MANAGING IMPRESSIONS IN THE MULTICULTURAL WORKPLACE

An Impression Management-Based Model for Cross-Cultural Discourse Analysis and Awareness Training for the Workplace

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Candidate Name: Grahame T Bilbow

Date of Submission: April, 1996

Abstract

This study investigates the spoken discourse of multi-party managerial-level cross-cultural business meetings at a large multicultural corporation in Hong Kong (Cathay Pacific Airways). The discourse model that is elaborated is based on the concept of 'impression management', which, it is argued, is a central and universal function of discourse.

The study also seeks to present a viable model for cross-cultural awareness training that can empower speakers, irrespective of whether they represent the communicative norm, to make informed choices about the discourse they use in cross-cultural encounters.

The term 'culture' is not defined exclusively with reference to ethnicity, but encompasses all groups of people whose behaviour may influence individual communicative behaviour. In the context of this study, speakers come from different status, ethnic and gender backgrounds.

The study has the following structure:

Part I: This consists of the *Introduction*, in which the concept of impression management is introduced, and an overview of the study presented.

Part II: This consists of the *Analytical Framework* of the study giving an account of the framework within which the study is sited. Chapter 2 presents a brief survey of relevant research in the fields of applied linguistics and social psychology. In Chapter 3, the ethnographic paradigm within which the study is sited is described, and ethnographic data relating to the company, its meetings and its staff presented. In Chapter 4, the Cross-Cultural Impression Management (CCIM) discourse model is described. Finally, Chapter 5 identifies and defines the principal unit used in the analysis to classify utterances (the 'speech act'). While recognising the inherent problems of the speech act as a unit of analysis for discourse analysis, a putative taxonomy of classes of speech act is proposed which can account for much of the discourse in the corpus.

Part III: This consists of the *Analysis* of the 'Meetings at Work' corpus. In Chapters 6 - 9 (Analysis A), the 'directive' speech acts of 'directing' and 'suggesting' in the corpus are analysed in terms of how they are used and realised by different cultural groups in business meetings.

In Chapter 10 (Analysis B), analysis is extended to include consideration of the relationship between the discourse used to realise directive speech acts and the impression management consequences of discourse choice. This analysis draws not only upon the perceptions, or 'metapragmatic assessments', of the analyst, but also those of participants themselves. The analysis concludes that whereas it is universally the case that people seek to project a 'good' impression of themselves to others, they may have significantly different notions about what a 'good' impression is, and about the forms of discourse that are conducive to the creation of a 'good' impression. This appears to be particularly the case when the speaker's profile (status, ethnic and gender) and the hearer's profile do not coincide.

Part IV: This consists of the *Training Model* that is an integral part of the analysis and also an ostensible product of it. A report is also presented on the implementation of a pilot training programme at Cathay Pacific Airways.

Part V: This consists of the *Conclusion*, which presents a range of suggestions relating to possible future research and training in the area of impression management-related discourse analysis.

Acknowledgments

I owe a considerable debt of gratitude to the many members of staff at Cathay Pacific Airways who have given so freely of their time to be a part of this project. In particular, I should like to thank Mr John Seale, General Manager Airline Services at the airline, who has proved an extremely helpful and perceptive informant, and Mr Zachariah Leung, Training Specialist at the airline, through whose efforts I have been able to put into practice some of the recommendations contained in the study.

I also owe much to my supervisor, Dr John Flowerdew, whose tireless guidance and many insights have helped steer me through the occasionally half-lit maze. Thanks are due, too, to my friend and colleague, Mr Les Evans, who could always be counted on to lighten even the dullest moments (of which there have, admittedly, been a number) with his humorous yet incisive observations.

Last but not least, I should like to express my gratitude to my wife and children who not only tolerated, but also, on occasions, even encouraged, my strange fascination with business meetings.

Funding

This project was generously supported by funding from Hong Kong Polytechnic University's Staff Development Committee. Support has been forthcoming, too, from Cathay Pacific Airways in the form of complimentary air travel, which has allowed me to attend a number of overseas conferences and thereby bring the research to the attention of a wider audience.

Table of Contents

Tables

Figures

‘O wad some Pow’r the giftie gie us
To see oursels as others see us!
It wad frae mony a blunder free us,
and foolish notion.’

To a louse

Robert Burns
(1759 - 1796)

Chapter One

Introduction to the Study

1.1 Introduction

The world of business is shrinking: and as it does, languages and cultures are colliding in the workplace with increasing regularity. In the melting pot that Hong Kong's business community has become, local Chinese staff are working alongside expatriate colleagues as never before. According to recent figures, there are some 15,000 expatriate staff working in managerial positions in Hong Kong[1]. Although this figure is quite low in comparison with the total number of Chinese managers (some 200,000) and the total working population of 2.7 million, it does illustrate that a sizeable proportion of the population has some contact in the workplace with languages and cultures other than their own. Furthermore, the recent trend for expatriate staff to be recruited at a lower level of management than ever before (due to the recession afflicting Western economies) means that the distance, physical and metaphorical, between expatriate and local Chinese staff is less than ever before in the colonial period.

This situation poses great challenges for both companies and individuals. Optimists point to the immense amount of energy that can be generated when staff of different cultural backgrounds meet to solve problems, each group bringing unique outlooks and skills to bear. Others, however, point to the huge potential for 'crossed-wires', miscommunication and misinterpretation in situations in which staff are not speaking the same language, either literally or figuratively.

In contexts in which languages and cultures collide, the impressions that groups form of each other can seriously affect the ease with which colleagues coexist and the fruitfulness of their cooperation. In Hong Kong's multicultural workplaces, for example, it is not uncommon for expatriates and Chinese staff to refer to each other in rather stereotypic terms. So, to many expatriates, the Chinese with whom they work are 'reserved', and 'reticent about expressing their views'; in turn, local Chinese staff often judge their expatriate, 'gweilo' (鬼佬)[2], colleagues to be 'direct', 'rude' and sometimes even 'aggressive'.

In a survey conducted during the first phase of this project, which focused on communication at Cathay Pacific Airways, a large multicultural corporation in Hong Kong, respondents were asked to make judgments about 'typical' Westerners and Chinese in the meetings they attended[3]. The findings from this survey are interesting in that they reveal that certain characteristics appear to be consistently attributed to certain ethnic groups.

For example, most of the Chinese managers surveyed felt that expatriates were more 'aggressive', 'rude' and 'direct' than were Chinese members of staff, whereas most expatriate managers in the survey felt that local Chinese staff were more 'cautious', 'evasive' and 'non-confrontational' than expatriate staff. If such attributions are common across the airline, it is likely that they have a significant effect upon the working environment in the company. This may be especially significant in a company like Cathay Pacific Airways, in which people are expected to work in multicultural work groups.

This study investigates the spoken discourse of multi-party managerial-level cross-cultural business meetings at Cathay Pacific Airways. It presents an analysis of the spoken discourse of different cultural groups in such meetings, and suggests that certain forms of discourse may be associated with the creation of certain impressions. It is argued that 'impression management' is a central and universal function of discourse, irrespective of speaker status, ethnicity or gender. The study also seeks to present a viable model for cross-cultural awareness training that can empower all speakers, whether or not they represent the communicative norm, to make informed choices about the discourse they use in cross-cultural encounters. In this study, the term 'culture' is not defined exclusively with reference to ethnicity, but encompasses all groups of people whose behaviour may influence individual communicative behaviour. In the data that were collected for this study, speakers come from different status, ethnic and gender backgrounds.

1.2 A Definition of Impression Management

The term 'impression management' was coined by Goffman (1959) in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, and has to do with how humans consciously and unconsciously convey images of themselves to others. Typically, in a work environment, people seek, through their discourse as well as through their deeds, to convey a variety of impressions of themselves to their colleagues, superiors and subordinates.

Although use of the term 'management' may convey an impression of purposeful activity, impressions are not exclusively consciously managed. In fact, as will be noted in Chapter 2, much of impression management appears to occur at the preattentive or nonconscious level through individuals' mannerisms, their choice of clothes, and, of particular relevance to the present study, their verbal performances, which may be far from consciously planned.

There are clearly, however, occasions on which impressions tend to be more, rather than less, consciously managed. Such occasions include performance appraisals, job interviews, and other 'gate-keeping' encounters. In such situations, people tend to use conscious impression managing behaviours to achieve their ends. Schneider (1981) refers to self-presentation[4] as 'the manipulation of information about the self by the actor' (Schneider, 1981: 25), an interpretation which tends to restrict impression management to conscious and purposive behaviours. Although this is one possible way of looking at impression management, it has been decided that this study should consider, in addition, *non-purposive* behaviours that nevertheless appear to affect the impressions created, albeit unconsciously, by discourse. The analysis presented in Chapter 10 suggests, for example, that certain features of unplanned discourse appear to be connected with the creation of certain impressions. For the purpose of this study, therefore, impression management-related discourse is construed as being *those language behaviours, intentional or unintentional, that create and maintain impressions, with or without a conscious purpose*.

1.3 Objectives

This study has four main purposes:

(i) to analyse the spoken discourse that occurs in multi-party managerial-level cross-cultural business meetings in order to compare and contrast the spoken discourses of different status, ethnic and gender groups. This analysis focuses particularly on patterns of speech act utilisation and the lexico-grammatical realisation of discourse used to make suggestions, requests and commands.

(ii) to investigate the relationship between certain formal features of spoken discourse and the creation of certain impressions. The methodological approach adopted uses not only the analyst's perceptions, but also 'metapragmatic assessments' by participants themselves.

(iii) to describe and discuss a model of discourse-related cross-cultural impression management training, which has been implemented at Cathay Pacific Airways. This training programme helped facilitate trainees' development of discourse-related impression managing skills. The form of training that is advocated is particularly

relevant for helping people, irrespective of their status, ethnicity and gender, cope with multi-party cross-cultural encounters in social organisations.

(iv) to identify areas for future research into the discourse of impression management, and to suggest other practical applications of the model.

1.4 The Structure of the Study

Part II of the study gives an account of the analytical framework within which the study is situated. Chapter 2 presents a brief survey of related research in the fields of applied linguistics (including cross-cultural discourse analysis and studies in gender discourse) and social psychology (including research into impression management and intra-organisational influence, and research in intercultural studies). In Chapter 3, I briefly describe the methodological paradigm within which the study is located, and present information relating to the company, its meetings and its staff. This data allows the reader to contextualise the study. In Chapter 4, the Cross-Cultural Impression Management (CCIM) model of discourse is outlined. This model is based on the view that impression management is a dynamic, on-going, two-way process whereby speakers project, on the basis of their 'impression managing style', impressions of themselves through their discourse, and hearers interpret discourse and create certain impressions of speakers. Although this view of discourse is non-judgmental, and does not assume that there exist universal norms in impression management, it does acknowledge that socio-cultural expectations may exist that relate to what is considered appropriate language behaviour in particular socio-cultural contexts. The final chapter in this part of the study (Chapter 5) identifies and defines the unit of analysis used in Part III (the 'speech act'), and proposes a putative taxonomy of classes of speech act to account for much of the discourse in the corpus. Despite certain difficulties inherent in speech act analysis, it is argued that the concept of 'speech act' is readily accessible to the non-specialist, and therefore is useful for feeding back to non-specialist participants the results of analysis through training.

In **Part III** of the study, the 'Meetings at Work' corpus is analysed. In Chapters 6 to 9, the speech acts of 'directing' and 'suggesting' in the corpus are analysed in terms of how they are used and realised by different cultural groups. In particular, consideration is given to the ways in which different groups employ certain functional-grammatical, prosodic and lexical features when they use these directive speech acts. Next, in Chapter 10, the relationship

between discourse and impression management is explored in relation to a set of 'impression managing categories' (authoritativeness, manipulativeness, sensitiveness, frankness and deference). The purpose of this analysis is to shed light on the relationship, both from the analyst's perspective and from the multiple perspectives of participants in the discourse, between what people of different cultural groups say and how they are perceived by others.

In **Part IV** of the study (Chapter 11), I present a model for cross-cultural awareness training which is both an integral part of the analysis and an ostensible product of it. This model has been implemented through a pilot training programme at the airline, and a brief report of this programme is presented.

Lastly, **Part V** of the study identifies areas for future research into the discourse of impression management, and suggests other practical applications of the model.

In Appendix A, a glossary is provided to explain some of the more technical terminology found in the MAW corpus, where it is felt that the reader would benefit from explanation. Appendix B contains the Introspective Diagnostic Tool (IDT), with which participants' perceptions of discourse were collected. Appendix C contains the cross-cultural communication survey (CCCS) conducted at the airline. Finally, in Appendix D, the complete transcription of the corpus is reproduced. Although examples have been extracted from the corpus and appear at certain points in the analysis, a number of references are also made to this Appendix. It is also hoped that a full transcription of the meetings will serve as a reference for others involved in the study of spoken discourse in multicultural organisational settings.

Chapter Two

A Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

A number of applied linguists, such as Candlin (1987), Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982), Gumperz and Tannen (1979), Scollon and Scollon (1981, 1983) and Thomas (1983, 1984) have addressed issues relating to cross-cultural self-presentation in recent years.

'Impression management' itself, however, has tended not to be the focus of their research. For example, many researchers during this period, while considering cross-cultural self-presentation, have concentrated primarily on problematical discourse in inter-ethnic encounters between non-native speakers and gate-keeping native speakers. The focus in such studies is commonly on communication breakdown that can be attributed to the linguistic/ pragmatic differences that separate native and non-native speakers of English. As will be demonstrated below, much of the research in this tradition assumes an underlying 'communicative norm', from which non-native speakers are seen to deviate, ie researchers adopt a 'deficit' view of non-native speakers' discourse.

Many applied linguists over the same period have also tended to be interested in investigating the relationship between speech and gender. In particular, various sociolinguistic studies have sought to explicate 'female' discourse and to investigate how inter-gender conversation operates (eg Coates, 1986; Cameron, 1990; Lakoff, 1975; Kramarae, 1981, 1982; Tannen, 1985, 1990, 1993, 1994; and so on).

Such research appears to have become somewhat polarised around two apparently (although not necessarily) conflicting schools of thought. On the one hand, there are those who believe that females' speaking style is a reflection of the fundamental cultural differences between men and women. In the literature, this approach is usually termed the 'different' approach. Research conducted within this paradigm has tended to concentrate on the description of 'men's talk' and 'women's talk'. Research by Tannen (1985, 1990, 1993, 1994) is typical of this approach.

On the other hand, there are those who believe that females' speaking style is a reflection of the traditionally subordinate role played by women in most societies, and the relatively dominant position of men. This approach is usually termed the 'dominance' approach. Research within this paradigm, of which Kramarae's (1981, 1982) and Cameron's (1990) work is typical, has tended to focus on ways in which political inequalities in society, insofar as they are gender-related, may be explicated.

These two approaches will be briefly sketched later in this review. It is sufficient at this point to remark, however, that although most gender-based research into discourse makes reference to the stereotypic judgments that are made about women on the basis of their discourse (eg generally that they are 'powerless' (Lakoff, 1975)), female impression management as such has not been a central focus of the research.

Social psychologists, in contrast, have, over the last twenty years, taken a great deal of interest in how people are perceived by others. The term 'impression management' (also called 'self-presentation' in the literature), was, in fact, coined by the social psychologist Goffman in 1959 in his seminal work, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. It has been a subject of intense interest among social psychologists ever since.

First, I shall consider the work of social psychologists who have started from the premise that there are 'effective' impression managers, who have the adaptability to cope with multiple situations, and who have set about explicating some of the psychological traits that influence the management, both conscious and unconscious, of impressions. Traits that I consider include self-monitoring skills (Snyder, 1979, 1987), self-consciousness (Schlenker & Weigold, 1990) and conformity (Arkin & Shepherd, 1990; Ralston and Elsass, 1991).

Second, this review considers the large amount of research that has been conducted by social psychologists keen to understand how individuals influence others in the workplace (superiors, subordinates and colleagues), both consciously and unconsciously. Although not strictly studies of impression management, such work often touches on how positive images are projected in the workplace. Work by Deluga & Perry (1994), Leary and Kowalski (1990), Kipnis, Schmidt & Wilkinson (1980), Kipnis & Schmidt (1988), Kumar & Beyerlein (1991), Rosenfeld & Giacalone (1991), Tedeschi (1972), Tedeschi & Melburg (1984), Wayne & Kacmar (1991), Yukl & Tracey (1992) tends to fall into this category of research.

Lastly, I shall review the work of a number of researchers who have sought to explain the ways in which ethnicity and cultural value systems affect individual behaviour (especially person perception). Bond (eg 1986, 1991a; and with Leung & Wan (1982), with Wan, Leung & Giacalone (1985)) has been one of the leading researchers in this area, especially in terms of helping us understand the psychology of the Chinese people. Others include Gudykunst (eg with Asante (1987), with Yoon & Nishida (1989)), Burgoon et al. (1982), Ho (1976), Hofstede (1980, 1983, 1985), Hu (1944), Hwang (1982), Hwang (1985), Redding (eg 1980;

and with Wong (1986)), although this is in no way intended to constitute an exhaustive or authoritative listing of research in the area of 'intercultural studies'.

Although the present study addresses the issue of impression management from the point of view of discourse, the following literature review discusses a wider range of research related to person perception in the fields of both applied linguistics and social psychology. As this constitutes a very broad spread of research activity, the following literature review can only deal somewhat cursorily with some of these areas.

2.2 Literature Review

The following literature review concentrates firstly on research in the field of applied linguistics. Specifically, research that has taken place over the past twenty years in the areas of *cross-cultural discourse analysis* and *gender-based studies of discourse* is discussed in terms of its relevance to the study of impression management.

Secondly, the review considers research in the field of social psychology. This research is separated into three areas (although there is considerable overlap between each). These are the areas of *impression management*, *intra-organisational influence*, and *intercultural studies*.

In general, throughout this study, the use of acronyms has been avoided in order to increase transparency. However, for the sake of brevity, the abbreviation 'IM' will be used from time to time as shorthand for 'impression management'. 'Impression management style' is similarly abbreviated to 'IMS'.

2.2.1 Related Research in Applied Linguistics

Cross-Cultural Discourse Analysis

Considerable empirical research has been conducted in the last twenty years into the discourse of cross-cultural encounters in a wide range of settings.

A large part of the research in cross-cultural discourse analysis over this period, especially research undertaken in Britain, has focused on communication breakdown in one-to-one cross-cultural encounters with a dominant majority party, or group interactions where there

is a dominant majority group and a minority group. Models which have been developed around such encounters tend to assume a communicative norm, from which minority groups deviate, and to focus on miscommunication arising from such deviation. Research of this type can therefore be said to arise from a 'deficit' view of cross-cultural communication insofar as the dominant party is consistently viewed as representing the norm and the other party is consistently viewed as deviating from the norm (Bilbow & Flowerdew, 1992).

Most recently, researchers in the critical discourse analysis tradition (eg Fairclough, 1989) have investigated (and called into question) the ways in which discourse systematically acts to the disadvantage of minority groups. As Roberts et al. (1992) put it, "Critical discourse analysis is a socially and politically committed analysis in which language is understood and explained in terms of its key role in maintaining power relations" (p.77).

Typical of the type of analysis that focuses on breakdown in two-party 'unequal' cross-cultural interactions is that proposed by Thomas. In two influential papers (Thomas, 1983, 1984), Thomas highlights what can go wrong in cross-cultural communication in terms of what she refers to as 'cross-cultural pragmatic failure'. Pragmatic failure may be either 'pragmalinguistic' or 'sociopragmatic'. Pragmalinguistic failure occurs when there is a mismatch between the linguistic encoding of pragmatic force across languages. An example given by Thomas of pragmalinguistic failure is when non-native speakers of English inadvertently use language forms which are normally only appropriate for dominant speakers. Thomas presents the following data of a Russian student and an English lecturer as an example of such pragmalinguistic failure (Thomas, 1984: 233):

Student:	I thought you were giving a lecture today.
Lecturer:	Thursday.
Student:	Are you telling me it's not today?

Thomas interprets the student's second utterance here as an intended reformulation, but suggests it would more likely be perceived by a native-speaker of English as a challenge, thus creating miscommunication. Sociopragmatic failure, in contrast to pragmalinguistic failure, is not concerned with language forms, but instead involves a mismatch between what cross-cultural interactants perceive to be appropriate linguistic behaviour. Examples of sociopragmatic failure listed by Thomas include mismatches in the size of imposition of speech acts (eg what would be an acceptable request or offer), taboos, and value judgments.

A similar approach to cross-cultural discourse analysis to that of Thomas is adopted by Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) in their research into the realisation of speech acts across different cultures. Although the main finding of their empirical research into the two speech acts of requesting and apologising was that all of the cultures/ languages they studied employed the same finite set of strategies when these speech acts were performed, Blum-Kulka et al. nevertheless stress that there are subtle variations in how the speech acts are performed at a more detailed level (eg for requests, the levels of directness chosen for the same situation varied according to language) which can lead to miscommunication. On this basis, Blum-Kulka et al. argue that cross-cultural pragmatic analysis should form part of the content of foreign and second language teaching and that emphasis should be placed on the differences in cross-cultural realisation of speech acts. Like Thomas, therefore, the focus in applied cross-cultural discourse analysis for Blum-Kulka et al. is directed at potential moments of breakdown.

Because of the disproportionate relation between the length of an encounter and its impact on the life of an applicant or the functioning of an organisation, since Erickson (1976, 1982) there has been much work in cross-cultural discourse analysis directed to one-to-one 'gate-keeping encounters', ie encounters where the decisions made by one of the interactants on behalf of an organisation may seriously affect the life of the other interactant, or applicant. Examples of gate-keeping encounters include job interviews, doctor-patient interactions, police-suspect encounters and legal cross-examinations (the work of Thomas reviewed above fits into this category). This research has also tended to focus on the language 'deficit' of non-native speakers.

An influential researcher in the field of cross-cultural discourse analysis who has focused on gate-keeping encounters is Gumperz. In line with the other researchers reviewed here, Gumperz is again particularly interested in moments of communication failure. 'By studying what has gone wrong when communication breaks down, we seek to understand a process that goes unnoticed when it is successful' (Gumperz and Tannen, 1979: 308). A typical example of the sort of thing Gumperz looks for in cross-cultural discourse analysis is the case of the Indian serving staff in a British cafeteria (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz, 1982). The Indians working in this setting were perceived in a negative light by their British customers, a perception which Gumperz found to be due to their use of an inappropriate intonation contour when saying the word *gravy*. The falling intonation used by the Indians

was interpreted as a statement by their British customers when, in fact, it was intended as a question and would more appropriately have been said with a rising tone.

Finally, in this brief review of approaches to cross-cultural discourse analysis, Candlin, working with colleagues at the University of Lancaster, again has worked with gate-keeping situations. As with the other researchers reviewed above, Candlin again places particular emphasis on moments of breakdown. For Candlin (1987), attention in cross-cultural discourse analysis should be concentrated on what he calls 'critical moments of communications' (p.26), moments when there is most likelihood of breakdown and communication failure. Emphasis should be on moments of breakdown because such moments offer the analyst the chance to interpret and explain how interactants fail to achieve their communicative goals. The following are just a few of the features which Candlin expects to be the focus in the analysis of cross-cultural discourse. Again, the analysis is based on a deficit view, with the majority expected to dominate the minority:

- majority group members control the topic and resist attempts by minority group members to shift topic
- challenges by minority group members are rejected or minimised
- majority group members demand explicitness of minority group members
- majority group members control the overriding illocutionary force of the discourse
- majority group members declare what is to be counted as shared knowledge
- minority group members will exhibit greater self-effacement, will comply more and frequently abandon positions taken

Clearly, discoveries of this sort made by cross-cultural discourse analysis can be of great value in predicting and remediating specific cross-cultural misunderstandings that may lead to communication breakdown.

It can be concluded from this review that many studies in cross-cultural discourse analysis to date (including those in the 'critical discourse analysis' tradition) have tended to focus on communication breakdown in unequal cross-cultural encounters, and have tended to adopt a 'deficit' view of non-native speaking minorities. As mentioned above, this has been largely due to the fact that many such studies have sought to investigate cross-cultural encounters in which power is unequally distributed between interactants, eg gate-keeping encounters. In such cases, research has often had the laudable aim of explaining (and thereby remediating) social inequality between minority and majority groups.

Gender-related Studies of Discourse[5]

As was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, there are two opposing schools of thought regarding the causes of differences between female and male discourse. Certain researchers (eg Tannen, 1985, 1990, 1993, 1994; Gumperz and Tannen, 1979; Lakoff, 1975) attribute differences between female and male discourse to cultural differences between the two groups, and suggest that these differences lead to differences in conversational style. Others (eg Fishman, 1980; Kramarae, 1981, 1982; Kaplan, 1990; Zimmerman & West, 1975), however, attribute differences between female and male discourse to the relative subordination of females in most societies, and the relative dominance of males.

Lakoff (1975) was one of the first to carry out a systematic study of the differences between female and male discourse using the first of these approaches (the 'different' approach). In *Language and Woman's Place*, Lakoff describes female discourse as typically 'powerless', in contrast with male discourse, which is seen as 'powerful'. Differences between male and female discourse are explained by Lakoff in political and cultural terms. Women and men, she argues, learn (through socialisation) to develop particular conversational styles. 'Powerful' speech (typically 'male') tends to be marked in various ways as 'competitive' whereas 'powerless' speech (typically 'female') tends to be marked as 'cooperative'. Thus, powerful speech often involves arguing, giving commands and disagreeing, whereas 'powerless' speech typically involves expressing agreement, soliciting views[6], and making suggestions.

Probably the most prolific of adherents to the 'different' approach is Deborah Tannen, whose many books have sought to distinguish the differences between men's talk and women's talk. Her motivation in maintaining that the 'dominance' approach is inadequate is the fact that women from her own cultural background (New York Jewish) are more outspoken than many American men. To subscribe to the 'dominance' approach would be to attribute negative characteristics to that group in a way that she would find completely ethically unjustifiable. Tannen (1994) argues strongly that linguistic strategies are relative, ie that there is not a single attribution associated with each linguistic strategy. Therefore, she maintains that 'outspokenness' is not invariably equated with conversational dominance. In a similar vein, she maintains that silence is not invariably a sign of powerlessness, that arguing does not have to be aggressive, and that indirectness is not always symptomatic of subordination:

> Indirectness ... is not in itself a strategy of subordination. Rather, it can be used either by the powerful or the powerless. The interpretation of a given utterance, and the likely response to it, depends on the setting, on individuals' status and their relationship to each other, and also on the linguistic conventions that are ritualised in the cultural context. (Tannen, 1994: 34)

Countering the claims of those who see women as a 'muted group' (Kramarae, 1981), and those who interpret the volubility of one group as a sign of their dominance over other less voluble groups, Tannen (1990) makes the point that 'the effect of dominance is not always the result of an intention to dominate.' (Tannen, 1990: 18). In this way, she argues for a more comprehensive analysis of linguistic strategies which adequately accounts for the cultural contexts in which strategies occur.

As was mentioned earlier, those who are involved in the study of gender-related discourse tend to be polarised into either the 'different' approach briefly described above, or the 'dominance' approach. The 'dominance' approach holds that women's speech is controlled by the fact that women in most societies are dominated by men. Kramarae's work (1981, 1982) is, thus, motivated by a political agenda that seeks to redress imbalances between men and women in terms of their relative powers in society. In research of this type, evidence is often used from historical sources (eg proverbs and etiquette books) to support the claim that women are a 'muted group'. Thus, women are forced into acting in particular ways by men, and forced to accommodate to male speech style more than men are forced to accommodate to female speech style (Kramarae, 1981: 103). What is more, the fact that men have more real power in organisations than women, and can use it legitimately and directly, means that women are forced to use unofficial and indirect sources of power. The 'dominance' approach is summed up by Kramarae (1981)

> Our understanding of what women say, what men say, is dependent in part upon our understanding of the limits to what women do/should/can say and what men do/should/can say. (Kramarae, 1981: 115)

Despite the vehemence of the dialogue between advocates of the two approaches briefly described above, Coates (1986) believes that these two approaches are not actually irreconcilable. She argues that women as a group are different from men, *and* that they are oppressed and marginalised in society. Research can therefore profitably investigate two aspects of female discourse: (i) the differences between male and female speech, and (ii) the relationship of these differences to the social roles assigned to women and men in our society (Coates, 1986: 12-13).

Using Tajfel's (1974, 1978, 1981) framework for inter-group relations and social change, Coates (1986) traces some of the ways in which women's behaviour has changed with increasing awareness of the 'gender' issue.

Firstly, Coates (1986) describes some of the ways in which women have become assimilated into the dominant male society by taking on the attributes of male speech. The deepening of voice; the use of taboo language; the adoption of a more assertive style in group interaction; the alignment of the prosodic features of their speech to those typically associated with male speech; the focusing on traditionally 'male' topics; and the use of non-standard accents. These are all ways in which certain women have assimilated into the dominant group (Coates, 1986: 10) and, from Tajfel's perspective, they constitute *social mobility*, although, as Cameron (1990) warns, there is a danger in women assimilating too much to the speech style of men.

> We have ... been critical of the notion that confrontational, unsupportive styles of discourse are always appropriate. These styles are often used in public arenas, even 'progressive' ones like trade unions and left-wing groups. Not only do they disadvantage women, who are more likely than men to find them alien and intimidating, they are also destructive of group solidarity and democratic spirit, and thus hinder the achievement of collective goals.
>
> (Cameron, 1990: 26)

Secondly, Coates discusses ways in which there has been a redefinition of the 'negative' labels traditionally applied to female speech. Thus, for example, there has been an attempt to redefine, as positive, the cooperative strategies used by women, and to redefine, as negative, the competitive, assertive strategies used by men. (Coates, 1986: 11). Jones (1980), for example, describes and effectively redefines the usually negative term 'gossip' in terms that are positive. This process of redefinition can be considered an example of Tajfel's *social change*[7].

Lastly, Coates (1986) mentions that women have started to create new dimensions for comparison with men, especially in terms of organisational modes (akin to Tajfel's *social creativity*). For example, as Coates states,

> Women are developing new organisational modes. These clearly involve different linguistic strategies from those required by the traditional male style of committee meeting, with its clearly defined leader, its agenda and minutes, its meticulously worked out rules ('standing orders'). The new women's mode is more anarchic, more creative, more flexible - at all events, different.
>
> (Coates, 1986: 11)

This observation is particularly pertinent to the present study since it highlights that a speech event such as a business meeting may, by its organisational mode, constitute an event that is built upon a particular, gender-based, conversational style.

In this short review I have attempted to trace research developments in two rather distinct areas of applied linguistics: *cross-cultural discourse analysis* and *gender-based studies of discourse*. In the first of these areas, I have made the point that to date much research has emphasised how non-native minority speakers tend to deviate from a native-speaking majority communicative norm, and how such deviation may lead to cross-cultural communication breakdown. This emphasis, although essentially constituting a 'deficit' approach, is laudable in that it offers a means of remediating actual or anticipated communication difficulties in cross-cultural encounters. In the second, it has been revealed that, although some gender-based research has referred to impressions of 'powerfulness' and 'powerlessness' created by men and women's conversational styles (eg Lakoff, 1975), most research in this area has not directly addressed the impression management consequences of conversational style differences between genders.

2.2.2 Related Research in Social Psychology

Much of social psychology (even outside the specific realm of 'impression management') has to do with understanding how people develop a social identity, and how they conduct relationships with others. Clearly, the issue of how people perceive themselves and others is central to these two concerns. The result of this is that much social psychological research touches on areas of some relevance to a study of impression management.

Social psychologists' interest in impression management began more than thirty years ago with the coining of the term by Goffman (1959) in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Although Goffman's dramaturgical use of the term tends to focus on people's *conscious* and 'frontstage' attempts to manage impressions of themselves through the use of 'props' and strategies (impression 'stage'-management, perhaps), rather than on impression management as an unconscious and unplanned process, he was one of the first to recognise that 'keeping up appearances' was an important part of social life.

In the following literature review, I have focused on a subset of research that I believe to be of maximum relevance to the present study. As a result, the following is not an exhaustive

literature review of person perception-related research in the field of social psychology. Such a work would require considerably more space than is available here. However, it is believed that the following literature review touches on certain areas of research that are particularly relevant to understanding impression management from a social psychological perspective.

Studies of Impression Management in the Workplace

Before the 1980s, impression management in the workplace was accounted for in terms of 'office politics', and was not subject to a rigorous framework of academic analysis. Since then, however, impression management has come to be seen as a fundamental interpersonal process which is very relevant in the workplace, partly because it can have such practical outcomes[8]. As a result, impression management has developed a considerable literature which reflects the interests of those who have found the concept to have descriptive and explanatory adequacy.

Research has often been undertaken by social psychologists interested in understanding organisations and the role of management in them. As a result, the concept has been applied in organisational contexts such as arbitration, marketing, personnel interviews and performance appraisals (Rosenfeld & Giacalone, 1991: 7). In the area of performance appraisal, for example, a study by Deluga & Perry (1994) has suggested that IM affects the quality of supervisor-subordinate relationships, and thereby influences the distribution of rewards in organisations (Deluga & Perry, 1994: 68). Similar work on the role played by impression management in the formation of relationships with superiors has been done by Kipnis, Schmidt & Wilkinson (1980), Kipnis & Schmidt (1988), Tedeschi & Melburg (1984), Wayne & Kacmar (1991) and Yukl & Tracey (1992).

Although researchers in the area of impression management acknowledge that IM is most often unconscious and occurs at a preattentive level, it is recognised that IM can be consciously manipulated. This is especially the case when individuals sense that the impression they are creating is, in some sense, 'not working', in situations where they are subject to intense examination, such as in a job interview. On such occasions, individuals may use certain conscious strategies in order to 'repair' their image. Deluga & Perry's (1994) study revealed that certain influence strategies (especially ingratiatory behaviours) were particularly effective in such situations, and could significantly affect the outcomes of

interaction, and lead to promotion, salary raises and other material rewards (Deluga & Perry, 1994: 68).

The fact that impression management appears to have such significant real-world implications, especially in gate-keeping encounters, has also led to intense interest on the part of researchers in organisational/ management studies, who have sought to piece together a psychological profile of the 'effective' impression manager. Considerable research in the field of IM has, therefore, investigated the psychological determinants of 'effective' IMS with a view to answering the question, 'What type of person is able to consistently adapt their impression to multiple contexts in which they find themself?'.

Impression Management and Self-Monitoring Skills:

Research suggests that skills of impression management are related to *self-monitoring skills*. These are the skills which make an individual more or less sensitive to situational cues and more or less able to monitor behaviour so as to keep it appropriate. Snyder, who introduced the term, describes the high self-monitor as 'someone who is particularly sensitive to cues to the situational appropriateness of his or her social behavior and who uses these cues as guidelines for monitoring (that is, regulating and controlling) his or her expressive behavior and self-presentations' (Snyder, 1987: 14). Conversely, the low self-monitor is less attentive to self-presentations, which 'seem, in a functional sense, to be controlled by inner attitudes, dispositions and values' (Snyder, 1987: 14).

Smith et al. (1990) define high and low self-monitors in the following, rather similar, terms:

> The high self-monitor is pragmatic and behaves strategically and appropriately to obtain outcomes, regulating his or her expressive self-presentations for the sake of desired public appearances. The low self-monitor is principled and behaves in accordance with his or her own attitudes, feelings, or other inner states. These persons are self-presentational to their own inner audiences.
>
> (Smith, Cody, LoVette & Canary, 1990: 100)

Snyder (1987) comments on several other differences between low and high self-monitors. For example, in terms of their choice of friends, the former tend to choose the same group of friends for a number of activities, the latter tend to choose different friends for different activities. Thus, high self-monitors tend to have non-exclusive, uncommitted relationships, while low self-monitors tend to enter close, exclusive relationships (Snyder, 1987: 65).

Low and high self-monitors have also been found to differ in terms of what causes them to become depressed. While high self-monitors get depressed when they are seen as incapable, low self-monitors do so when they act in ways that do not conform to their beliefs and values (Snyder, 1987: 116). Also, high self-monitors appear to be more capable of expressing themselves and deceiving others than low self-monitors (Snyder, 1987: 35-36). Smith et al. (1990) similarly note that low self-monitors decline to manipulate others (Smith et al., 1990: 101).

In a similar vein, Schlenker & Weigold (1990) found in their research into private and public self-consciousness (which are conceptually related to low and high self-monitoring skills respectively) and impression management that:

> Publicly self-conscious people present themselves as cooperative, conforming team players and report significant social trepidations. When interacting with an audience, they adapt their behavior to conform to the expectations and preferences of others. Privately self-conscious people, in contrast, present themselves as autonomous and independent. When interacting, they attempt to communicate these images, even if so doing means being significantly influenced by social norms and audience expectations.
>
> (Schlenker & Weigold, 1990: 827)

It is interesting that self-monitoring skills have also been investigated in cross-cultural contexts. Bond & Hwang (1986) found, for example, that self-monitoring skills were very close, conceptually, to Yang's (1981) 'social orientation', which, according to Yang, leads the Chinese to attach greater weight than Westerners to the reactions of others (Bond & Hwang, 1986: 221). Yang (quoted in Bond & Hwang, 1986), states that the consequences of Chinese concern over others' reactions are:

> ... submission to social expectations, social conformity, worry about external opinions, and non-offensive strategy in an attempt to achieve one or more of the purposes of reward attainment, harmony maintenance, impression management, face protection, social acceptance, and avoidance of punishment, embarrassment, conflict, rejection, ridicule, and retaliation in a social situation.
>
> (Yang, 1981:161)

Smith and Bond (1993) point out, however, that 'self-monitoring skills', as conceived of by Snyder (1979, 1987) may be the product of a Western, 'individualist' perspective. They argue that in collectivist contexts, such as Hong Kong (see discussion below), self-monitoring may consist of monitoring others' behaviours as well as monitoring one's own behaviours (Smith & Bond, 1993: 98).

Impression Management and Sincerity/Conformity:

Research suggests that an individual's combination of conformity and sincerity may affect their use of particular impression managing strategies. People who are low in sincerity, for example, may use more conscious impression managing strategies, such as ingratiation, than those higher in sincerity. Similarly, people who are high in conformity may also use more conscious impression managing strategies than those lower in conformity. Ralston and Elsass (1991), in their study of IM and conformity, use the following 2 x 2 scheme to establish four extreme individual styles of conformity:

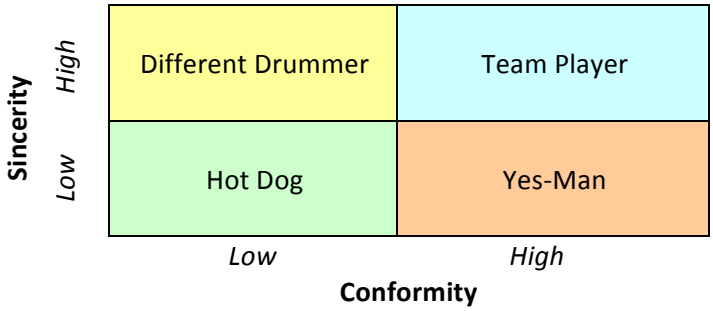


Figure 2.1 Individual Styles of Conformity (Ralston & Elsass, 1991: 245)

According to this scheme, the 'Team Player' is the person who conforms to an organisation's norms out of a genuine desire to be part of the group or out of strong identification with the group. This person behaves in organisationally appropriate ways (eg in terms of their dress, their behaviour and their value systems) through a sincere desire to contribute to the team's success. Conversely, the 'Yes-Man', while scoring highly on the conformity scale, is unlike the Team-Player in that this person's motives for conforming are insincere. Ingratiatory behaviours are used, such as expressing opinions that conform with those of the supervisor yet conflict with the person's true opinions. The purpose of such behaviours is to achieve personal gain. The 'Different Drummer' is high in sincerity and low in conformity. This type of person is genuinely different, a free thinker, who voices nonconformist opinions often on small matters for the organisation's greater good. Self-protection is notably absent from their discourse. Finally, the 'Hot Dog' is the person who uses nonconformity to achieve personal aims. Their instrumental use of individuality may also be a form of ingratiation in that idiosyncracy may bring rewards. However, unlike Yes-Men, who benefit from conformity, Hot Dogs can only exist and thrive if tolerated by those in power (Ralston & Elsass, 1991: 245).

It is important to beware, though, of making generalisations based on a Western perspective on sincerity and conformity. In Western cultures, 'sincerity' (or, *being true to oneself*) has a highly individualistic flavour, which is positively valenced, whereas 'conformity' has a more 'societal' feel, which tends to be somewhat negatively valenced. When comparing Western and Eastern cultures, it would not be surprising, for example, to find that Western cultures value, and therefore demonstrate, higher levels of sincerity and Eastern cultures value, and therefore demonstrate, higher levels of conformity. Yang's findings, quoted above, for example, suggest that social conformity, whereby individuals seek to maintain social harmony and the social order, is an important cornerstone of a Confucian outlook (see below). One should be careful, therefore, of adopting an ethnocentric perspective.

Impression Management and Language Ability:

Research by Bond (1991, 1993) suggests that impression managing style may be affected by language ability, since language is one of the most significant means by which people present themselves to others. In the case of non-native speaking employees, Bond (1991) points out that some mismanagement and misinterpretation of impressions is inevitable in multicultural contexts due to the linguistic difficulties faced by non-native speakers. Some non-native speakers clearly do not have a sufficient grasp of the language to enable them to adequately communicate a desired impression. Thomas (1984) touches on this with her concepts of 'pragmalinguistic' and 'sociopragmatic' failure mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Bond (1991: 210) reminds us, too, that the more linguistically 'perfect' their self-presentation, the more problematic may be impression management for the non-native speaker, since, as a speaker's proficiency increases, so do the chances that the speaker will be judged according to native speaker norms. In other words, although 'perfect' self-expression in a language allows differences between people to be seen clearly, it may mask the fact that differences are attributable to a different cultural values. The implication here is that pragmalinguistic errors may be more readily identified and 'forgiven' than sociopragmatic ones.

