relevant dimensions which need to be considered. Therefore, in the theory part of this thesis aspects such as: role-relationship and obligation, expectation of compliance and right of refusal, benefit from the action, and (im)politeness have been elaborated. The analysis has been based on the dialogs stemming from two American film productions: *The Proposal* (2000) and *Erin Brockovich* (2000), for that reason the Cultural Dimension model developed by Hofstede was introduced. The film analysts agree that while attempting to analyze a film, the cultural constraints need to be taken into consideration. Thus, the film language must fulfill one very important condition, namely, it must "correspond to the actual reality" (Mitry 2000: 163).

In the dataset 181 control speech acts were identified: 120 directives, 38 requests, 7 pieces of advice, and 16 borderline cases. The different sub-types of the control head acts, as well as their categorization according to form has been provided. The control speech acts identified in the database in most cases take the form of the imperative, which is the most obvious and recognizable way of issuing directives, requests or advice in a situation (cf. Vine 2004: 40). There are 109 instances (60%) of imperatives in 181 identified control speech acts. The other 74 instances (40%) are either declaratives or interrogatives. The categorization of the control act head acts has been provided for the imperatives. The study further demonstrates that it was possible to group the identified imperatives into four sub-categories: the "base form of the verb", the "you+imperative", the "you+verb+ing+imperative", and the "let's+imperative". These sub-categories are categorized according to the form, and the form is in close relation to the forcefulness strategies, and therefore to the right or no right of refusal.

In this analysis the form is frequently utilized as the basis for categorizing control speech acts. However, it is not always possible to rely on a purely formal categorization system as it does not adequately account for the control act head acts data. Therefore, a distinction has been drawn between the head acts according to the features of the content. Taking into account the features of the content and social factors, such as: power distribution, role-relationship, obligation, expectation of compliance, and right of refusal, this thesis derived another classification; different sub-types of control acts can be distinguished. Thus, *solicited versus spontaneous* advice seeking is discriminated.

Another distinction was made according to the frequency of occurrence and according to the forcefulness strategies embedded in the modal verbs of necessity. Modal verbs of necessity account for 75% of the dataset, and serve the purpose of modifying the force of the control acts (cf. Vine 2004: 105). Consequently, the classification of the modal verbs according to form and forcefulness strategies has been offered. Modal verbs made reference to previously discussed dimensions, and demonstrated the power the manager can have over his/her subordinate as well as what kind of strategies are available for the manager in order to motivate the employee to do the job.

Additionally, two gender-related case studies have been conducted. Consequently, relevant theories have been introduced: the "deficient" theory, the "women's language" theory, the "powerless versus powerful" theory, "politeness" theory, and the introduction to speech acts of complimenting.

In the first case study, the linguistic style of the two females with reference to the "powerful versus powerless" language was analyzed. The following conclusions can be made: women and men do not conform to all of the linguistic styles observed in various studies conducted by linguists and sociolinguist. It is a specific setting which forces the linguistic style, which is commonly associated with the male linguistic style. The study shows that people tend to adjust their linguistic style according to the requirements of the environment. Consequently, it can be argued that the way people talk is in a close relation to their status, education, hierarchical position in an organization and experience, rather than simply their gender. The study demonstrates that

linguistic style is constantly changing and fluctuating due to various influences and stimuli.

The second case study has identified (im)politeness strategies embedded in the speech acts of complimenting. There are 7 examples of complimenting recognized in the dataset; four of them are uttered by women and three by men. The analysis show that compliments in the workplace may serve different functions. Three major functions of the compliments as relating to the workplace setting can be distinguished: (1) to seek relational solidarity (see examples 16, 17 and 18), (2) to decrease/increase power distance (see example 20), and (3) to prepare for a negative feedback (see example 19), and one that occurs in ordinary communication, but the analysis show that it may feature in the workplace too: (4) to tease and/or mock (see example 21).

This study offers many insights into the complexity of Speech Act theory. It is sometimes difficult to specify whether a statement, question or even an answer functions as a directive, request or advice. Difficult cases were classified into a "borderline cases basket". Then a second attempt was made to classify these borderline cases and that was the time when it was realized that in order to describe *what we do with words* needs a very lengthy and extensive description. Furthermore, this observation relates to the prominent Speech Act theorists and their classifications of different action verbs. Now it can be argued that speech acts do not necessarily need such classifications because speech acts are indeterminate and exist along a continuum rather than belong to distinct and separate categories. This is so because the same word in three or more different situations might have different meanings – it is the nature of language. The context and the intention of the speaker can only determine the meaning, and thus taxonomy will never fully grasp it.

Additionally, the study revealed that while looking at the different contexts there are diverse parameters and dimensions that need to be taken into consideration. Only then can credible and plausible observations and interpretations of the different rules and procedures governing the approached discourses be made.

Abstract

The focus of this research paper is on power in the workplace. The research area is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the speech acts of control: directives, request, and advice, by formally focusing on their head acts. The second section focuses exclusively on the gender-related study.