In conclusion, this short review of impression management has discussed a number of studies which have investigated factors affecting impression managing style. This type of work has enabled researchers to build up a psychological profile of the 'effective' impression

manager. This research has been of great practical value in helping us understand processes such as leadership, arbitration, performance appraisal and so on.

However, it should be remarked that much of the research has depended on self-reporting and laboratory experiments rather than on empirical observation, and it is by no means certain that empirical observation will support what has been observed under laboratory conditions. Secondly, much of the research appears to have been carried out in a fragmented manner, rather than from an integrated perspective. As a result, a number of findings appear to be conflicting or inconclusive.

A survey of the literature also reveals that the concept of impression management has tended to be applied in contexts that either are monocultural, or are treated as though they are monocultural, and few researchers have considered inter-ethnic or inter-gender impression management, or sought to explain the ethnic or gender bases of impression management[9], both of which might prove to be fruitful lines of enquiry.

Certain research cited above in section 2.2.1 suggested, for example, that interesting intercultural differences might exist in terms of impression management-related behaviour by men and women[10]. Larwood's (1991) study, for example, linked impression management and the use of sexual stereotypes, and differentiated between first- and second-order gender effects. First-order gender effects occur when a sexual stereotype is deliberately used to create a particular impression *by supporting tradition*:

(i) when a man deliberately exaggerates certain attributes normally associated with men in order to project a 'masculine' impression, and vice versa.

(ii) when a woman deliberately exaggerates 'masculine' traits in order to set herself apart from other women, and vice versa. (Larwood, 1991: 182)

Second-order effects, on the other hand, occur when a person applies a sexual stereotype because they believe that a subjectively important audience has certain stereotypic expectations, for example, when a woman knows that her male supervisor has certain sexual biases, and this knowledge leads her to also act in a biased way (Larwood, 1991: 180). Research by Larwood, Szwajkowski & Rose (1988) suggests that as the difference in power between the supervisor and the subordinate increases, so does the tendency for second-order gender effects to be observed.

Lastly, although much of the research into impression management has concentrated on the communicative strategies used by effective impression managers, for example ingratiatory behaviours, it has not tended to consider the *conversational styles* that are associated with effective impression management. Thus, little appears to be known of (i) the linguistic/ pragmatic features of effective impression managers' discourse, or (ii) the impression managing consequences of using certain forms of discourse.

Studies of Influence Strategies in the Workplace

It was mentioned above that conscious impression management often occurs in situations in which there is a clear short-term goal to be attained. In such cases, impression management may be considered an integral part of an 'influence strategy'.

Different influence strategies are appropriate to different situations. For example, an applicant in a job interview (upward influence), a boss trying to inveigle staff to work overtime (downward influence) and a colleague asking another for a favour (lateral influence) - all may use different strategies in order to achieve their goals.

Nevertheless, in each of these cases, the 'source' of the influence attempt will try to make a 'good' impression on the 'target'. This notion of 'good impression' is a relative one in much the same way as Tannen referred to linguistic strategies being relative. One impression will not fit all situations.

In the first situation above, for example, a 'good' impression may, depending on circumstances, be a 'professional', 'committed', or 'self-effacing' one; in the second situation, a 'good impression' may be a 'human', 'beneficent' or 'overbearing' one; in the third situation, a 'good impression' may be one of 'feigned incompetence', 'helplessness', 'amiability' and so on. These are obviously just examples of possible interpretations of the notion of 'good impression'. However, in each case, a 'good' impression by definition is seen to contribute to the success of an influence strategy[11].

A considerable body of research has focused on the range of influence strategies used in the workplace, both by subordinates to influence their superiors, and by superiors to influence subordinates. For example, research that has been conducted into upward influence strategies includes work by Deluga & Perry (1994), Kipnis, Schmidt & Wilkinson (1980), Kipnis & Schmidt (1988), Liden & Mitchell (1988), Mowday (1978), Pandey & Rastogi (1979),

Ralston (1985), Roloff & Barnicott (1978), Schilit & Locke (1982), Tandon, Ansari & Kapoor (1990), Wortman & Linsenmeier (1977), and Yukl & Tracey (1992). Researchers have also investigated downward influence strategies used by leaders to influence their subordinates. Examples of studies in this area include those by Bachman, Bowers & Marcus (1968), Barge, Downs & Johnson (1989), Burgoon, Dillard, Doran & Miller (1982), Lord (1977), Rahim & Buntzman (1989), Tedeschi, Bonoma and Schlenker (1972) and Tedeschi & Melburg (1984).

Much of this research has, however, been driven by the desire to understand which influence strategies are more effective than others (ie result in compliance), rather than to understand the impressions that are created by the use of different influence strategies. Although these are perhaps related areas (since one assumes that the most effective influence strategies not only lead to compliance but also lead to positive impressions of the person attempting to influence[12]), only certain of the studies mentioned above are of specific relevance to the study of impression management.

Some research in the area of intra-organisational influence does, however, specifically set out to explore the relationship between influence strategies and person perception. Such research tends to interpret 'influence' as an exercise of 'social power' or sophisticated social exchange, which may operate largely outside the boundaries of formal economic exchange.

Thus, although senior staff in any organisation tend to have the greatest control over resources, and this can be directly translated into social influence through crude economic exchange, social power is not the exclusive property of supervisors. Many studies have, indeed, concluded that influence is exercised by almost everyone in organisations in one way or another. As Kipnis et al. (1980) point out, in organisations, 'everyone is influencing everyone else... regardless of job title. People seek benefits, information, satisfactory job performance, the chance to do better than others, to be left alone, cooperation, and many other outcomes too numerous to mention' (Kipnis et al., 1980: 451).

Influence is not, therefore, simply a matter of the use of crude financial inducements; neither is it just a matter of attempting to secure short-term advantages. Individuals tend to also try to create and sustain positive images of themselves in their negotiations with others through the use of long-term strategies.

How such 'reputational' impressions are created is an issue that has concerned Tedeschi and his colleagues over the last twenty years. Tedeschi, Bonoma & Schlenker (1972) argue that

influence processes can best be described by looking at social influence from two sides - from the point of view of a 'source' (X) (the person seeking to influence) and the 'target' (Y) (the person being subjected to an influence attempt). They then describe a range of 'source characteristics' that may be possessed by the source. These are termed 'truthfulness', 'authority', 'control of resources', 'expertise/ competence', and 'mediation of rewards'. Such characteristics, it is argued, constitute X's recognised indicators of power. (Tedeschi et al., 1972: 358)

Tedeschi et al. point out, however, that these indicators of power are worth little unless they are recognised by targets (Y) of influence attempts made by the source (X). Thus, X's indicators of power are filtered through, and given substance by, Y's perceptions of X. In general terms, it is the 'believability' of X in Y's eyes that leads to Y's compliance or non-compliance with X's request. 'Believability' (or 'expected value'), according to Tedeschi et al. is derived from the 'trust', 'status', 'prestige', 'esteem' and 'liking' which are awarded to X by Y on the basis of Y's experience of X (Tedeschi et al., 1972: 354-358).

In this way, a high and consistent level of 'truthfulness' on the source's part normally leads to a similar level of 'trust' on the part of the target. The trust of others is one of the most important bases of a person's power, and is extremely significant in social influence processes in social networks. However, as Tedeschi (1990) points out in his later work, 'truthfulness' is potentially a rather complex phenomenon, which may operate in different ways with different speech acts:

> The target's perception of the source's truthfulness may be a simple average over various verifiable speech acts. Threats, promises, warnings and other kinds of speech acts may be lumped together by the target in calculating an overall index of truthfulness. On the other hand, the importance or significance of the events, the kind of relationship that exists between source and target, and the negativity versus positivity of events may cause people to give different weights to categories in calculating a Truthfulness Index for a particular other person. So little is known about this process that it may even be the case that separate indices are maintained by target persons of the truthfulness of various forms of speech acts. Thus, there may be separate Truthfulness Indices for threats, promises, warnings, statements of fact, etc.
>
> (Tedeschi, 1990: 308)

Similarly, Tedeschi et al. (1972) consider that 'liking' (interpersonal attractiveness) as a source of social influence, may be a significant factor in the compliance or non-compliance of targets of influence attempts. While 'liking' may be secured on the basis of simple economic rewards, it appears unlikely that such rewards are the only, or even the best,

means of making oneself 'interpersonally attractive'. Clearly, there is no one-to-one correspondence between rewards and liking. However, as Tedeschi et al. (1972) point out, it appears clear that being *disliked* by a target may be the result of not being given rewards, and 'disliking' may lead to a reduction in X's influence over Y. This may, in turn, lead X to use more coercive forms of influence.

Tedeschi (1990) illustrates the model outlined above diagrammatically in Figure 2.2 below:

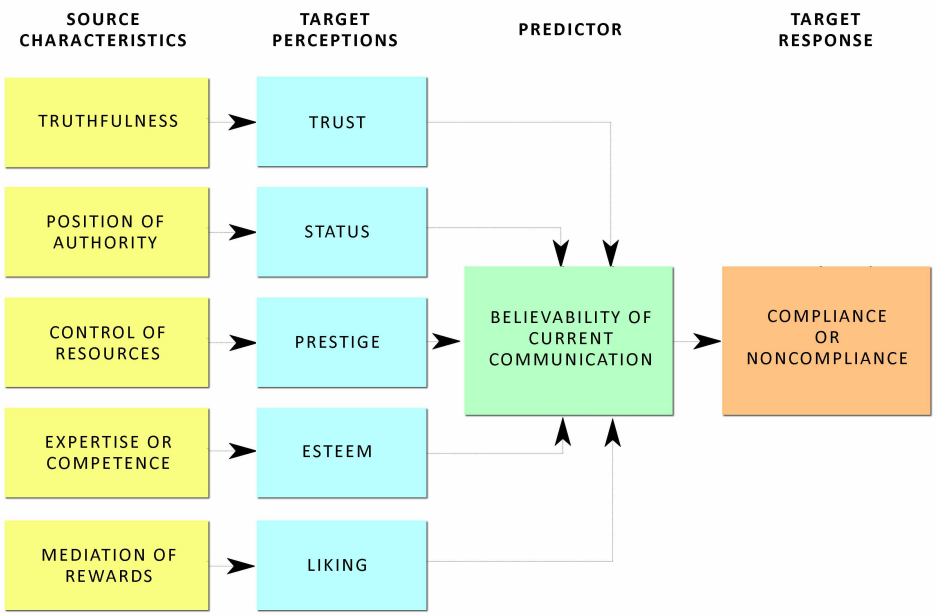


Figure 2.2 Source Characteristics, Target Perceptions, Believability and Compliance (Tedeschi, 1990: 307)

The interactionist perspective on social power adopted by Tedeschi et al. stresses the interpersonal nature of social influence processes, and emphasises the effects of target perceptions on the outcome of influence attempts. In this context, in which power is negotiated rather than fixed, an individual's power 'reserves' are to some extent dependent upon their impression management.

Another model that emphasises the interactional nature of influence is the Vertical Dyad Linkage model proposed by Deluga and Perry (1994). This model starts from the assumption that effective leadership is a matter of forming healthy social exchange relationships with subordinates. These are termed 'high quality leader-member exchanges'. These high quality exchanges are characterised by a high level of trust, support, interpersonal attraction, loyalty and mutual influence between the superior and subordinate (Deluga &

Perry, 1994: 67). In such exchanges, there are tangible benefits for both superiors and subordinates, in the form of material rewards, good performance appraisals and so on.

Lower quality exchanges, on the other hand, are typified by lower levels of trust and support, and are characterised by unidirectional downward influence and the exercise of formal organisational authority (Deluga & Perry, 1994: 68).

In their study of how leader-member exchanges develop, Deluga & Perry discovered that certain non-performance-related impression managing activities, such as subordinate ingratiation, augment performance in facilitating the development of higher quality exchanges. Clearly, impression management is an integral part of the development of leader-member exchanges.

As mentioned above, many researchers have been interested in developing a taxonomy, or 'league table', of the strategies individuals use to get their way in the workplace. Researchers who have been involved in this task include Case et al. (1988); Jordan & Roloff (1990); Kipnis & Schmidt (1988); Kipnis et al. (1980); Mowday (1978); Schilit & Locke (1982); Tandon, Ansari & Kapoor (1990); and Yukl & Tracey (1992)).

A brief review of several of the studies that have been carried out in this area reveals that there is as yet no single agreed, exhaustive, taxonomy of influence strategies. Studies, largely based on laboratory experiments and self-reporting techniques, have, in fact, resulted in several inconclusive taxonomies, although several strategies are consistently identified by researchers as being particularly effective. These appear to have a bearing on our understanding of how impression management operates in the workplace.

Kipnis et al. (1980), for example, describe eight 'dimensions of influence'. These they term 'assertiveness', 'ingratiation', 'rationality', 'sanctions', 'exchange', 'upward appeals', 'blocking', and 'coalitions'. In a similar study by Tandon et al. (1990), strategies were classified into five categories: 'reasoning' (giving reasons, using logic etc); 'personalised help and ingratiation' (doing personal favours, using words that make the superior feel good, etc); 'conditional cooperation and confrontation' (offering an exchange of favour, blocking, appealing to higher ups, challenging etc); 'defiance' (showing disagreement, opposing etc); and 'coalition' (gaining cooperation from co-workers).

In one of the most recent studies of influence strategies used in upward, lateral and downward influence attempts, Yukl & Tracey (1992) identify nine types of influencing behaviour. These are summarised in table 2.1 below.

Rational persuasion	Using logical arguments and factual information to convince a target that the agent's request or proposal is feasible and consistent with shared objectives.
Inspirational appeal	Using the target's values, ideals, aspirations and emotions as a basis for gaining commitment to a request or proposal.
Consultation	Giving others a sense of ownership of a project, strategy or change after participating in planning how to implement it.
Ingratiation	Increasing the target's feeling of positive regard toward the agent (eg flattery, praise, expression of acceptance, and expression of agreement are used to increase the agent's attractiveness to the target)
Exchange	Explicit or implicit offers by an agent to provide a favour or benefit to the target in return for doing what the agent requests.
Personal appeals	Using referent power[13] already possessed by the agent. When a target has strong feelings of friendship toward the agent, it is more likely that the agent can appeal successfully to the target to do something unusual or extra as a special favour (eg do some extra work, make a change to accommodate me etc).
Coalition tactics	Enlisting the aid or endorsement of other people to influence the target to do what the agent wants.
Legitimating tactics	Attempting to verify the legitimacy of a request and the agent's authority or right to make it. These tactics are most appropriate for a request which is unusual and of doubtful legitimacy to the target person.
Pressure tactics	Using coercive power, which is greater in relation to subordinates than in relation to peers or superiors. The use of this tactic often indicates a type of request or proposal for which target commitment or even compliance is difficult to attain.

Table 2.1 Influencing Behaviors (Yukl & Tracey, 1992: 526)

Yukl & Tracey (1992) grouped influence strategies according to their most common direction of use, and found that rational persuasion was more commonly used in an upward direction than in a downward or lateral direction, while inspirational appeal, consultation, ingratiation, exchange and pressure tactics were all used more in a downward direction.

Personal appeals, coalition tactics and legitimating tactics, on the other hand, were used more in a lateral direction than in a downward or upward direction.

In findings similar to these, Case et al. (1988) confirmed that respondents in their study reported that 'presenting facts and data as support' was the most successful influence strategy, while the least was 'telling, arguing, or talking without support' (Case et al., 1988: 30). Similarly, Schilit & Locke (1982) report that the logical presentation of ideas is one of the commonest successful influence tactics (Schilit & Locke, 1982: 309). Others include 'trading job-related benefits, using repetition or persistence, and going over the supervisor's head'. Jordan & Roloff (1990), mention the importance of establishing 'request force' and 'request legitimacy', and of 'relational intimacy' (Jordan & Roloff, 1990: 522-526). Tandon, Ansari & Kapoor (1990), on the other hand, talk of the role of 'interpersonal relationships', 'support from members of the organisation', 'competence', 'open-mindedness', and 'the manner in which an influence attempt is made' in their study of successful influence attempts (Tandon et al., 1990: 60). Mowday (1978) also mentions that the 'timing' of an influence attempt may be an important determinant of its success or failure (Mowday, 1978: 153).

Case et al. (1988) discovered that sources seldom reported using single influence tactics in their attempts to influence their targets, and that combined influence tactics tended to be more successful than single tactics. They also made the point that some influence attempts may fail to establish short-term goals but succeed in achieving long-term influence (Case et al., 1988: 31). An example of this is when a subordinate uses rational persuasion to influence a superior and is not successful in achieving the immediate goal, but is successful in creating a positive image of him or herself in the eyes of the superior. Clearly this research leads to a better understanding of impression management practices in the workplace.

In related research, studies have often sought to define the factors that affect influence strategy choice. It appears from this research that the use of particular influence strategies by sources is affected by several factors other than the respective ranks of source and target. If research by Kipnis et al. (1980), Pandey & Rastogi (1979), Kumar and Beyerlain (1991), Liden & Mitchell (1988), Rotter (1966), Ralston (1985) and Katz & Danet (1966) is synthesised, the following list can be produced of factors that appear to affect strategy choice.

(i) The relative power, organisational status and locus of control of the 'source' and the 'target'.

(ii) Personal characteristics of the 'source' (eg machiavellianism, self-monitoring skills).

(iii) Reasons for the influence attempt and the locus of benefit of the request.

(iv) Resistance of the target.

(v) The size of the organisation, and whether it is unionised.

It is likely that these factors also have an impact on the conscious impression management styles used by sources in influence attempts. Some of these factors, insofar as they relate to the discourse used to manage impressions, are described in Chapter 10 of this study.

Intercultural Studies

The communicative strategies used by different ethnic groups in mono- and multi-cultural encounters have been the subject of a considerable body of research in the area of intercultural studies.

Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978), referred to earlier in the discussion of gender and discourse, has, for example, considered some of the ways in which individuals define themselves in terms of their social group membership. Social identity theory suggests that communicative strategies may be instrumental in 'the establishment of positively valued distinctiveness between one's own and other groups' (Hewstone, Bond & Wan, 1983).

Tajfel's main area of interest is in terms of social groups which have a poor self image as a result of inferior social status. Strategies that are used by minorities unable to find a positive basis of comparison between their group and other (dominant) groups include *social mobility*, *social creativity* and *social change* (Smith & Bond, 1993: 81). In terms of the communication strategies used by minority groups, *social mobility* may involve the adoption by minority groups of discourse patterns commonly associated with the dominant group[14]; *social creativity* may involve a redefinition of what constitute 'positive' features of discourse, for example 'indirectness' versus 'directness' in discourse[15]; *social change* may involve bringing about change in the discourse practices of the majority group, for example, a change in company policy on non-standard pronunciation among staff[16]. In fact, it is the aim of the present study, through training, to address all three aspects of intergroup relations in the workplace.

Other research that has considered multicultural discourse within a sociological framework has been undertaken in the areas of 'speech accommodation theory' (SAT) and 'ethnolinguistic identity theory' (a refinement of SAT in interethnic contexts (Beebe & Giles, 1984: 12)). These theories, very briefly, developed from a desire to understand how speakers converge or diverge in their speech patterns according to whether they wish to associate themselves with, or dissociate themselves from, others in encounters which are markedly person- or group-salient (Giles, 1977). Banks (1987), for example, in a study of the discourse of Hispanic managers in an Anglo-American organisation, discovered that such managers were under considerable pressure to 'deethnicise' their discourse before thay could acquire higher power positions in the organisation. Within this area, studies have examined a number of discourse-related factors which appear to affect perceptions of speakers. These include *accented language* (see Giles & Franklin-Stokes (1989) for a treatment of 'ethnic-talk' and social class categorisation; also, Rubin, DeHart & Heintzman (1991) discuss the effects of accented speech on subordinates' impressions of managers during compliance-gaining attempts); *lexical choice* (see Pedersen (1983) for a discussion of lexical choices made by Chinese and American students); *gaze-direction* (see Asante & Davis (1989) for a review of the literature which has examined differences in gaze-direction between Black and White speakers of English); and so on.

Lastly, of particular relevance to this review are intercultural studies that have sought to explain different cultural groups' behaviours in terms of their value systems. Such studies help us to interpret culture-specific behaviours, many of which have impression management consequences, in their own terms rather than from our own culturally biased perspectives.

One of the most influential studies of this type was carried out by Hofstede (1980, 1983, 1985). Hofstede conducted a major comparative survey of variations in individual, corporate, and national cultural value systems, using a psychometric testing instrument which investigated the values of staff in branches of a large multinational corporation around the world. From his findings, Hofstede (1980) distinguished four scales along which cultural values varied, scales which he termed *power distance*, *uncertainty avoidance*, *individualism* and *masculinity*. The following very brief review of each of these dimensions describes how each is manifested typically in Western and Chinese societies.

Power distance describes the steepness of the hierarchy of power relations within a company or a society, and is defined as 'a measure of the interpersonal power or influence

between B [boss] and S [subordinate] as perceived by the least powerful of the two' (Hofstede, 1980: 98). Highly-stratified societies are high in power distance, while more egalitarian societies (eg Scandinavian countries in particular) are lower in power distance. Hofstede's research indicates that in Chinese societies, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, people tend to demonstrate greater deference towards those in power than they do in Western societies. This, Hofstede suggests, is due to the greater power distance that exists in Chinese societies.

Uncertainty avoidance is the extent to which individuals within a society are prepared to tolerate uncertainty in their lives (Hofstede, 1980: 153). High uncertainty avoidance suggests a low tolerance of uncertainty. Hong Kong, for example, has been demonstrated to be lower in uncertainty avoidance than Western societies such as Britain or the United States, ie Chinese people living in Hong Kong have a relatively high tolerance for uncertainty.

Individualism is a matter of the extent to which individuals within a society have individually motivated goals as opposed to collective goals (Hofstede, 1980: 213). Hofstede discovered that people in Western societies traditionally demonstrate a high degree of individualism, whereas in Chinese societies, people demonstrate a high level of collectivism. This view is supported by other research in the area of Chinese psychology (eg Ho, 1976; Hu, 1944; Hwang, 1982; Hwang, 1985) which suggests that individualism is, in certain contexts, frowned upon by the Chinese. According to this research, the Chinese position themselves conceptually within a complex web of social networks with high levels of reciprocity of obligations, dependence and esteem protection (Ho, 1976). This contrasts markedly with Western preoccupation with the individual. Tang & Kirkbride's (1986) study supports this view of Hong Kong Chinese.

Masculinity relates to the manner in which individuals seek to attain their goals. High masculinity is associated with ambitious assertiveness, while low masculinity is associated with a caring, altruistic attitude towards others (Hofstede, 1980: 261). Chinese and Western societies differ, according to Hofstede, in that Chinese societies are marked by slightly higher masculinity than Western societies.

A large research project conducted by Chinese Culture Connection researchers (1987), which sought to describe the cultural value systems of Chinese societies in a number of countries generally supported Hofstede's findings. Despite the different titles given to the identified dimensions (*integration*, *human-heartedness*, *moral discipline* and *Confucian work*

dynamism), there are great similarities between these dimensions and those elaborated by Hofstede. According to Smith & Bond (1993) the first three dimensions identified by the Chinese Culture Connection are roughly equivalent to Hofstede's *collectivism*, *masculinity*, and *high power distance* respectively.

Confucian work dynamism is, however, a dimension that appears to be of particular relevance for describing Chinese values. Consisting of the values of 'ordering relationships', 'thrift', 'persistence', 'a sense of shame', 'reciprocation', 'personal steadiness', 'face', and 'respecting tradition' (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987: 150), the term taps the Confucian current that appears to run through the life patterns of most Chinese people, irrespective of where they live.

Despite the fact that the Chinese in Hong Kong have undoubtedly been influenced by Western values, an understanding of Confucian values helps explain many of the behaviours exhibited by the Chinese in their daily affairs. As Bond & Hwang (1986) point out, evidence suggests that Confucian values are extremely impervious to change, and appear to define Chinese life patterns in an enduring fashion irrespective of where the Chinese settle (Bond & Hwang, 1986: 228).

Given the explanatory power of Confucianism, it is, therefore, worthwhile describing some of its most salient features, and describing how they influence Chinese behaviour in everyday life. The features that are commonly identified as salient in the literature are the following. It is important to acknowledge, however, that these features are, in reality, inseparable from each other.

(i) *Collectivism*

Many researchers have commented on the collectivistic orientation of Chinese societies (eg Bond & Hwang (1986), The Chinese Culture Connection (1987), Hofstede (1980), Hsu (1971), Kirkbride et al. (1991)). As was commented before, Chinese and Western societies differ in the importance they ascribe to collective and individual goals. In the West, people are taught from an early age to have individual goals and to value personal achievement. In Chinese societies, on the other hand, children are taught the value of social conformity and social harmony (Kirkbride et al, 1991: 367).

As was seen above, Hofstede's (1980) research suggests that Chinese societies demonstrate a steep social hierarchy and collectivism, while Western societies tend, typically, to demonstrate a 'flatter' hierarchy and individualism. Also, in Chinese societies, individuals learn to view themselves as an integral part of the social order, bound to their family or clan, and having obligations to it. Conversely, Western children tend to be encouraged to see themselves first as individuals, and only then as members of a community.

As Tang & Kirkbride comment:

> Subordinates (in Chinese societies) are taught to be obliging and submissive to their superior. Group interest and opinion are highly valued and one is expected to sacrifice one's own personal interest to the group interest. Mutual dependence and obligation are thus emphasised while individual independence and antagonisms are denied. (Tang & Kirkbride, 1986: 293)

Such differences may partly explain why Westerners are so voluble and the Chinese sometimes so reserved in the business meetings that are part of the present research project. For example, the analysis in Chapters 6 to 9 demonstrates that in meeting types in which Chinese participants are in the minority (eg coordination meetings), their contributions are extremely limited, while in meetings in which they are equally represented (eg brainstorming meetings), they are just as voluble as Westerners. The data for Western participants illustrates that the expression of personal opinions is a significant feature of their discourse, irrespective of their 'numerical status' in meetings or considerations of meeting-type.

ii) *Social relationships* (guanxi, 关系)

In collectivistic societies, social relationships tend to assume great importance. In Chinese societies, such relationships are governed by what is termed *guanxi*. Unlike 'friendship', which in the West tends to have few implications in terms of mutual obligations, *guanxi* is a bond between people, on the basis of which friends are expected to look after each other's wellbeing. In other words, in Chinese societies, interdependence between people tends to be fostered.

It has also been remarked by Kirkbride et al. (1991) that *guanxi* implies obligations to third parties who are known to only one of the two parties in a social relationship (Kirkbride et al., 1991: 370). This fact changes what might otherwise be a situation

of simple bipartite exchange into a social network with a complex set of mutual dependences.

Such is the importance of *guanxi* in Chinese societies that there is no distinction between personal relationships and business relationships. This contrasts markedly with the West, where the two sets of relationships are kept largely separate, and may be governed by quite different rules.

Lafayette De Mente (1994) states, for example, that:

> Proper human relations in Chinese terms means personal relations primarily based on Confucianism. A successful business relationship between Chinese companies begins with the establishment of a personal bond between the principal managers of the companies and is based thereafter on the careful maintenance of these personal ties. (Lafayette De Mente, 1994: 196)

(iii) *Face* (minzi[17],面子)

In Chinese societies, 'face' is central to much of social behaviour, and people talk of *giving*, *harming* and *protecting* face. Much thought is given to protecting one's own and others' face. It is considered very impolite to harm others' face, for example, by embarrassing them in public, and giving face to people through elaborate forms of respect and obligation is considered polite (see below).

Bond & Hwang (1986) comment that the concept of 'face' is not an exclusively Chinese one, although the ways in which 'face' operates appear to vary considerably from culture to culture (Bond & Hwang, 1986: 244 - 245). In an individualistic culture, for example, individuals are free to choose the image they project to others. Goffman (1955) was referring to this when he stated that 'face' is 'the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes' (Goffman, 1955: 213). Infringement of that face leads to embarrassment that is very personally based.

In Chinese societies, on the other hand, 'face' is far more socially based, and rooted in the collective perspective. The Chinese, in contrast to Westerners, are not free to project images at will, since they are constrained by the existing social order. This social order requires that people respect their relative positions within the order,

and accord respect, or 'face', to those around them (both superior and subordinate). In Lafayette De Mente's terms, this means 'doing everything possible to protect your face and the face of family and friends and stoically accepting the natural and manmade vicissitudes of life as things that cannot be avoided' (Lafayette De Mente, 1994: 169).

Ho (1976) comments that 'face' in Chinese societies is often used for social control which 'works' in situations where formal authority itself would not be enough, especially informal situations. That is:

> Insofar as an employee is performing his duties as specified by his job, he is obligated to follow the instructions of his employer; but it may well be out of a consideration for the *mien-tzu* of his employer that he complies with a request which goes beyond the formal requirements of duty, for example, accompanying his employer to social functions, or doing things of a personal nature for him. (Ho, 1976: 874)

This view suggests that Tedeschi et al.'s model for understanding social influence (see discussion on pages 27 - 29, and Figure 2.2) may be inadequate in that it may define social influence processes exclusively from the perspective of Western, individualistic cultures. For it to take account of collectivistic cultures, such as Hong Kong, it might be necessary to add a further source characteristic - target perception pair termed *guanxi* and *minzi* respectively.

In the corpus of cross-cultural meetings used in this study, there are a number of differences between meeting attenders' communication behaviour that may be attributed to differences in the way in which 'face' is interpreted. For example, Western participants interrupt more than their Chinese colleagues during meetings, either to complete another speaker's utterance, or to contradict it. Chinese participants, however, tend not to interrupt, and appear to prefer to remain quiet while others speak. In interview, it emerged that Westerners considered it appropriate to interrupt or 'make encouraging noises', whereas Chinese participants considered their silence a sign of respect for other speakers. It also emerged that Western participants sometimes interpreted Chinese silence as a lack of ideas, and Chinese participants sometimes considered Western participants' interruptions symptomatic of not giving face to others.

(iv) *Obligations* (renqing, 人情)

It will be clear from the foregoing discussion that, in Chinese societies, it is essential that a person have respect for the social order and hierarchy. Driven by a strong sense of 'filial piety', individuals must respect their family members, especially their parents. Not to have respect for them (not to give them 'face', in other words) constitutes a questioning of the social order, and is considered morally indefensible. In contrast, the respect people have for their parents in the West tends to be based on emotional attachment, rather than a strong sense of moral obligation.

In order to affirm the social order, respect must be shown to those who are viewed to have *minzi*. In the case of family businesses, this is usually the father; in large organisations, this is the boss. Respect and obligations are thus the cornerstones of relations with superiors and subordinates in Chinese businesses.

In return for this respect, seniors in Chinese societies have certain obligations to their subordinates. For example, a Chinese boss is expected to take subordinates out for lunches, to give gifts at Lunar New Year (laissees), to show interest in employees' families' wellbeing, and so on. In return, subordinates accord the boss respect that may well exceed that accorded to Western bosses in organisations. Referring to the reciprocity that exists between respect and obligations, Redding & Wong (1986) state that, 'Chinese management control ... becomes more a matter of the subtle tying up of obligation networks' (Redding & Wong, 1986: 285).

(v) *Attitude towards Conflict*

The Chinese, with their strong sense of 'social harmony', find interpersonal conflict very disturbing, and try hard to avoid problems of this sort occurring. Tang & Kirkbride (1986) conclude that 'conflict avoidance' usually means handling problems informally. Therefore, if there is an interpersonal problem in an organisation, a Chinese boss will normally talk to the people involved individually and privately to try to resolve the problem without harming either person's face (Tang & Kirkbride, 1986: 294). This process, which has the benefits of suppressing aggression and helping to maintain harmony, is one of the obligations Chinese bosses have towards their subordinates.

Western bosses, however, often consider it more 'healthy' to bring interpersonal conflict out in the open in a public way, in order to get to the root of a problem. The benefits of doing this are, in Tang & Kirkbride's (1986) terms, 'better understanding, mutual trust, constructive competition and creativity' (Tang & Kirkbride, 1986: 294), although the drawbacks include the escalation of aggression and retaliatory behaviours.

This difference between Western and Chinese bosses almost certainly affects the ways in which Western and Chinese bosses conduct their meetings, and deal with conflict that occasionally arises in them.

2.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sought to present a review of literature from within the fields of applied linguistics and social psychology that may shed some light on the processes involved in impression management. In terms of applied linguistic research, I have considered the areas of *cross-cultural discourse analysis* and *gender-based studies of discourse*. In terms of social psychological research, I have focused on three areas: *impression management*, *intra-organisational influence*, and *intercultural studies*.

While it cannot be suggested that this brief chapter represents an exhaustive survey of the two principal domains considered, a number of interesting findings do emerge from this literature review. Firstly, in terms of applied linguistic research, it has been observed that while much of the research that has been conducted into cross-cultural and inter-gender discourse has considered aspects of self-presentational discourse, this has not been the main area of interest for researchers. Many researchers in cross-cultural discourse analysis, including those in the 'critical discourse analysis' tradition, have been motivated by a desire to understand the linguistic/pragmatic causes of communication breakdown in unequal cross-cultural encounters. Researchers in the area of gender-based discourse, on the other hand, have more usually been driven by a desire to describe the characteristics of female and male talk from a 'conversational style' point of view. Clearly, this has often involved consideration of the effects on an audience of what men and women say; however, this consideration has not normally been at the forefront of analysis.

Secondly, in terms of social psychological research, it has been seen that, although studies have often focussed on the ways in which people are perceived by others, research has usually been based on the use of questionnaires and experiments conducted under laboratory conditions. Analyses based on corpora of freely-occurring language data of the type used in the present study are, therefore, rare. Nevertheless, the very great benefit of considering research that has been conducted in the field of social psychology is that it provides a conceptual framework within which impression management can be understood, both insofar as it relates to communication within monocultural groups, and, of more importance to the present study, as it relates to communication in cross-cultural contexts.

Chapter Three

Materials and Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to explain the methodological paradigm within which the present study is situated and to provide information that allows the reader to more fully understand the context within which the study was conducted.

The methodological paradigm used for this study can be described as broadly 'ethnographic'. By the term 'ethnographic', I am referring to a methodological orientation that conforms to the following definition by Hymes (1977):

> In a word, ethnography is inquiry that begins with recognition that one is at work in situations that are indeed, massively prestructured, but prestructured by the history and ways of those among whom one inquires. At the heart of it is a process of which linguistic inquiry is indeed a model, if we set aside any particular model of grammar, and think of linguistic inquiry in the generic sense as *the interpretation of codes*. (Hymes, 1977: 171)

This methodological paradigm has at its heart, then, the principle that language use should be understood and interpreted from the perspective of the members of the particular social group that is being studied, while recognising that 'their languages, their expressions and styles, are indispensable sources of insight, but never in themselves a complete and adequate metalanguage of their own world.' (Hymes, 1977: 175).

Ethnographic field procedures are, according to Saville-Troike (1982), 'designed to get around the recorders' biased perceptions, and ... are grounded in the investigation of communication in natural contexts' (Saville-Troike, 1982: 117). An ethnographic approach to data collection is, therefore, one in which sufficient information is provided about the event being investigated to allow both the analyst and other outsiders to fully understand the event. To use Geertz' (1973) term, the process is one of 'thickening'.

Bhatia (1993) describes the thickening process in the following way:

> In order to thicken the description, discourse analysis needs a model which is rich in socio-cultural, institutional and organisational explanation, relevant and useful to language teachers and applied linguists rather than to grammatical theorists and discriminating enough to highlight variation rather than uniformity in functional language use; a model which is not seen as an extension of grammatical formalism but is truly applied in nature, in the sense that it requires minimum support and interference from grammatical theory, and exploits maximally the conventional aspects of language use. (Bhatia, 1993: 11)

Despite the fact that I have chosen to focus on apparently trouble-free non-dysfunctional discourse rather than Tannen's 'discourse in trouble' (see below), the procedural approach I have adopted in this study conforms fairly closely to the 'interactional sociolinguistic' methodological approach used by Tannen (1994). This approach has five stages:

(i) Tape-recording naturally occurring conversations
(ii) Identifying segments in which trouble is evident
(iii) Looking for culturally patterned differences in signaling meaning that could account for the trouble
(iv) Playing the recording, or segments of it, back to participants in order to solicit their spontaneous interpretations and reactions, and also, perhaps later, soliciting their responses to the researcher's interpretations; and
(v) Playing segments of the interaction for other members of the cultural groups represented by the speakers in order to discern patterns of interpretation. (Tannen, 1994: 6)

There are two principal differences between Tannen's approach and my own.

Firstly, rather than focusing on discourse that is 'in trouble', the approach adopted in the present study isolates a specific class of speech acts (directive speech acts). These speech acts are chosen on the basis that (i) they occur particularly frequently in the speech event being studied (business meetings), and (ii) they may have significant impression managing potential due to their implicitly face threatening nature. Secondly, while the approach adopted by Tannen does not have an explicit training component, the approach I use does (see Chapter 11).

The two methodological approaches do, however, share a number of features. Firstly, they are based on naturally occurring conversations. Secondly, culturally patterned differences are identified within the discourse of different groups. Thirdly, segments of the discourse are presented to both participants and other members of the cultural groups represented in order to collect their interpretations. These interpretations (or 'metapragmatic assessments' as Kasper & Dahl (1991: 238) term them) are particularly important given the hermeneutic nature of judgments of impression management. By collecting participants' own perceptions of their own and others' discourse in this way, explanation becomes more grounded and ethnographically 'thicker'. A discussion of the methodology used to analyse the impression managing potential of speech acts is given in section 10.2 (Chapter 10).

3.2 Phases of the Research Project

In 1991, as Assistant Director of the Centre for Professional & Business English, Hong Kong Polytechnic (now Hong Kong Polytechnic University), I was invited to attend and record a number of management-level meetings at Cathay Pacific Airways. These recordings were to be used to inform the design of a range of training materials in English for Specific Purposes (ESP) written specifically for the company. This corpus has since become the principal source of data for the present research project.

In 1991, during Phase I of the research project, I audio-recorded, over a one-week period, five meetings in a variety of departments at the airline, and subsequently transcribed these meetings. At the same time, I designed and implemented a cross-cultural management communication survey, involving responses from fifteen of the airline's managers. This survey appears in Appendix C.

Between 1992 and 1993, during Phase II of the project, I spent five weeks visiting the company, both to record further meetings and to converse with those who attended them. During this period, weekly meetings in a particular department (Ground Services Department) were video-recorded and subsequently transcribed. The ethnographic interviews that I conducted during this period, allowed me to develop hypotheses that took full account of participants' own perspectives. The ostensible product from these interviews is a range of ethnographic data about the company, its meetings and its staff. This body of data has proved indispensable for subsequent analysis.

The period between 1994 and 1996 (Phase III of the project) has consisted of analysis of the data in the corpus, further ethnographic interviews with staff, the development of a diagnostic tool with which to record participants' subjective judgments (or 'metapragmatic assessments') of each other's spoken discourse in business meetings, and a small-scale training programme conducted in the company. The switch in emphasis from training in English for Specific Purposes to training in cross-cultural awareness sprang partly from Cathay Pacific Airways' interest in this type of training. The final part of Phase III has consisted of the writing up of this study.

3.3 The Data

The corpus used in this study consists of eleven meetings audio- and video-recorded during Phases I and II of the project. This corpus is termed the 'Meetings at Work' (MAW) corpus and consists of approximately 140,000 words of transcribed spoken discourse lasting approximately 15 hours[18]. The entire corpus appears in Appendix D.

The Phase I meetings (recorded in 1991) were five cross-departmental co-ordination meetings, each lasting approximately ninety minutes. These meetings focused on the specific themes of customer service; aircraft interior modifications; airline planning; on-going engineering projects; and schedule integrity.

Of the six Phase II meetings (recorded in 1992), five were routine departmental management meetings in the Ground Services Department of the airline, each lasting approximately forty-five minutes. The remaining meeting was an extraordinary cross-departmental brainstorming meeting, lasting approximately two hours. This meeting was called to look at the issue of 'Quality Service' at check-in.

The following subset of airline departments are represented in the corpus:

Department:	*Responsible for:*
• Airline Planning	• scheduling flight times
• Ground Services	• ticketing and baggage services
• Customer Services Automation	• computerised reservations/check-in
• Cargo	• international freight services
• International Affairs	• negotiating contracts with other airlines and foreign governments
• Management Information Systems	• internal information systems
• Kai Tak Airport	• CPAs services in Kai Tak airport
• Engineering	• structural modifications to aircraft
• Flight Operations	• crewing and routing of aircraft
• Marketing & Passenger Product	• selling the product to the consumer

As mentioned above, in addition to the corpus, conclusions are supported by ethnographic data from staff collected during the three phases of the project. It is worth reiterating that ethnographic field procedures involve open-ended enquiry 'for which possible observations need not be precoded, and for which the test of validity need not fit within a prestructured model' (Hymes, 1977: 170). Participants' own perceptions of their discourse are, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, an integral part of analysis (see Chapter 10) and form one of the bases of the form of training advocated later in this study (see Chapter 11).

Ethnographic interview data (some of which was highly anecdotal) was supplemented with data from printed sources. Some related specifically to the corpus (such as agendas and minutes); some were of a general nature relating to the airline's operations (eg corporate documentation); and some were for 'public consumption' (such as news reports that appeared in the national press during the period of the project, eg coverage of the industrial action that took place in 1993 - see 3.4 below).

3.4 Background to Cathay Pacific Airways (CPA)

CPA is a Hong Kong-based firm. In addition to operating scheduled airline services (both through CPA and Dragonair), the company is also involved in other related services, including aircraft engineering, airline catering and airport security. The airline operations are principally to and from Hong Kong, and most of the company's other activities are also based in Hong Kong.

CPA is principally owned by Swire Pacific (51.8%), a British-controlled company, under the management of John Swire & Sons Limited. Other organisations that have a sizeable stake in the company include the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation (16.6%), and China Investment Trust and Investment Corporation (CITIC), a PRC-controlled company (12.5%). The remaining 19.1% is owned by Hong Kong residents and smaller businesses and institutions[19].

The total number of passengers carried in 1992 was 8.4 million. In addition to passenger fares, revenue is generated by excess baggage, mail and freight services. CPA is one of the top 15 freight-carrying airlines in the world, and around 35% of all Hong Kong's air freight carriage in and out of the territory is carried by the airline[20].

In 1992, CPA employed a total of 13,240 staff. Of these, 36.8% (4881) were Hong Kong ground staff, 8.1% (1075) were cockpit staff, and 30.7% (4065) were cabin staff. The remaining 24.4% of staff were unclassified[21]. The vast majority of these staff are ethnic Chinese, although there is a sizeable minority of Western expatriates (British, Australian, North American and so on).

During the period of this research (1991-1996), the airline has had a number of priority areas as summarised by *The Cathay Commitment for the 1990's* mission document. Priority areas include:

(i) *Customer satisfaction*

The Company believes that this can be achieved through reliable On-time Performance (OTP) and improvements in customer services. Since the early nineties, improvements have included in-flight TV & radio services; no-smoking flights to most destinations; new, electronically-controlled seats; a Frequent Flyers Programme; a relaunch of the First Class service; and the construction of a new 2000 m^2 First Class/ Marco Polo Club lounge at Kai Tak Airport, and a customised apron area at the new airport (CLK).

(ii) *Simplification of check-in procedures*

The airline has developed a computerised database (Cudos) to link computer terminals in reservations to those in ticketing offices and at check-in desks in order to offer passengers a variety of check-in methods. New software packages (Qikres and Qikcheck) have been introduced to accelerate the check-in process, and machine-readable tickets and boarding passes are planned for the future.

(iii) *Diversification*

Emphasis is placed on generating income in new areas, such as providing training and ground-handling services for other carriers. It is felt that in the highly competitive aviation world it is necessary to be innovative in terms of the services the airline offers.

(iv) *Environmentalism*

The company has introduced systems for conserving and recycling energy sources, and seeks to project an 'environmentally-friendly' image.

During the early part of this research project (1991-1993), the company went through a particularly difficult period in terms of relations between management and flight staff. Certain policies were introduced with the intention of curbing personnel costs (eg overtime and job substitution), and these proved unpopular with flight staff. The result was protracted industrial action in January 1993. In the press at the time, one of the major

causes of this industrial action was identified as poor communication between management and staff.

3.5 Departmental Structure

By its very nature, the aviation industry is one that has both a technical and a service orientation. Airlines are required, on the one hand, to sell a service that responds to the needs of clients, and, on the other, to ensure the safety of their product. The first of these involves a customer service and marketing orientation, while the second involves an engineering orientation. The organisation chart for the airline on the next page (Figure 3.1) illustrates how these different interests are reflected in the company hierarchy.

Interestingly, the gender profile of employees in the airline demonstrates that most women are employed in non-technical departments of the company, such as Marketing and Training, whereas Engineering tends to be dominated by male employees. Also, it was remarked in interview that less women and Chinese hold positions of high power in the company than Western males. The corporate hierarchy certainly seems to confirm that this is the case for women, although for Chinese employees, the trend is less obvious.

3.6 Meetings in the Airline

In the business world, the term 'meeting' is applied to a number of different types of event. At the 'formal' end of the spectrum, certain meetings, such as those governed by *Roberts' Rules of Order*[22], constitute a formal part of the legal constitution of organisations. Meetings of a board of directors usually fall into this category. At the informal end of the spectrum, on the other hand, the term 'meeting' is also applied to informal gatherings of colleagues in social contexts.

The meetings in the 'Meetings at Work' corpus, however, fall somewhere between these two poles. On the one hand, they are less formally constituted and rigidly conducted than meetings of a board of directors, and, on the other, they appear far more routinised and conventional than informal, social gatherings. MAW corpus

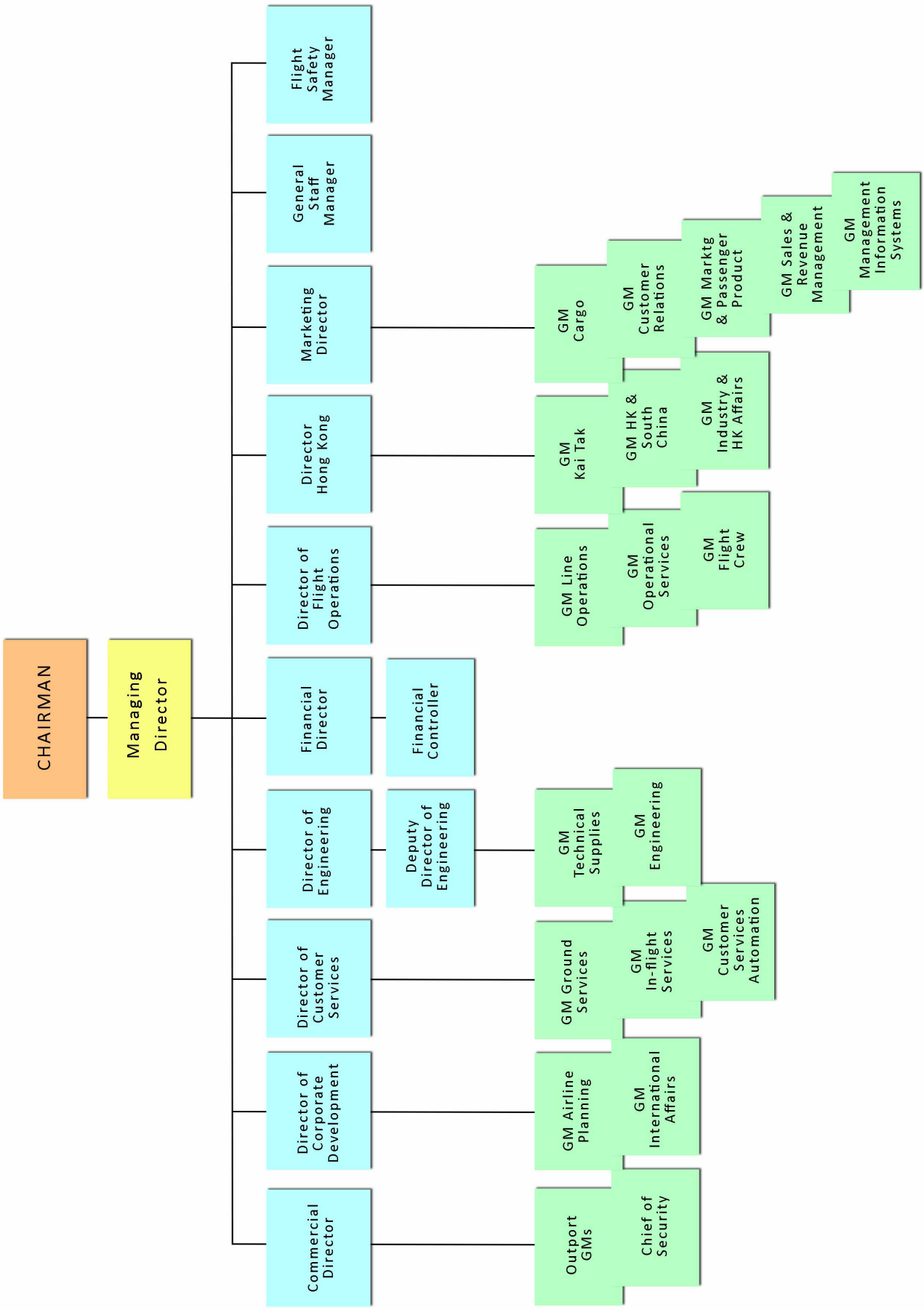


Figure 3.1 Organisation Chart (Cathay Pacific Airways)

meetings are, in fact, 'routine' meetings of the type that are an integral part of the decision-making, problem-solving and reporting processes of many organisations. As such, they demonstrate both formal features (eg a strict sequencing of topics), and informal features (eg a generally informal register, jokes, and so on).

As part of the cross-cultural communication survey referred to above in Section 3.2, fifteen of the company's managers (4 Assistant Managers (AM), 6 Managers (M) and 5 General Managers (GM)) were asked to give information about the number and type of meetings they regularly had to attend (see Appendix C). This survey revealed that in Cathay Pacific Airways it is the higher-level managers in particular who are expected to attend meetings. For this group, attending meetings represents approximately one quarter of their total workload.

Table 3.1 below illustrates the average number of managerial manhours spent in meetings, assuming:

(a) an average meeting length of one hour, and

(b) an average 50 hour working week

Rank	Average No. of Meetings/wk	No. of Managerial Manhours	% of Managers' working week
General Manager	13	65	26%
Manager	12	72	24%
Assistant Manager	1	4	2%

Table 3.1 Meeting Attendance against Rank at Cathay Pacific Airways

While the purpose of this survey was not to present a comprehensive or conclusive picture of Cathay Pacific Airways' use of meetings, it did, nevertheless, demonstrate that meetings represent a considerable investment in terms of time, effort, and money, especially at the senior management level.

In terms of the functions of meetings in the airline, it emerged from interviews with staff that the meetings in the MAW corpus have the following range of interconnected functions:

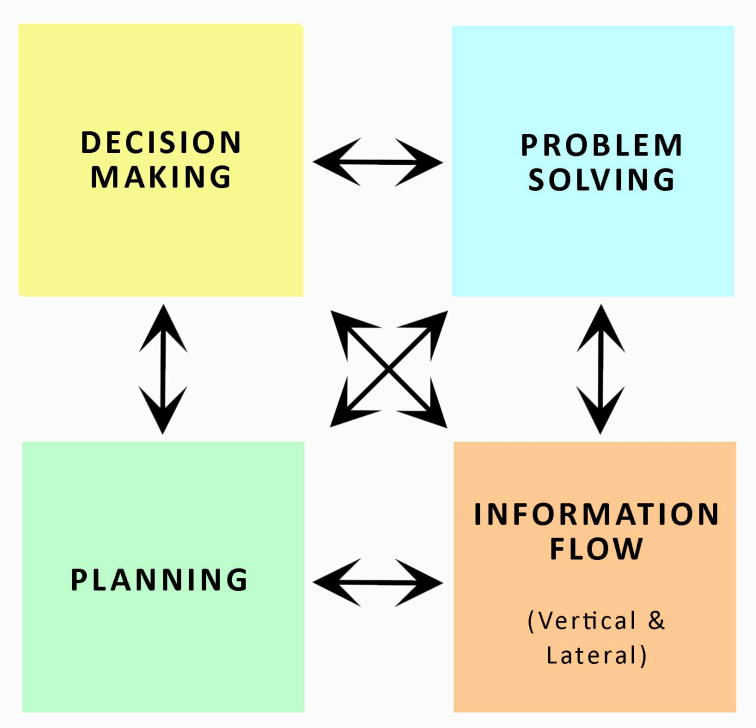


Figure 3.2 The Functions of Meetings in the MAW Corpus

These are interconnected in the sense that, while a given meeting might have as its primary function 'planning', it might also have a secondary function of 'decision-making', 'problem solving' and/or 'information flow', and so on.

A standard nomenclature is used within Cathay Pacific Airways to refer to meeting 'types'. For example, the meetings in the corpus collected during Phases I and II of the project fall into the following three types.

(i)	Co-ordination meetings (M^a)	Phase I
(ii)	Management meetings (M^b)	Phase II
(iii)	Brainstorming meetings (M^c)	Phase II

For the sake of brevity, meetings will be referred to throughout this study by means of these generic labels, although, clearly, it is not implied that there are necessarily any substantive differences between meeting types, since names, in themselves, may signify little in terms of the actual content or purposes of meetings. One department's 'co-ordination meeting' may, for example, be another department's 'problem-solving meeting'. In other words, divergent nomenclature may be a simple and convenient way for staff in the airline to differentiate (for whatever reason) between events which may be ostensibly the same. Thus, although the term 'business meeting' may have some independent, and, in Fairclough's (1990) terms, 'monologic' meaning that makes it distinct from all other

discourses in the business domain, in reality, it is more likely that business meetings are contradictory and 'dialogic'. That is, the apparent homogeneity of business meetings may be nothing more than an illusion. As Fairclough (1990) states in his argument for 'orders of discourse' and 'intertextuality':

> ... practices that sound unitary when you attach to them labels like 'classroom discourse' or 'medical interviews' often turn out to be variable - part of the heterogeneity is that different practitioners do things differently.
>
> (Fairclough, 1990: 15)

During interview, it was commented that the ways in which chairs and participants in the meetings in the MAW corpus help these meetings fulfill their functions is by means of three main activities. These are combined in different ways in different types of meeting:

(i) elicitating and offering information and opinion

(ii) eliciting and offering suggestions

(iii) allocating and offering to undertake specific tasks

Certain of these activities (or 'speech acts') are central to the analysis presented in Chapters 6 to 9 of this study.

3.7 The Topical Focus of Meetings

One of the defining characteristics of the business meetings represented in the MAW corpus, irrespective of any consideration of meeting typology, is that discourse is heavily work-related. In these meetings, talk tends to revolve almost exclusively around company products, projects and activities. Items[23] relating to the following nine topics constitute more than 90% of the items contained in the MAW corpus:

- Aircraft interiors, eg *seats, personal TVs etc*
- Company policies, eg *environmentalism, customer satisfaction etc*
- Contractual arrangements with other airlines, eg *United Airlines*
- Flight services, eg *sectors and scheduling*
- Marketing, eg *location of ticket offices*
- Performance, eg *on-time performance, misdirected baggage figures*
- Reservation systems, eg *ABACUS, QikRes etc*
- Technical aspects of aircraft maintenance, eg *service/ repair*
- Training, eg *customer service, management, product knowledge*

Examination of the corpus reveals, however, that, although the topical focuses of items tend to be a relatively small, closed set, the handling of these topics is not uniform. Rather, it tends to vary considerably from one type of meeting to another. It is interesting to note, for example, that:

(i) In M^a meetings, topics tend to be dealt with from the point of view of the *monitoring of on-going projects*.

(ii) In M^b meetings, topics tend to be dealt with from the point of view of *reports on individuals' activities*.

(iii) In M^c meetings, a single topic is dealt with from the point of view of *developing innovative solutions*.

These findings suggest that there may be some justification, in substantive terms, for the terminological distinctions between meeting-types made by users described in section 3.6 above.

3.8 The Participants

The vast majority of chairs and participants in the meetings in the MAW corpus are members of staff of either Cathay Pacific Airways or the holding company, Swire Pacific. In the case of the departmental management meetings attended during Phase II of the project, one participant was a visiting manager from another airline. In the analysis presented in Chapters 6 to 10, no distinctions are made between these three groups[24].

Distinctions are, however, made on the basis of:

(i) *Status*. This term is used to distinguish between meeting attenders' roles in the meetings. The two principal roles distinguished are 'chairs' and 'participants'. A third role is that of 'secretary'. In most cases, the secretary of meetings is a low-ranking member of staff (commonly a management trainee)[25].

In the meetings in the MAW corpus, there are 12 chairs (in one meeting chairmanship was transferred to a participant when the chair had to leave the meeting), and 87 participants. For the purpose of calculation, only individuals at or

above the rank of Assistant Manager have been counted as 'participants'. Although staff below this rank are sometimes required to attend meetings, this is normally either in order for them to learn or to take minutes, rather than to participate. Were such staff to be included in calculations (eg in terms of 'quantity of talk'), they would skew the results of the analysis.

(ii) *Ethnicity*. This term is used to distinguish between, on the one hand, those meetings attenders whose 'first culture' (C1) is Western and whose first language (L1) is English, and on the other, those whose C1 is Chinese, and whose L1 is Cantonese. In terms of chairs, one is Chinese and eleven are Western; in terms of participants, 36 are Chinese and 51 are Western.

It must be conceded that, according to this classification, certain groups of staff are not accounted for, ie:

(a) members of staff whose C1 is Chinese, yet whose L1 is English (eg Chinese individuals brought up in the West), and
(b) members of staff whose L1 is English, yet whose C1 is not Western, eg Indians.

However, the bipartite distinction between 'Chinese' and 'Westerners' that has been adopted in this study does allow the verbal contributions of the vast majority of meeting attenders in meetings in the MAW corpus to be accounted for[26].

It is also important to point out that the English language proficiency of meeting attenders has been largely ignored in the present analysis since a high level of proficiency in English is one of the preconditions for the holding of high rank in the airline. Consequently, all non-native English speaking chairs and participants in the corpus at or above Assistant Manager-level are highly proficient in English[27].

(iii) *Gender*. This term is used to distinguish between male and female speakers in the MAW corpus. In terms of chairs, all 12 are males; in terms of participants, 16 are female, and 71 are males. Clearly, women in these meetings are considerably outnumbered by men. It is possible that this fact is a simple reflection of the poor representation of women at a high level in the company.

3.9 Transcription conventions

Each of the meetings in the MAW corpus has been transcribed and appears, in order of meeting type, in Appendix D. Extracts from the meetings also appear for the purposes of exemplification throughout the study, both in terms of the analyses in Chapters 6 to 10, and in terms of the training referred to in Chapter 11.

In transcribing such freely occurring speech as occurs in the corpus, I have had to follow certain notational conventions. As far as possible, I have sought to make transcriptions as transparent as possible, basing them closely on standard orthographic conventions. In many cases, speakers are non-native speakers of English, and their command of the language code is, despite their high proficiency in English, to varying degrees 'non-standard'. In these cases, a word-for-word transcription is given of what was said. Where extremely non-standard pronunciation is used either by native or non-native speakers, I have represented this by 'layperson's' rather than phonetic means. Transparency, I believe, facilitates analysis and encourages the use of transcriptions by non-specialists, eg by syllabus writers and language trainers.

However, the transcription of freely-occurring speech does occasionally require the transcription of certain salient features that are not normally written down (eg overlaps, simultaneous speech and so on). In this study, the notations I have used to represent such phenomena conform fairly closely to standard Conversational Analysis (CA) conventions (see Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Fox, 1984).

These are illustrated in the following three short extracts from the MAW corpus.

Extract One

// **]**

CY and also (2) the new er Seoul Airport cos it was reck- it was understood that the airport charges in Seoul will go up steadily, and they are watching very closely (1) er the Hong Kong model, cos {JD: I ss-} if Hong Kong go through (1) they would want to raise also funds for pre-financing the er new Seoul Airport.

JD Same with er the new Kansai // Air-]

CY New Kansai] well, er the Director of, I mean the IATAs Director Ian Weller and the Regional Representative will will go, well have gone to meet with them last Saturday, (1) to try and get out- er (4) to get er their firstly their (2) recognition that there should be a consultation meeting before all the charges {JD: Yeah} is finalised.

(1)

{}

In Extract One:

(i) a double slash (//) is used to represent a point at which a speaker's words are overlapped by another speaker's words.

(ii) a right square bracket (]) is used to represent the point at which the overlap ends.

(iii) curved brackets ({}) are used to contain back channel comments.

(iv) periods of silence exceeding the 'normal' are marked in ½ second units in round brackets, eg (4) = 2 seconds.

Extract Two

(...) (())

JD Amazing how Gareth Wilton changes his spots when he's got (unheard) ((laughs))

In Extract Two:

(i) the word, 'unheard' appears in round brackets where a word or sequence of words is completely unheard. Transcriptions that are doubtful are also enclosed in round brackets. Where there is some doubt as to the speaker's identity, the speaker's initials also appear in round brackets.

(ii) double round brackets are used to indicate paralinguistic features and other simultaneous actions, eg ((laughs)).

Extract Three

[=

AD Well if they're never gonna sell the ticket what do you have them for?
JD [Brand name
BS We're going to be seen
AD Well then people are gonna go in and want to buy tickets and you =
AB = Oh no, you can't not sell tickets! ((Arnold laughs))

=

In Extract Three:

(i) a left square bracket ([) is used to represent two or more speakers beginning simultaneously.

(ii) An equals sign (=) is used to represent 'latching', where a second speaker starts speaking without waiting for the normal short period of silence after the end of the first speaker's utterance. The equals sign appears at the end of the first utterance and at the beginning of the next.

3.10 The Concordancing Program

A concordancing program was employed in order to assist analysis of the lexico-grammatical realisations of certain 'directive' speech acts (see Chapters 6 to 9). The program used to carry out the concordancing was the MicroConcord® program (1993) produced by Oxford University Press. MicroConcord allows the analyst to:

(i) produce lists of, and view, lexical occurrences within their context (including a 'horizon' of up to 9 words). Additionally, selected words or phrases can be viewed within their complete original context at any time.

(ii) sort co-occurrences and collocations according to particular priorities (eg functional uses, linguistic categories and so on).

(iii) compare findings with those obtained from a range of other corpora (eg written academic and newspaper text corpora).

Chapter Four

The Cross-Cultural Impression Management (CCIM) Discourse Model

4.1 Introduction

To date, as noted in Chapter 2, cross-cultural discourse analysis has tended to focus on critical moments in cross-cultural encounters and instances of communication breakdown rather than non-dysfunctional, trouble-free, communication. There are, as was remarked earlier, good reasons for placing a strong emphasis on instances of communication failure since, as Candlin has noted, such moments offer the analyst the chance to interpret and explain how interactants fail to achieve their communicative goals, and by so doing, help interactants overcome their communicative difficulties.

Many cross-cultural contexts, however, are not marked by an obvious failure in communication between interlocutors. The MAW corpus, for example, mostly consists of communication which is, at least superficially, trouble-free. What does the cross-cultural discourse analyst have to say about such interactions?

The model that has been developed for this study draws heavily upon the concept of impression management, a term that was coined by Goffman (1959) in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, and a phenomenon that has been amply explored, described and explained by social psychologists since the late 1970s (see Chapter 2), although very seldom from a linguistic perspective. The present approach is a multidisciplinary and eclectic approach, which not only calls upon frames of reference developed by applied linguists, but also draws upon research in the fields of social psychology, management studies and studies in organisational development.

The model that has been elaborated for this study is termed the 'Cross-Cultural Impression Management' (CCIM) model of discourse, and is a model which acknowledges the effects of certain speaker characteristics, such as ethnicity, gender, status and personality, on discourse which is, at least superficially, trouble-free. The way in which the term 'culture' is defined for the purpose of the present study is not limited to the life patterns of recognisable ethnic and linguistic groups (one possible definition of 'culture'); rather, 'culture' embraces all groups of people whose behaviour may influence individual communicative behaviour.

> '... the notion of 'cross-cultural' encompasses more than just speakers of different languages or from different countries: it includes speakers from the same country of different class, region, age, and even gender.'
>
> (Tannen, 1985: 203)

The term 'cross-cultural' is, then, used as a shorthand way of describing not just native-non-native interactions, but any communication between two or more people who, in any particular domain, do not share a common linguistic or 'cultural' background. This might include workers and management, members of ethnic minorities and the police, or (when the domain of discourse is academic writing) university lecturers and new undergraduate students (Thomas, 1983: 92).

Although, as was illustrated in the preceding chapter, the participants in the data collected for this study are from diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, this broader conception of the term 'cross-cultural' is valuable due to the fact that the data contained in the MAW corpus also consists of multi-participant interactions in which some of the participants belong to a dominant linguistic (L1) group. Because other factors than language are considered, the cross-cultural impression management (CCIM) model of discourse may be applied equally to all participants in the interaction, where, otherwise, it might be applied only to members of minority language groups.

This broader definition of the term 'cross-cultural' indicates my belief that discourse analysis, at least insofar as it relates to the ways in which discourse is used to manage impressions, should not adopt a normative stance favouring dominant language users' strategies for managing their impressions. Whereas the analyst can describe ways in which non-native users of a language deviate from the 'norm' in terms of their use of the language code, and can describe how communication breaks down under certain circumstances, I do not believe that the same approach should be used when explaining non-native speakers' impression managing strategies. Not only are there no norms in this area, but evidence from the data suggests that 'errors' or incompatibilities in impression management styles seldom lead to breakdowns in communication so much as the development or reinforcement of interactants' perceptions of each other's personal characteristics.

The approach adopted in this study does not, therefore, focus on communication breakdown *per se*, although the possibility of communication breaking down on the basis of incompatibilities in, and misinterpretations of, impression management style is not precluded. Rather, the approach adopted focuses on non-dysfunctional discourse of the type so common in the MAW corpus, through which impressions are managed and interpreted (albeit, perhaps, imperfectly) by individuals of different status, ethnicity and gender. In terms of the training associated with the CCIM model, my aim is to help participants in discourse, irrespective of whether they are part of the dominant language or ethnic group, to gain a better

understanding of their own and each other's impression management strategies and discourse, and to make more informed choices about the discourse they use. This approach, I believe, places an appropriate emphasis on the empowerment of groups who have traditionally been seen as simply deficient, and encourages the development of enabling skills on the part of *all* participants in discourse.

The CCIM model has been developed out of, and applies most directly to, multi-party cross-cultural interactions taking place in social organisations, and is designed to be of optimum value when the findings of analysis are fed back to the participants in the discourse (Bilbow & Flowerdew, 1992). The training model that has been elaborated on the basis of the CCIM discourse model shares certain features with models of intercultural communication training discussed in Brislin (1989) (see Chapter 11).

4.2 **The Model:** Discourse as Impression Management

As was remarked in Chapter 2, impression management is a phenomenon which relates to the ways in which people consciously and unconsciously project images of themselves to others through their verbal and non-verbal communication, as well as through their real-world actions. It was pointed out earlier that, although impression management may be a matter of the conscious use of influence strategies, it is just as commonly unconscious, going unnoticed by speakers (although its impact is no less real for this fact).

The CCIM model of discourse is based on two premises:

(i) that a speaker's discourse is shaped by their 'impression managing style'. Impression managing style, it is argued, is significantly affected by features of the socio-cultural environment, such as the speaker's status, gender, ethnicity, language proficiency, personality, age, level of education, and so on.

(ii) that when a speaker's discourse passes through the filter of a hearer's perceptions, the hearer attributes certain characteristics (or 'impressions') to the speaker on the basis of that discourse. This process of attribution is also significantly affected by features of the socio-cultural environment, including, in the case of interethnic encounters, the hearer's 'first culture' (C1) practices.

Impression management is, it is suggested, therefore a two-way process whereby speakers project, on the basis of their impression managing style, impressions of themselves through their discourse, and hearers interpret discourse and create certain impressions of speakers, impressions that may be at odds with the impressions speakers think they are projecting. This model is represented diagramatically in Figure 4.1 overleaf.

In contexts where people share a common socio-cultural background (eg common status, ethnicity, gender, personality, level of education, age and so on), there may be a significant degree of similarity between the impressions speakers believe their discourse to be projecting and hearers' actual perceptions of speakers. This may lead to harmonious or 'resonant'[28], largely trouble-free communication. However, in cross-cultural situations (inter-ethnic, inter-gender or inter-status encounters for example), the degree of resonance may be substantially less. In other words, the impressions individuals think they are projecting when they speak may not be the impressions that hearers form of them. Although such 'mismanagement of impressions' may lead to miscommunication or even communication breakdown, in many cases, it may result in nothing more than an uneasy feeling of insecurity, and the sensation of not being in control.

The purpose of the remaining chapters of this study is to investigate culturally patterned differences in the discourse of different groups in the meetings in the MAW corpus, and to attempt to correlate these differences with the impressions that are created on the basis of speakers' discourse. It will be demonstrated that although communication breakdown of the type commonly investigated by applied linguists is comparatively rare in the corpus, nevertheless, mismanagement of impressions is a comparatively common phenomenon in these cross-cultural business meetings.

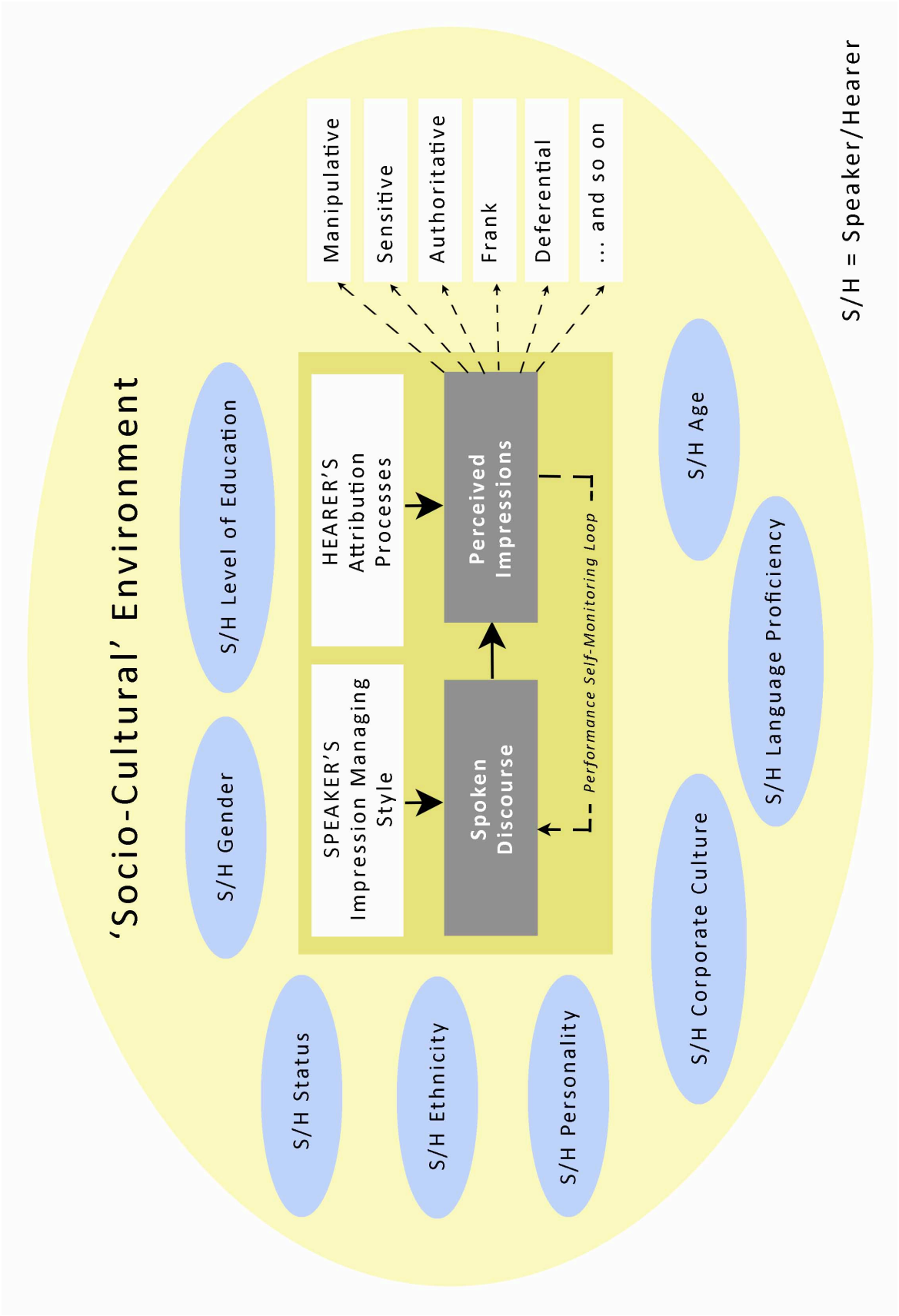


Figure 4.1 The Cross-Cultural Impression Management (CCIM) Model of Discourse

Chapter Five

Developing a Taxonomy of Business Meeting-Related Speech Acts

5.1 Introduction

If the analysis of a corpus is to yield results which are meaningful to participants in the discourse during the process of training, it should be based on a framework which is comprehensible to those participants. For the purposes of the present study, therefore, a tool has been developed that employs the concept of 'speech act'. My reasons for doing this have been entirely practical ones, and are based on the belief that the concept of 'speech act' is readily comprehensible to the non-specialist.

In this chapter, I describe the analytical framework adopted, and discuss a number of theoretical limitations relating to the framework. Despite these limitations, it is felt that a taxonomy of business meeting-related speech acts can usefully inform the design of materials for the type of cross-cultural awareness training and language training advocated in this study. A putative taxonomy is advanced and exemplified in the second part of this chapter, using stretches of discourse occurring in the MAW corpus. This taxonomy should not be considered to be either exhaustive or universally applicable, since it was developed out of a relatively limited corpus. Also, it is not suggested that speech act classification can ever be anything other than an imprecise process.

5.2 Defining and Classifying 'Speech Acts'

The taxonomy of speech acts elaborated later in this chapter is separated into the four speech act categories proposed by Fraser (1983) on the basis of Searle's pioneering work on Speech Act Theory in the late sixties and seventies (Searle, 1969, 1976).

These four categories reflect speakers' attitudes in terms of their beliefs, desires, commitments and evaluations. Thus:

A *Beliefs*: Speaker expresses the belief that a proposition is true ('representative' speech acts).
B *Desires*: Speaker expresses a desire concerning the action that is specified in the proposition ('directive' speech acts).
C *Commitments*: Speaker expresses an intention to undertake a commitment associated with the action specified in the proposition ('commissive' speech acts).
D *Evaluations*: Speaker expresses a personal evaluation towards some past action ('evaluative' speech acts). (Fraser, 1983: 36)

Representatives are speech acts through which the speaker asserts the belief that a proposition is true. Truth may be contingent upon a number of conditions, such as the verifiability of knowledge (eg through some external source of information), temporal considerations (eg with future or past time restrictions), tentativeness, and so on. Speech acts which fall into the group of 'representatives' include informing, speculating, predicting, evaluating and so on.

Directives are speech acts through which the speaker expresses a desire concerning the actions of others. Speech acts which fall into this category include ordering, requesting, prohibiting, urging, warning and so on.

Commissives are speech acts through which the speaker places an obligation on him or herself to undertake some future action, either unconditionally (promises, vows, etc) or conditionally (bets, offers, proposals, etc).

Evaluatives are speech acts through which the speaker expresses an attitude towards some earlier action. Such speech acts include apologies, compliments, greetings, and so on.

Fraser (1983) makes it clear, however, that utterances can have multiple functions, and that the distinctions between speech acts are sometimes rather unclear and ambiguous (Fraser, 1983: 41).

In his paper, *Problems of Speech Act Theory From an Applied Perspective*, Flowerdew (1990) elaborates on some of the problems associated with speech act theory. These relate to difficulties facing applied linguists, language teachers and others involved in applying speech act theory. Flowerdew's comments are summarised below, as they present a number of useful observations for those involved in the precarious task of developing and applying a taxonomy of speech acts.

Flowerdew (1990) observes firstly that no taxonomy of speech acts can claim to be exhaustive. The more tightly focused a taxonomy of acts is on a defined situation, the less applicable it may be to discourse in other settings. Thus, the taxonomy that is proposed below, deriving as it does from a clearly-defined corpus, cannot be held up to be exhaustive and all-embracing, and may not be applicable to discourse in other socio-cultural contexts. This fact does not invalidate the notion of a taxonomy of speech acts; it simply means that any taxonomy that is created 'has the advantage of fitting the situation for which it was designed, but of course it is not applicable to other situations' (Flowerdew, 1990: 83).

Another observation made by Flowerdew is associated with indirect speech acts, and their literal and implied force. Flowerdew reiterates the point made by others (eg Levinson (1983) and Ervin-Tripp (1976)) that it may be incorrect to assume that direct speech acts have primacy in terms of carrying literal force, since the majority of speech acts are indirect. He argues that a more pragmatic interpretation of the meaning of utterances is called for, and favours interpretations based on a combination of *illocutionary force potential* and *context*. In the taxonomy presented below, and in the analyses in Chapters 6 to 10, a very similar line of argumentation has been followed.

Flowerdew also reminds us that speech acts commonly extend over a series of utterances, rather than being restricted to single sentences; conversely, a single sentence may realise a number of speech acts. As the taxonomy presented later in this chapter shows, certain speech acts in the corpus tend to be restricted to a single word or sentence (eg eliciting acts), whereas others (eg informing and objecting acts) tend to consist of several sentences, and single sentence utterances sometimes have multiple functions, eg nominating and eliciting.

Flowerdew also discusses the inadequacy of traditional speech act theory in handling *diffuse* as opposed to *specific* acts. The point is made that much research in speech act theory has focused on specific (clearly-defined) acts, such as thanking, apologising and so on (cf Blum-Kulka (1989) referred to in Chapter 2), with the consequence that language teaching syllabus designers have also tended to focus on a restricted set of easily described acts. Flowerdew makes the point that many speech acts effectively defy description by being extremely diffuse. Within the taxonomy presented below, it is recognised that there are certain acts that are relatively well-defined, such as *greeting*, *marking*, *framing*, *nominating* and so on, whereas other speech acts are considerably more diffuse and less well-defined. Such acts include *informing*, *objecting*, *observing*, *predicting* and so on. This is particularly true if the impression managing aspects of discourse are considered. Speakers often act, for example, in an ambiguous way in order to obscure their true motives.

Next, Flowerdew suggests that speech acts may constitute not so much *discrete* as *fuzzy* discourse categories, due to their indeterminacy. Thus, the act of *nominating* a speaker in a meeting tends to overlap with the speech act of *eliciting*, the act of *informing* tends to overlap with the speech act of *observing*, and so on. It is, even with the benefit of access to the speaker's own intuitions and knowledge (through the use of the Introspective Diagnostic Tool (IDT) referred to in Chapters 3 and 11), sometimes very difficult to state with a high

degree of certainty what a speaker's words mean, or meant at the time of speaking. This fuzziness and ambivalence appears to be inherent in discourse, and awareness of it alerts analysts/ trainers to the dangers of generalisations and categorical pronouncements.

Another observation made in Flowerdew's (1990) critique of speech act theory concerns the importance of interactional purpose in the making of utterances. Flowerdew cites Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of discourse as evidence of a move in the direction of a general recognition of the interactive function of speech, and states that this has now been overwhelmingly acknowledged by language teaching syllabus writers (Flowerdew, 1990: 93). The analytical framework adopted in this study, with its emphasis on social influence processes, similarly recognises the interactive nature of discourse.

Flowerdew's final point relates to the interdependence of speech acts within texts. Quoting Hirsch (cited in Sullivan, 1984), Flowerdew finds support for the view that the meaning of speech acts can only be determined with reference to the text as a whole:

> The meaning of a text (or anything else) is a complex of sub-meanings or parts which hang together. (Whenever the parts do not cohere, we confront meaninglessness or chaos, not meaning). Thus the complex of parts is not a merely mechanical collocation, but a relational entity in which the relations of the parts to one another and to the whole, constitute an essential aspect of their character as parts. That is, the meaning of a part is determined by its relationship to the whole ... From the standpoint of knowledge, therefore, we cannot perceive the meaning of a part until after we have grasped the meaning of the whole, since only then can we understand the function of the part within the whole.
>
> (Sullivan, 1984: 117)

The observation that parts of a text cannot be understood without reference to the text as a whole suggests a view of text as *product* rather than *process*. From the point of view of interactants in meetings, the meeting is both a product and a process unfurling in real-time. Individuals therefore perceive discourse to be both a product and an on-going process, based not only on partial knowledge of the textual product at any one time, but also on real-world knowledge and feelings. With the benefit of hindsight (and a video-recording of the proceedings), the analyst may present *post hoc* opinions about the text as a whole, but should not lose sight of the fact that this perspective was not necessarily shared by those actually involved in the discourse at the time.

Despite the above reservations relating to speech act theory, and its relevance for language trainers, it has been decided, on practical grounds, to develop a tool based on a fairly loose

notion of speech acts. While this notion may be found lacking in terms of its degree of theoretical rigour, it nevertheless benefits from the practical strength of 'transparency'.

Thus, although speech acts such as *informing*, *suggesting*, *directing*, and so on, can never be watertight categories, they are very transparent from the point of view of people not versed in discourse analysis, and do appear to hold meaning for them. This is particularly important when the primary reason for discourse analysis is to act as input to training, as it is in the case of this analysis, and is very important when it comes to cross-cultural training. Therefore, although the realisation of requests, commands, suggestions and so on may vary cross-culturally, it is likely that the terms 'request', 'command' and 'suggestion' relate to language activities that can be readily understood by different cultural groups.

With the above observations in mind, it is now possible to present a taxonomy of speech acts derived from the MAW corpus. It is worth reiterating that this taxonomy does not purport to be exhaustive and conceding that the taxonomy is an approximation, capable of being refined. However, it is hoped that the taxonomy is a considered first step towards constructing a tool capable of:

(i) facilitating the analysis of the discourse in the MAW corpus (Chapters 6 - 9);

(ii) collecting the metapragmatic assessments of participant-observers (see Chapter 10); and

(iii) giving feedback as an integral part of training (see Chapter 11).

5.3 Background to the Taxonomy

The following is a putative taxonomy of some of the most common classes of speech act that occur in the MAW corpus, along with exemplification from corpus data. This manner of classifying speech acts draws to some extent on research carried out by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) into classroom discourse, and Francis and Hunston (1992) into everyday conversation. However, whereas Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) sought to explain all discourse in their corpora, this is not the intention of the present study. In this study, speech act categories are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. They are simply convenient categories by which to label stretches of discourse for the purpose of training.

Sinclair and Coulthard identified 'elicitations', 'informatives' and 'directives' as the three most common classes of speech act in their corpus of classroom discourse, and suggested that these acts probably occured in all forms of spoken discourse (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975: 8). In fact, as shall be demonstrated in section 5.5 below, these speech acts are extremely numerous in the MAW corpus, too. Other classes of speech act identified by Sinclair and Coulthard, however, appear to be rather too closely connected with classroom discourse (eg their classes of 'check', 'prompt', 'clue', 'cue' and 'bid') to be of much use in explaining business meeting discourse.

Therefore, in the taxonomy of classes of act presented below, although many of Sinclair and Coulthard's classes of speech act have been adopted (marked with an asterisk *), certain classes of speech acts have not been employed, or have been replaced with others developed by Francis and Hunston (1992) in their research into everyday conversation. These classes are marked with a trefoil (♣). In addition, a further twelve classes of speech act ('allow', 'apologise', 'request-clarify', 'commit', 'confide', 'correct', 'exemplify', 'object', 'suggest', 'predict', 'quote' and 'summarise') have been identified, which do not appear in either of these studies, but which occur in the discourse in the MAW corpus.