The analysis is based on dialog stemming from two American films: *The Proposal* and *Erin Brockovich.* There are 181 control speech acts identified: 120 directives, 38 requests, 7 pieces of advice, and 16 borderline cases. The different sub-types of the control head acts, as well as their categorization according to form has been provided. The control speech acts identified in the dataset in most cases take the form of the imperative, which is the most obvious and recognizable way of issuing directives, requests or advice in a situation (cf. Vine 2004: 40). There are 109 instances (60%) of imperatives.

In the analysis the form is frequently used as the basis for categorizing the control acts. However, it is not always possible to rely on a purely formal categorization system as it does not adequately account for the control act head acts data. Therefore, a distinction between the head acts has also been drawn according to the features of the content. Consequently, the classification of different sub-types of control acts is offered, and the most interesting instances are discussed in detail.

The focus in the gender study is on two different aspects of language. The first traces out and discerns politeness strategies amongst the two genders. The politeness strategies are identified in the examples of compliments. There are 7 instances of complementing in the dataset. The speech acts of complimenting are selected due to an observation that there is a remarkable correlation between complimenting and power in the workplace.

Due to the study on the control speech acts, which are closely associated with power exercise and power management, the second gender-related study is conducted. It is based on the "powerful versus powerless language" theory

(O'Barr and Atkins 1998) and supports the view: saying that the way people talk is independent of their gender.

Zusammmenfassung

Diese Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit dem Thema „Macht(ausübung) am Arbeitsplatz". Das Forschungsgebiet ist hierfür in zwei Abschnitte aufgeteilt. Der Erste konzentriert sich auf Sprechakte der Kontrolle, wobei das Hauptaugenmerk auf Direktiven, Aufforderungen und Ratschlägen gelegt ist. Der zweite Teil ist ausschließlich der Gender-Studie gewidmet.

Die Analyse basiert auf Dialogen, die aus den beiden amerikanischen Filmen „Selbst ist die Braut" und „Erin Brokovich" stammen. Das Ergebnis zeigt, dass 181 Kontrollsprechakte erkannt wurden, welche in 120 Direktiven, 38 Aufforderungen, 7 Ratschläge und 16 Grenzfälle aufgegliedert werden konnten. Unter anderem beinhaltet die Untersuchung auch die verschiedenen Subtypen der Kontrollsprechakte, wie auch deren Kategorisierung anhand ihrer Form. Diese Form ist die offensichtlichste Art um Direktiven, Aufforderungen und Ratschläge im Alltag auszudrücken (vgl. Vine 2004: 40), was auch das Ergebnis der Forschung bestätigt. 60% der identifizierten Kontrollsprechakte konnten als Imperative ausgemacht werden.

In der Untersuchung wurde hauptsächlich eine formale Analyse als die Basis für die Kategorisierung benutzt. Es ist jedoch nicht immer möglich, sich nur auf die Kategorisierung durch die Form zu verlassen, da dies nicht ausreichend für Daten wäre. Deshalb wurde die Unterscheidung zwischen den Kontrollakte zusätzlich auch anhand der Eigenschaften des Inhalts gemacht. Folglich, beinhaltet die Analyse auch die Klassifizierung verschiedener Subtypen von Kontrollakte, wobei die interessantesten Instanzen herausgegriffen und detailliert beschrieben werden.

Die Gender-Studie ist in zwei Bereiche gliedert. Erstens wird versucht Höflichkeitsstrategien zwischen beiden Geschlechtern herauszufiltern. Diese wurden in den Komplimenten des Datensatzes identifiziert. Interessanterweise, konnte eine Korrelation zwischen dem Akt des Komplimente machens und der Machtdemonstration am Arbeitsplatz festgestellt werden.

Auf Basis der Analyse der Kontrollakte, welche mit Machtausübung assoziiert werden, konnte eine die Geschlechtsuntersuchung eingeleitet werden. Auf Grundlage der Theorie "powerful versus powerless language" (O'Barr and Atkins 1988) wird veranschaulicht, dass der Sprachstil nicht geschlechterabhängig ist.

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- Social Competence:
  Supervising and chairing business meeting (Certificate)
  Communication and conflict management (Certificate)
  Working in Teams (Certificate)
- Project Management
- Human Resource Management
- Cross Cultural Management
- Negotiation Management
- Marketing

2011

Diploma Phase

Command of languages	Polish mother tongue
	English linguistic proficiency
	German very good
	Italian basic knowledge
	Spanish basic knowledge
PC knowledge	Windows XP
	Microsoft Office
	Prezi (mind mapping)
Job & International experiences	Tour Manager PDM Tourismus Consulting AG, Vienna
	Assistance front desk reception in hotel, Germany
	Restaurant Junior Manager – Mallorca
	Languages ESP (English for Specific Purposes) teacher, Warsaw and Vienna
	Translation Polish ↔ English, German → Polish
Other abilities	Driving license B
	Sailing license
Hobby	Inter- and multicultural observations and analysis, pragmatics and communication practices, sailing, team-sports, skiing, hiking, traveling, music
Personal	Hard working, aim striving, fast learning, flexible, easy-going, communicative, realist