The putative taxonomy that follows offers a series of explanatory statements relating to each class of speech act identified. These statements reflect the specific nature of the discourse investigated, ie business meeting-related discourse. In many cases, the original definitions of classes advanced by other researchers in their analyses have had to be substantially modified in order to reflect the 'business' orientation of the discourse under investigation. This has proved necessary since the classes of speech act identified by researchers naturally relate very specifically to their corpora. For example, the class of speech act termed 'nomination', which, in a classroom, is realised with a closed set of utterances, such as 'you', 'anybody?', and the names of pupils, is commonly realised in business meetings in a rather different set of ways. These ways include the use of section and departmental titles, and occasionally, 'pet' names or diminutive names. These means contrast with the means used by the classroom teacher to nominate particular pupils to participate.

Naturally, responsibility for any modifications made to the definitions of others is entirely my own.

5.4 A Taxonomy of Speech Acts in Cross-Cultural Business Meetings

It should be repeated that in this study, the classification of speech acts into *representatives*, *directives*, *commissives* and *evaluatives* is used as a preliminary means of rendering the large number of utterances in the corpus somewhat more manageable in order to facilitate analysis and the feeding back of findings to participants in the discourse. It does not imply a belief that speech acts are mono-functional and entirely separable.

SPEECH ACT CLASSES				
Representatives		**Directives**	**Commissives**	**Evaluatives**
allow conclude* concur♣ confide correct endorse♣ exemplify inform* metastate* object	observe♣ predict qualify♣ quote reformulate♣ reject♣ summarise	request-clarify direct* elicit* engage♣ frame♣ loop* mark* nominate* return♣ start* suggest terminate♣	commit confirm♣	apologise greet♣ reply-greeting♣

Table 5.1 Speech Act Classes in the MAW Corpus

Certain stretches of discourse were rather difficult to classify according to the categories in table 5.1. For example, humorous utterances which appeared to have no function other than to cement interpersonal relationships[29], incidental utterances such as "Whoops!", when something was dropped[30], off-hand utterances when a person was thinking out loud, and so on, were somewhat difficult to categorise. However, the proportion of such utterances in the MAW corpus was very small.

5.5 Description and Exemplification of Business Meeting-Related Speech Acts

In the following, the code in brackets after each extract indicates where the extract can be found within the MAW corpus. D.1, D.2, D.3 and so on refer to the meeting from which the extract has been taken, and the number refers to the page on which the extract can be found in its context in Appendix D. Also, details of the speaker of the italicised portion of

each extract are given using the following abbreviations: Gender = M/F; Ethnicity = Ch/W; Status = Ch/P.

5.5.1 Representatives

Representatives are a group of speech acts in which the speaker expresses the belief that the propositional content of their utterance is true. According to Fraser (1983), there are a number of sub-classes of representatives which meet certain conditions relating to the speakers' beliefs (Fraser, 1983: 38). In the business meetings in the MAW corpus, we can identify a broad range of representatives that can be separated into six sub-classes in the following way:

a *Where the speaker indicates that his/her belief is based on some verifiable information.*

Inform

This class of speech act is used to give information about knowledge which the speaker believes to be true.

Extract 1

BC How's the QRH going? (4) The QRH for the 400.
RS It's er.
TT *There was a (3) a subsequent meeting where a number of modifications were (2) suggested, and they were working on it earlier this week to put it into its final format.*
BC So (2) any estimate of when we might, when it might sort of be up and running? Probably?
TT I'll give it (2) to you for the minutes {BC: Yeah} I hope- hopefully it's next week.
BC So it's imminent {TT: Yes} That's good to hear.

(D.2 [p.374]: M/W/P)

inform speech act

Confide

Confiding speech acts are informing speech acts in which it is indicated that one's words are confidential, and to be kept within the company, department, section or meeting room. In addition to informing, confiding speech acts also cement relationships within the group.

Extract 2

confide speech act

JD *Em, very much in in not so much in this room per se but the it has now been agreed that we will have our own area and our own apron control at Chep Lap Kok. (2) That doesn't mean we'll have our own terminal (1) but it means we will have (1) our own dedicated area that we can customise etcetera.*

(D.7 [p.444]: M/W/Ch)

Exemplify

This class of speech act is used to give examples, often as a means of persuading others of the validity of the speaker's words.

Extract 3

JR = I must say that the United concierge service is excellent coming out of Auckland.

JD Works works very well wherever I've seen it actually // actually it does does work well]

exemplify speech act

BS *Extremely good they come down and] meet you at the check-in counter. They take you up to lounge and look after you, and then take you out to the aeroplane, and like the girls in the London-, our London Lounge, they go onto the aeroplane and make sure that the First Class passengers are alright, and where they're supposed to be.*

(D.1 [p.341]: M/W/Ch)

Quote

This class of speech act is used to cite regulations, policies, documentation and so on. The quoting speech act is similar to the exemplifying speech act in that both quotations and examples are often used to support an argument, and so have not only an informing but also a suasive purpose. Quoting speech acts are usually identifiable by means of their prosodic features, as well as certain lexico-grammatical features.

Extract 4

JJ Was that because they] Not so much as I said before, but we must have a strict interpretation of the rules as they stand at the present // moment.]

TR Yes], but they have been interpreted

quote speech act

RS *The rules as they stand at the moment says each full-size galley serving cart shall be attended by two cabin attendants at all times when not secured in the galley (2) Stop.* {JJ: Right} *Each half-cart shall be attached to a suitable anchor point when not restrained by a cabin attendant or secured in the galley,* so // really]

(D.2 [p.372]: M/W/P)

b *Where the speaker indicates that his/her belief can be clearly summarised.*

Summarise

This class of speech act is used to reiterate, in summarised form, a speaker's own preceding utterance. Summarising acts serve to encapsulate and clarify utterances.

Extract 5

summarise speech act →

MP You see, the other thing I'd like the group to be able to give an indication of is, what authority does that check-in agent need (1) to do their job better. (1) *In other words, to empower that agent to deliver a better standard of service, what should she be able to do?* (D.11 [p.481]: M/W/P)

Metastate

This class of act is used by speakers to make their purpose more explicit. In Extract 6 below, for example, the speaker is explicitly stating his view of the purpose of the item. In Extract 7, the speaker is making explicit the purpose of his own preceding comments. Metastatements may serve to encourage others to become involved (as in Extract 6), and may also serve to encourage others to proceed in the same direction as the speaker (as in Extract 7).

Extract 6

metastate speech act →

JR *Well let me let me tell you what I'm trying to (1) erm to do here, is er (1) firstly to agree with you what are the major headings that we should be addressing and then, to get inside these and not more than two or three items in each area (3) er which we consider are (1) the essentials of (1) whatever the heading may be.* (D.11 [p.478]: M/W/Ch)

Extract 7

JR The problem with that is Alfred we've just started a study on buses and we're trying to get a priority system for business and first class passengers onto the buses.

BS Wah! Yes!

((Everybody claps))

BC He did say he was trying - he din't say he'd succeeded!

metastate speech act →

AP *I'm not saying we have open slather for economy class, I'm just saying for business and and first class that they // could all converge on the same side.]* Yeah. Which- whichever door it is that's open.

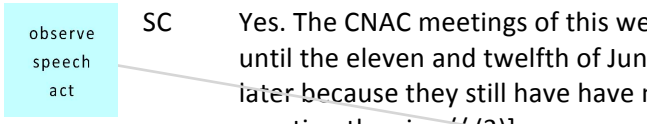
JR So they would still be on the] Yeah. (D.1 [p.351]: M/W/P)

c *Where the speaker indicates that his/her belief is based on personal opinion.*

Observe

This class of speech act is used to offer information which is based on the speaker's personal opinion. The purpose of observing speech acts is often to reinforce shared knowledge, as in the following extract.

Extract 8



JD Sharon?

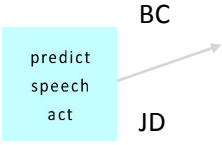
SC Yes. The CNAC meetings of this week is now confirmed postponed until the eleven and twelfth of June. That means almost a month later because they still have have not get their passports yet not to mention the visa // (3)]

JD ((Jim lets breath out noisily)) *They're such bloody arseholes aren't they?*] ((Laughter)) (D.7 [p.448]: M/W/Ch)

Predict

This class of speech act is used to express an opinion as to what will or might happen in the future. Although the purpose of predictions is mainly informational, when they occur in a discussion or argument, they may serve a primarily manipulative function.

Extract 9



BC *Shall I tell you what I think will happen? // (1) I think I think] we'll go to the 62, people will barely notice the difference, and it'll be better to leave the other seats in at 60 until we move the galleys.*

JD No, don't tell us Bob!]

AP Yeah. (D.1 [p.333]: M/W/P)

d *Where the speaker indicates that his/her belief conforms with that of another person.*

Endorse

This class of speech act is used by a speaker to demonstrate strong endorsement of a preceding utterance. Endorsing acts have a significant interpersonal function in addition to their informational function.

Extract 10

JD Is it OK in Frankfurt yet?

MP Well, I mean in terms of politically, not in terms of operationally {JD: Er yeah, alright}. Politically. And so the requirements that I think are important and I'll say to everybody again that it has to be able to work on Qube1 and for some products that's gonna be very difficult. I think for UniSys in particular it's gonna be difficult to ask whether they want to compete you have to be able to operate on these dumb terminals we have out there, figure out an engineering link to do that. (2) So we'll get that hopefully wound up and we'll have some decisions made (2) erm in terms of products and that by the end of this month (2) - recommendations and we'll get rolling =

endorse speech act

JD = *Lovely. Good stuff* =

MP = That's all I have

JD *Very interesting stuff going on there.* (D.7 [p.447]: M/W/Ch)

Reformulate

This class of speech act is used to acknowledge a preceding utterance by offering a revised version of it. The purpose is usually to reinforce what has been said. However, it can also be used to indicate doubt or incredulity, as in the following extract.

Extract 11

BC No, but] just sorry sorry, can I just go back to what you (3) Er I can understand the necessity for the non-standard departure time here to protect outbound slots, but {TK: Yes} what's the why is why is it necessary to publish a standardised arrival time in Gatwick when demonstrably the one that leaves (1) half an hour later's going to arrive late.

TK Slot availability in Gatwick.

reformulate speech act

BC *So, in other words, if we're honest and say well I- I- look it's actually not going to be 7 55 it's gonna be 8 25 we don't get a slot?*

((Pause))

TK Yeah (2) Gatwick is // full].

BC The work]ings of slot coordination mystify, I mean // I have a vision] of a whole load of fucking ostriches all standing in the dessert with their heads buried in the the the sand // (1) Excuse] my French!

TK Yes, Gatwick is full]. The erm] (D.5 [p.420]: M/W/P)

Concur

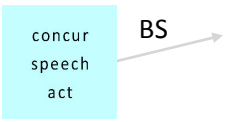
This class of speech act serves to express support for a proposal or point of view put forward by an earlier speaker. However, manipulative use also occurs when a speaker, for whatever reason, follows their concurring act with a summarising act that does *not* faithfully sum up what has been said by the first speaker, as in the following extract.

Extract 12

BC Yeah, yeah, but] it's quite wrong to say we've never done that. We have done it.

AB We have done it. OK. Yeah, right.

((Pause))

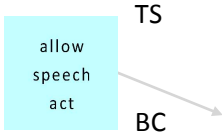


BS *But I agree with you, cert-,* I mean I think we should aim to do the aeroplane (3) trial on an aeroplane. (D.1 [p.328]: M/W/Ch)

Allow

This class of speech act is used to indicate that the preceding utterance has been understood and accepted as an allowable contribution. Absence of this act, eg in the form of silence, may be used to indicate rejection of a contribution.

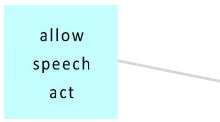
Extract 13



TS And in the peaks, we (2) we cannot provide full crews to you on time for the full duration of that twenty-five minutes {BC: Mm mm} even at present with our manpower situation.

BC *Mmm.* (D.2 [p.369]: M/W/Ch)

Extract 14



PL Ah, just got a telex er from Philippine Airlines they said they are coming on the 29th to talk about their interest. I mean the meeting has been postponed for a number of times. // (1)] Eh? // (1)] May May. But er June the fifth is not er available, and and it will be further postponed.

JD 29th of er (1) May?] May?] *OK*. (D.9 [p.461]: M/W/Ch)

Conclude

This class of speech act is used to summarise and 'tie up' the preceding chunk of discourse. In an agenda-driven meeting, this act serves to mark the end of each agenda-item.

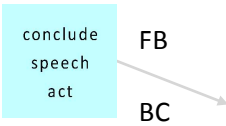
Extract 15

BC Is there a soap dispenser in the U5 toilet?

TT I think this - this was about a solid bar dispenser that didn't have a backing on it so as a consequence if the captain put his foot on the brake or something, all the bars // went swinging out of the back]

BC Oh so we're not, we weren't talking] - I think poor old Heidi thought you were talking about the liquid dispenser =

TT = No, these were the solid bars, but we've addressed it through other =



FB = There was a minor design problem with the retention of the solid bars.

BC *OK, alright, so that's been fixed?* {TT/FB: Yeah.} (D.2 [p.362]: M/W/Ch)

e *Where the speaker indicates that his/her belief conditionally conforms with that of another person.*

Qualify

This class of speech act is used to qualify agreement with another speaker's utterance by indicating that agreement is not unconditional.

Extract 16

RS Er we're expecting more and more perhaps customer // ((unheard))]

JD Let's let's] just be very careful about taking on any more. I I'd like to review how many we've got.

RS At the moment only Dragonair per//haps]

qualify speech act

JD *Yeah - but I'd just like to] what does bothers me is that if something goes wrong with say Dragonair here and something goes wrong with British Airways somewhere else in the world, I don't know whether we got the capability to handle it.*

(D.7 [p.449]: M/W/Ch)

f *Where the speaker indicates that his/her belief does not conform with that of another person.*

Reject

This class of speech act is used to refute a suggestion, to reject the underlying presuppositions of an informing act, or to indicate unwillingness to comply with a directive - in other words, to refuse to acquiesce to the purposes of others. Rejecting acts are rare in the corpus.

Extract 17

TK OK they will manage then.] OK (3) It doesn't matter - we can (2) it's a matter of just sorting this order you know whether we want to rank it in terms of departure or arrival delays or // whatever].

reject speech act

BC *No no no] look we've decided that. Arrival is what counts. There are no prizes for leaving on time if you arrive late.*

TK Well some people in Marketing may not agree with you.

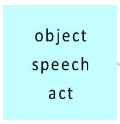
BC *Well (3) We're being customer-driven and that's in the mission statement, and (2) the customers are telling us they like to arrive on time {JR: Right} so that whoever meets them sees them when they expect and they get on the connecting flight.*

TK Er OK (3) I I I take your statement. (D.5 [p.424]: M/W/P)

Object

This class of speech act is used to raise an objection to the preceding utterance. It acknowledges the utterance, but disputes its correctness, relevance, appropriateness, or the participant's right to have uttered it. In Extract 18, the objection appears to be stylised, and, as a result, to have a comic effect. In Extract 19, the objecting act is intended to be more serious.

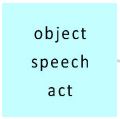
Extract 18



AB I believe that we should have ground floor (1) in prestige location er ticket offices in every city to which we operate (1) and I believe we should have two in Hong Kong.

JD *If I could make a statement on that, I disagree violently with what's just been said* ((Jim laughs)) (D.1 [p.346]: M/W/P)

Extract 19



TK What what's his feedback anyway?

SC Erm he said that it is very likely that the passenger will confused about the date of departure, and he // did] not prefer to have // the].

JD Who] *Hold on] that's that's because it's (2) historical wisdom.*

TK Yes (2) That's why // we have a man in Dubai] That's why we employ somebody there in Dubai. (D.5 [p.418]: M/W/P)

Correct

This class of act is used to correct a preceding utterance.

Extract 20

BC So we've actually given ourselves some =

EL = So we give more than =

DL = A little bit of leeway.

((Pause))

BC *Erm wait a minute - No, hang on a minute - just a minute, the sector time of course doesn't include the ATC delay.*

TK Yes it does (2) Well it depends if you're off blocks or not.

BC But it will be off blocks, I mean that sector time // is are.] (D.5 [p.413]: M/W/P)

5.5.2 Directives

Directives are a group of speech acts in which the speaker expresses a desire regarding actions to be undertaken by others. In the business meetings in the MAW corpus, directives can be separated into the following three sub-classes:

a Where the speaker indicates a desire that the hearer carry out a real-world activity.

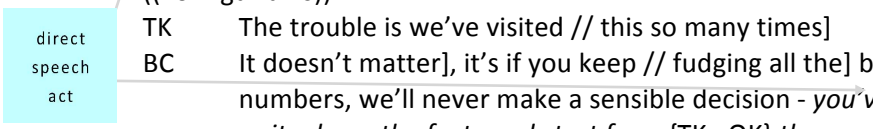
Direct

In directing speech acts, the speaker requests or commands others to act. Directing speech acts relate to courses of action, which, it is hoped (in the case of requests) or anticipated (in the case of commands) that 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 (see below). The activities requested may be inside or outside the meeting room.

The identification of an utterance as a directing or a suggesting speech act rests on (i) the prosodic features of the utterance, and (ii) consideration of the relative roles of speaker and hearer. This is the case with the italicised portions of the following extracts. In both cases, the speaker is of a higher status than the hearer, and in both the speaker uses a highly assertive low-fall intonation contour. These two factors mark the utterances as directing speech acts.

Extract 21



BC = No yeah sorry Penang KL, you're right - forty nine. (3) So there's another one that really is five minutes too little {EL: Yeah} *Well go on - pencil it in,* I mean we're never gonna get this right if we aren't honest!
((Tom guffaws))
TK The trouble is we've visited // this so many times]
BC It doesn't matter], it's if you keep // fudging all the] bloody numbers, we'll never make a sensible decision - *you've gotta (1) write down the facts and start from* {TK: OK} *them*.
TK Alright we'll visit it again]. (D.5 [p.412]: M/W/P)

Extract 22

BW What, can you just clarify for me Jim? What is the policy? Has it been decided that we will have someone out front of the counters?
JD Yes.
((Pause))
BW OK, (2) 'cause we don't.
JD *Well, obviously you'll be answering by E-mail to Rick, I should // think]*
BW Yes] (D.9 [p.463]: M/W/Ch)

Suggest

In suggesting speech acts, the speaker puts forward a plan or idea regarding the actions of others (and in some cases, of the speaker, too). The force of propositions contained in suggesting speech acts is significantly less than in the case of directing speech acts. Suggestions relate to *possible* courses of action, which may or may not be undertaken, and may be hearer-directed, group-directed, or outgroup-directed. As mentioned above, the identification of an utterance as a directing or a suggesting speech act may rest on the prosodic features of the utterance, and consideration of the relative roles of speaker and hearer. In the following extract, although the

speaker of the italicised portion is of considerably higher status than the hearer, the utterance is conveyed with an unemphasised mid-fall intonation contour which marks it as a suggestion rather than as a request.

Extract 23

JM Can I have the distribution of the minutes for the erm (1) interiors meetings because we keep {BC: Yes, yes} having questions tossed at Planning and we're {BC: Yeah} um in the dark.

BC OK, yeah we can get you out a =

JM = Especially when it's an ever-changing scene, at least it would be {BC: Yeah} somewhere ((unheard)). I'll have a word with Heidi, shall I?

BC Well, she doesn't do the minutes - they're actually done by Marketing. (2) *But if you tell her, she // she can get on to Cathy Lam] to get your name added.* (D.4 [p.397]: M/W/Ch)

suggest speech act

b *Where the speaker indicates a desire that the hearer (specified or unspecified) provide certain information.*

Elicit

This class of speech act is used to request information or opinions from others.

Extract 24

RS Planning. (3) Then the long-term fleet planning committee (2). *Erm George perhaps for the benefit of those (3) I think it might be a good thing if you sort of went back a couple of stages and just talked it or where we {GC: Ugh huh} where we not just where we are now but how we got there.*

GC OK. (D.3 [p.385]: M/W/Ch)

elicit speech act

Return

This class of speech act is used to seek clarification of a preceding utterance. Returning acts include 'metaqueries', ie what was the speaker 'getting at?'.

Extract 25

BS We're going to set up two pairs of seats in a conference room, one at sixty {BC: Correct} and one at sixty-two {BC: Correct, yes} an- and we're gonna do a trial on board an aeroplane?

BC Yes.

BS OK?

JD *Wh- what do you mean you're going to set up two pairs? I mean, how what what does that do?*

BS Because you have // to]

BC Well] you well you it just means you move from one to the other and you // s-]

return speech act

BS Sorry] four // pairs]
JD Four] pairs.
BS Four pairs.
JD Yes.
BS Yes.
BC Yes. Yes. (D.1 [p.327]: M/W/P)

Loop

This class of speech act is used to return the discourse to the stage at which it was before the contribution, either because it was unheard or because it was mis-heard.

Extract 26

RW Oh, erm May Lee is going to going to Jakarta this week to talk with Garuda about Joint Services. Er essentially she will also be talking about the possibility of er having this flight as no-smoking flight this one.

loop speech act

JD *Can't hear you.*

RW You can't hear me? May Lee is going going to Jakarta this week to meet with Garuda to talk about the new joint er service er ground handling details that sort of thing. (D.6 [p.436]: M/W/Ch)

Request-clarify

Request-clarifying speech acts are used to request information relating to events that took place prior to the meeting.

Extract 27

BC *Well] Can anybody remember what was said? Or? =*

TR = Yes, I'll tell you now - the smoke detectors we had are designed they're the ionisation type, {BC: Yes} they're designed to detect hot smoke (1) {BC: Yes} it'll not detect cigarette {BC: Yes} smoke =

request-clarify speech act

BC = *But but I mean is the- are we back into there being a desire to find another detector which does detect cold smoke?*

TR No, because it's the purpose of a smoke detector is to do what it's supposed to do, and that's to detect // a a real fire]

(D.2 [p.375]: M/W/Ch)

c *Where the speaker indicates a desire that hearers conform to meeting rules.*

Start

This class of speech act is used in the introductory phase of a meeting (see footnote 3 below) and provides a context for subsequent discourse. Starting speech acts tend to focus on given information, rather than new information, and are usually used by high status speakers, who can hold the floor without challenge.

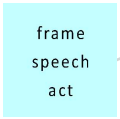
Extract 28

JR *(1) Right erm, there's a lot of effort er being made at various levels in the company er to focus on the Cathay Commitment and erm of course at Kai Tak to focus us erm even more er on our particular responsibilities and areas of concern (2) erm (1) and we do have areas of concern. There are some signs that (1) perhaps things are slipping a little bit er - perhaps our morale (1) er is being affected by work pressures (1) erm and this is reflected in a (1) indication that the turnover rate is increasing in various areas, er we have had difficulty in getting staff to work overtime and recruitment is not really, at this moment in time, keeping up with our needs (1). Er with regard to the last of those, we've had a meeting with the Staff Department (1) erm and we are er (2) putting together a plan which would er give us a (1) a big bang if you like intact of of staff, and the possibility of falling back and using er part-timers if the situation so demands to help us to correct the these current trends which are of concern (3).* (D.11 [p.476]: M/W/Ch)

Frame

This class of speech act is used by the chair to mark boundaries between the phases of the meeting[31].

Extract 29



RS *Right, any other issues?* International Affairs.
RL Pass.
((Pause)) (D.3 [p.391]: M/W/Ch)

Mark

This class of speech act is used by the chair to mark boundaries between items[32].

Extract 30

BC *Right, OK (1) erm, (2) now over- on the top of page five there on on the erm trolley* we d- you know that seems quite good, but we need to keep Ben up behind old Harry whatever his name is to make sure it happens, (3) so that basically is a statement of the fact that we need to keep an eye on him. (2)
(D.2 [p.369]: M/W/Ch)

Nominate

This class of speech act is used to call upon or permit participants to contribute to the discourse. Nominations are often a special case of elliptical elicitations.

Extract 31

RS Right, any other issues? *International Affairs.*
RL Pass.
((Pause))
RS Nothing else? (2) Planning we've already dealt with. *Sid anything no?*
SF No.
RS Crew?
DS No.
RS *Engineering? Patrick?*
PR No
RS *Cabin Crew?*
MM No. (D.3 [p.391]: M/W/Ch)

nominate speech act

Engage

This class of speech act is used to provide minimal feedback during a speaker's contribution. Engaging acts encourage the hearer to continue to contribute.

Extract 32

JD Did you see my E mail to you from Denis Buller?
SC No
JD Right. Denis, he and I were discussing things yesterday and er (3) he'd he'd like to get some feedback about the (2) now that we've introduced them everywhere, and especially in Kai Tak with the bagtag printer {SC: *Ugh huh ugh huh*} about I mean he's (1) he's protecting his back in a very small way {SC: *Mm mm*} he's saying it would be nice to be able to get you know to raise with certain people at certain times that we've actually done something with Information Technology which actually did {SC: *I see*} produce some real benefits {SC: *Ugh huh ugh huh yeah*} er (5) and to be quite frank, I agree with that approach too.
(D.6 [p.438]: F/Ch/P)

engage speech act

Terminate

This class of act is used to terminate discourse on a particular topic.

Extract 33

BS L10/11 refurbishment?
AB I think there's nothing really to talk about here, I don't know. I approved the agenda so I should know what's on it // (2)]
BS *Let's move on*] (D.1 [p.344]: M/W/Ch)

terminate speech act

Directive speech acts are the principal group of speech acts under investigation in the present study. For the sake of brevity, these three types of directive speech act can be termed 'Type A', 'Type B' and 'Type C' directives respectively. Of particular interest in the present study are the 'Type A' directive speech acts of *directing* and *suggesting*.

5.5.3 Commissives

Commissives are a group of speech acts in which the speaker obligates him or herself to an action. In the business meetings in the MAW corpus, commissives can be separated into two sub-classes:

a *Where the speaker offers to undertake an action.*

Commit

The committing speech act is used by a speaker to indicate that a specified action will be undertaken by the speaker, eg a promise, without this action having been prompted by a request. Committing speech acts demonstrate a willingness to undertake work.

Extract 34

TK I don't think this is the place to sit down to actually work out all the nitty-gritties- it's great to to go through an exercise, just to illustrate all the problems, but *it does need somebody to sit down, {BC: Yes} look at all the facts, all the plus and minuses and make a analysis, or present a a finding to the (2) present the analysis {BC: Mmm} packaged to the committee for for approval otherwise (2). This I undertake that our department // will do].*

commit speech act

(D.5 [p.417]: M/Ch/Ch)

b *Where the speaker responds positively to a request to undertake an action.*

Confirm

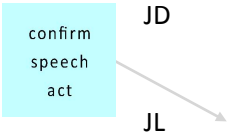
This class of speech act is used to assert a willingness to undertake a commitment in response to a request.

Extract 35

JD Er (1) I don't know, Jenny, anything, should you be showing anything up there about CBT er -
MP That's right, that's right] Mmm. Absolutely, I agree.]
JL Really, probably not (1) mm most =
JD = Mmm. Why not?
((Laughter))
JL I think when we get into the customer service relaunch (2) ((Laughter)) I think with the customer service relaunch that that will be a very structured presentation. I could put some demos in.
JD Well could you think about that? For the day before? You know, I'm not trying to make it a high-tecky thing, but I think it's. {JL: Mm} I mean most of these people they love they playing around with these things and // seeing what's on offer]
JL I could put in some machines and let them] try them // out]
PH We could] have it fully set up {JD: Sure} on the Wednesday evening for those who =

JD = come into town. Because most of the Europeans will come in the day before anyway.

PH So that // the]



JD Yeah] alright just have a think about that Paul. But Jenny you specifically there just might be some stuff from round there that you could // that you could] be demo-ing or something. Alright?

JL *Oh I'd love to do that*] (D.6 [p.443]: F/W/P)

5.5.4 Evaluatives

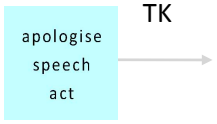
Evaluatives are a group of speech acts in which the speaker expresses an attitude about something that has happened. In the business meetings in the MAW corpus, evaluatives can be separated into two sub-classes:

a *Where the speaker indicates regret for a prior action.*

Apologise

This class of act is used to express regret about something that has been done by the speaker. Sometimes, as in Extract 36, an explanation is enough to serve as an apology.

Extract 36



TK Actually I must er say er we we expected a a report on the 721 720. *This time we were I we were deficient in not producing a report because we have been just too tied down on other things - maybe we got our priorities wrong.*

(D.5 [p.417]: M/Ch/Ch)

b *Where the speaker indicates pleasure at having encountered the hearer.*

The purpose and form of the speech acts of greetings and reply-greetings are self-explanatory.

Chapter Six

Analysis (A)

Introduction to the Analysis

6.1 Introduction

The Meetings at Work (MAW) corpus contains some fifteen hours of transcribed spoken discourse from eleven business meetings at Cathay Pacific Airways.

As a preliminary stage of the analytical process, the meetings were transcribed in their entirety. Then, the verbal contributions of each meeting attender were analysed and stretches of discourse ascribed, on the basis of their apparent function in context to particular speech act categories. In this way, a database was created consisting of over six thousand stretches of discourse representing the range of speech act categories in the taxonomy in Chapter 5.

It is important to repeat the caveats mentioned in Chapter 5 regarding the reliability of attributing particular utterances to particular speech acts. Firstly, the process tends to be a rather subjective one, since, however explicit the definition of a speech act, there is bound to be a measure of discrepancy between how different observers attribute utterances to particular speech act categories. Wherever possible, in this study the analyst's observations were validated against those of participants themselves; however, even speakers themselves may find it difficult to make *post hoc* judgments about their own discourse. Secondly, breaking discourse up into short stretches may lead the analyst to ignore the function of larger discourse chunks. It is quite common, for example, for speech acts to be grouped strategically so as to produce particular rhetorical effects. Thirdly, there is sometimes sufficient ambiguity present in speakers' discourse to make it difficult to ascribe their utterances to one particular speech act. In such cases, as mentioned above, utterances were disambiguated by referring to the participants in the discourse; however, in some cases it was impossible to disambiguate utterances reliably. In such cases, utterances were either ignored or placed in more than one likely category of speech act.

Despite these serious caveats, it did, however, prove possible to account for a very large proportion of the discourse in the MAW corpus in terms of the speech act classes referred to in the taxonomy presented in Chapter 5.

Of particular interest in this analysis is a sub-class of 'directive' speech acts in which speakers indicate a desire that the hearer carry out a real-world activity. This sub-class, which is termed 'Type A' in this study, includes the speech acts of *directing* (including requests and commands) and *suggesting* (including suggestions and proposals). Type A

directive speech acts have been selected as the principal focus of this analysis for two practical reasons:

(i) Such speech acts appear to be particularly common in the MAW corpus. This may be due to the fact that the making of suggestions, and the allocation of tasks, appear to be important functions of the types of business meetings that make up the corpus (see Chapter 3).

(ii) Such speech acts may be significant in terms of their impression management potential due to considerations of 'face', since they all carry with them an implicit face-threat to the hearer on the basis of the restrictions they place on the hearer's autonomy[33].

6.2 Methodology

In this section, the methodology used in Analysis (A) is further described. This methodology has both qualitative and quantitative aspects. As Hymes (1977) states, these two aspects of methodology are not necessarily contradictory or mutually exclusive.

> Qualitative insight and observation may be given great scope, mindless counting deplored, but still the belief is that the final test comes with the quantitative or experimental design. This belief is unfounded, and linguistics shows it to be so. At the same time, it is essential not to fall into the trap of believing that the foundations of linguistics as presently practiced are adequate and secure, such that quantitative measurement and experimental design can only complement and come after findings obtained by other means. This belief is the inverse of the other, and it is prevalent in American linguistics. It is equally unfounded.
>
> (Hymes, 1977: 167)

Ethnographic methodology underpins this study, since, at its heart, the study seeks to understand business meetings from the perspective of those who take part in them, rather than from the intuitive perspective of the linguist. The ethnographic interview is thus central to the analysis, and informs subsequent training.

However, this study is also motivated by a desire to produce a description of certain formal elements of speakers' verbal contributions in business meetings in terms that can be understood and used by the applied linguist and the syllabus writer. This motivation argues for a *quantitive* as well as *qualitative* treatment of the data. A quantitative treatment may

be particularly important for the syllabus writer, for example, who may wish to focus on those elements of discourse that can be proved to be quantitatively significant. It may also be important to the applied linguist, who may wish to compare speakers' verbal performances in different types of speech event.

In order to allow for this quantitative aspect of the study, as mentioned above, discourse strings in the MAW corpus identified as particular speech acts were entered onto a Microsoft FoxPro® database and coded in a variety of ways. This database was constructed in such a way as to incorporate a number of indexable fields relating to each discourse string - a construction that has allowed characteristics of discourse, speaker and speech event to be cross-referred in a variety of ways. The fields that are incorporated in this database are:

(i) *Speech act category and class*

(ii) *Speaker characteristics* (status, ethnicity and gender);

(iii) *Meeting characteristics* (the type of meeting in which utterances occurred);

(iv) *Speech act characteristics* (specifically, the 'locus' of directing speech acts, and the 'orientation' of suggesting speech acts); and

(v) *Discourse characteristics* (functional-grammatical, lexical and prosodic features of utterances)

The purpose of the next three chapters (Chapters 7 - 9) is to describe and analyse the utilisation and realisation of Type A directive speech act by different cultural groups in the MAW corpus. The cultural groups considered are 'status groups' (chairs and participants), 'ethnic groups' (Chinese and Western) and 'gender groups' (male and female). In these chapters, an attempt is made to describe and analyse 'chair-talk' and 'participant-talk' respectively in terms of:

(i) *How much chairs and participants contribute verbally to the business meetings in the corpus;*

(ii) *The range of speech acts that are most frequently used by chairs and participants in the corpus ; and*

(iii) *The discourse chairs and participants use to realise and support Type A directive speech acts.*

This analysis will then inform the discussion relating to discourse-based person perception in Chapter 10.

It is revealed in Chapters 7 - 9 that the verbal contributions of different cultural groups in the business meetings represented in the corpus tend to differ somewhat from each other[34]. Firstly, there appear to be quite large differences in the quantity of talk contributed by different groups. Secondly, different cultural groups appear to use slightly different sets of speech acts to help them to achieve their communicative purposes in business meetings. Quantity of talk and speech act utilisation (in broad terms) do, therefore, appear to be affected by considerations of status, ethnicity and gender, at least in the context of MAW corpus meetings.

It is also demonstrated that directive speech acts are particularly common in these business meetings due, perhaps, to the communicative purposes of the meetings (described in Chapter 3 as *the eliciting/offering of information and opinion*, *the eliciting/ offering of suggestions*, and *the allocating/ undertaking of tasks*). When compared with other speech acts, 'directive' speech acts appear to be particularly common in the business meetings analysed, and come a relatively close second (in terms of their frequency of occurrence) to 'representative' speech acts.

In terms of the discourse used by different groups to realise Type A directives, it is remarked that a number of inter-group differences appear to exist. These differences are summarised in Chapter 9, and are discussed in Chapter 10 from the point of view of the ways in which they may affect person perception and impression management.

It should be pointed out that the presentation, in the forthcoming chapters, of statistical evidence relating to speech act utilisation does not imply that the process of tagging speech acts is a foolproof one. Neither is it implied that these patterns of relative frequency of speech acts are universal and would be repeated in other contexts, or in the same context on different occasions[35].

My purpose in presenting this evidence is to give an approximate indication of the relative frequency of particular speech acts in the discourse of particular groups. This approach to the data has two main benefits.

(ii) it allows training to focus on those speech acts that are perceived to play a quantitatively significant role in the discourse of impression management.

(ii) it allows findings that are comprehensible to be fed back to participants in the form of training described in Chapter 11.

6.3 Describing 'Directness'

Type A directive speech acts in the MAW corpus exhibit certain functional-grammatical features that can be described using the concept of 'directness'. Brown and Levinson (1978) in *Universals in Language Usage: politeness phenomena* tend to link the concept of 'directness' to that of 'politeness'. It is my belief, however, that politeness and indirectness are separate, although related, phenomena. This belief is prompted by the observation that use of indirect speech acts is not unfailingly equated with politeness; similarly, extremely direct speech acts are not always equated with impoliteness.

Brown & Levinson linked politeness strategies with what they termed 'positive' and 'negative' face. In broad terms, positive face is the desire to feel valued by other people, while negative face is the desire for autonomy, and freedom from constraints imposed by others. Brown & Levinson then discerned several types of speech act that they felt inherently threatened positive or negative face. For example, requests (and other directive speech acts) naturally threatened negative face since they implied that the hearer's freedom was restricted in some way. Insults, on the other hand, invariably threatened positive face since they implied that a person was not respected or valued by the speaker (Brown & Levinson, 1978: 71).

In order to gain cooperation from their audience, speakers tended to use redressive action to counter threat to the hearer's positive and negative face, and in order to enhance their own face, Brown & Levinson stated. This redressive action they called politeness. Brown & Levinson identified five suprastrategies of behaviour on the scale of politeness. These were: *face-threatening actions*, eg threats and orders; *bald-on-record directness*, eg direct statements of the desired goal; *positive face redress actions*, eg ingratiation; *negative face redress actions*, eg indirect requests; and *off-the-record indirectness*, eg hints (Brown & Levinson, 1978: 73-74).

Use of these tactics was dependent, Brown & Levinson posited, upon certain situational factors: relationship distance (D), relationship power (P) and magnitude of face threat (R), along with individual characteristics, most notably gender (p. 79). They suggested, for

example, that the closer the relationship between speaker and hearer, the less need there would be to be indirect. Similarly, the greater the power of the speaker over the hearer, the less need there would be for indirectness on the part of the speaker. Lastly, it was suggested that if the face threat associated with a request were small, indirectness would again be unnecessary. They also felt that personal characteristics might play a part in determining politeness. For example, they discovered a correlation between gender and politeness, finding that women generally tended to use more redress action than men.

Several researchers have discovered correspondences between politeness strategies and other phenomena related to request-making, notably the speaker's right to make the request, anticipated resistance and the long-term versus short-term consequences of the request (Cody, Woelfel & Jordan, 1983). The last two might, in aggregate, be similar to Brown & Levinson's 'magnitude of face threat'. Roloff & Barnicott (1978) also considered the impact of Machiavellianism on politeness strategies, and Katz & Danet (1966) the issue of potential benefit from the request.

The conclusion from these studies is that speakers' indirectness, and, according to Brown & Levinson's terminology, this is synonymous with politeness, varies according to their relationship with the hearer, and according to the nature of what is being requested, along with the potential benefits of complying with the request.

Kasper (1990) points out, however, that Brown & Levinson's view of politeness as being essentially a matter of avoiding face-threatening acts (FTAs) is a somewhat over-simplified and linguocentric one (p. 195). Kasper claims that Brown & Levinson's preoccupation with the individual's need for autonomy (their negative face) fails to take account of the fact that different cultures place more or less importance on individualism or collectivism (Kasper, 1990: 195). Chinese and Western cultures are instances of cultures where individualism is viewed in a different light, as was illustrated in Chapter 2.

Kasper further points out that *strategic* politeness, of the type described by Brown & Levinson, may differ from *discernment* politeness, or politeness as social indexing. The former operates in specific situations where speakers have particular goals that they want to achieve (eg in ingratiating behaviour), while the latter is a marker of deference entitlement. Evidence presented in Chapter 2 suggests that in Chinese societies, with their emphasis on social networks and social hierarchies, politeness as social indexing is common.

Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper (1989) suggest that discourse type and the nature of the speech event may also strongly affect the means of politeness enactment that are used. Transactional and interactional discourse, for example, may differ in terms of the politeness they contain. The former may be typified by more directness (and less attendance to the hearer's face-wants); the latter may commonly contain more indirectness and sensitivity to the relationship between the speaker and hearer. However, it is important not to attribute a direct cause-and-effect relationship between the nature of the discourse and directness. Flowerdew (1991) found, for example, that even in 'representative' speech acts such as university lecture definitions (a typically transactional type of discourse), there was a surprising amount of indirectness present in terms of internal and external modification (p.263). Similarly, while interaction in business meetings may be considered typically transactional in nature (since it normally focuses on the optimally efficient transmission of information (Brown & Yule, 1983: 2), that interaction is often marked by a high degree of intimacy which may mitigate directness, eg by means of subtle hints and references which are obscure to the observer.

Another point worth considering is that talk of politeness strategies and their correlation with relationship distance and power suggests that the latter are fixed commodities. This ignores the fact that interaction is at least partly responsible for determining the nature of the relationship between interactants. According to this dynamic view (Thomas, 1984), use of politeness in routine business meetings, as well as being representative of the relationship that exists between speaker and hearer at a given time, is responsible for establishing the type of relationship they have, both inside and outside the meeting room. As Tannen (1994) points out, 'the claim that such social relations as dominance and subordination are *constructed* in interaction is one of the fundamental tenets and most important contributions of the interactional sociolinguistic approach to analyzing conversation' (Tannen, 1994: 10)[36].

It is clear from the above that the principles governing politeness and its relationship with directness are only partially defined in terms of their applicability to different discourse types and to different intercultural contexts.

In the present study, Type A directive speech acts are described in terms of their directness rather than their politeness[37]. Thus, directing speech acts range in directness from most direct (commands) to least direct (requestive hints), while suggesting speech acts also range from most direct (suggestions) to least direct (suggestory hints). It will be noted from the

following analysis that directing and suggesting speech acts often employ the same lexico-grammatical forms (ie imperatives, statements and interrogatives), and are only differentiable in terms of their prosodic features (see below) and their propositional content, and in terms of what we know about the relative roles of speaker and hearer.

Commands are realised (in functional-grammatical terms) most commonly by:

(i) direct requesting imperatives (DRI) (eg *Firm that up for two days*)

(ii) direct requesting statements (DRS) (eg *We must stop doing that*)

(iii) direct requesting interrogatives (DRIn) (eg *Can we talk about that after the meeting?*)

Suggestions are realised (in functional-grammatical terms) most commonly by:

(i) direct suggestory imperatives (DSI) (eg *Forget about the 'voluntary'.*)

(ii) direct suggestory statements (DSS) (eg *We could put a plastic dummy box behind the seat.*)

(iii) direct suggestory interrogatives (DSIn) (eg *Should we be going to have a chat with our joint venture partners?*)

Commands and suggestions are the most direct forms of directing and suggesting speech acts respectively. Lower in directness are requests and suggestions involving the use of certain conventionally indirect formulae. In this study, these are termed 'conventionally indirect requests' (CIR) and 'indirect suggestory formulae' (ISF) respectively.

Conventionally indirect requests are realised (in lexico-grammatical terms) most commonly with formulaic phrases including 'Can you please', 'Could you', 'I'd be grateful if you could', 'Maybe you could' and so on. Indirect suggestory formulae are also realised (in lexico-grammatical terms) most commonly with similar formulaic phrases, such as 'Can we'[38], 'Could you'. 'Do you think you could', 'We'd better', and so on. The fact that identical lexico-grammatical realisations may be used to realise both different levels of directness (cf DSIn and ISF), and different speech acts (cf CIRs and ISFs) illustrates the often overlooked fact that there is no one-to-one correspondence between lexico-grammatical form and function in context.

Lowest in directness are nonconventionally indirect requests and nonconventionally indirect suggestions. These are either 'requestive hints' or 'suggestory hints', depending on their function. It is in the nature of indirectness that the distinction between whether something

is being 'requested' or 'suggested' is sometimes rather difficult to define. Judgments in such cases usually rest upon our expectations of the speaker in the context of the meeting. It is also the case that when speech acts involve extremely low levels of directness they may actually elude identification by the analyst.

The lexico-grammatical form of hints is extremely varied. In terms of their content, they tend to refer to such things as the hearer's commitment or the feasibility of an action, or they may describe a situation, on the basis of which a request or suggestion may be inferred (see Weizman in Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 82-90). Examples from the corpus include: *You could go this week*; *It might be worth checking before*; *Should you be showing anything up there about CBT?* Often, hints are accompanied by prosodic features which mark them as such (eg a questioning, rising intonation contour, or a contemplative, constant high pitch).

6.4 The 'Locus' and 'Orientation' of Type A Directive Speech Acts

Both suggesting speech acts and directing speech acts are instances of directive speech acts in which the speaker expresses a desire for real-world activity to be undertaken by one or more hearers. However, as was mentioned in Chapter 5, whereas in directing speech acts the speaker commands or requests others to act, in suggesting speech acts, the speaker puts forward a plan or idea regarding the actions of others (and in some cases, of the speaker, too). Suggesting and directing speech acts are, therefore, distinguishable from each other on the basis of the force of the proposition contained in the speech act, directing speech acts generally having more inherent force than suggesting speech acts. Whereas the former relate to courses of action, which, it is hoped (in the case of requests) or anticipated (in the case of commands) that the hearer(s) will undertake, the latter relate to possible courses of action, which may or may not be undertaken.

However, not all directing speech acts relate to the same types of action; not all suggesting speech acts are addressed to the same type of audience. For these reasons, requests and suggestions can be subdivided according to what I term their 'locus' and 'orientation' respectively. In the following description, I also refer to 'level of imposition'. This is a measure of the effort that a request or suggestion requires in order to be implemented. In the case of both requests and suggestions, imposition may refer to 'corporate', as well as 'personal' imposition.

6.4.1 The 'Locus' of Requests

Requests clearly vary in terms of the type of action the speaker requests. Some represent potentially wide-ranging activities with a high level of imposition, others represent narrowly-focused activities with an extremely low level of imposition (cf *Can you undertake a market survey for Hong Kong* and *Can you pass that down to John?*). I attempt to capture this distinction with the concept of 'locus', which I define as 'the context in which the directed activity is to be undertaken'. Requests in the MAW corpus have the following three types of locus:

(i) *Activity inside the meeting room (Locus-type I)*

Locus-type I requests normally relate to the following types of activity:

- passing objects around the meeting table
- writing on the whiteboard
- writing notes
- looking at objects in the room
- showing objects to people
- staying in the room

Non-verbal requesting gestures are also common with requests of this type, for example, nodding at the whiteboard to request that a person write something up, or pointing at the whiteboard or the mission statement on the wall to attract attention or make a point.

(ii) *Activity outside the meeting room (Locus-type II)*

Locus-type II requests normally relate to the following types of activity:

Routine activities

- thinking about issues
- talking to people
- considering problems
- fixing things up
- arranging follow-up meetings

Less routine activities

- providing information
- putting together a case
- putting together a presentation
- talking to other people
- coming up with ideas
- drafting and sending letters

Activities 'commensurate' with hearers' rank or status

- contributing to the staff magazine
- meeting quality standards
- undertaking work-related travel

(iii) *Adoption of an approach to a problem (Locus-type III)*

Locus-type III requests normally relate to the following types of activity:

- prescribing the procedural aspects of dealing with the problem
- stating features of the problem believed to be important
- putting forward perceived solutions to the problem
- indicating perceived weaknesses in an individual's handling of a problem

6.4.2 The 'Orientation' of Suggestions

Suggestions vary in terms of who it is suggested should undertake action. Some suggestions are very focused on a particular person, whereas others are far less personally focused. Sometimes different types of suggestions have the same surface structure (cf *Can we do that?* (= *Can you personally do that? /= Can the group/ the company do that?*). I attempt to capture this distinction with the concept of 'orientation', which I define as 'the person(s) whose activities will be most affected by the suggestion'. Suggestions in the MAW corpus have the following three types of orientation:

(i) *'Hearer-directed' (Orientation-type I)*

These are suggestions where the suggested action would be carried out by a particular hearer or hearers, to whom the suggestion may or may not be addressed. Orientation-type I suggestions normally relate to:

- personal preferences and hopes
- identification of company needs and obligations
- setting priorities
- warnings and (occasionally) threats

(ii) *'Group-directed' suggestions (Orientation-type II)*

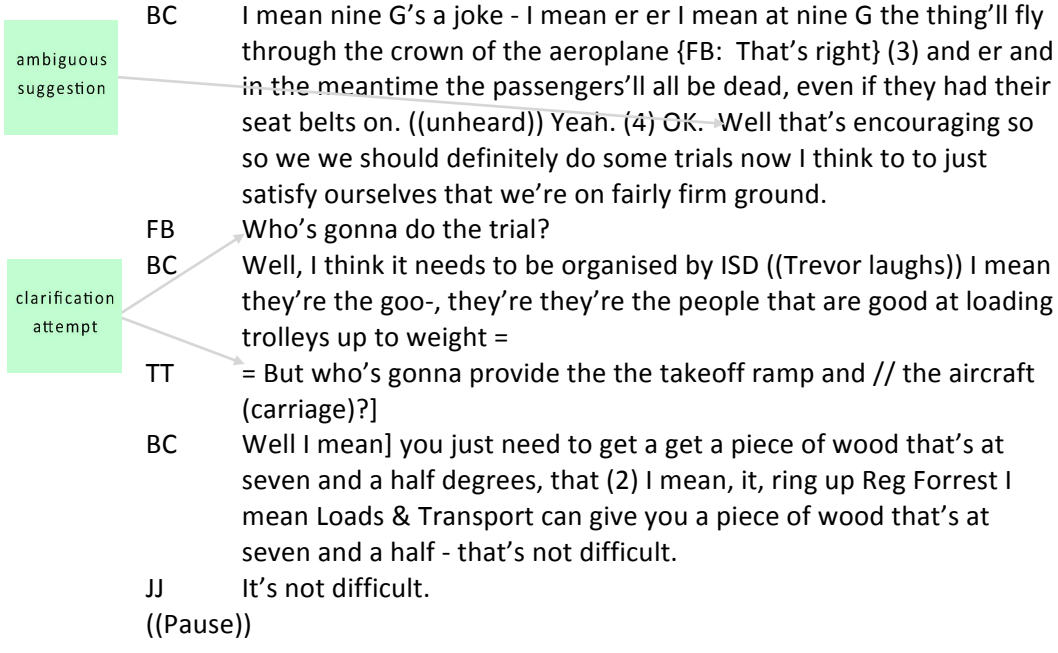
These are suggestions where the suggested action would be carried out by a group of which the speaker is a member. In such cases, the distinction between the speech act classes of directives and commissives is somewhat blurred, since, by suggesting activity by a group that includes the speaker, the speaker is also committing him or herself to that activity. Orientation-type II suggestions normally relate to:

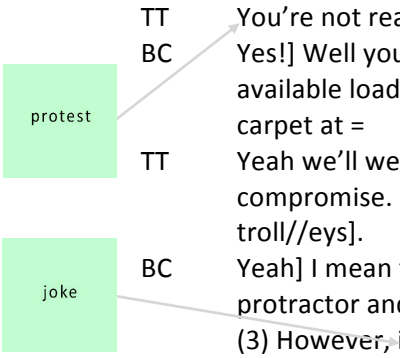
- setting group objectives
- deciding group approaches to problem-solving
- discussing procedural aspects of a project

(iii) *'Outgroup-directed' suggestions (Orientation-type III)*

These are suggestions where the suggested action would be carried out by a person or persons not present at the meeting. Orientation-type III suggestions normally relate to action on the part of an individual, a section or another department, the company as a whole, or another company

There is sometimes considerable ambiguity as to the implied reference in suggestions in the corpus, although most are directed at a specific hearer or the group of which the speaker is a part (Orientation-types I and II respectively). In some Orientation-type I suggestions, the use of the pronoun 'we' projects the erroneous impression of speaker inclusion. This can sometimes cause misunderstanding, as in the following extract from the corpus, in which it has been suggested that a trial be conducted, although it is not clear by which department.





TT You're not really suggesting that we do the tri//als?]

BC Yes!] Well you you you get you tell us when you've got trolleys available load- loaded, // and and then] we'll set up a piece of carpet at =

TT Yeah we'll we'll provide the trolleys] = OK, well that's a fair compromise. (2) So you'll set up the test rig and we'll provide the troll//eys].

BC Yeah] I mean the test rig is just a pie-, all you need is a bloody protractor and a piece of wood and a carpet I mean it's no big deal (3) However, if you think that's beyond you, rely on Engineering!

TT Did that raise a laugh?

In the case of Orientation-type II suggestions, the distinction between the directive speech act of 'suggesting' and the commissive speech act of 'committing' is blurred.

In the case of Orientation-type III suggestions, the pronoun 'we' may be used to refer to the company as a whole, with the effect that a sense of corporate unity is conveyed. Conversely, use of the pronouns 'they' and 'them' to refer to those outside the meeting group may lend Orientation-type III suggestions an air of remoteness.

With Orientation-type III suggestions, since those who are responsible for undertaking the suggested activity are not actually present in the meeting, such suggestions remain 'open' until they have been repeated within an appropriate other forum. This means that this type of suggesting speech act lacks the symetrical structure (suggest-respond-react) demonstrated by 'hearer-directed' and 'group-directed' suggesting acts.

6.5 Supportive Moves

Another feature of both directing and suggesting speech acts is that they are often reinforced by means of 'supportive moves' of the type described by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 276). These can appear either before the 'head act' (the request) in the case of 'pre-posed' moves, or after, in the case of 'post-posed' moves. An example of a post-posed supportive move from the MAW corpus is the following:

Suggesting speech act		Post-posed supportive move
Sit down with er some ASO's, maybe one at a time ...	+	... because if you get 'em in a group, they influence each other and they all go quiet. That's my been my experience.

As Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) observe in their study of request strategies, supportive moves can have two functions (mitigating and aggravating a request) (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 287 - 289). While the latter type of supportive move does occur in the corpus (through insults and threats), mitigating supportive moves are certainly far more common. Blum-Kulka et al. divide mitigating supportive moves into the following six functional types. The examples in italics are taken from the Blum-Kulka et al. study referred to earlier (the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project or 'CCSARP'):

(i) *Preparator*

In which the speaker prepares his or her hearer for the ensuing request by announcing that he or she will make a request, eg *I'd like to ask you something ....*

(ii) *Getting a precommitment*

In which the speaker tries to commit his or her hearer before telling them what they are in for, eg *Could you do me a favor?* Would you lend me your notes from yesterday's class?

(iii) *Grounder*

In which the speaker gives reasons, explanations or justifications for the request, eg *Judith, I missed class yesterday*. Could I borrow your notes?

(iv) *Disarmer*

In which the speaker tries to remove any potential objections the hearer might raise, eg *I know you don't like lending out your notes*, but could you make an exception this time?

(v) *Promise of reward*

In which the speaker announces a reward due on fulfillment of the request, eg Could you give me a lift home? *I'll pitch in on some gas.*

(vi) *Imposition minimiser*

In which the speaker tries to reduce the imposition placed on the hearer by the request, eg Would you give me a lift, *but only if you're going my way.*

A similar categorisation can be used in the case of supportive moves identified in the MAW corpus, although clearly the corpora differ significantly in terms of the nature of the requests and suggestions contained[39]. Whereas Blum-Kulka et al. focus on interpersonal requests that may be said to imply certain levels of imposition on the individual hearer, in the MAW corpus, 'imposition', as mentioned earlier in this chapter, has the added dimension of 'corporate imposition', ie how difficult it would be for the company to comply with (or implement) a request or suggestion.

Many of the requests and suggestions in the MAW corpus are also considerably more complex than those described in the CCSAR Project. Whereas, in that project, requests tended to focus on actions with which an individual could fairly easily comply (eg giving someone a lift, lending someone lecture notes, and so on), in MAW corpus business meetings, requests and suggestions have a tendency to be rather more complex and relate to actions with considerable ramifications for the company. For these reasons, it is suggested that a further category of supportive move be added to those described above. This is the category of 'elaborators'.

In this group of supportive moves, the speaker either spells out what the request means, or spells out what compliance with the request will mean in practical terms, eg *So it might well be worth doing a big 'sunset job' on them. A BA sunset-type job - new everything* [40]. The purpose of elaborators, in common with mitigating supportive moves described by Blum-Kulka et al. is to increase the probability of compliance, in many cases, 'corporate' compliance.

Chapter Seven

Analysis of 'Chair-Talk' in

Cross-Cultural Business Meetings

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate a number of aspects of the discourse used by chairs ('Chair-Talk') in the meetings in the MAW corpus. Firstly, the quantity of chair talk is considered, along with the range of commonly-occurring speech acts used by chairs in the meetings. Secondly, the discourse used by chairs to realise and support Type A directive speech acts is considered in terms of certain functional-grammatical, prosodic and lexical features.

In the survey of speech act utilisation presented below, only the most commonly identified speech acts are considered. This does not indicate a belief that those speech acts that occur frequently are, in any objective sense, more 'important' than those that occur less frequently. A greeting, for example, of which there is only one per meeting, is not considered less important because of its relative infrequency. However, in the matter of syllabus design and training, it is logical to focus on those speech acts which occur more, rather than less, frequently in meetings. Also, it is suggested that a study of the relative frequency of occurrence of speech acts in the discourse of different groups in business meetings may provide useful illumination of these groups' interpretations of the conventions governing behaviour in this type of speech event and of socio-cultural expectations relating to their own involvement. However, once again, it should be reiterated that the statistical evidence presented below is not purported to be either totally reliable or universally replicable.

7.2 Quantity of Talk/ Patterns of Speech Act Utilisation

Chair discourse constitutes nearly forty percent of the discourse in the MAW corpus (calculated on the basis of the duration of chair discourse in relation to total meeting time), while the remaining sixty percent is made up of participant discourse. Given that, on occasion, participants outnumber the chair by as many as seventeen-to-one (the average number of people in meetings in the MAW corpus is slightly over ten), chair discourse does appear to constitute a very high proportion of meeting-time.

In terms of relative frequency of occurrence in the MAW corpus, representative speech acts are the most common category of speech acts identified by the analyst across the board, closely followed by directive speech acts, with commissive speech acts and evaluative

speech acts being relatively infrequently identified[41]. Figure 7.1 below illustrates the proportions.

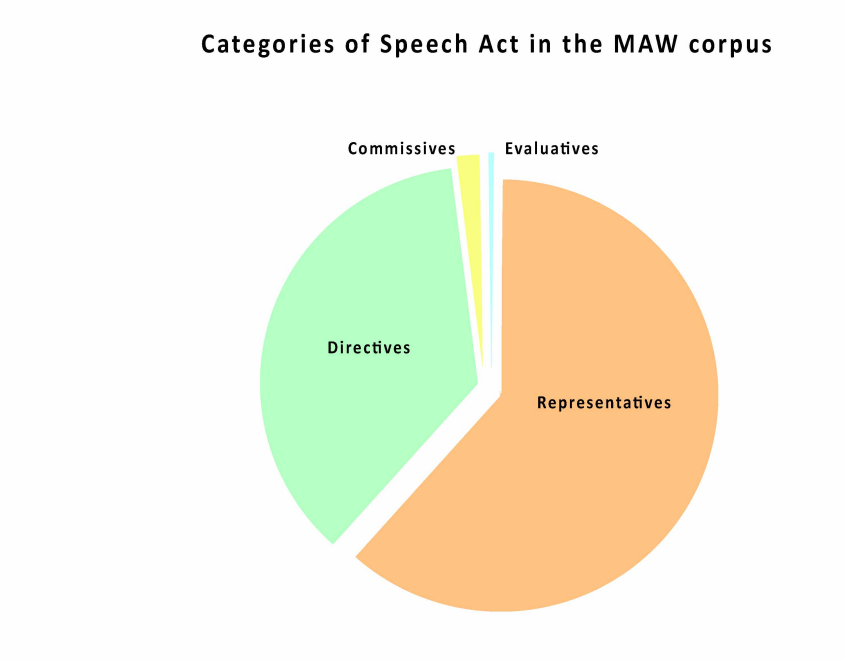


Figure 7.1 Categories of Speech Act in the MAW Corpus

Figures 7.2 and 7.3 below illustrate the proportions of representative, directive, commissive and evaluative speech acts identified in chair and participant discourse respectively.

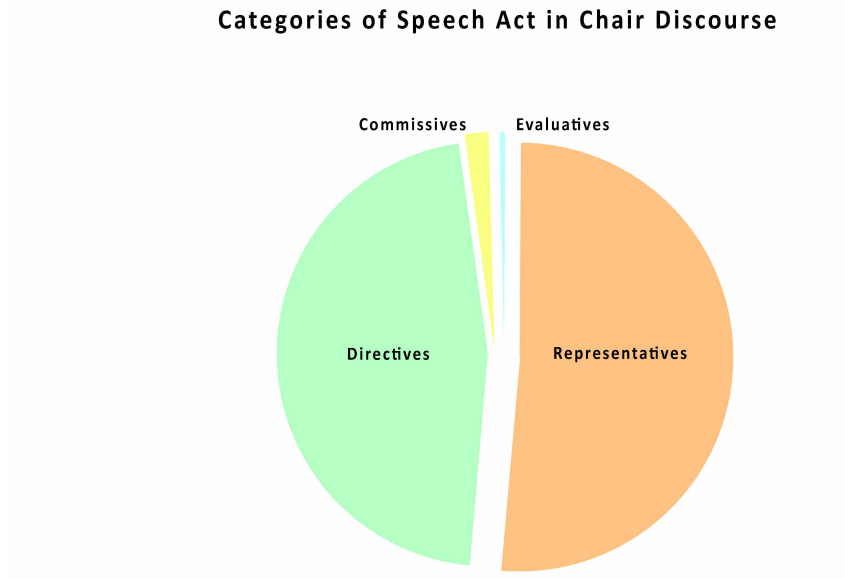


Figure 7.2 Categories of Speech Act in Chairs' Discourse in the MAW Corpus

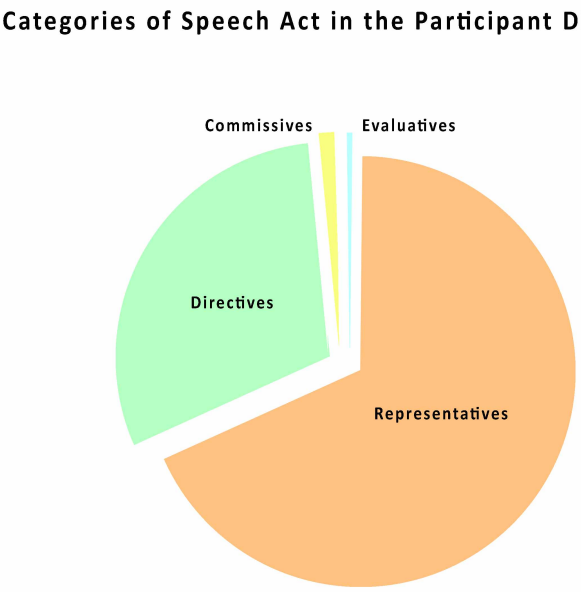


Figure 7.3 Categories of Speech Act in Participants' Discourse in the MAW Corpus

It can be seen from these charts that, as one might expect, directive speech acts are considerably less common in the discourse of participants than they are in the discourse of chairs. As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, the fact that directive speech acts are nevertheless conspicuously present in the discourse of participants is explained by the occurrence of a large number of suggesting speech acts in the discourse of certain participants. In the case of chairs, directive speech acts constitute approximately half of the speech acts identified, while for participants, directive speech acts constitute close to thirty percent of identified speech acts.

If each group's speech acts are now ranked in order of their frequency of occurrence, it can be seen that chairs and participants in MAW corpus business meetings tend to embark upon rather different ranges of speech acts in meetings. Table 7.1 shows that, although information transmission is a key activity for both the chair and participants (realised mainly through the 'representative' speech act of *informing*), directive speech acts are also common, both on the part of participants and, especially on the part of chairs (for whom seven of the most common twelve classes of speech act fall into the category of directive speech acts). The figures in table 7.1 (and other such tables in this analysis) relate to percentages of total occurrences identified for each group in the corpus.

Chair Speech Acts		Participant Speech Acts	
Speech Act	% of Speech Acts Identified	Speech Act	% of Speech Acts Identified
Inform	33	inform	46
Elicit	11	suggest	9
Return	8	return	8
Engage	7	engage	6
Suggest	6	object	5
Nominate	5	concur	5
Mark	4	metastate	2
Conclude	3	predict	2
Object	3	commit	2
Direct	3	elicit	1
Concur	2	request-clarify	1
Metastate	2	direct	1
miscellaneous	13	miscellaneous	13

Table 7.1 Chairs'/ Participants' Speech Acts ranked in order of frequency of occurrence

These data confirm the rather self-evident conclusion that the chair in business meetings is often responsible for directing proceedings as well as giving information. While chairs and participants both spend time on the substantive issues of meetings (for example, giving information or discussing a problem), chairs expend a lot of time directing the activities of those present in meetings. Chair discourse is, overall, therefore less 'information-centred' than the discourse of participants, due to these many 'organisation-oriented' speech acts (eg *starting*, *nominating*, *framing* and *marking* speech acts clearly relating to the chair's procedural role, as well as the speech act of *directing*, with which the chair directs meeting attenders to undertake real-world action).

Participants' discourse, on the other hand, tends to focus almost exclusively on 'information-centred' speech acts, the purpose of which is to contribute information, clarify information, make suggestions, and so on.

It is worth making the point that new information is central to the types of meeting that comprise the MAW corpus. Despite the fact that different meeting-types have different purposes, new information is central to each (insofar as it relates to *on-going projects*, *departmental activities* and *sectional concerns* respectively in each of the different types of

meeting in the corpus). Information is the currency that is traded in meetings. One of the roles of the chair is to act as a broker of this currency by giving, requesting and reacting to new information; one of the roles of participants is to trade in the currency.

The types of information given by chairs and participants in meetings tends to be different, however. For example, chairs tend to give new information to participants relating to events external to the company, decisions made elsewhere in the company, company policy and so on. The speech acts commonly used by chairs to achieve this purpose include *informing*, *predicting* and *confiding*, supported by *exemplifying* and *quoting* speech acts. Participants' discourse, on the other hand, tends to focus on providing information and opinions in answer to chairs' *eliciting* speech acts. The information tends to relate to either personal, sectional, departmental or company activities, changes in circumstances and so on. Clearly, the type of information provided depends on the function of the meeting.

Similarly, the suggestions made by chairs and participants differ from each other. Chairs' suggestions, on the one hand, often have implications for particular members of meetings, whereas participants' suggestions, on the other hand, usually have implications for the group as a whole, or for people outside the meeting room. They seldom focus on the activities of particular members of the meeting.

Another difference between the discourse of chairs and participants relates to hearers' reactions to the information and suggestions provided by others. Chairs, on the one hand, usually react to information and suggestions presented by participants by means of *allowing* speech acts involving short responses (such as *Mmm*, *OK*, *Yeah* and so on), which recognise the allowability of the utterance. Alternatively, feedback and/or support is sometimes given by chairs in the form of *reformulating* speech acts, whereby a revised version of the participant's speech act is given in summarised form. Thirdly, in cases where the chair positively praises the participant for a contribution, *endorsing* or *concurring* speech acts are used. Finally, where the chair's reaction is less positive, *objecting* speech acts and *rejecting* speech acts are used, whereby the preceding utterance is disputed in terms of its accuracy or appropriacy.

Most participants in the corpus, on the other hand, do not react to chair information and suggestions in these ways. More commonly, participants simply react to chair information with non-verbal gestures such as nods, looks of interest and so on, and to chair suggestions

and requests with *confirming* or *committing* speech acts, or, where clarification is required, with *returning* speech acts[42].

The foregoing suggests that chairs and participants in the MAW corpus business meetings are involved in somewhat different sets of speech acts which correspond to the different ranges of activities undertaken by each group in meetings. Thus, chairs tend to *elicit* information, opinions and suggestions from participants, whereas participants tend to *give* information, opinions and suggestions; chairs tend to *allocate* tasks, whereas participants tend to *undertake* them. A number of these activities clearly require the use of directive speech acts:

a	making suggestions, requests and commands	(Type A directives)
b	eliciting information and opinions	(Type B directives)
c	ensuring that the meeting is kept orderly	(Type C directives)

Figures 7.4 and 7.5 below and overleaf illustrate the range of directive speech acts used by chairs and participants in MAW corpus meetings, along with the number of occurrences identified in the corpus by the analyst. It can be seen that, by and large, chair and participants appear to use quite different sets of directive speech acts.

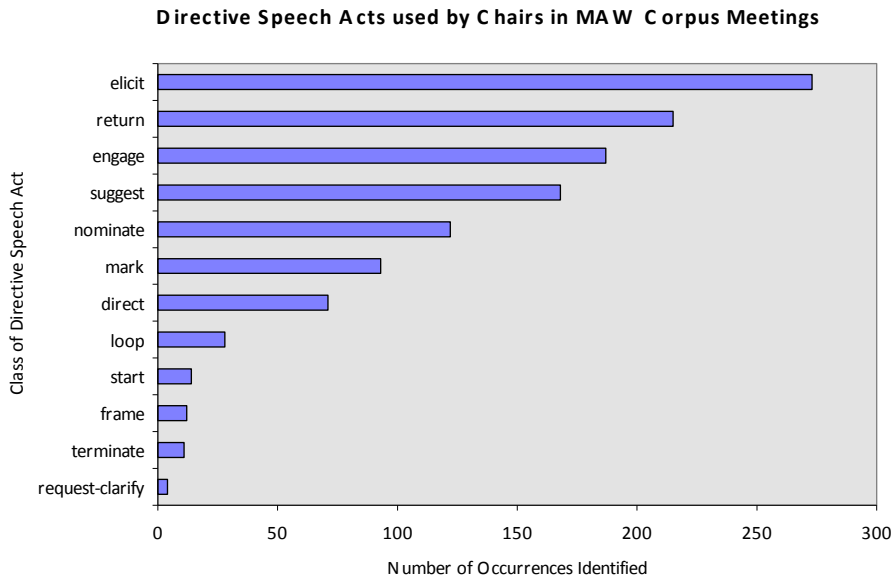


Figure 7.4 Directive Speech Acts used by Chairs in MAW Corpus Meetings

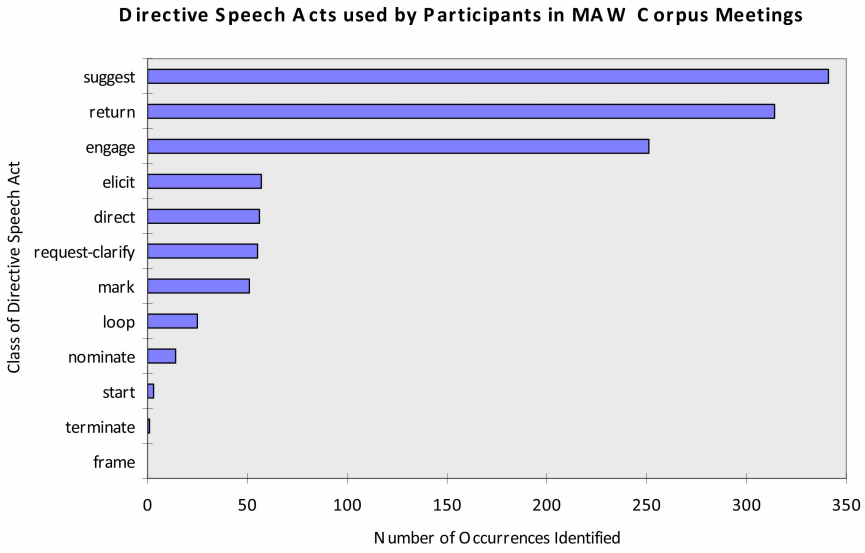


Figure 7.5 Directive Speech Acts used by Participants in MAW Corpus Meetings

A number of observations can be made on the basis of these two figures *vis-à-vis* the use of directive speech acts by the two groups :

1 Participants most frequently use the Type A directive speech act of *suggesting*. Chairs make a significant number of suggestions, too, but also direct the activities of meeting members through the Type A directive speech act of *directing*.

2 Chairs most frequently use Type B directive speech acts to elicit information and opinions from participants (*nominating* and *eliciting* speech acts). Seldom are these activities undertaken by participants.

3 Clarification of information (also involving the Type B speech acts of *returning, request-clarifying* and *looping*) is undertaken by both chairs and participants.

4 Marshalling the contributions of participants (by means of the Type C directive speech acts of *starting*, *framing*, *marking* and *terminating*) is almost exclusively undertaken by chairs.

5 Both chairs and participants make heavy use of Type C *engaging* acts which serve to keep communication flowing smoothly.

These observations seem to confirm certain (Western) expectations about what constitutes appropriate behaviour by chairs and participants in business meetings. All meetings in the

MAW corpus are controlled to a greater or lesser degree by the chair, whose duties involve co-ordinating and controlling topic-sequencing, topic-focus and turn-taking by participants. In a sense, the chair acts as an 'editor' of on-going discourse by determining what shall be spoken about; who shall hold the floor; how long they will hold the floor; and so on. The chair usually achieves these things by using directive speech acts that have an 'organising' function. Such acts include *starting* speech acts to contextualise a discussion; *framing* speech acts to move between the phases of the meeting (see footnote 3 in Chapter 5); *marking* speech acts to open items; *nominating* speech acts to give the floor to participants; and *terminating* and *concluding* speech acts to wrap up items before moving on to the next item/speaker.

Participants, on the other hand, are almost never involved in these types of directive speech acts, the only exceptions occurring when the chair inappropriately nominates a participant (eg one who may not have the information necessary to take the floor, or one whose responsibilities do not include taking the floor on a particular subject). In such circumstances, a participant may nominate another speaker, such as in the following two extracts:

redirected nominate speech act

RS Yeah. Four to Akita? The aircraft can actually get into Akita, can they?
TC Yes.
RS Who's er who's here from the Operations side?
((Pause))
MM Four to Akita {RS: Yeah}. *Have we er, done any work on Akita, Tim?*
TL Yes, we have looking at the RTW, the takeoff side - it seems that there shouldn't be any problems. We are now looking at the er, actually the engine out failure procedures. I think we have already given the paper to you -

[D.3 (p.381): M/Ch/P]

redirected nominate speech act

RS Yeah, mm I see. (3) Alright, any other points about Johanesburg? (6) OK, the joint venture with American Airlines on Los Angeles. Jim, is this your -
JM I don't think so. *it's George's // yeah.*]
GC It'll be me] yeah. Erm well, American Airlines are not, a bit of an understatement, particularly happy with (1) the current arrangements on Los Angeles.

[D.3 (p.387): M/W/P]

It was commented above that analysis of chair talk in the MAW corpus reveals that certain expectations about chair behaviour in meetings are confirmed, and that these expectations may be essentially Western expectations. It would be interesting, therefore, to compare the language behaviours of non-Western chairs (and also *non-male* chairs), with those of Western male chairs. Unfortunately, in the MAW corpus, most chairs are Westerners, and all are males[43]. The fact that there is only a single meeting chaired by a Chinese chair means that only extremely tentative conclusions can be arrived at on the basis of such limited data.

Table 7.2 below shows that there do appear to be a number of differences between the discourse of Chinese and Western chairs in the MAW corpus. Thus, while *informing* speech acts constitute approximately the same proportion of each group's discourse, it is interesting to note that, in the case of the Chinese chair represented in the corpus, *objecting* speech acts are particularly common (10%), as are *committing* speech acts (7%), this latter speech act being extremely uncommon in Western chairs' discourse.

Chinese Chair Speech Acts		Western Chair Speech Acts	
Speech Act	% of Speech Acts Identified	Speech Act	% of Speech Acts Identified
inform	30	inform	33
object	10	elicit	12
return	10	return	8
commit	7	engage	8
concur	6	suggest	8
suggest	4	nominate	5
observe	4	conclude	4
mark	3	mark	4
elicit	3	metastate	2
engage	3	direct	2
metastate	3	concur	2
direct	2	object	2
miscellaneous	15	miscellaneous	12

Table 7.2 Chinese/Western Chairs' Speech Acts ranked in order of frequency of occurrence

It is possible, however, that, due to circumstances, the single meeting that is chaired by a Chinese chair is not representative of a Chinese chairing style. In this meeting (see Appendix D.5), the Chinese chair is deputising for a more senior Western director of the airline who is unable to attend the meeting, and in terms of rank, the chair is subordinate to one of the

Western participants present at the meeting. Furthermore, in terms of the topic of the meeting, the Chinese chair is responsible for actually undertaking many of the activities suggested by participants, and is severely criticised and badgered by certain participants for not having already undertaken these activities. These facts almost certainly explain the high occurrence of *objecting* speech acts (rejecting suggestions) and *committing* speech acts (promising future action) uttered by the Chinese chair in this meeting.

These two factors (*relatively low rank* and *operational involvement in the substantive issues being discussed at the meeting*) result in the meeting being highly charged, and, perhaps due to this, unrepresentative. Unfortunately, therefore, it is impossible to present more reliable findings relating to differences between Chinese and Western chairs' patterns of speech act utilisation, and this interesting area awaits further research.

7.3 Functional-Grammatical Features of 'Chair-Talk'

What trends can be identified in terms of the functional-grammatical realisation of Type A directive speech acts by chairs, both in terms of the directness of strategies used, and in terms of the types of supportive moves used by chairs to support these speech acts?

It will be recalled that, in Chapter 5, it was remarked that directing and suggesting speech acts are sometimes identical lexico-grammatically, and can only be differentiated in terms of their prosodic features, and/or on the basis of knowledge of the relative roles of speaker and hearer. For this reason, in the tables that follow, many directing and suggesting speech acts have very similar, and sometimes identical, lexico-grammatical forms.

When chairs use Type A directive speech acts in the MAW corpus, their discourse tends to be marked by a high level of directness. Most directing and suggesting speech acts by chairs in the corpus function as direct strategies (direct commands and direct suggestions respectively). The lexico-grammatical realisation of these requests and suggestions is most frequently in the form of direct statements (DRS and DSS) focusing on what the hearer or the group should, must or needs to do, eg:

Direct Requesting Statements	Direct Suggestory Statements
• I think you should do that quick smart mate ey? • You've got to emphasise the arrival. • Ron, you'll fix up that.	• You have to set up a standard in terms of procedure. • You need to do a bit of leading the witness. • You should put that down, and say that it's worthwhile ...

A number of chair commands are also realised by means of direct requesting imperatives (DRI), eg *Don't worry about that*; *Firm that up for two days*; *Get to work on that one*. These are potentially face-threatening because of their inherent directness; therefore use of imperatives tends to be limited to requests in which the imposition on the hearer is low.

About one-third of the requests, and one-fifth of the suggestions made by chairs, involve the use of conventional formulae of the types described above (conventionally indirect requests (CIR) and indirect suggestory formulae (ISF) respectively) eg:

Conventionally Indirect Requests	Indirect Suggestory Formulae
• *Can you* just get John to confirm that we can get through Thursday and Friday with two of them out? • *Better* chase him up. • *You might* follow that up, *would you*?	• *Could you* show us all? • *Let's* try and wrap this up • *Maybe we can* work a bit more on perceptions.

This is a significantly higher proportion than occurs in participant discourse, despite the fact that one might expect chairs' discourse to be more direct than participants' discourse[44].

Lastly, requestive and suggestory hints appear to contribute more substantially to the means by which chairs realise their requests and suggestions than they do for participants. Hints in the corpus (requestive and suggestory) refer to 'duties', 'commitments', 'situations', and so on, eg: *You could go this week*; *I mean it might be worth checking before*; *Should you be showing anything up there about CBT?*

It can be concluded from the above that chair discourse contains a broad range of levels of directness (from highly direct commands to indirect requestive hints, and from highly direct suggestions to indirect suggestory hints).

7.3.1 The 'Locus' and 'Orientation' of Chair Directives

It was suggested in the preceding chapter that a speaker's directness in Type A directive speech acts may be partly affected by contextual factors. In the case of directing speech acts (requests and commands), it was suggested that the 'locus' of the speech act might affect a speaker's choice of directness. 'Locus', it will be recalled, refers to 'the context in which the directed activity is to be undertaken'. In the context of the cross-cultural business meetings in the MAW corpus, three loci were identified:

- Activity inside the meeting room (Locus-type I)
- Activity outside the meeting room (Locus-type II)
- Adoption of a particular problem-solving approach[45] (Locus-type III)

Analysis of chair requests reveals that, in marked contrast to participants, chairs tend to use requests of all three 'locus-types'. That is, their requests are extremely wide-ranging, encompassing activity inside and outside the meeting room, and extending to the ways in which individuals or the group approach particular problems. Locus-type III requests appear, in fact, to be integral to chairs' *'organisation-centred'* activity that is such a part of their participation in MAW corpus meetings.

Locus-type I requests tend, in general, to be realised in the most direct ways. Such requests, being restricted to largely trivial activities such as passing papers around, writing notes, and so on, usually involve a minimal level of imposition. Examples from the corpus include:

Locus-type I Requests

- Give me the drawing
- Send one down to Terry
- Pencil it in
- Why don't you just jot these numbers down?
- Can you have a look at the er wall there?
- Could you show it to Tom?
- You'd better stay

Locus-type II requests, on the other hand, tend to vary in terms of their level of imposition from activities that are, broadly, 'routine', to those that are 'extraordinary'. In these cases, different levels of directness are used. Examples from the corpus include:

Locus-type II Requests

- **Routine requests (high directness)**, eg *Get to work on that*; *Have a thought about that*; *Keep working that problem*; *We'll talk about that this afternoon*; *I want to talk to you about that.*
- **Extraordinary requests (mid-directness)**, eg *Can you give me a bit of ammunition before?*; *Could you tee something up for us?*; *Maybe you could slip something to him on e-mail*; *Let's talk about it afterwards*; *I'd be most grateful if we could somehow get him down there*.
- **Activities commensurate with hearer's rank (low directness)**, eg *Could I suggest that perhaps after this meeting you and Joe ... just sort out exactly how we can get this information out to our staff?*; *Do you think you could draft something like that for Harry?*; *I think I'm going to be asking you to go down there, mate*; *It might be something you could talk about a bit further on giving it a bit bigger profile as much as anything*; *You probably might want to wait until...*.

In the case of the last of these categories, 'Activities commensurate with hearer's rank', low directness tends to be used, perhaps because of the face-threat implicit in requests that remind people of what they should already be doing.

Lastly, locus-type III requests, due to their very personal nature, can range from posing virtually negligible face-threat to being extremely face-threatening, depending partly on the relationship that exists between interactants. Examples from the corpus include:

Locus-type III Requests

- **Procedural aspects of dealing with the problem**, eg *Work backwards from that; Let's look at the workload; Could I take these other four off the board for the time being?; Can we list the choices?*
- **Features of the problem believed to be important**, eg *Why don't you just stick to the micro analysis before you go back to the macro problem?*
- **Perceived solutions to the problem**, eg *Go down the ones with a bad arrival time (referring to a list); Start with the 400.*
- **Perceived weaknesses in an individual's handling of a problem**, eg *You mustn't sit there thinking that we don't miss connections now - we bloody well do, and a lot of them we miss because we've got an unrealistic schedule.*

Clearly, of these locus-type III requests, the most face-threatening is the last, 'Perceived weakness in an individual's handling of a problem', which involves a potential attack on the hearer's professional competence. This type of request is, not surprisingly perhaps, rather uncommon in the corpus (except in meeting D.5 in Appendix D) both in the discourse of chairs and of participants.

It was also suggested in the preceding chapter that a speaker's directness in the case of a suggestion may be affected by the 'orientation' of the suggestion, ie 'the person(s) whose activities will be most affected by the suggestion'. In the context of the cross-cultural business meetings in the MAW corpus, three orientations were identified:

- Hearer-directed (Orientation-type I)
- Group-directed (Orientation-type II)
- Outgroup-directed (Orientation-type III)

Orientation-type I suggestions (hearer-directed) by chairs tend to be marked by generally high levels of directness due to the fact that the activities requested usually fall within the responsibilities of the addressee.

Orientation-type I Suggestions

- You'd better update the whole thing
- Could we look at that?[46]
- Let's wait and see.
- It's important that we know these things
- You can always play around with the angle.
- Can we have a word in Nigel's shell-like?
- I hope we're gonna get that on shortly.
- It's a good opportunity to start banging on about high engineering standards.
- We've got to keep up behind Tanko to keep it going.
- We need to understand what the cutoff date
- It should be in there.
- Could you show us all?
- Maybe that should be the next step to get something like that out
- Could you think about that?

Orientation-type II suggestions (group-directed), when used by chairs, tend also to be quite direct, due to the task-related nature of the speech event. As was mentioned earlier, group suggestions are, to an extent, a *sine qua non* of business meetings of this type.

Orientation-type II Suggestions
• Let's not talk too many items otherwise we will lose focus.
• On the customer service er er bit, I think we should identify what is our objective to address in this area first before we go into detail as to what we're looking for.
• We have to identify first what is our objective - what we want to improve first before before we move along, or else we're we're going round and round and talking about this and, pieces here and there.
• Before we spend any more money waste any more money, er we have to justify it, and I think we need specific feedback and say we're upsetting 6.35259 repeating percent of the passengers and therefore it's worth fixing.

Finally, orientation-type III suggestions (outgroup-directed) tend to be the most direct of suggestions, due, perhaps, to the physical absence of the addressees of the suggestions.

Orientation-type III Suggestions
• Any aircraft that comes in should be cleaned, purged, whatever the word is.
• Crew could do it themselves.
• Do you think it would be nice for Harry to issue a letter to each ASO first.
• I really would like the crew to do their bloody load sheet you know.
• I think that should be probably discussed somewhere else.
• I think they've got to wear a uniform.
• It needs to be organised by ISD.
• Somebody still has to make up make the decision.
• Somewhere the decision should be clearly identified who's responsible.
• They must get someone to do it properly.
• What I'm going to suggest to the group as well ... is that they sit down with our market research people and just ask ...

7.3.2 Chair Supportive Moves

It was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter that Type A directive speech acts are often reinforced with supportive moves. Most supportive moves in the corpus are used to reinforce suggesting speech acts, and serve to increase the suasive properties of such speech acts.

In chair discourse, many suggestions are reinforced with *post-posed* supportive moves. Of these, most are 'grounding' moves of the following type, in which an explanation is given as to why a suggestion is being made:

Type A directive		Post-posed GROUNDING supportive move
• Let's get the orders into C S Straith now, today ...	+	...so that when they come back next week and say 'why aren't we sixty-four?' or 'why aren't we sixty?', we'll be able to say 'it's too late because we've ordered the bloody closets!'.
• Maybe we should er score people who don't comment er as 3, that's indifferent...	+	... cos otherwise they don't add up to the response number you know what I mean.
• Well actually what you could do for me is just copy down that board ...	+	... Otherwise we'll lose it all.
• I'd rather bring aeroplanes in that need both sides ...	+	... You get more value for money, don't you?
• We could put a plastic dummy box behind the seats ...	+	... Just to fill up the space.

In addition, chairs also sometimes use post-posed 'elaborators' to support their suggesting speech acts. These serve to spell out exactly what is meant by the suggestion. The following are examples of post-posed elaborating supportive moves from the corpus:

Type A directive		Post-posed ELABORATING supportive move
• Maybe we can work a bit more on perceptions ...	+	... The ASO's perception of what is the problem for them.
• But I think if you've got a comment like that, then you should put that down ...	+	... and say that it's worthwhile noting that Virgin put the staff further up.
• So it would be w- it might well be worth doing a a big a sunset a sunset job on them ...	+	... A BA sunset type job - new everything

Next, chairs use post-posed 'imposition minimisers' with which to reduce the imposition of a suggestion. This can relate to 'imposition' viewed from an 'institutional' perspective (ie the work required to be undertaken by the company) or from a 'personal' perspective (ie the

inconvenience to an individual). In this, the MAW corpus data contrasts markedly with CCSARP corpus data, in which imposition is viewed solely from the latter perspective.

In the first extract presented below, the speaker is seeking to minimise the apparent difficulty of the task from a corporate viewpoint; in the second, the chair is minimising the apparent inconvenience of the task from a personal viewpoint:

Type A directive		Post-posed IMPOSITION-MINIMISING supportive move
• Well call it the '400 look'...	+	You know, it's a way of saying we're trying to make the 200 look like a 400. You know, old is not ugly.
• We'll put together a rough framework, sometime this afternoon or Monday...	+	... it shouldn't take that long.

Lastly, chairs also use post-posed 'disarming' supportive moves whereby possible objections are forestalled. In the following speech act from the corpus, the chair is predicting and trying to forestall a possible objection from his hearer. It is interesting that in his disarming move, the chair uses the semantically charged phrase 'trying to reinvent the wheel' to make his disarmer more persuasive.

Type A directive		Post-posed DISARMING supportive move
• Yes, well I think personally that's what we should do and nothing else, and then fly it again and see if we get any complaints.	+	Rather than trying to reinvent the wheel and start redesigning the whole thing.

Pre-posed mitigating supportive moves are considerably less common than post-posed moves in chair discourse, although they tend to serve similar functions, ie explaining (grounders), downplaying (imposition minimisers), and forestalling possible objections (disarmers).

Pre-posed supportive move		Type A directive
• I mean we'll get some subtle appreciation, hopefully, in the form of fewer complaints about shabby toilets and all the rest of it ... (grounder)	+	... but I think you need to do a bit of leading the witness.
• Er I don't know, Jenny, anything ...	+	... should you be showing anything up

(imposition minimiser)		there about CBT?
• Instead of aiming at the big picture, which we know is very difficult to change ... (disarmer)	+	... maybe we can aim at a small frame like remove the pressure by not making them responsible for errors.

7.4 Prosodic Features of 'Chair-Talk'

Analysis of the corpus reveals that the speech acts of directing and suggesting used by meeting attenders (both chairs and participants) tend to be marked by falling intonation contours (*low-fall*, *mid-fall*, *high-fall* and *rise-fall* contours). Rising nuclei (ie *low-rise* and *high-rise* intonation contours) and falling-rising nuclei are relatively uncommon in such speech acts, except, for example, when the speaker wishes to adopt a quizzical or sarcastic intonation.

The most common contour for chair directing speech acts is the low-fall, which is used in nearly half the instances in the corpus, eg:

ˌGet to ˌwork on ↘that one.

For chair suggesting speech acts, the mid-fall is also used in just over half of the speech acts identified, eg:

ˈI would ˈjust ↘leave it.

Falling nuclei (which occur in nine out of ten Type A directive speech acts used by the chair) tend to lend the chair's discourse an appearance of 'finality' that is quite striking to the hearer. Gimson, for example, refers to falling nuclei in the following way:

> A falling nucleus, whether ↘ or ↘, is generally matter-of-fact, separative, and assertive, the higher the fall the more vigorous the degree of finality implied. No explicit appeal is made to the listener, yet the pattern is not necessarily impolite; a conversation amongst people who are intimately acquainted might, for instance, exhibit a preponderance of falling intonations, without the exchange being querulous or lacking the social courtesies of speech.
>
> (Gimson, 1980: 275)

Chairs seldom use the rising (questioning) intonation contour of low-rise and high-rise in Type A directive speech acts (especially the more marked high-rise variant). Neither do they tend to use fall-rise (quizzical/ sarcastic) nuclei. There are two cases of chairs using a

pattern of continuous high level pitch which is sometimes associated with ‘musing’ or ‘contemplating’.

7.5 Lexical Features of ‘Chair-Talk’

In terms of lexical choices, it is very noticeable from the corpus that chair discourse tends to be marked by informality. Informality is mostly signalled by the use the following:

(i) Informal lexical equivalents. These are very common in chair discourse. Examples include:

'bit of paper'	'play around' with something
'sitting around'	‘let it go round' (an idea)
'chase him up'	'quick smart'
'give someone a hard time'	'have a thought' (cf 'think about')

(ii) Idiosyncratic lexical equivalents. These are commonly used by chairs, although their use depends upon chairs’ personal chairing styles. Examples of idiosyncratic equivalents include use of the terms 'demolition derby’ and ‘Philippino ghetto blaster smash test' to describe a real-life trial of an aircraft.

(iii) ‘Bad’ language. One of the most marked differences between chair and participant discourse involves the use of ‘bad’ language. Terms such as ‘bloody’, ‘fucking’, ‘to bugger up’ and so on, are relatively common in the meetings in the corpus, but their use is largely restricted to chairs.

(iv) ‘Indefinite’ language. Informality is also commonly conveyed by chairs through the use of ‘indefinite’ lexis, such as 'sort of thing', ‘stuff', ‘somehow’, ‘someone’, ‘something’ and so on.

Chair-talk is also highly emphatic. Emphasising strategies appear to be used in order to encourage participants to be enthusiastic about new ideas, policies, actions and so on. The principal ways in which chairs add emphasis to their Type A directive speech acts are through the use of emphatic lexis (eg ‘actually’, ‘definitely’, ‘certainly’ and so on), ‘definite’ modal verbs (eg must, gotta, need to, and so on), evaluative comments (eg ‘it would be lovely if’, ‘I’d be most grateful if’, and so on), and reiterative statements (eg ‘that’s what we really need’ after a request has been made).

Chair-talk also appears to function in such a way as to emphasise group identity. This is achieved in a number of ways that include the following:

(i) Use of the pronoun 'we'. One way in which a group identity may be established is through the chair's use of the personal pronoun 'we' to represent 'the group' (chair included), 'you' (chair excluded), 'the company' (all of us), and so on. Table 7.3 below illustrates the rather different uses made by chairs and participants of the pronoun in the corpus.

Chairs	*No.*	*Participants*	*No.*
Referrent:		*Referrent:*	
The Group	25	The Company	36
You	18	The Group	31
The Company	7	You	13
The Department	4	The Department	9
You and me	2	You and me	4
Ambiguous	1	A subset of the Group	2
		The Section	1
		I	1
		Ambiguous	4

Table 7.3 Use of the Pronoun 'We' by Chairs and Participants in MAW Corpus Meetings

(ii) Specialist knowledge and terminology. It is also noticeable that technical terminology and shared knowledge of abbreviations and so on, may cement the group's identity, especially when the group is composed of a largely homogeneous group of 'technical' staff, such as engineers. Even where there is considerable professional heterogeneity between meeting attenders (eg staff from customer service, engineering, marketing and training), common airline-related language items are sufficient to render most meetings obscure to the layperson. Individual participants may derive a sense of separateness, or 'identity', from the fact that meetings are potentially very obscure to the layperson.

(iii) Use of first names and terms of endearment. In the corpus, chairs make considerably heavier use of people's first names, and use more terms of endearment (eg 'mate', 'sir' (ironic), variants on people's names, and so on) than do participants. In Brown and Gilman's (1972) terms, these non-reciprocal references may reflect the high and low relative powers of chairs and participants respectively.

Chapter Eight

Analysis of 'Participant-Talk' in Cross-Cultural Business Meetings

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to investigate a number of aspects of the discourse used by participants from different cultural groups in the meetings in the MAW corpus. Firstly, for each cultural pair (ie Chinese and Western participants; male and female participants), the quantity of their talk in meetings is considered, along with the range of speech acts they use in MAW corpus meetings. Secondly, the discourse used by each group to realise Type A directive speech acts is considered in terms of certain functional-grammatical, prosodic and lexical features. Once again, it must be acknowledged that, due to the limited size of the MAW corpus, the quantitative evidence presented below has no more than an approximate status.

8.2 Chinese and Western 'Participant-Talk'

The findings presented in Chapter 7 above might imply that the discourse of chairs and participants is completely separate and homogeneous. This is an erroneous impression; the discourse of chairs and participants cannot be so neatly separated. A significant degree of variation exists between individuals' styles of chairing and participating in meetings, and this inevitably affects their discourse. This section investigates the ranges of speech acts used by Chinese and Western participants.

8.2.1 Quantity of Talk/ Patterns of Speech Act Utilisation

There are not equal numbers of Chinese and Western chairs and participants in many of the meetings in the MAW corpus. In terms of staff at or above the rank of Assistant Manager, Chinese participants number 36 whereas Western participants number 51[47]. The corresponding numbers for Chinese and Western chairs are 1 and 11 respectively. The relative contributions of each group have therefore been factored to overcome this imbalance[48]. For the purpose of calculations, as was explained in Chapter 3, only staff at an appropriate rank have been included since there are a number of junior (mostly Chinese) participants present at most meetings who do not actively participate, and who would skew the figures, were they not excluded.

When factored to take account of this imbalance in the number of Chinese and Western participants in MAW corpus at or above Assistant Manager-level, spoken discourse by

Chinese participants is found to constitute slightly over one-third of total participant talk (in terms of its duration in minutes). The proportion is also roughly similar when calculated on the basis of the number of words used by each group.

A comparison of the range of speech acts used by Chinese and Western participants in MAW corpus meetings reveals that there are considerable differences in terms of the range of speech acts used by the two groups (see Table 8.1 below). These differences cannot be attributed to speaker status (ie 'chair' or 'participant') in the same way as was possible when differentiating between the discourse of chairs and participants. In order to do so, it would be necessary to significantly revise the meaning of the term 'status'. At the moment, the term is taken to be synonymous with 'role', and does not, for example, reflect the types of social power mentioned in Chapter 2, based on truthfulness, position of authority, control of resources, expertise, and mediation of rewards. Neither does it reflect the social power of *guanxi* (关系) also referred to in Chapter 2, which may be particularly important in describing behaviour in Chinese settings.

Chinese Participants' Speech Acts		Western Participants' Speech Acts	
Speech Act	% of Speech Acts Identified	Speech Act	% of Speech Acts Identified
inform	66	inform	40
suggest	7	return	9
return	4	suggest	9
engage	4	engage	7
conclude	2	object	6
commit	2	concur	5
concur	2	metastate	3
object	2	request-clarify	2
mark	2	predict	2
loop	2	direct	2
exemplify	1	elicit	2
predict	1	observe	2
miscellaneous	5	miscellaneous	13

Table 8.1 Chinese/ Western Partcipants' Speech Acts ranked in order of frequency of occurrence

Table 8.1 shows that in the MAW corpus there appear to be several differences in the ranges of speech acts used by Chinese and Western participants in business meetings. Although, in general, the most frequent speech acts appear to be shared by both groups (ie *informing*, *suggesting*, *returning*, *engaging* and *concurring*), there are nevertheless certain differences between the ranges of speech acts used by Chinese and Western participants, eg in terms of *marking*, *eliciting*, *exemplifying*, *metastating*, *request-clarifying* and so on.

It is useful to group observations regarding similarities and differences between Chinese and Western participants' utilisation of speech acts into three categories:

(i) Speech acts which are shared and which have a broadly similar frequency of occurrence

(ii) Speech acts which are shared but which have marked divergent frequencies of occurrence

(iii) Speech acts which are not shared

In terms of the first of these, it is noted that, on average, *suggesting* and *predicting* speech acts occupy approximately the same proportion of the discourse of both Chinese and Western participants. In terms of shared speech acts with a different frequency of occurrence, on the other hand, Chinese participants seem to make much heavier use of *informing* speech acts than Western participants, a fact which might explain Western participants' comments in interview that Chinese speakers' discourse appears to be 'mono-functional' while Western discourse gives the appearance of being 'multi-functional'.

Western participants appear to engage, for example, in more *returning* speech acts (clarifying information and intent), *engaging* speech acts (helping conversation flow more smoothly), *concurring* speech acts (expressing agreeement with others), *objecting* speech acts (disagreeing with others' utterances)[49] and *predicting* speech acts (forecasting what might happen) than their Chinese colleagues.

In terms of speech acts which are not shared in the MAW corpus, it is noticeable that Chinese participants make use of *committing*, *marking*, *exemplifying* and *concluding* speech acts, whereas Westerners make use of *metastating*, *request-clarifying*, *eliciting*, *directing* and *observing* speech acts.

It should be pointed out, however, that these findings may be rather misleading, since large differences are discernible in the discourse of each group in the three meeting types in the corpus. Thus, it is noticeable that in co-ordination meetings (M^a), management meetings

(M^b) and brainstorming meetings (M^c), Chinese and Western participants exhibit very distinct patterns of participation. This is not only reflected in the proportion of talk of each group in the different types of meeting (Chinese discourse ranged from 23% in M^a meetings, 46% in M^b meetings, to 53% in M^c meetings), but also in the range of speech acts used by Chinese and Western participants in different types of meeting.

Figures 8.1 and 8.2 on pages 130 - 131 illustrate the variation that exists between the range of speech acts utilised by Chinese and Western participants in meetings types A to C. In each case, numbers have been factored to account for imbalances in the number and rank of participants present in meetings.

In these figures, and figures 8.3 and 8.4 later in this chapter, the following abbreviations are used to refer to speech acts:

Representatives	
allow	[all]
conclude	[con]
concur	[conc]
confide	[confd]
correct	[corr]
endorse	[end]
exemplify	[ex]
inform	[i]
metastate	[ms]
object	[obj]
observe	[obs]
predict	[pred]
qualify	[qu]
quote	[quo]
reformulate	[ref]
reject	[rej]
summarise	[sum]

Directives	
'Type A'	
direct	[d]
suggest	[sug]

'Type B'	
elicit	[el]
return	[ret]
loop	[l]
request-clarify	[r-cl]

'Type C'	
engage	[eng]
frame	[fr]
mark	[m]
nominate	[n]
start	[s]
terminate	[ter]

Commissives	
commit	[comm]
confirm	[conf]
Evaluatives	
apologise	[ap]
greet	[gr]
reply-greeting	[re-gr]

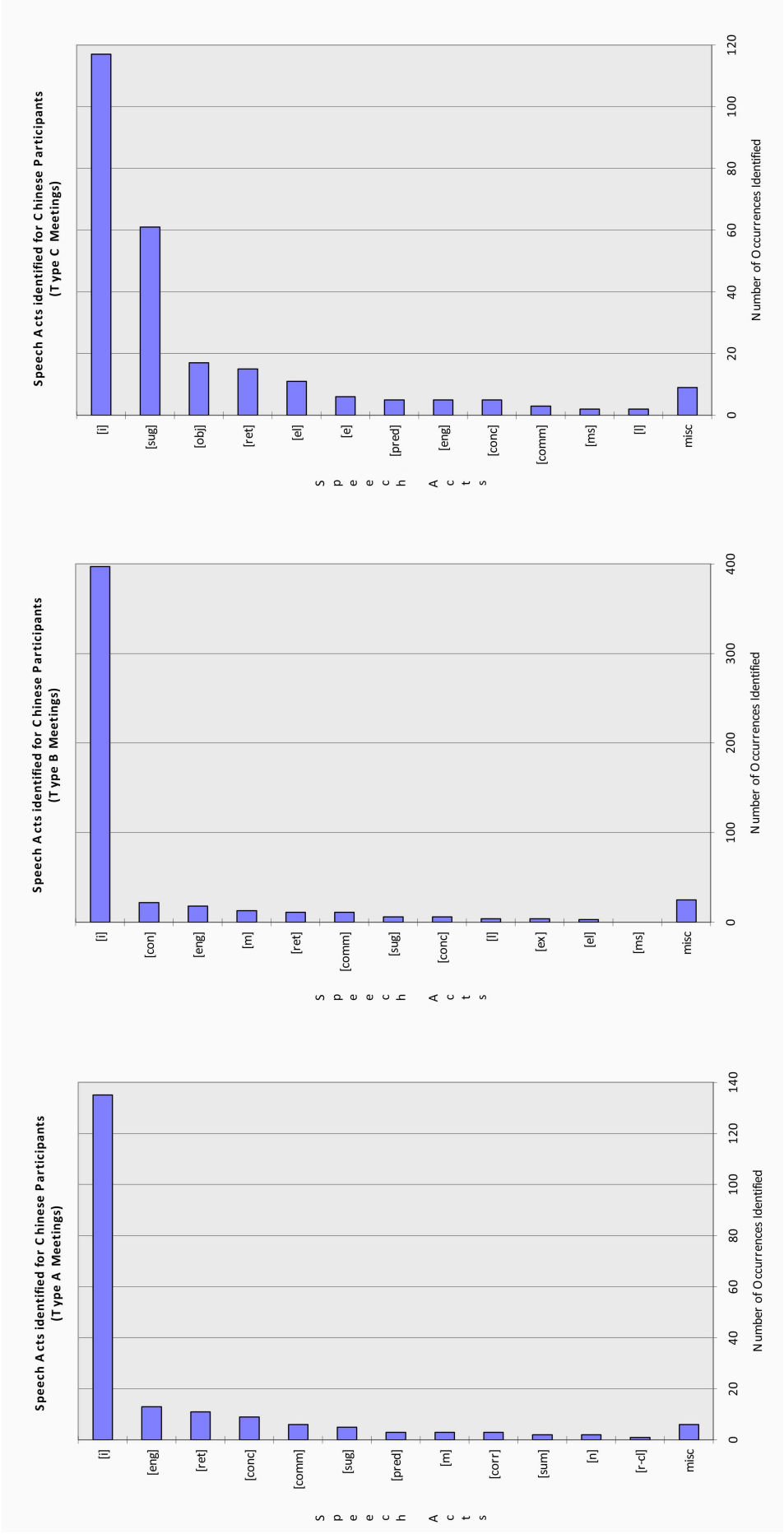


Figure 8.1 Chinese Participants' Speech Acts according to Meeting Type

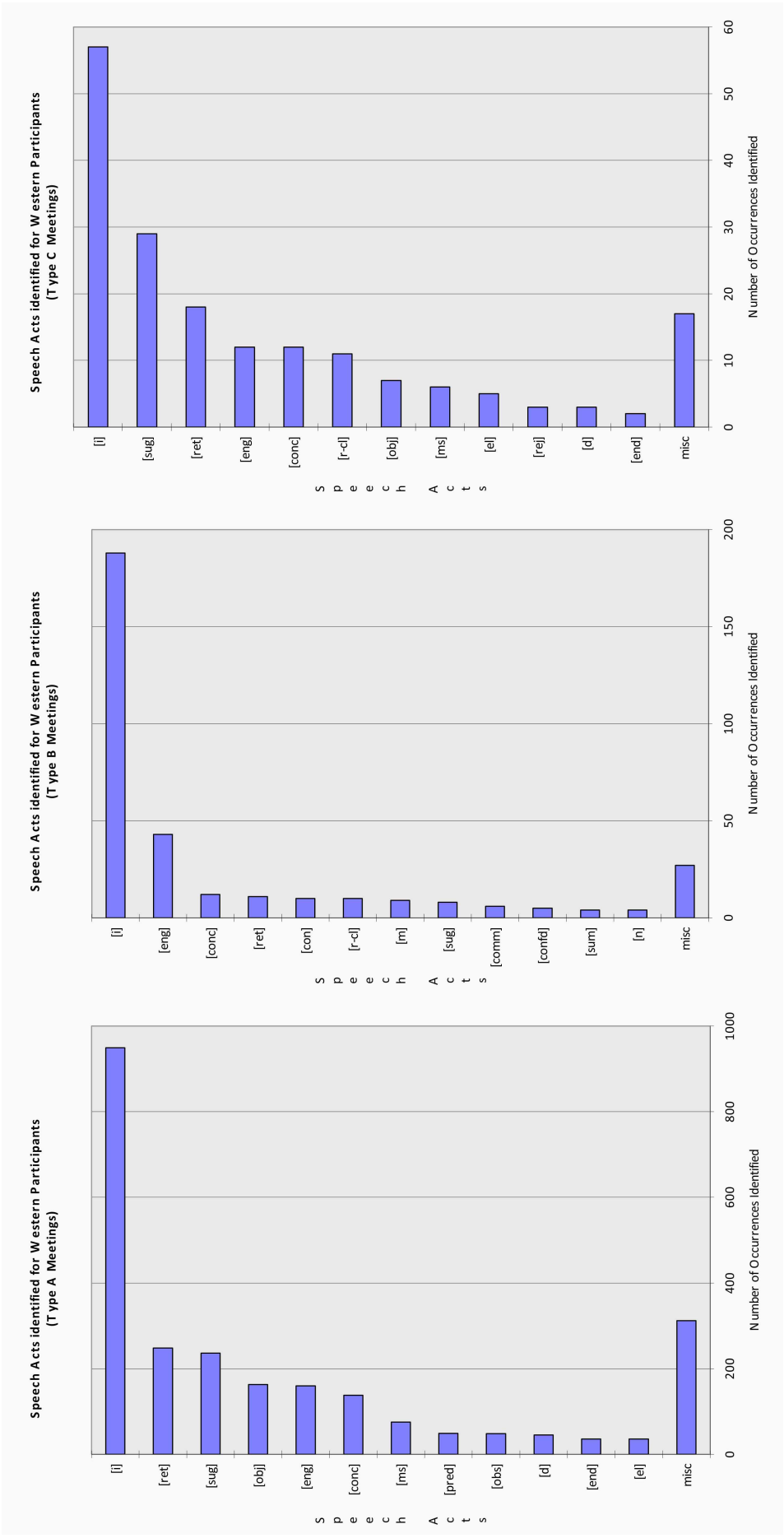


Figure 8.2 Western Participants' Speech Acts according to Meeting Type

A number of tentative observations can be made on the basis of these data.

1 Chinese participants in all meetings tend to devote a higher proportion of their time to information-giving than do their Western colleagues.

2 Western participants generally tend to devote a higher proportion of their time to engaging speech acts than their Chinese colleagues.

3 In co-ordination meetings, Western participants tend to devote more time to making suggestions than do their Chinese colleagues, whereas this situation is reversed in the brainstorming meeting, in which Chinese participants tend to devote a higher proportion of their time to making suggestions than their Western colleagues.

A number of reasons can be tentatively proposed to account for the above observations. Firstly, Chinese and Western participants may differ in terms of their views as to the requirements of different meeting types. Secondly, Chinese and Western participants may differ in their views of their own and others' roles in different meeting-types. Thus, perhaps Chinese and Western participants perceive their roles in co-ordination meetings and management meetings differently (ie the Chinese role in co-ordination meetings may be one of straightforward information-giving, and in brainstorming meetings one of making suggestions; for Westerners, the roles may be reversed). Thirdly, although the ranks of the Western participants in all meetings are roughly comparable to those of Chinese staff, Western and Chinese participants may have sources of social power (eg reputational characteristics and high prestige) that have not been accounted for in the analysis, and these sources of power may underlie their different verbal performances. If, in certain types of meetings (eg M^a meetings), Chinese or Western participants lack certain sources of power, their discourse might be relatively restricted. Another view, supported by studies in Chinese psychology (see 2.2.2 above), might propose the view that the Chinese 'collectivistic' orientation leads Chinese participants to be less prone to air personal views in certain contexts than their 'individualistic' Western colleagues. This view is supported by the fact that, in certain meeting-types, notably M^c meetings, Chinese participants are considerably more vocal than in others (and more vocal than their Western colleagues).

8.2.2 Functional-Grammatical Features of Chinese and Western 'Participant-talk'

It is noticeable that the majority of requests and suggestions made by both Chinese and Western participants are marked by high levels of directness, through the use of direct strategies (notably, direct statements [DRS and DSS respectively]). It will be remarked again that the lexico-grammatical form of requests and suggestion are often identical, eg:

Direct Requesting Statements	Direct Suggestory Statements
• We should be writing that in. • We want fifteen minutes more in the block time. • We want to get one man stroke lady carts. • You should be more bloody proactive in the driving seat really.	• It's something we have to look at Tom. • That needs looking at. • We can put his name down here. • We must keep looking at up-to-date statistics to see what effect the chages have had. • We need more visibility of some of the shifting sand variables to understand all these issues. • We ought to take this trial business seriously • We should be majoring on the arrival time, not the departure time. • You need to have a damned close look at how these other people have skinned the rabbit. • You should play around with the whole thing. • You've got to tell us what you want, and what your priorities are.

In the case of Western participants' realisation of directing speech acts, the use of direct requesting imperatives is also quite common, and accounts for nearly half of the directing speech acts identified for this group of participants. Such imperatives include the following:

Direct Requesting Imperatives
• Don't be realists. Be honest. • Don't volunteer a reduction of the standard. • Don't worry about that. • Forget Marketing. • Get somewhere near it. • Go down the ones with a bad arrival time and pick off the easy ones. • Go on write it on your damn viewfoil. • Leave at 15 45, and add the bloody flight time. • Well go on - pencil it in. • Work backwards from that.

Chinese participants, however, do not use direct requesting imperatives at all in the MAW corpus. This difference in direct strategy utilisation is one of the most marked distinctions between Chinese and Western discourse in the corpus, and may underlie judgments made by Chinese participants of Westerners' 'bluntness'.

It can also be observed in the MAW corpus that Chinese participants tend not to use interrogatives of the DRIn or DSIn forms, whereas Western participants tend to make quite heavy use of these strategies to make requests and suggestions respectively, eg

Direct Requesting/ Suggestory Interrogatives
• Can we do our cockroach spraying the following ...?
• If we're doing a trial, could we also then look at a sixty-four inch arrangement?
• Is it an ideal time to include talking to the Ambassadors as well?
• Is it that it needs you know a piece of elastic and a tassle on it or something?
• Should we be going to have a chat to our joint venture partners?
• Why don't you just jot these numbers down?
• Why don't you just stick to the micro analysis before you go back to the macro problem?
• Would it be beneficial to erm have a gweilo in?
• Would it make sense to dress all the seats with the bar retracted?
• You can't switch with one of the later European departures, 289, 251?

The net effect of this tendency for Westerners to use interrogative forms to make suggestions may be that they judge their (Western) discourse to be more 'interactive' than Chinese discourse.

There are however, some common features shared by Chinese and Western discourse in terms of their utilisation of conventionally indirect and nonconventionally indirect strategies. The use of formulaic suggestions (indirect suggestory formulae), for example, by both groups is relatively common, the most typical means by which such formulaic suggestions are realised being the following:

Chinese	**Western**
• Can we list the choices?	• Can you not have another panel on top that can slide forward?
• I was wondering whether maybe we should get one of these for the Duty Manager.	• Could I suggest we actually find out where that's up to?
• Let's give them something simple er straightforward er small items.	• Could we convene separately to do something a bit more ...?
• Maybe you should have it somewhere else you know.	• If we could be absolutely clear what are the benefits ...

• What about if we ask the supervisors or senior supervisors to form a quality council, right? • Why don't we give them the choice what to study?	• Let's find a few more easy ones and get them under our belt. • Maybe you should hold the business class C zone people as well as the 'economy herd'. • Shouldn't a computer be doing more of this donkey work? • What if we reduce the transit time through Kuala Lumpur? • Why can't we work on a schedule which is 95% accurate? • Why don't you put it down in the minutes that we will. • You might wanna look at what Air Canada do.

Also, the use of nonconventionally indirect hints (requestive and suggestory), is quite restricted among both Chinese and Western participants. Where they occur, such hints tend to refer to 'worthwhile-ness' (*Is it worthwhile saying that sometime in August would would would you have an outline Tom of that?*); commitments (*you're already down to do that in the minutes of a meeting about three months ago*), feasibility (*I don't suppose we could get some seats with PTV attached could we?*); helpfulness (*It would be helpful though I mean to know where a trade-off point is*); and so on.

It can be concluded from the above that both Chinese and Western tend to favour requests and suggestions that are based on the making of direct statements relating to needs, obligations and desires. However, despite the overall predominance of directness, Chinese speakers tend to:

(i) avoid extreme directness (ie the use of direct requesting/suggestory imperatives), and

(ii) not employ interrogative forms in the making of requests and suggestions (other than formulaic usage in CIRs and ISFs respectively).

It is also noticeable that the locus of Chinese requests in the corpus tends to be concentrated on activity outside the meeting room (locus-type II requests), whereas Western requests tend to be spread evenly across locus-types. For example, whereas Western participants in meetings (particularly 'coordination' meetings) frequently adopt a didactic approach, by making locus-type III requests which prescribe a particular approach to problem-solving, this orientation is almost never used by Chinese participants, who tend

to aim their requests at group activity. The consequence of this is that the involvement of Westerners in the meetings gives the appearance of being greater (at least from my own, Western, perspective). Clearly, this issue has implications in terms of impressions that each group projects in meetings.

In terms of the 'orientation' of their suggestions, too, there appears to be a difference between Chinese and Western participants in the MAW corpus. Whereas Chinese participants' suggestions are almost exclusively group-directed, Western suggestions range between being hearer-directed, group-directed and outgroup-directed.

Chinese and Western supportive moves

It was remarked earlier that speakers often reinforce (and increase the persuasiveness of) Type A directive speech acts with pre- and post-posed supportive moves. It was noted that chairs use mainly grounding, imposition-minimising, and disarming supportive moves in the MAW corpus, these moves usually positioned *after* the 'head act' (the request or suggestion).

Analysis of the corpus reveals that almost all supportive moves used by Chinese participants are also post-posed (ie they are positioned *after* the 'head act' involved), whereas Western participants tend to use both pre-posed or post-posed supportive moves in roughly equal proportions. It is unclear whether this might have an impact on Western perceptions of Chinese speakers and vice versa. It is possible that this is the case.

Despite the different positioning of supportive moves by Chinese and Western speakers, the purposes of supportive moves used by the two groups appear to be very similar (principally 'grounding', 'elaborating', and, to a certain extent, 'imposition-minimising'). Once again, they are dominated by 'grounding' moves in which speakers present an explanation for the speech act[50]. In the corpus, grounders normally relate to the need for action, the purpose of action, or the potential benefits of compliance/ negative consequences of non-compliance, as can be seen in the following examples for Chinese and Western participants respectively:

Chinese

Type A directive		**Post-posed GROUNDING supportive move**
• I think we should focus on customer service ...	+	... because we are very lack of lack of in this area.
Pre-posed GROUNDING supportive move		**Type A directive**
• I think Hilary most probably has a lot of workload ...	+	... so I I would prefer Thomas to er do this job.

Western

Type A directive		**Post-posed GROUNDING supportive move**
• Well go on - pencil it in ...	+	... I mean we're never gonna get this right if we aren't honest!
Pre-posed GROUNDING supportive move		**Type A directive**
• If you keep fudging all the bloody numbers, we'll never make a sensible decision ...	+	... You've gotta write down the facts and start from them.

Aside from 'grounders', both Chinese and Western participants in MAW corpus meetings use 'elaborators', with which to spell out what is meant by a suggestion or a request. Clearly, because of this clarifying role, elaborators must be post-posed, as in the following examples for Chinese and Western participants respectively:

Chinese

Type A directive		**Post-posed ELABORATING supportive move**
• Probably you need a lot of data collection, right?	+	... People interviewing ASO trying to to see their perceived issues first before you really come to the problem-solving part, right?

Western

Type A directive		Post-posed ELABORATING supportive move
• Start at the other end, this is what I'm proposing ...	+	... Start at the schedule - put a 95% confidence factor on there with 5% for ATC and base your 85% within 15 minutes on 95%

Lastly, it is noticeable that 'imposition-minimising' supportive moves tend to be present in Western participants' discourse, yet absent from Chinese participants' discourse. It was mentioned above that imposition-minimising supportive moves serve the purpose of reducing the apparent difficulty or inconvenience involved in complying with the directive. It was also noted that imposition can relate to 'institutional' or 'personal' inconvenience. The absence of imposition-minimising supportive moves by Chinese participants might be attributable to two factors:

(i) there is a general tendency for suggestions not to be hearer-directed. The following two utterances, both by Western participants, are, therefore, rare exceptions.

Type A directive		Post-posed IMPOSITION-MINIMISING supportive move
• I don't suppose we could get some seats with PTV attached could we?	+	... Doesn't matter whether it's working or not, just with the armrest thing?
• Yeah, but you know, you shouldn't give this up too easily ...	+	... because I mean we are only looking for ten or fifteen minutes here.

(ii) participants seldom choose to 'speak for the company'. Where they do, as in the following utterance by a Western participant, this behaviour can be considered to be markedly 'inflated' (unless the speaker's power base allows the speaker to speak on behalf of the company, as in this example).

Type A directive		Post-posed IMPOSITION-MINIMISING supportive move
• So the choices are we either go and buy another aeroplane or we live with a TriStar instead of a 747 and throw some passengers away or something ...	+	... and I mean there's nothing wrong in having that conversation.

8.2.3 Prosodic Features of Chinese and Western 'Participant-talk'

Analysis of the corpus reveals that the speech acts of directing and suggesting in the corpus are marked by the falling intonation contours of *low-fall*, *mid-fall*, *high-fall* and *rise-fall*, whereas the rising nuclei of *low-rise* and *high-rise*, and falling-rising nuclei are relatively uncommon in these speech acts.

Despite this broad similarity in prosodic features relating to the speech acts of directing and suggesting speech acts throughout the corpus, there do appear to be certain prosodic patterns discernible across ethnic lines. For example, the range of intonation contours used by Westerners appears to be slightly broader than that used by Chinese speakers, encompassing almost all of the intonation contours described above, eg:

	Westerners' Directing Speech Acts	**Westerners' Suggesting Speech Acts**
	FALLING NUCLEI	
Low-fall	ˌLet's ˌstart with that ↘then.	ˌIt's ˌgot to ˌcome from ↘them.
Mid-fall	ˈCould you find ↘out?	ˈWhy not ˈreschedule ↘those?
High-fall	ˈWrite it on your ˈdamn ↘viewfoil.	ˈYou've ˈgot to ˈtell us what you ↘ want, and ˈwhat your ˈpriorities ↘are.

Rise-fall	ˈGet ˈsomewhere ^near it.		ˈYou ˈshouldn't give this ˈup too ^easily.

RISING NUCLEI

Low-rise	ˌCould you ˌget one ˏplease?		ˈYou can't ˈswitch with one of the ˏlater Europ^ean ˏdepartures?
High-rise	ø		I don't ˈsuppose we could get some ˈseats with PTV ˈattached could ˊwe?

FALL-RISE NUCLEI

Fall-rise	ˈDon't volunˇteer a ˈreduction of the ˈstandard.		ˈMaybe they're better ˈliars than ˈyou are! Maybe ˈyou should joinˇ in.

CONTINUOUS HIGH PITCH

High-pitch	ø		ˈIn a ˈway it would be ˈnice to have some ˈred in it.

By contrast, more than 90% of identified directing and suggesting speech acts uttered by Chinese participants had a falling intonation contour, nearly all of these employing either a *low-fall* or *mid-fall* pattern, eg:

ˌAt least we should ˌtell them what we ˌthink the ˌproblems ↘are. (*low-fall*)

ˈCrew could ˈdo it them↘selves. (*mid-fall*)

The tendency for Chinese participant-talk to be marked by such patterns may have an impact on the light in which Chinese participants are viewed by their Western colleagues. This may be especially true when Chinese participants have near-native fluency in English, and their choice of intonation contour is assumed to carry intentional meaning.

One effect of the apparent lack of variety in Chinese speakers' intonation may be that their speech is judged by Western observers to be lacking in 'emotional expression'. Emotional expression achieved through prosodic means, such as is identifiable in the following statements by Westerners, appears to be very rare in Chinese participants' contributions in the corpus:

(i) Joking
- *Watch your language today!*
- *Keep going you guys or we'll be here until 9 o'clock!*

(ii) Sarcasm
- *May we know when it is, please?*
- *Ask him for any suggestions. Cos we'd love to know.*

(iii) Irony
- *Yeah, no but don't be realists. Be honest!*
- *If we're gonna have a shabby compromise, let's at least do it with our eyes open!*

8.2.4 Lexical Features of Chinese and Western 'Participant-talk'

It was remarked in the preceding chapter that chair-talk in the corpus is marked as informal by the occurrence of certain lexical features, including informal and idiosyncratic lexis, bad language, and 'indefinite' language.

The distribution of these features appears to vary cross-culturally, too, although it is important to point out that the use of lexical strategies is subject to a great deal of individual variation. Nevertheless, it may be worth tentatively identifying certain patterns in Chinese and Western lexical choices.

Firstly, the occurrence of informal lexical items appears to be far more common in Western participants' discourse than it is in Chinese participants' discourse. Thus, lexical items such as *a bit*, *a bunch of*, *a little bit pushy*, *a whole lot of*, *a work of art*, *blokes*, *customer service bit*, *forty winks*, *horror of horrors*, *to be hung up on something*, *to break someone's neck*, *to have a try*, *to have a chat*, *to like the idea of something*, *to make the running*, *to play around with something*, *up in the air*, and so on, are far more common in Western participant-talk than in Chinese participant-talk in the corpus.

It also appears to be the case that, on some occasions, Chinese participants' discourse is markedly more formal than that of their Western colleagues, even to the point where, from a Western perspective, this formality might be considered out of place, as in the following two examples, spoken by a relatively junior Chinese member of staff.

- *So we have twenty minutes more extra er er during the whole journey, and I intend to give ten minutes more time to the Hong Kong Kuala Lumpur sector and another ten minutes to the Kuala Lumpur Hong Kong sector.*
- *So what I propose is to retime 721 twenty minutes earlier so we have - and maintain the the old arrival time back to Hong Kong.*

In these two examples, the occurrence of the formal lexical markers, *I intend to*, *I propose to*, *to retime*, *to maintain*, may give an impression of formality judged inappropriate by a Western audience.

Secondly, it is noticeable that Western participants tend to use idiosyncratic lexical items far more than their Chinese colleagues. It is possible that this is due to the fact that the latter are using a second language, and do not feel comfortable using informal English. It is also possible that playful use of language is as much related to personality type as it is to language competence. Examples of the type of idiosyncratic usages referred to include the following: *a 'suck-it-and-see' process*, *a beguiling problem*, *bashing one's brains out*, *donkey work*, *to gee something up*, *in the wee small hours*, *the 'economy herd'*, *to allow open slather*, *to bend someone's arm*, *to get something under one's belt*, *to put someone out of their misery*, *to skin the rabbit*, *to throw dollars at something* and so on.

Thirdly, Chinese use of 'bad' language appears to be very limited. There are, in fact, no examples of Chinese directing and suggesting speech acts employing swear words, whereas such lexical items are relatively common in Western discourse, eg:

- *Well, if we could do that. Because otherwise it's buggering up our bloody business. And we just can't cope with our missing flights continuously - their their bags get missed then we have to go and deliver their bags.*

- *Shouldn't a computer be doing more of this donkey work? I mean we're all here bashing our brains- this is the sort of thing it would be bloody brilliant at.*

- *Leave at 15 45, and add the bloody flight time.*

- *I mean you should be more bloody proactive in the driving seat really.*

- *Now I mean you know you mustn't sit there thinking that we don't miss connections now - we bloody well do, and a lot of them we miss because we've got an unrealistic schedule.*

The absence of bad language in Chinese discourse may be the result of a sensitivity to the fact that swearing in a foreign language is an extremely difficult thing to do appropriately.

Fourthly, there appears to be a marked difference in the use made by Chinese and Western participants of strategies of indefiniteness. Chinese speakers' discourse seems to be far more rooted in the definite than Westerners' discourse, which tends to make numerous indefinite references employing *someone*, *somewhere*, *something*, and so on. For example:

- *Well I would start off just sitting in a ruddy conference room, amongst our..., nominate somebody whoever it is.*

- *Is it worthwhile saying that sometime in August would you have an outline Tom of that? Only an outline.*

- *So, really, what should be happening is somebody should be going and looking at the aeroplane saying have they got eighteen seats in there?*

- *They must get someone to do it properly. It needn't be a work of art, but you have got to get something that Lai See won't be able to use - I mean camouflage what's really there.*

Finally, there also appears to be some evidence to suggest differences between the ways in which Chinese and Western participants use emphasising and minimising strategies. For example, whereas Western participants make very heavy use of emphasising lexis (eg *actually*, *definitely*, *certainly* and so on) and minimising lexis (eg *just*, *all I'm saying*, *only*, *for what it's worth*, and so on), these strategies appear to be not at all common in Chinese discourse.

It is also noticeable that a common strategy used by Western participants to emphasise their Type A directive speech acts involves the use of direct speech embedded within these speech acts. The effect of this strategy, as can been seen in the following examples, is to add 'life' to speech acts and thereby to increase their persuasiveness:

- *You get people to say, 'Put a blindfold on, sit in those two, can you tell which one's at sixty-two inch pitch', put crudely. 'Can you tell any difference?'*

- *So, really, what should be happening is somebody should be going and looking at the aeroplane saying 'Have they got eighteen seats in there?', 'How much, how much f- front row legroom have they got?', 'Have they got no closet or a skinny closet?'.*

- *The most important immediate decision is 'What do we want to do on the 200?', because we've actually got a closet on order the same size as the 400.*

- *Before we spend any more money waste any more money, er we have to justify it, and I think we need specific feedback and say 'We're upsetting 6.35259 repeating percent of the passengers and therefore it's worth fixing'.*

- *But I would I would just pose for a discussion point that we should that we should be looking at saying to people 'Yeah the lounges are there - we do have the lounges'.*

- *That's a very specific case. I think I think you've got to look at our cargo market share in that area, and say 'If you don't do that occasionally and spend those extra few dollars, what is the impact to our total revenue generated from cargo?'*

This use of embedded direct speech to increase the persuasiveness of discourse appears to be very rare in Chinese participant-talk in the MAW corpus.

It was mentioned in Chapter 7 that one of the purposes of chair-talk appears to be to encourage closeness within the group. The means employed by chairs to do this include use of first names, the use of technical terminology and abbreviations (emphasising group separateness and homogeneity), and use of the personal pronoun 'we' for differential reference. Are Chinese and Western participants' uses of these means similar or is some inter-cultural variation discernible?

Firstly, it can be remarked that Chinese and Western participants appear to vary considerably in terms of the use of first names when using Type A directive speech acts. Chinese participants in the corpus do not use first names at all, whereas it is quite common for Westerners to address the target of these directive speech acts directly using their first name[51], such as in the following examples:

- *Who would you ask? You'll ask the Gatwick Co-ordinator. And you know those blokes as well as anybody. Well, bend their arms, Tom. Break their necks!*

- *But Eric, I'd rather us be more, what shall we say, more concerned as far as pre-warning cabin crew of turbulence, so that they put the things away in the galley. You know, our objective I think is quite clear.*

- *But it's something we have to look at Tom, and I take your point on cargo as well.*

- *But one of the things, Jim, that we need to do, Jim, we talked before with Brian about the implementation schedule for '93, and the ports included, some things have changed since then, we need to kind of revisit that at some point.*

- *For what it's worth Martin, you might wanna look at what Air Canada do, and I don't know specifically what they do, but I do know that it's all in their machine. You don't have to do anything.*

In terms of their use of technical terminology and abbreviations obscure to the layperson, however, no difference is discernible between Chinese and Western discourse. Perhaps the use of such lexical items is required if a participant's performance in meetings is to be considered effective.

Finally, it does appear that there are some differences between Chinese and Western speakers' use of the personal pronoun 'we'. Table 8.2 below illustrates the referential uses of this pronoun in Chinese and Western Type A directive speech acts.

Chinese	*No.*	*Western*	*No.*
Referrent:		*Referrent:*	
The Group	12	The Company	33
The Company	3	The Group	19
Ambiguous	1	You	13
		The Department	9
		You and me	4
		A subset of the Group	2
		The Section	1
		I	1
		Ambiguous	3

Table 8.2 Use of the Pronoun 'We' by Chinese and Western Participants in MAW Corpus Meetings

This table illustrates that Western Type A directive speech acts tend to be geared more towards company activity, whereas Chinese directives tend to focus on the activity of the group in the meeting. This is almost certainly due to the types of meeting in which the two groups tend to participate. It was revealed earlier that Chinese contributions are far more marked in the M^c (brainstorming) meeting than in either of the other two types of meeting, whereas Western contributions are far more marked in M^a (coordination) meetings. As the principal purpose of M^c meetings is problem-solving, and the principal purpose of M^a meetings corporate planning, the tendency for Chinese to use the personal pronoun 'we' to refer to 'the group', and for Westerners to use it to refer to 'the company' is perhaps not surprising.

8.3 Male and Female 'Participant-Talk'

The purpose of this section is to present a contrastive analysis of the patterns of Type A directive speech act utilisation among men and women in the MAW corpus, and to present an analysis of certain functional-grammatical, prosodic and lexical features associated with the realisation and support of these speech acts by the two groups[52].

Just as in the preceding section that focused on a contrastive analysis of Chinese and Western speech act utilisation and realisation, a number of differences emerge between the ways in which Type A directive speech acts are utilised and realised by men and women. An understanding of these differences, it is argued in Chapter 10, may go some way towards explaining impression management processes insofar as they are related to gender.

8.3.1 Quantity of Talk/ Patterns of Speech Act Utilisation

This section investigates whether male and female participants in the MAW corpus use similar or different sets of speech acts in the business meetings. As these meetings are chaired exclusively by men, this survey focuses on male and female *participants'* discourse only. Female chairing discourse is another area that awaits further study.

A similiar discrepancy exists between the number of female and male participants as existed between Chinese and Western participants, with the result that the relative contributions of each group have had to be factored to overcome the imbalance. There are only 16 female staff at or above Assistant Manager level in the meetings in the corpus, while the corresponding number for males is 71.

When factored to account for the imbalance in numbers between males and females in meetings, female discourse is found to account for just under half of participant discourse (in terms of the duration of talk in minutes). However, male and female discourse in meetings appears to fluctuate considerably from one type of meeting to another. For example, in M^a (coordination) meetings, women spoke for approximately 28% of the time, in M^b (management) meetings for 62% of the time, and in the single M^c (brainstorming) meeting for 35% of the time[53].

A comparison of the ranges of speech acts identified for male and female participants in the corpus reveals that there appear to be several differences between the range of speech acts utilised by males and females in the corpus. Table 8.3 illustrates their respective ranges.

Female Participants' Speech Acts		Male Participants' Speech Acts	
Speech Act	% of Speech Acts Identified	Speech Act	% of Speech Acts Identified
inform	65	inform	44
engage	6	suggest	9
concur	4	return	9
suggest	4	engage	6
elicit	3	object	5
return	3	concur	5
conclude	2	metastate	2
commit	2	predict	2
request-clarify	1	observe	1
mark	1	commit	1
qualify	1	direct	1
end	1	request-clarify	1
miscellaneous	5	miscellaneous	12

Table 8.3 Female/ Male Participants' Speech Acts ranked in order of frequency of occurrence

It can be noted from this table that for female and male participants in the MAW corpus, *engaging*, *concurring* and *committing* speech acts are present in roughly similar proportions. In terms of speech acts that occur in the discourse of both men and women, but in different proportions, the most noticeable difference is in terms of *informing* speech acts, which, while conspicuously present in both male and female discourse, constitute a considerably higher proportion of female discourse (65%) than of male discourse (44%). Given that most information is provided as a response to an elicitation, it is quite possible that the tendency for women to provide information is at least partly due to the fact that (male) chairs simply expect, and therefore get, more information from females than they do from males, whereas chairs may expect, and therefore get, more opinion-based commentary (eg *objecting*, *predicting* and *observing* speech acts) from other men than from women. Male chair expectations may also explain the greater proportion of *suggesting* speech acts in male discourse (9%) than in female discourse (4%). It is quite possible that male chairs expect male participants to make more suggestions and may elicit suggestions, either consciously or unconsciously, more from men than from women. It is worth noting, however, that female participants tend to use a higher proportion of *eliciting*, *concluding*, *marking*, and *endorsing* speech acts than male participants.

It should be noted, however, that, in the same way as was discovered for Chinese and Western speech act selection, these findings can be somewhat misleading. As was mentioned above, the amount of female discourse varies very considerably from one meeting type to another (from 28% in M^a meetings and 35% in M^c meetings, to 62% in M^b meetings). Also, the range of speech acts that female participants use in meetings varies considerably according to meeting-type. Figures 8.3 and 8.4 on the next two pages illustrate this variation.

It is possible that differences in the amount of talk exhibited by male and female participants in different meeting-types, and their apparent use of different ranges of speech acts, are caused by certain socio-cultural expectations regarding the types of behaviour that apply to gender groups in particular types of business meetings.

Although, clearly, it would be rather unwise to jump to conclusions on the basis of such limited data, the view that socio-cultural expectations may play some part in explaining the verbal performance of women in the corpus is supported by several of the comments of participants in the training sessions conducted at the airline. Several female participants, for example, mentioned the fact that there are few women in the airline who hold high rank and chair meetings, and observed that 'low organisational status' probably accounted for the fact that women tend not to make requests or suggestions in meetings. One female Western manager expressed her view as follows:

> It's a matter of self-perception - it's not expected of you (women making suggestions and raising objections).

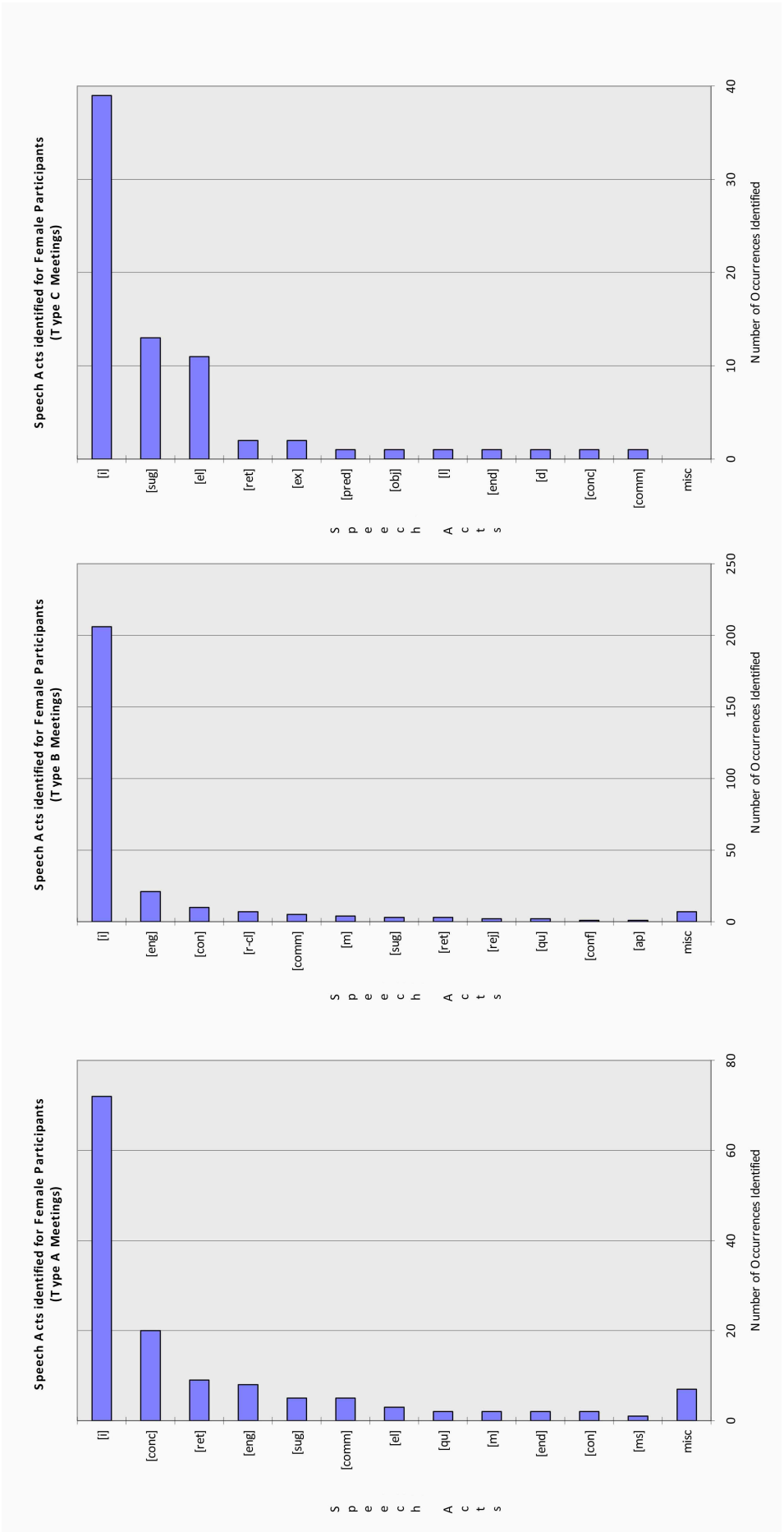


Figure 8.3 Female Participants' Speech Acts according to Meeting Type

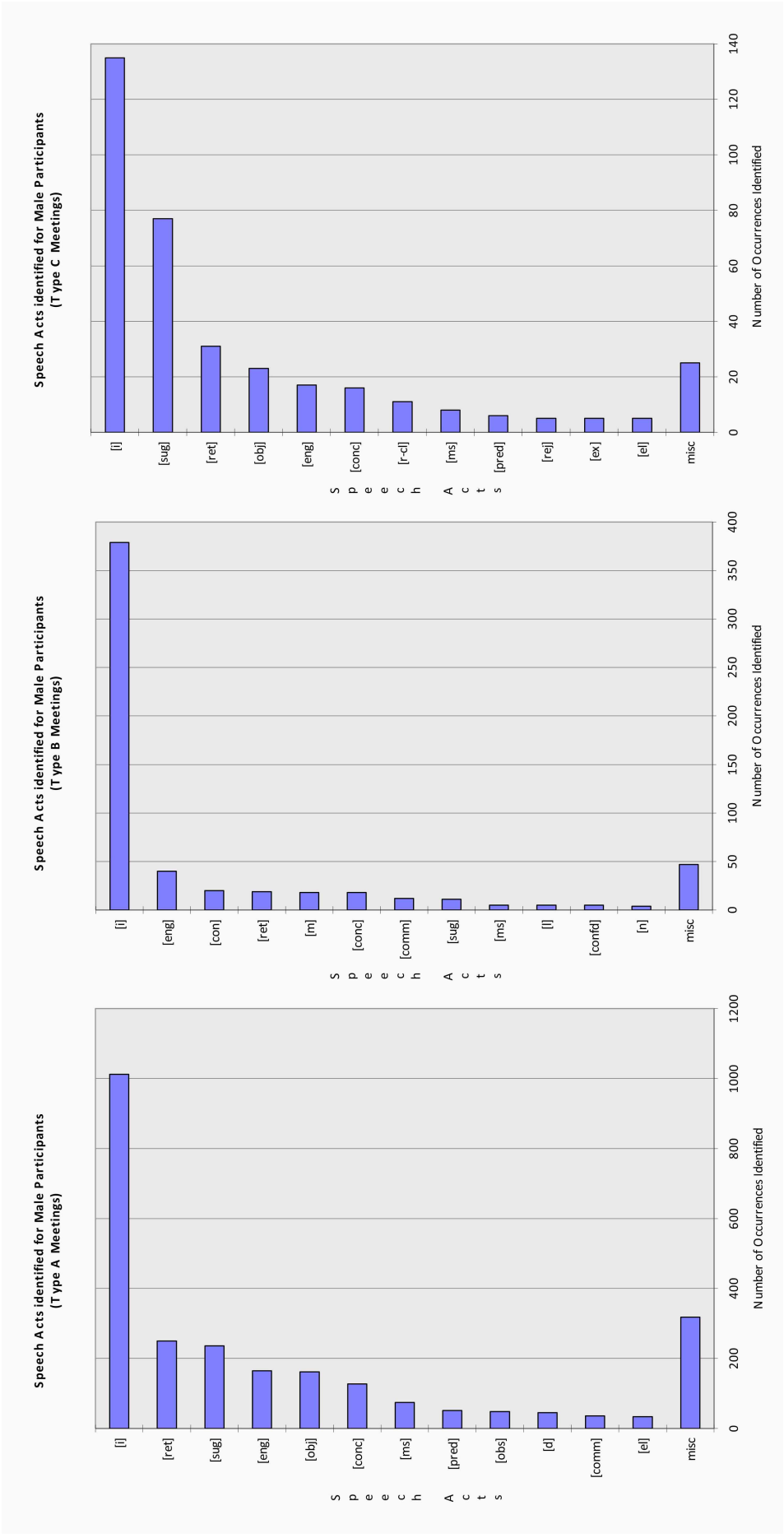


Figure 8.4 Male Participants' Speech Acts according to Meeting Type

8.3.2 Functional-Grammatical Features of Male and Female 'Participant-talk'

The most remarkable difference between male and female participant-talk in the MAW corpus is the very small number of requests and suggestions made by women in the business meetings under analysis. It was suggested above that possible reasons for this phenomenon include certain socio-cultural expectations regarding the role of women in meetings.

Differences might also relate to the 'level of power' of the particular women represented in the corpus, if this were markedly lower than that of the men present. In terms of their rank, most participants in meetings were of a similar level, irrespective of gender. However, a participant's level of power is likely to depend upon other factors than just rank (see Tedeschi et al. (1972) referred to in Chapter 2). 'Subject expertise', for example, is a power base that may affect the extent of a participant's contribution in a meeting. In this regard, it is noticeable that women tend, in the meetings in the corpus, to be in managerial positions related to 'service', eg marketing, training and customer service, rather than in technical areas such as engineering. Lack of familiarity with engineering concepts and practices may explain why females as a group were relatively silent in the MAW corpus meetings. It may also be at the root of the scorn occasionally shown towards those in non-technical areas by those employed in technically-driven sections of the company. Leet Pellegrini (1980) found that expertise and gender together were good predictors of dominance. Thus, males who were well-informed (the majority, in the MAW corpus) tended to dominate both females who were well-informed and those who were ill-informed in inter-gender encounters (Leet-Pellegrini, 1980: 102).

Suggestions

In terms of the suggestions made by both men and women, these tend to be marked by a high level of directness, and mostly employ direct strategies. For example, Direct Suggestory Statements (DSS) are the most commonly occurring means by which both men and women make suggestions in the corpus. The following are some examples of such statements used by each group. Once again, it will be remarked that the lexico-grammatical form of suggestions is often identical to that of requests:

Female Direct Suggestory Statements	Male Direct Suggestory Statements
• I would prefer to to have the quality council to have a overall er, look into the process overall. • I would say at least senior supervisor level. • I think we can relook at it and see whether there is anything that that we can try to to take out. • We can get a supervisor to tell us more specific things that they perceive at the check-in process or check-in area or other roadblocks. • We could approach it in a fairly first of all a green manner, but also in a fairly sort of light-hearted manner. • We have to identify first what is our objective - what we want to improve first before before we move along. • I think at least we should decide you know what is the right population we want to target, a realistic population. • On the customer service er er bit, I think we should identify what is our objective to address in this area first before we go into detail as to what we're looking for. • Probably you need a lot of data collection, right?	• Certainly you need to have a damned close look at how these other people have skinned the rabbit. • I think we should, at least we should tell them what we think the problems are, what we see the problems are and then let them to find out all details. • I would have thought it would have been better to redesign a new end cover. • I would prefer Thomas to er do this job. • If you want to make the figures look better, start at the other end, this is what I'm proposing. • We just need to sit down pool our thoughts together, and look at that. • We need more visibility of some of the shifting sand variables to understand all these issues. • We ought to be looking at what what else might flow from that. • We want a standardised end-to-end time between Hong Kong and Gatwick. • What I propose is to retime 721 twenty minutes earlier. • What we need is some sort of short-term simple, straightforward er you know emphasis for staff.

Less direct suggestions (conventionally indirect suggestions) are also common in the corpus, but appear to be largely restricted to male discourse. The following indirect suggestory formulae are the most common used to make conventionally indirect suggestions in the corpus:

• Can we ...?	• Couldn't we ...?	• Why not ...?
• Can you not ...?	• I was wondering whether maybe we should ...	• You might wanna ...
• Can't we ...?	• If we could ...	• Shouldn't we ...?
• Could I make a suggestion ...?	• Let's ...	• What about if we ...?
• Could I suggest we ...?		• What if we ...?
		• Why can't we ...?

• Could we not ...?	• Maybe you should ...	• Why couldn't we ...?
• Could we ...?	• Should we not ...?	• Why don't we ...?
• Could you not ...?	• Why don't you ...?	

Least direct suggestions (nonconventionally indirect suggestions, or 'suggestory hints') are also quite common in male discourse, but virtually absent from female discourse in the corpus. Once again, this is not taken to represent an unwillingness among women to make suggestory hints, so much as indicate the particular socio-cultural conventions of the speech event under examination. In other words, it might not be considered appropriate for hints to be made *by these particular women in this particular speech event*.

The suggestory hints that are made in the corpus (largely by men), usually relate to circumstances, hopes, opportunities, options, possible benefits, provisional thoughts, or the feasibility of suggestions, as in the following examples. These utterances, as mentioned above, are often only differentiable from requests by virtue of (i) their prosodic features, and (ii) consideration of the relative roles of speaker and hearer:

Nonconventionally Indirect Suggestions (Suggestory hints)

- Colin will be doing the Dakka tonight if you can cover the Dalian on Saturday. (circumstances)
- And we were just hoping that you would take the lead to decide which way we were going to go. (hopes)
- I think it's a good opportunity for us to to tell the ASO's what have been done in the SQS. (opportunities)
- Would it be a good thing to include him or a bad? (options)
- Could I suggest that we're looking at a potentially huge area so if we can just focus in on those existing things already, it might be better. (potential benefits)
- Well it sounds to me like the twelve hour thirty five isn't absolutely inviolate. (provisional thoughts)
- I don't suppose we could get some seats with PTV attached could we? (feasibility)

As one might expect from the literature that has revealed female discourse to be, at its heart, 'co-operative' and 'group-oriented' (Coates, 1986; Lakoff, 1975; Kramarae, 1981, 1982), the orientation of female suggestions tends to be of the 'orientation-type II' (group-directed) kind. Women in the corpus tend not to make 'hearer-directed' suggestions in the way that is quite common among male speakers, nor to make outgroup-directed suggestions of the kind that occur in male discourse. It is noticeable, for example, that in the tables presented above for direct requesting strategies and conventionally indirect requests, in female utterances, the pronoun 'we' genuinely refers to the group, whereas,

among male utterances, it tends to be used to conceal the fact that suggestions are hearer-directed.

Requests

In terms of the requests made by men and women in the corpus, it is noticeable that the great majority of requests are made by male speakers. Such requests are most commonly highly direct, and realised by means of direct requesting statements and imperatives respectively[54], eg:

Direct Requesting Statements	Direct Requesting Imperatives
• I'd start with the 400. • We don't want any earlier departures. • We should be writing that in. • We want fifteen minutes more in the block time. • We've got to come to a decision by the end of this week what to do, obviously. • You mustn't sit there thinking that we don't miss connections now - we bloody well do. • You should be more bloody proactive in the driving seat really.	• Don't volunteer a reduction of the standard. • Go on write it on your damn viewfoil. • Get somewhere near it. • Don't be realists. Be honest. • Go down the ones with a bad arrival time and pick off the easy ones. • Forget Marketing. • Work backwards from that. • Don't worry about that. • Leave at 15 45, and add the bloody flight time. • Well go on - pencil it in.

The use of conventional indirectness, by means of conventionally indirect formulae (CIFs), in the making of requests, is not uncommon in participant-talk, although, once again, it is far more common in male discourse than in female discourse. The CIFs used in the corpus include:

• As long as ...	• Could we ...?	• May we know ...?
• Can I have ...?	• Could you ...?	• You probably might want to ...
• Can we be sure ...?	• May I remind ...?	

Finally, there are a few examples of the use of nonconventionally indirect requests (requestive hints) by participants in the corpus, although these are restricted to male participants. As mentioned in the contrastive analysis of Chinese and Western discourse presented above, requestive hints in the corpus refer to 'worthwhile-ness' (*Is it worthwhile*

saying that sometime in August would would would you have an outline Tom of that?); commitments (*you're already down to do that in the minutes of a meeting about three months ago*) and feasibility (*I don't suppose we could get some seats with PTV attached could we?*).

It is also worth noting that the very few requests made by women in the corpus were of the locus-type II kind, whereby activity outside the meeting room was requested. The propositional content of male speakers' requests, on the other hand, tends to be spread across a wide variety of activities, as well as extending to other participants' problem-solving approaches (locus-type III requests).

Male and Female supportive moves

As was mentioned in the introduction to this analysis, Type A directive speech acts are often accompanied by pre- and/or post-posed supportive moves. Chairs, it was noted in Chapter 7, used mainly post-posed 'grounding', 'imposition-minimising', and 'disarming' supportive moves in the MAW corpus. In terms of participants, it was demonstrated in the preceding section that most Chinese participants in the corpus used supportive moves that were post-posed, consisting of 'grounders' and 'elaborators', whereas Western supportive moves tended to be both pre- and post-posed moves, consisting of 'grounders', 'elaborators' and 'imposition-minimisers'.

The question addressed below is whether inter-gender differences appear to exist in terms of the *position* in which supportive moves occur in Type A directive speech acts (ie before or after the 'head act'), or in terms of the *range of functions* of supportive moves used by male and female speakers.

Analysis of the MAW corpus shows that, as one might expect, due to the small number of suggestions and requests made by female participants, very few supportive moves are used by women. Those supportive moves that are used by female speakers tend to be post-posed (ie they occur *after* the 'head act' involved), whereas male participants tend to use both pre-posed or post-posed supportive moves. As was mentioned above, a speaker's positioning of his or her supportive moves may have an impact on impression management, although this is by no means certain.

It was observed above that the supportive moves used by Chinese and Western speakers had broadly the same range of functions. This is also true of supportive moves used by

female and male speakers. Interestingly, however, female supportive moves tended to be more geared towards 'clarifying' (through the use of 'elaborators'), than male supportive moves. This finding supports Coates' observation that, 'elaboration and continuity are key notions in any analysis of women's talk, but are irrelevant to an understanding of men's talk' (Coates, 1986: 153). Although 'elaboration' does seem to play a part in male supportive moves (contrary to Coates' observation), it is noticeable that men tend to support their requests and suggestions with 'grounders' rather than 'elaborators'.

The following are examples of each of these supportive moves by male and female speakers:

'Grounders': Female

Type A directive		**Post-posed GROUNDING supportive move**
• We have to identify first what is our objective - what we want to improve first before before we move along ...	+	... or else we're going round and round.
Pre-posed GROUNDING supportive move		**Type A directive**
• To avoid erm Lai See jokes ...	+	... we could approach it in a fairly first of all a green manner, but also in a fairly sort of light-hearted manner.

'Grounders': Male

Type A directive		**Post-posed GROUNDING supportive move**
• I would prefer to look at the ones where we have the worst punctuality ...	+	... Because I think every person that buys a ticket on Cathay expects and is contracted as much to actually depart and arrive by the time we tell 'em.
Pre-posed GROUNDING supportive move		**Type A directive**
• It's such a suck it and see time ...	+	... I would say let's leave it at four including the expert.

'Elaborators': Female

Type A directive		**Post-posed ELABORATING supportive move**
• Let's look at the workload ...	+	... You know, how many ASO's you want to target?

'Elaborators': Male

Type A directive		Post-posed ELABORATING supportive move
• Would it make sense to dress all the seats with the bar retracted?	+	... I mean starting each flight to ensure that they were all retracted.

Finally, it should be pointed out that 'imposition-minimising' supportive moves, which serve to play down the difficulty or inconvenience (either from a personal or institutional perspective) of a request or suggestion, appear to be present in Western male participants' discourse, yet absent from all other groups' discourse. This was remarked in the preceding section, where it was pointed out that use of such supportive moves implies either (i) that the speaker is addressing a request or suggestion at an individual hearer, or (ii) that the speaker is 'speaking on behalf of the company'. The use of imposition minimisers therefore tends to be somewhat marked.

8.3.3 Prosodic Features of Male and Female 'Participant-talk'

Analysis of the corpus reveals that the speech acts of directing and suggesting in the corpus, irrespective of speaker characteristics, are typically marked by falling intonation contours. These consist of the *low-fall*, *mid-fall*, *high-fall* and more extreme *rise-fall* intonational contours. In addition, some rising nuclei occur in *low-rise* and *high-rise* contours, as do falling-rising nuclei, (although the latter are relatively rare). Finally, certain suggestions have a continuous high level pitch which lends them an air of 'musing', or 'contemplation'.

In terms of the similarities and differences between male and female realisation of Type A directive speech acts, there do appear to be certain prosodic patterns that are discernible between gender groups, although, clearly, the small size of the corpus allows one to come to only extremely tentative conclusions.

A comparison of the realisations of Type A directive speech acts reveals that whereas over three-quarters of such speech acts in female discourse are accompanied by a *mid-fall* intonation contour, there appears to be a considerable spread of intonation contours across male directives which is not matched in female discourse. Although the vast majority of male directives consist of falling nuclei, these tend to range between *low-fall* and *rise-fall*.

Also, 'uncommon' contours, such as the following 'ironic'/'sarcastic' *fall-rise* contours, occur in male discourse, whereas they tend not to occur in female discourse.

ˈAsk him for any ˈsuggestions. ˈCos we'd ˇlove to ↘know.

If you ˈcan't ˇbeat em ˇ join em, I ↘guess.

ˈBend their ˈarms, ↘Tom. ˈBreak their ˇnecks!

ˈForget about the ˇvoluntary.

ˈMaybe you should ˈjoin ˇin.

It was suggested above that the fact that Chinese participant-talk appears to exhibit an extremely restricted set of intonation contours may have an effect on the impression management of Chinese speakers. This may also be the case with female discourse, which seems to contain as restricted a range of intonation patterns as Chinese discourse insofar as the realisation of Type A directive speech acts is concerned. However, it must be pointed out that the lack of intonational variety in female directive speech acts is probably mostly due to the very small number of Type A directive speech acts used by women in the MAW corpus. Research with larger corpora will hopefully clarify this point.

8.3.4 Lexical Features of Male and Female 'Participant-talk'

In terms of the formality of the register used by men and women in Type A directive speech acts in MAW corpus meetings, an analysis of male and female discourse reveals that male discourse is markedly more informal than female discourse. For example, use of informal lexical equivalents of the type identified in previous sections is more common in male speech, as is use of idiosyncratic lexical equivalents (although, this is subject to considerable individual variation due to the fact, as was pointed out before, that not everyone chooses to make 'playful' use of language), use of 'bad' language, and use of indefinite lexical items. Conversely, female speech (as far as Type A directive speech acts are concerned) tends to be unmarked in terms of informality, and the lexical features described above (informal lexical equivalents, idiosyncratic lexis, 'bad' language and indefiniteness) are notably absent from female speech.

Analysis of the talk of men and women in the corpus also reveals that female discourse tends to be markedly less technical than male discourse (cf their respective uses of technical terminology and technical abbreviations). This appears to be due to the fact that women in the corpus tend to be employed in the non-technical sections of the company, and may be unable to contribute to technical discussions relating to engineering projects such as aircraft seat design, aircraft refurbishment, engineering modifications to aircraft and so on. They may also be prohibited from participating in such discussions due to lack of technical knowledge. As will be discussed in the next chapter, it seems likely that the task-related (and largely technical) nature of discourse in the business meetings in the MAW corpus leads to the marginalisation of particular groups of participants, including women.

Another difference between male and female talk in terms of the realisation of Type A directive speech acts is related to the degree of 'animation' shown by male and female speakers. Generally, it is noticeable that male speakers are more animated when making requests and suggestions than females. 'Animation' here relates to use of emphasising and minimising strategies, and use of evaluative statements.

Firstly, male speakers in the corpus tend to make more use of emphasising lexis than female speakers. Emphasising lexis includes the following:

- absolute(ly)
- actual(ly)
- all
- also
- anything
- anyway
- as I say
- as soon as possible
- at least
- by all means
- certainly
- definitely
- even
- exactly
- frankly
- I'd far rather
- I don't want
- I mean to say
- I think
- ideal(ly)
- important(ly)
- in fact
- its no use
- just
- love to
- Now
- obvious(ly)
- perhaps
- probably
- quite
- really
- simply
- still
- surely
- terrible/terribly
- the bare minimum
- the maximum amount of
- the whole thing
- ultimately
- very
- we welcome
- what shall we say
- you know

'definite' modal auxiliaries

- got to (gotta)
- have to
- need to, etc.

In addition, male speakers' directive speech act-related talk tends to appear more animated because of the presence of the following features, which are all virtually absent in the discourse used by women in the corpus to realise Type A directives:

(i) *continuous tenses*, eg:

- If there's a delay *they should be apologising* for the delay on departure.
- *We should be majoring* on the arrival time, not the departure time.
- *We should be leaving here* ... we we we should put the time in the log time.
- *We will just keep giving you* the raw data.
- *We were just hoping that* you would take the lead.

(ii) *direct speech*, eg:

- Or even be very honest, and say *' We're gonna, we think we're gonna be about ten minutes late'* - you know as opposed to leaving half an hour late.
- You get people to say, *'Put a blindfold on, sit in those two, can you tell which one's at sixty-two inch pitch'*, put crudely. *'Can you tell any difference?'*
- Unless there's a very good reason for not going to the bigger pitch in the 200, we should, and then the debate is *'Are we going to throw the dollars at the 400?'*.
- What should be happening is somebody should be going and looking at the aeroplane saying *'Have they got eighteen seats in there?, how much, how much f- front row legroom have they got?, have they got no closet or a skinny closet?'*.
- You should be making the running and saying *'Right a week before the meeting, right here we go, we've looked at another ten. Here's five that we think are clear-cut.'*
- You can't evaluate it as saying *'We've only sold two tickets here. We've gotta close it down'*.
- The most important immediate decision is *'What do we want to do on the 200?'* because we've actually got a closet on order the same size as the 400.
- They certainly need to be reasonably clearly identified. I mean otherwise you gonna have passengers thinking *'Who the hell's this coming up trying to take me to the lounge?'*
- Then we have to look at the fringes and say *'Now let's have some rules for the ones where we're still gonna fail.'*
- I would just pose for a discussion point that we should be looking at saying to people *'Yeah the lounges are there - we do have the lounges'*.
- You've got to look at our cargo market share in that area, and say *'If you don't do that occasionally and spend those extra few dollars, what is the impact to our total revenue generated from cargo?'*

(iii) *tags*[55], eg

- It shouldn't be left 'cause the opportunity of eighteen aircraft on the ground won't come to us again, *I don't think*.
- We've still got to tidy up the first group, *haven't we?*
- I don't suppose we could get some seats with PTV attached, *could we?*
- What about if we ask the supervisors or senior supervisors to form a quality council, *right?*

Finally, in this review of some of the lexical features of male and female participants' Type A directive speech acts, it is interesting to compare the ways in which the personal pronoun 'we' is used by the two groups. Table 8.4 below illustrates that while males, for instance, often use the pronoun to refer to the company (ie indicating a synonymy between 'individual' and 'corporate' orientation), this usage is absent from female discourse (at least insofar as Type A directive speech acts are concerned). Instead, in such speech acts, female use of the pronoun tends to focus on the 'meeting group'.

Women	*No.*	*Men*	*No.*
Referrent:		*Referrent:*	
The Group	4	The Company	36
The Department	1	The Group	27
		You	13
		The Department	8
		You and me	4
		A subset of the Group	2
		The Section	1
		I	1
		Ambiguous	4

Table 8.4 Use of the Pronoun 'We' by Male and Female Participants in MAW Corpus Meetings

It is also interesting to note that females in the corpus tend not to use first names in the realisation of their Type A directive speech acts, whereas it is quite common for men to do so. Once again, this may relate to the level of power of women in MAW corpus meetings.

Chapter Nine

Summary of Analysis (A)

9.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the features that have been described in Chapters 7 and 8 (Analysis A). These features (functional-grammatical, prosodic and lexical) have been described in relation to the realisation by different groups (status, ethnic and gender groups) of the Type A directive speech acts of *directing* and *suggesting*.

It is not implied that the ways in which these groups realise Type A directive speech acts in the MAW corpus are representative of these groups' discourse as a whole. Neither is it suggested that behaviour observed in the MAW corpus can be extrapolated to discourse in other contexts.

9.2 Functional-grammatical features

The following summary of the classification system used in Chapters 7 and 8 of this study focuses on three aspects of Type A directive speech acts that are believed to be pertinent in terms of an understanding of their possible impression management consequences. These are: *directness strategies*, *the locus and orientation of directives*, and *supportive moves*.

9.2.1 Directness Strategies

It is noticeable that the lexico-grammatical realisations of directing speech acts in the corpus range from utterances with a high level of directness to those with a low level of directness. In order to describe these levels of directness, a classification array very similar to that of Blum-Kulka, House et al. (1989), has been used. Blum-Kulka et al refer to three types of strategies used in making requests: *direct* or *impositive strategies* (mood and locution derivable); *conventionally indirect strategies* (suggestory and preparatory formulae); and *nonconventionally indirect strategies* (hints) (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 46 - 47). In the analysis presented in Chapters 7 and 8, functional-grammatical features have been described in the terms outlined below.

(i) Directing speech acts with a high level of directness commonly consisting of the following *direct requesting strategies*:

a *Direct requesting imperatives (DRI)*. For example,

- Don't worry about that.

- Firm that up for two days.
- Get to work on that one.
- Have a thought about that.
- Keep a note of it.
- Keep working that problem.
- Please raise it this afternoon
- Send one down to Terry.

b *Direct requesting statements (DRS)*. For example,

Statements of preference, eg:
- I think I'd be much happier ...
- I'd like to review how many we've got.
- I'd rather you put something on a bit of paper and let it go round

'Speaker-inclusive' statements with 'We can/must/ have to/ gotta', eg:
- We can do that as well.
- We must stop doing that.
- I think we're really going to have to give em a hard time on this.
- We've gotta do this.

'Speaker-exclusive' statements with 'You can/ will/ should/ 've got to'/ 'd better', eg
- That's something you can all start to think about that.
- Arnold, Amanda you should put something together ...
- I think you should do that quick smart mate ey?
- It's something you should talk about today.
- You've got to emphasise the arrival.
- Ron, you'll fix up that.

c *Direct requesting interrogatives (DRIn)*. For example,

- Can we talk about that after the meeting?
- Why don't you just jot these numbers down cos then you'd see what we were having a problem with.
- Why don't you just stick to the micro analysis before you go back to the macro problem?

(ii) Directing speech acts with a mid level of directness consisting of *conventionalised indirect requests (CIRs)*. Examples of CIR's include:

- Why don't you sit over there.
- Could you just show it to Tom?
- Can you just get Ron to confirm that we can get through Thursday and Friday with two of them out if it coms to it.
- Could I ask you to think of one today?
- Perhaps you could think about that.
- Maybe you could slip something to him on E-mail.
- You might follow that up, would you?

- I'd be most grateful if we could somehow get him down there or someone to actually meet and see where we go from here mate.
- Can we have some feedback on that so that if there's anything else that we feel they should be getting, I can have a go at them?

(iii) Directing speech acts with a low level of directness consisting of *nonconventionally indirect requests* (or *'requestive hints'*). Examples of requestive hints include:

- I think I'm going to be asking you to go down there, mate
- It's very much up to you people to get the stuff in there.
- You could go this week.
- You're already down to do that in the minutes of a meeting about three months ago.
- It might be worth checking before.
- Is it worthwhile saying that sometime in August would would would you have an outline Tom of that? Only an outline.

Analysis of suggesting speech acts in Chapters 7 and 8 has revealed that the range of lexico-grammatical realisations of suggestions is extremely similar to that of directing speech acts. Thus:

(i) Suggesting speech acts with a high level of directness commonly consisting of the following *direct suggestory strategies*:

a *Direct suggestory imperatives (DSI)*. For example,

- Leave it till we get a reply back from CAD.
- Just put them in there.
- Say, good idea, send us a send us a set of modified side cowls and we'll roll them over.
- Start at the other end, this is what I'm proposing.
- See what the reaction is.
- If it's only one or two comments, then leave it.
- Be very honest, and say 'We're gonna, we think we're gonna be about ten minutes late'
- Bend their arms Tom. Break their necks!

b *Direct suggestory statements (DSS)*. For example,

Simple declarative statements (including ellipsis), eg

- We target the ASO's as phase one, and then we can target the supervisors as phase two.
- You follow on and say this titivation isn't skin-deep.
- (You) Call it the '400 look', you know, old is not ugly.
- (You) Sit them down, go through the whole thing with them.

c Statements of preference and advice, eg:

- I want to talk to you about that. Alright?
- I really would like the crew to do their bloody load sheet, you know.
- I'd like to have a good feel of how Chanel looks at the value of a shop.
- I'd rather bring aeroplanes in that need both sides.
- The first thing I would say is ...
- My view would be ...
- I would just leave them flying around.
- It's better if you can do one or two at a time maximum cos ...
- It would be useful to do it by Unit.
- My idea is that we want to ...
- I cannot see why we shouldn't do that.
- I just don't believe that that isn't the right thing to do.

'Speaker-inclusive' statements with 'we should/ want to/ need to/ can/ 've got to', eg

- We could put a plastic dummy box behind the seats.
- We can take ramp superintendent.
- I'm convinced we have to go to sixty-two inch pitch.
- We may target individuals within a grade and leave others out.
- We need to keep working that issue so that we bottom it out.
- We ought to make sure that somebody from GSD does a bit of flying on a full-fare basis if necessary.
- We should just keep an eye on it.
- They'd better answer that as well.
- We really want to see what the significance on the 400 is.
- We've got to constantly look to improve the seat.

'Speaker-exclusive' statements with 'You should/ want to/ need to/ can', eg

- You can tictac with Franco on where we're going to go on that.
- You have to set up a standard in terms of procedure.
- You need to do a bit of leading the witness.
- You should put that down, and say that it's worthwhile ...
- Obviously you'll be answering by E-mail, I should think.

Conditional statements, eg:

- If you were to sit down with one supervisor over a cup a tea, do you think ...
- If we keep it at a management level, it will be light relief for them.

- If we all agree that more room is good thing, then let's go for more room.
- If it saves us a few bucks every time we go through, we might as well bloody save it.
- If we can do it better than we've done it so far, we've got to do it.
- If you tell her, she can get on to Cathy Lam to get your name added.

Pseudo-cleft statements, eg:

- What I think we should do is this ...
- What I would like to do is ...
- What I would like to actually suggest personally is ...
- What I'm going to suggest is ...
- What you could do for me is ...

Impersonalisation, eg

- Somewhere the decision should be clearly identified who's responsible.
- Everything I'm hearing says that there needs to be some further work on this before we wind up with egg all over our face.
- It's worth doing.
- I think that that the first the first issue that must be nailed is ...
- It needs to be organised by ISD.
- The right person has to be designated to ...

c *Direct suggestory interrogatives (DSIn)*. For example,

- Is it an ideal time to include talking to the Ambassadors as well?
- Is it that it needs you know a piece of elastic and a tassle on it or something?
- Shall we agree that we will address this list first?
- What's wrong with what Bob said?
- Would it make sense to dress all the seats with the bar retracted?

(ii) Suggesting speech acts with a mid level of directness consisting of *indirect suggestory formulae (ISFs)*. Examples of ISF's include:

- Could I suggest we actually find out where that's up to and how competitive or non-competitive are we?
- Could you tee something up for us?
- Do you think you could draft something like that for Harry?
- I was wondering whether maybe we should get one of these for the Duty Manager which he can use together with the pager.
- I don't suppose we could get some seats with PTV attached, could we?
- Let's just look at what it's doing today, yeah?
- Maybe you and Ron could talk about that see where it comes into the whole CEPIC thing
- Well we'd better have a chat and just find out what the hell is going on there.

- What if we reduce the transit time through through Kuala Lumpur?
- Why don't you put it down in the minutes that we will.
- Why not reschedule those?
- You'd better read what we've said and what they've said and make sure that they aren't ripping us off for doing bugger all.

(iii) Suggesting speech acts with a low level of directness consisting of *nonconventionally indirect strategies* (or *'suggestory hints'*). Examples of suggestory hints include:

- Do you think it would be nice for Harry to issue a letter to each ASO first?
- I could perceive of a desk or a couch area in the common room set aside for interviews.
- It sounds to me like the twelve hour thirty five isn't absolutely inviolate.
- It's a good opportunity to start banging on about high engineering standards.
- I don't know, Jenny, anything, should you be showing anything up there about CBT?
- We welcome support of all the technocrats to get us the facility to operate our food carts without two cabin attendants in close proximity.
- We were just hoping that you would take the lead to you know decide which way we were going to go with er John Field's recommendations
- I'm free this afternoon before I go to Japan, Martin.

The above classification is not prescriptive, and does not imply either that the speech act category of an utterance can be determined on the basis of surface structure alone, or that there is a one-to-one relationship between lexico-grammatical form and pragmatic force. For example, it is impossible to determine, on the basis of grammatical form alone, whether the utterance, *Is it worthwhile saying that sometime in August would you have an outline Tom?* is functioning as a directing or a suggesting speech act. It is also impossible to gauge its pragmatic force without reference to other features of the utterance (notably prosodic features). In order to disambiguate utterances, it has therefore been necessary to consider the prosodic features of utterances in the corpus (see below), and to seek clarification from participants in the discourse.

It is also conceded that where speech acts involve extremely low levels of encoded directness, such speech acts may actually elude the analyst completely. The fact that the corpus contains video-based materials has helped me to view non-verbal aspects of communication, and, on several occasions, this has helped me disambiguate potentially ambiguous utterances.

9.2.2 The 'Locus' and 'Orientation' of Type A Directive Speech Acts

Requests vary in terms of the type of action they request; suggestions vary in terms of who it is suggested should undertake action. Requests in the MAW corpus have the following three types of locus:

(i) Locus-type I

Such utterances request activity inside the meeting room, eg passing objects around the meeting table, writing on the whiteboard, writing notes and so on. Examples of locus-type I requests include:

- Send one down to Terry.
- Pencil it in.
- Why don't you just jot these numbers down?

(ii) Locus-type II

Such utterances request activity outside the meeting room, eg 'routine' activities, such as arranging follow-up meetings; 'less routine' activities, such as drafting and sending letters; activities 'commensurate' with hearers' rank, eg undertaking work-related travel. Examples of locus-type II requests include:

- Could I suggest that perhaps after this meeting you and Jim ... just sort out exactly how we can get this information out to our staff?
- Do you think you could draft something like that for Harry?
- I think I'm going to be asking you to go down there, mate
- It might be something you could talk about a bit further on giving it a bit bigger profile as much as anything.
- You probably might want to wait until....

(iii) Locus-type III

Such utterances request that the hearer adopt a particular approach to a problem, eg in terms of the perceived solutions to the problem. Examples of locus-type III requests include:

- Go down the ones with a bad arrival time (referring to a list); Start with the 400.
- You mustn't sit there thinking that we don't miss connections now - we bloody well do, and a lot of them we miss because we've got an unrealistic schedule.

Similarly, suggestions vary in terms of who it is suggested should undertake action. Suggestions in the MAW corpus have the following three types of orientation:

(i) Orientation-type I (Hearer-directed)

Such utterances are addressed directly or indirectly at a specific hearer. Examples of orientation-type I suggestions include:

- Let's wait and see.
- It's important that we know these things.
- You can always play around with the angle.
- Can we have a word in Nigel's shell-like?

(ii) Orientation-type II (Group-directed)

Such suggestions are addressed to a group of which the speaker may or may not be a member. Examples of orientation-type II suggestions include:

- On the customer service er er bit, I think we should identify what is our objective to address in this area first before we go into detail as to what we're looking for.
- We have to identify first what is our objective - what we want to improve first before before we move along, or else we're we're going round and round and talking about this and, pieces here and there.

(iii) Orientation-type III (Outgroup-directed)

Such suggestions are addressed to an outgroup not present at the meeting.

Examples of orientation-type III suggestions include:

- Crew could do it themselves.
- Do you think it would be nice for Harry to issue a letter to each ASO first.
- I really would like the crew to do their bloody load sheet you know.
- I think that should be probably discussed somewhere else.

9.2.3 Supportive Moves

The analysis presented in Chapters 7 and 8 also made reference to the types of moves that speakers use to reinforce the 'heads' of their Type A directive speech acts. Whereas Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) identify six types of supportive move used before and after a head act, a slightly different set of supportive moves appears to be used with directing and suggesting

speech acts in the MAW corpus in either pre-head or post-head position (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 287 - 288). The supportive moves identified in the corpus are the following:

(i) Grounders

In which the speaker gives reasons, explanations or justifications for the request/suggestion, eg:

- *If you keep fudging all the bloody numbers, we'll never make a sensible decision.* You've gotta write down the facts and start from them. (pre-posed)
- *To avoid erm Lai See jokes*, we could approach it in a fairly first of all a green manner, but also in a fairly sort of light-hearted manner. (pre-posed)
- Well go on - pencil it in. *I mean we're never gonna get this right if we aren't honest!* (post-posed)
- I would prefer to look at the ones where we have the worst punctuality. *Because I think every person that buys a ticket on Cathay expects and is contracted as much to actually depart and arrive by the time we tell 'em.* (post-posed)
- Well actually what you could do for me is just copy down that board. *Otherwise we'll lose it all.* (post-posed)

(ii) Elaborators[56]

In which the speaker either spells out what the request/suggestion means, or spells out what compliance with the request/suggestion will mean in practical terms, eg:

- So it would be w- it might well be worth doing a big sunset job on them. *A BA sunset type job - new everything*.
- Probably you need a lot of data collection, right? *People interviewing ASO trying to to see their perceived issues first before you really come to the problem-solving part, right?*
- Would it make sense to dress all the seats with the bar retracted? *I mean starting each flight to ensure that they were all retracted*.

(iii) Disarmers

In which the speaker tries to remove any potential objections the hearer might raise, eg:

- *Instead of aiming at the big picture, which we know is very difficult to change*, maybe we can aim at a small frame like remove the pressure by not making them responsible for errors. (pre-posed)

- Yes, well I think personally that's what we should do and nothing else, and then fly it again and see if we get any complaints. *Rather than trying to reinvent the wheel and start redesigning the whole thing*. (post-posed)

(iv) Imposition-minimisers

In which the speaker tries to reduce the imposition placed on the hearer by the request/suggestion, eg:

- *Er I don't know, Jenny, anything*. Should you be showing anything up there about CBT? (pre-posed)
- We'll put together a rough framework, sometime this afternoon or Monday. *It shouldn't take that long*. (post-posed)
- I don't suppose we could get some seats with PTV attached could we? *Doesn't matter whether it's working or not, just with the armrest thing?* (post-posed)
- Yeah, but you know, you shouldn't give this up too easily, *because I mean we are only looking for ten or fifteen minutes here*. (post-posed)

9.3 Prosodic features

A survey of the corpus has revealed the following four basic patterns of intonation in the realisation of directive speech acts in the data. In these examples, the letter 'D' or 'S' in brackets after extracts refers to whether the utterance is part of a directing or a suggesting speech act.

(i) Falling Nuclei

Within this pattern, four varieties of intonational contour were commonly identified in the corpus. These were the *low-fall*, *mid-fall*, *high-fall* and *rise-fall* contours.

low-fall, eg

ˌFirm that up for ˌtwo ↘days. (D)

ˌIf we can do it ˌbetter than we've done it so ˌfar, we've got to ↘do it. (S)

mid-fall, eg

ˈMaybe you could take a ↘note of them so that we won't lose ↘out on them. (D)
ˈI ˈpersonally feel we should perse↘vere. (S)

high-fall, eg

ˈCan we be ˈsure that we ↘do get 240 gallons? (D)
ˈWe'd ˈbetter have a ↘chat and just find ˈout what the ˈhell is going ↘on there. (S)

rise-fall, eg

I ˈthink we're ^really going to ˈhave to give em a hard ^time on this. (D)
I ^mean let's find out how ˈtrue what they're saying ^is. (S)

(ii) Rising Nuclei

low-rise, eg

I ˌthink I'm going to be ˏasking you to go down there ˏmate. (D)
ˌWhat if I should ˌsay to you next ˌMonday we go and have a ˏlook at this? (S)

high-rise, eg

I don't ˈsuppose we could get some ˈseats with PTV ˈattached could ˊwe? (S)

(iii) Fall-Rise Nuclei, eg

ˈAsk him for any ˈsuggestions. ˈCos we'd ˇlove to ↘know. (D)
If you ˈcan't ˇbeat em ˇjoin em, I ↘guess. (S)

(iv) Continuous High Level Pitch, eg

ˈYou could ˈgo this ˈweek. (D)
ˈIn a ˈway it would be ˈnice to have some ˈred in it. (S)

9.4 Lexical features

Certain lexical features are noticeable in the directive speech acts that are identified in the MAW corpus. In the analysis in Chapters 7 and 8, it was suggested that certain of these features might significantly affect impression management:

(i) Formality

Regular shifts of register are noticeable in many speakers' discourse in the corpus. Formal register is commonly associated with common formal lexical equivalents, such as: beforehand (before); debate (talk); irrespective (regardless); may I remind you to (please); outcome (result); submit (show, give); undertake (promise to); we would appreciate (could you), and so on.

Conversely, informal register is associated with the following:

- use of informal lexical equivalents, eg quick smart (quickly); in the driving seat (in control); get to work on (start); have a thought (think about);
- idiosyncratic lexical equivalents, eg demolition derby = Philippino ghetto blaster smash test (= practical trial);
- 'indefinite' lexis, eg 'stuff', 'sort of', 'kind of' and so on; and
- swearing (eg 'this bloody debate never ends'; 'a whole load of fucking ostriches all standing in the dessert with their heads buried in the sand'; 'it's buggering up our bloody business', and so on).

(ii) Technical Register

Discourse in the MAW corpus is often rather opaque to the non-specialist. This is due to the observer's lack of familiarity with the subject matter, and to the use that is made of specialist terminology in the corpus. Thus, speakers refer to 'bottoming out', 'progressing' and 'working' issues, and speak about 'mods', 'roadblocks', 'user sides' and 'roll overs', and so on.

Similarly, discourse in the meetings is peppered with abbreviations relating to airlines and flight numbers, aeroplane numbers and products, ranks and job titles. Such abbreviations are extremely obscure to the non-specialist. A glossary of some of the most common abbreviations in the corpus appears in Appendix A.

(iii) The Personal Pronoun 'We'

It is noticeable that certain speakers make frequent use of the first person plural pronoun ('we'), and that the pronoun refers to a variety of individuals and groups. The pronoun is sometimes equivalent to 'I', sometimes 'you', sometimes 'you and I', sometimes 'the group', 'the section', 'the department' or 'the company', and sometimes it is equivalent to use of an indefinite 'somebody'.

(iv) Address Terms

Another noticeable lexical feature of directive speech acts in the MAW corpus is the use of hearers' first names. Sometimes addressees are addressed personally (using first names and terms of endearment), whereas at other times, they are addressed using their position title, their departmental name, or the name of their working group.

(v) Emphasising/ Minimising Strategies

Another common lexical feature of directive speech acts in the corpus is the frequent use of phrases to emphasise or minimise requests or suggestions. It is common, for example, to *minimise* requests (sometimes in an effort to reduce imposition) and *emphasise* suggestions (sometimes in an effort to increase suasion). Typical 'minimising strategies' include:

- use of minimising lexis, eg 'just', 'a few', 'a bit', 'just as a starter', 'pick off', 'jot down', 'or whatever'
- use of euphemisms, eg 'can I have' = 'please give me'; 'I'd like to review' = 'you should review'; 'may we know' = 'tell me'; 'you can' = 'you should'
- use of 'tentative' modal auxiliaries and adverbials, eg 'might', 'may', 'probably', 'perhaps'

Typical 'emphasising strategies' include:

- use of emphasising lexis, 'really', 'already', 'exactly', 'as well', 'at least', 'all', 'very much', and so on
- use of 'definite' modal verbs and adverbials, eg 'must', 'will', 'gotta', 'definitely', 'certainly', 'actually'.
- use of evaluative statements, eg 'lovely', 'that's great' and so on.
- use of direct speech and tag questions

- use of reiterative statements, eg '...is what we're saying'
- use of 'bad' language

9.5 Summary

In Chapters 7 and 8, the speech patterns of different status, ethnic and gender groups were analysed, as were the functional-grammatical, prosodic and lexical means by which a certain sub-class of directive speech acts (Type A directives) tend to be realised in the MAW corpus. A number of conclusions were presented on the basis of this analysis.

In general terms, it has been remarked that speech acts often defy identification, especially where extremely low levels of directness are involved, and that there is no one-to-one correspondence between lexico-grammatical form and function in context. Thus, speech acts sometimes have the same lexico-grammatical form but different functions, which are only identifiable in context. Clarification, in many cases, must be sought with reference to the prosodic features of speech acts, and, with reference to the relative roles of speaker and hearer. Even with such recourse, analysis is not infallible.

It has been remarked that one of the most important functions of business meetings is to provide a forum in which requests and suggestions can be made. One of the defining characteristics of this type of speech event appears, therefore, to be the occurrence of requests and suggestions - a business meeting without requests or suggestions would probably not be judged to be a successful meeting. This makes business meetings quite distinct from other, more social, meeting events. It has also been noted that requests and suggestions made in a corporate context relate to real-world actions of quite a different sort from those made in social contexts, actions which sometimes need to be planned and co-ordinated in a rigorous and explicit way. The idea of 'corporate imposition' in business meetings is therefore quite distinct from that of 'personal imposition' in social conversations.

What has been discovered about the verbal performances of different groups in the cross-cultural business meetings in the MAW corpus?

The Chair

It has been noted that the contribution of the chair in meetings is usually very significant. The chair speaks for a high proportion of meeting time (an average of 40% of meeting time), and tends to use this time for two distinct types of spoken activity. The first relates to what has been described as *'information-centred'* activity (whereby the chair passes on information and personal commentary to participants); the second to *'organisation-centred'* activity (whereby the chair controls and organises participants' contributions as well as their real-world actions).

Communication in MAW corpus meetings tends to flow through the chair. Exchanges often take place between participants and the chair, but seldom between one participant and another. The chair tends, therefore to be the 'nexus' of the meeting, controlling and organising what is said, by whom, and about what.

In terms of the strategies used by chairs to make Type A directive speech acts, these strategies range from very direct commands and suggestions, to very indirect requestive and suggestory hints. Despite the fact that most Type A directives are marked by high directness and the use of direct statements, the presence of nonconventionally indirect hints tends to be more noticeable in chair than participant discourse. The picture tends, therefore, to be one of a diversity of directness appropriate to specific contextual requirements.

Analysis of chair requests, for example, reveals that although chairs tend to use all three 'locus-types', the directness of these requests appears to depend partly on 'locus-type'. Thus, locus-type I requests (in which the request refers to activity inside the meeting room) tend to be realised in the most direct ways. The directness of locus-type II requests (referring to activity outside the meeting room), on the other hand, tends to vary according to 'level of imposition'. Lastly, the directness of locus-type III requests (referring to the adoption of a particular problem-solving approach) tends to vary according to implied 'face-threat'.

Analysis of chair suggestions also reveals that although chairs tend to use all three 'orientation-types', the directness of these suggestions appears to depend partly on

'orientation-type'. Thus, orientation-type I suggestions (hearer-directed) tend to be marked by generally high levels of directness due to the fact that these suggestions usually fall within the job responsibilities of the hearer. Orientation-type II suggestions (group-directed), however, tend to be quite direct, due to the task-related nature of the speech event. Finally, orientation-type III suggestions (outgroup-directed) tend to be the most direct of suggestions, due, perhaps, to the physical absence of the addressees of the suggestions.

The Type A directives used by chairs in meetings tend to be supported by post-posed supportive moves which serve to (i) explain the directive and its consequences, (ii) reduce the imposition of the directive, and (iii) reduce possible objections to the directive.

Chair directives tend to be accompanied by low-fall or mid-fall intonation contours which lend them an air of finality that tends to preclude further discussion. In terms of lexical choices, the discourse used by chairs to realise their Type A directives is typically highly informal and idiosyncratic, yet also technically-oriented. Discourse tends to also be heavily emphasised and evaluative. The orientation of talk tends to be towards the group, and to be very personalised and charismatic.

Participants

In general terms, participants' verbal performances in meetings tend to be reactive rather than proactive. That is, participants tend to respond to requests for information and suggestions rather than to offer information and suggestions without prompting. Their speech acts tend, therefore, to be *'information-centred'* rather than '*organisation-centred'*.

In the analysis presented earlier, participants' discourse was analysed. Firstly, Chinese and Western participants' verbal performances were compared; secondly male and female participants' verbal performances were compared. This analysis has produced the following matrices in terms of each group's verbal performance in MAW corpus meetings:

Quantity of Talk & Speech Act Utilisation

Chinese	Western
• 35% of participants' talk-time. • Most frequent speech acts: *informing*, *suggesting*, *returning*, *engaging* and *concluding*. • Heavy use of *informing* acts. • Greatest contribution in M[c] meetings. • The discourse of the single Chinese chair in the corpus was heavily geared towards *informing* speech acts but also included a high proportion of *objecting* and *committing* speech acts (suggesting a reactive role for the chair)[57].	• 65% of participants' talk-time. • Most frequent speech acts: *informing*, *returning*, *suggesting*, *engaging* and *objecting*. • Greater spread of speech acts. • Greatest contribution in M[a] meetings. • The discourse of Western chairs was heavily geared towards *informing* acts but also included *eliciting* and *suggesting* (suggesting a pro-active role for the chair).
Female	**Male**
• 43% of participant-talk (ave.). • Most frequent speech acts: *informing*, *engaging* and *concurring*. • Heavy use of *informing* acts. • Greatest contribution in M[b] meetings. • Significant variation from one meeting type to another (max 62%/ min 28%). • More *information-based* commentary.	• 57% of participant-talk (ave.). • Most frequent speech acts: *informing*, *suggesting* and *returning*. • Greater spread of speech acts • Greatest contribution in M[a] meetings. • Significant variation from one meeting type to another (max 72%/ min 38%). • More *opinion-based* commentary.

Table 9.1 Participants' Quantity of Talk and Speech Act Utilisation

Directness Strategies and Supportive Moves

Chinese	Western
• Mostly direct strategies (ie DRS and DSS, although no use of DSI or DSIn). • Some use of CIRs and ISFs • Relatively little use of hints • Tendency to use locus-type II requests and orientation-type II and III suggestions • Almost all supportive moves are post-posed • Principal functions of supportive moves: *grounding* and *elaborating*. Absence of *imposition-minimising* moves.	• Mostly direct strategies (ie DSI, DRS, DSS, DRIn and DSIn). • Some use of CIRs and ISFs • Relatively little use of hints • Use of locus-type I, II and III requests and orientation-type I, II and III suggestions • Supportive moves are divided between pre-posed and post-posed • Principal functions of supportive moves: *grounding*, *elaborating* and *imposition-minimising*. Presence of *imposition-minimising* moves often assumes the speaker is speaking 'on behalf of the company'.
Female	**Male**
• Very small number of Type A directives • Mostly DSS used for suggestions/ requests are so few that no strategies are 'common'. • Little use of conventionally and nonconventionally indirect strategies • Tendency to use locus-type II requests and orientation-type II suggestions • So few requests and suggestions that supportive moves are few • Moves tend to be post-posed • Supportive moves are geared towards 'elaboration'	• Very large number of Type A directives • Mostly direct strategies (ie DSI, DRS, DSS, DRIn and DSIn). • Some use of conventionally and nonconventionally indirect strategies • Use of locus-type I, II and III requestsand orientation-type I, II and III suggestions • Heavy use of supportive moves • Supportive moves are divided between pre-posed and post-posed • Supportive moves are mainly geared towards 'explanation' • Presence of *imposition-minimising* moves often assumes the speaker is speaking 'on behalf of the company'.

Table 9.2 Participants' Directness Strategies and Supportive Moves

Prosodic features

Chinese	Western
• Limited to low-fall and mid-fall, contours which lend speech acts an air of 'finality'	• Broad range of intonation contours, which lend speech a 'multi-faceted' and 'textured' air.
Female	**Male**
• Limited to mid-fall, a contour which lends speech acts an air of 'flatness'.	• Broad range of intonation contours, which lend speech a 'multi-faceted' and 'textured' air.

Table 9.3 The Prosodic Features of Participants' Type A Directive Speech Acts

Lexical features

Chinese	Western
• Formal and impersonal • Little use of indefiniteness • Little use of emphasising and minimising strategies • Little use of bad language • Technically-oriented • Group-oriented	• Informal, idiosyncratic and personal • Some use of indefiniteness • Heavy use of emphasising and minimising strategies • Some use of bad language • Technically-oriented • Company-oriented
Female	**Male**
• Formal and impersonal • Little use of indefiniteness • Little use of emphasising and minimising strategies • Little use of bad language • Not technically-oriented • Group-oriented	• Informal, idiosyncratic and personal • Some use of indefiniteness • Heavy use of emphasising and minimising strategies • Some use of bad language • Technically-oriented • Company-oriented

Table 9.4 The Lexical Features of Participants' Type A Directive Speech Acts

It will be noticed from the foregoing that most Type A directive speech acts in the corpus are uttered by Western males. This group's verbal performances therefore tend to overshadow

those of other groups present in the meetings (ie Chinese males and females, and Western females).

Some of the findings reported above relating to ways in which different ethnic groups use discourse tend to support what one might expect from high- and low-context cultures. For example, the observations that Chinese discourse in the corpus is noticeably more formal than the discourse of Westerners, and that Chinese discourse is markedly more group-oriented than Western discourse, are in line with observations by Gudykunst et al. (1988) regarding high-context cultures (such as Chinese society) and low-context cultures in the West (Gudykunst et al., 1988: 43).

It is important to point out, however, the weakness in assuming, on the basis of apparent inter-gender and inter-ethnic differences in the realisation of certain speech acts, that such variation is *due to* speakers' gender and ethnicity. As has been remarked on several occasions throughout this analysis, the verbal performances of groups within business meetings may be as much influenced by sociocultural factors as by factors such as a person's gender or ethnicity. It has, for example, been suggested throughout the analysis that Western males' verbal performances may reflect the fact that this group has a degree of 'social power' surpassing that of their female and Chinese colleagues. Referring to the frequent characterisation of women's speech as lower status than men's speech, Kramarae (1982) states that 'Since most jobs are gender-segregated and 'women's jobs' have relatively low status, autonomy and pay, we would expect that behaviour differences linked to status would coincide largely, but not exclusively with gender differences' (Kramarae, 1982: 93).

If this is the case, then the verbal performances of low power-holders cannot be solely attributed to personal characteristics such as gender, ethnicity and so on. Rather, I should like to suggest that the extent and form of an individual's verbal performances are directly related to the individual's level of power in an organisation. The striking similarities that exist, for example, between female speakers' discourse (irrespective of considerations of ethnicity) and Chinese speakers' discourse (irrespective of considerations of gender) suggest that gender and ethnicity *per se* are not overridingly significant factors in the verbal performances of speakers[58]. As Coates (1986) observes: 'Many women ... typically use powerless language, but this is the result of their position in society rather than of their sex. While powerless and powerful language often correlate with female and male speakers, it is

important that sociolinguists and others concerned to explore male/female differences in language keep the non-linguistic variables of sex and social status apart.' (Coates, 1986: 114)

A concept of 'speaker power' helps explain not only why certain groups' verbal performances in business meetings are similar (eg Chinese and female performances), but also why there appear to be differences between certain groups' verbal performances (eg why Western males are noticeably more vocal in meetings).

It is possible that a speaker's power base comes from a number of sources, including their 'technical knowledge', 'authority', 'rank', 'reputation' and so on (see Tedeschi et al. (1972) reported in Chapter 2), from *guanxi* (关系) in Chinese business settings, and even 'physical stature' (reported in discussion sessions with participants). It may also be based on speakers' gender, ethnicity and social class in cases where a company or individuals consider these factors to be important in their own right. Lastly, if interaction not only reflects social reality, but also, to an extent, constructs it, then language itself can constitute an important power base. Evidence from the corpus does, indeed, suggest that particularly eloquent speakers in meetings derive a certain power from their eloquence.

Chapter Ten

Analysis (B)

The Impression Managing Potential

of Type A Directive Speech Acts

10.1 Introduction

The analysis presented in Chapters 6 to 9 (Analysis A) illustrated that the verbal performances of certain cultural groups in the MAW corpus appeared to differ from each other in a number of ways. Specifically, it appeared that different groups in MAW corpus meetings were more or less vocal, and tended to use different ranges of speech acts. The group that spoke most of all was the Western male group, irrespective of their status; the group that spoke least was the Chinese female group. In terms of the ranges of speech acts used by different groups, male speakers tended, for example, to give more opinion-based commentary, whereas female speakers tended to give more information-based commentary. A summary of these findings was presented at the end of Chapter 9.

It was also remarked that the functional-grammatical, lexical and prosodic means used in these verbal contributions appeared to differ from one group to another. Quite simply, different groups tended to express themselves in different ways. It was noted, for example, that the use of extremely direct strategies (eg direct requesting imperatives, such as *Get to work on that one*) was largely limited to the Western male group (both chairs and participants), whereas other groups tended to use less direct strategies, such as formulaic requests of the type, *What about if we ask the supervisors to form a quality council?*. Also, the type and position of mitigating supportive moves used to reinforce requests and suggestions tended to differ from one group to another. Lexical choices, too, tended to vary according to speaker characteristics, with, for example, Western male speakers using markedly less formal discourse than their Chinese and female colleagues. Lastly, the prosodic features of different groups' verbal contributions appeared to vary. Thus, although there was a general tendency for requests and suggestions to be accompanied by a falling intonation contour, the range of variation in female and Chinese verbal contributions appeared to be less marked than in Western male verbal contributions. These conclusions were also summarised at the end of the last chapter.

This chapter (Analysis B) addresses the question: *What is the impact of these patterns of speech act utilisation and realisation on the impressions that are created by the spoken discourse of different groups?*

This chapter therefore explores the relationship between discourse and impression management, and presents tentative findings of an analysis that seeks to explain impression management in discourse terms. It is argued below that, although judgments are often

made on the basis of evidence external to a speaker's discourse (eg the speaker's gender or ethnicity), a speaker's verbal performances nevertheless have a significant impact on the types of judgments that are made about a speaker.

In the next section, a number of impression managing categories are suggested, and tentatively defined. These are the categories of *authoritativeness*, *sensitiveness*, *manipulativeness*, *frankness* and *deference.* It is argued that these impression managing categories are particularly relevant in terms of the Type A speech acts of directing and suggesting in a business environment. Furthermore, it is suggested that the creation of certain impressions may contribute to the 'successful' outcome of influence attempts of which Type A directive speech acts often form a part.

In section 10.2, the methodology used ('metapragmatic assessment' of naturally occurring spoken discourse data) is described in more depth, and the five impression managing categories referred to above are defined and exemplified. In section 10.3, possible relationships between discourse features, speaker characteristics and impression managing categories are investigated from the analyst's perspective. In 10.4, these perceptions are compared and contrasted with those of participants in the discourse. This results in a multi-faceted analysis which is ethnographically grounded.

It is worthwhile pointing out, that no claims are made as to the universality of what has been observed in meetings at Cathay Pacific Airways, and that the findings presented below would not necessarily be replicated elsewhere. Other speakers in the same and other organisations may be found to use discourse in quite different ways. The principal purpose of the analyses in this and preceding chapters is to act as a practical starting point for a form of training whereby the individuals whose discourse is being studied may be helped to become more aware of the impact of their own and others' discourse. Within this context, the analyst's findings and the perceptions of those actually involved in the discourse are considered to be neither infallible nor universally relevant; however, they are considered to be extremely valuable for training purposes in the context for which they were intended.

10.2 Methodology

The methodology employed in this chapter to investigate the relationship between, on the one hand, the discourse used by speakers , and, on the other, the impressions that are formed of them, is based on the collection of 'perceptual' data. This data is collected in the form of metapragmatic assessments made by the analyst and participant-observers[59]. These assessments relate to the impression managing characteristics of stretches of spoken discourse. In the analysis, these metapragmatic assessments are termed 'perceptions', 'judgments' or 'assessments'.

In common with the methodology used in Garcia's (1989) study of apologies among Spanish learners of English, and Takahashi & DuFon's (1989) study of Japanese learners' requests in English[60], the present study involves both the analyst and participant-observers making judgments about meeting attenders' spoken discourse, and recording these judgments on Likert-type rating scales.

This form of data collection, while not common in linguistic/ pragmatic research, does have a major advantage over the more common 'discourse completion' type of data collection used in studies of politeness by, for example, Blum-Kulka (1982), Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984), Faerch & Kasper (1987), and Takahashi & Beebe (1987). This is that, in Kasper & Dahl's (1991) words, participant-observers' metapragmatic assessments can 'provide an important corrective, or confirmation, of the values and weights of contextual factors built into the instrument by the researcher' (Kasper & Dahl, 1991: 238). As they point out, this type of control is particularly important in contexts, such as the present study, in which the researcher is not a member of the community that is being investigated. Kasper & Dahl (1991) further explain that:

> The combination of production and metapragmatic assessment data provides an empirical basis for explaining observed patterns of speech act realization and politeness in terms of perceived contextual constraints, and of the pragmatic force and politeness value language users attribute to different linguistic means and strategies. (Kasper & Dahl, 1991: 238)

It is important, however, to point out that it can be difficult to interpret findings based on participant-observers' metapragmatic assessments, due to the potentially large number of contextual factors that may contribute to them. For example, there may be significant differences between the analyst's and participant-observers' bases for making subjective

assessments (eg their understanding of the terminology applied to impression managing categories), and their familiarity with the context and semantic content of the discourse. Clearly, this means that the issue of inter-rater reliability should be addressed with care.

Also, although a variety of impressions may be created by any particular string of discourse, it has been decided that metapragmatic assessments in this study should relate to only a small set of 'impression managing categories'. These categories relate to impressions that I think are particularly relevant to the speech acts of 'directing' and 'suggesting'[61]. The impression managing categories that have been isolated are:

(i) authoritativeness
(ii) manipulativeness
(iii) sensitiveness
(iv) frankness
(v) deference

It is not suggested by this choice that these impression managing categories are in any sense exclusive; other categories could, no doubt, be construed which might be just as relevant. However, these impression managing categories benefit from being fairly transparent to the layperson (perhaps deceptively so), and certain of them refer to phenomena that are already well documented in research in the areas of impression management and speech act realisation. For example, although the relationship is not yet well defined, judgments of *deference* may be related to the concept of *politeness*, which has been investigated by a large number of applied linguists in recent years (eg Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984), Brown & Levinson (1978), Faerch & Kasper (1989) and so on).

I also believe that these impression managing categories are relevant in that they appear likely to contribute to the success or failure of influence attempts of which Type A directive speech acts often form a part. It is possible, for example, that impressions of 'authoritativeness' and 'frankness' may lead a suggestion to be more readily adopted, that an impression of 'manipulativeness' may prevent a request from being complied with, and so on.

10.2.1 The Meanings of Impression Managing Categories

Metapragmatic assessment of spoken discourse by analyst and participant-observers alike is not a foolproof task, and a number of problems have had to be addressed in the course of this analysis.

Firstly, categorial terminology is not universally subject to the same interpretation. Thus, the meaning of the term 'authoritative' (and the meanings of other impression managing categories) almost certainly varies within and between cultural groups. It is because of this potential for ambiguity that I have been somewhat stipulative in terms of the meanings of impression managing categories. The following simple 'working' meanings were thus ascribed to each of the impression managing categories. These meanings constitute slightly modified *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* entries in each case.

Authoritative	Demonstrating authority, and an entitlement to obedience or acceptance.
Sensitive	Demonstrating receptiveness to the feelings of others and other forms of outside influence.
Manipulative	Influencing by means of careful contrivance and shrewd planning.
Frank	Not practising concealment; demonstrating open-handedness and directness.
Deferential	Demonstrating courtesy and respect.

By stipulating meanings in this way, it was hoped that when the analyst and participant-observers made assessments about discourse, these assessments would at least address the same phenomena. However, despite this attempt to rule out one of the variables in order to produce a meaningful analysis, there was still evidence, in subsequent discussion, that with particular impression managing categories (especially *manipulativeness*), participant-observers brought different, either 'positively-valenced' or 'negatively-valenced' affective interpretations of categories to the assessment task[62].

Secondly, it is difficult (not to say impossible) to isolate and differentiate impression managing categories in anything other than notional terms, since, in reality, humans do not

have a conscious 'checklist' of categories against which they appraise each others' verbal performances.

Thirdly, although this analysis seeks to explore how certain impression managing categories may be linked with the use of certain forms of discourse, it is not implied that a strict cause-and-effect relationship can be established between particular discourse features and the creation of particular impressions. Socio-cultural contextual factors have far too much of an influence on the impact of a specific speaker's words on a specific hearer to allow this to even be feasible. In fact, it is unlikely that the territory will ever be definable in anything other than 'fuzzy' terms.

However, although it is recognised that decisions about speakers are seldom, if ever, made on the basis of discourse alone, it is the intention of this study to attempt to describe some of the features of discourse associated with the creation of certain impressions. This has meant that, as far as possible, the analyst's and participant-observers' metapragmatic assessments have had to be made on the basis of discourse alone, independent of other speaker characteristics, such as gender and ethnicity. In this way, it is hoped that the analysis can avoid prejudices inherent to the observer.

As suggested above, this may be a task that is inherently unreliable. In situations in which observers are familiar with the individuals observed (as was the case with participant-observers' assessments for this study), for example, it is very difficult for them to achieve this separation between 'discourse' and 'speaker'. A number of participant-observers did, in fact, remark that they felt somewhat uncomfortable making judgments about their colleagues on the basis of small segments of discourse, and made the point that they usually form impressions on the basis of discourse chunks considerably larger than those shown, as well as on the basis of a person's proven track-record in terms of real-world actions. This was summed up by a female Western manager in the following way:

> I think for me it was hard because I knew some of the people and I had formed opinions of them. As soon as I saw the face appear, I thought 'I know what he's going to be like'. It's difficult to sort of separate them.

Clearly, then, contextual factors (such as prior acquaintance with the speaker) have an extremely significant impact on the impressions that are created when a person opens their mouth to speak. The role that a person plays in a meeting ('chair' or 'participant'), for example, is bound to determine ways in which their verbal contributions are interpreted by an audience. Since it is likely that chairs, by definition, are expected to behave in different ways from participants in meetings, it is not feasible to assess 'chair-talk' according to the same criteria as 'participant-talk'. For this reason, when assessments were made about speakers' discourse, participant-observers were asked to consider whether the speaker was a chair or a participant in the meeting. Thus, the following question 'frame' was adopted:

> *Is this the discourse of a _____ chair/ participant? (authoritative, manipulative etc.)*

Despite these significant caveats, I believe that the study of the relationship between certain features of discourse and the creation of certain impressions is a worthwhile endeavour which can produce valid and meaningful results. These results must, however, be tempered with the knowledge that the relationship between discourse and its affective interpretation is never a simple one. This is especially true in multicultural contexts, in which discourse can be the cause of problems ranging from uncomfortable feelings of insecurity, on the one hand, to serious intercultural misinterpretation and miscommunication, on the other.

The value of this form of analysis can be seen in terms of its relevance to a number of processes, as illustrated in Figure 10.1 overleaf.

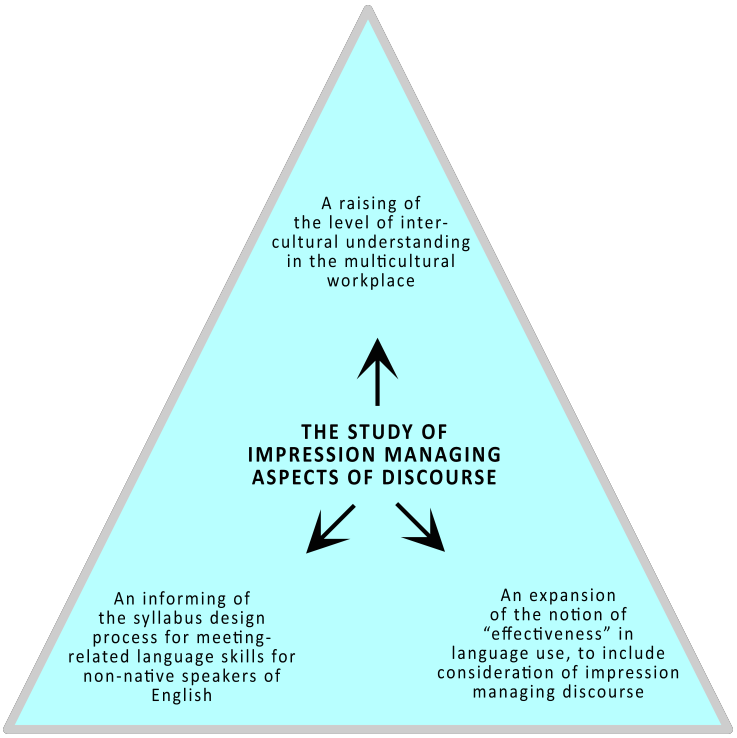


Figure 10.1 The Study of Impression Managing Aspects of Discourse

10.2.2 Metapragmatic Assessments by the Analyst

In terms of the analyst's assessments, subjective judgments relating to the *authoritativeness*, *sensitiveness*, *manipulativeness*, *frankness* and *deference* demonstrated by the directive speech acts of 'directing' and 'suggesting' in the corpus were made and recorded using 9-point Likert-type scales. Thus, all 105 'directing' speech acts and 420 'suggesting' speech acts were assessed in terms of these five impression managing categories. In cases where disambiguation was needed, utterances were clarified with reference to larger discourse chunks.

10.2.3 Metapragmatic Assessments by Participant-Observers

In terms of participant-observers' assessments, subjective judgments relating to the five impression managing categories were collected by means of an 'introspective diagnostic tool' (IDT). This was a video-based questionnaire consisting of 20 clips of Type A directive speech acts extracted from MAW corpus meetings (see Appendix B). Participant-observers were asked to record their assessments on the same 9-point Likert-type scales referred to above.

10.2.4 The Recording of Metapragmatic Assessments

Recording of the metapragmatic assessments of the analyst and participant-observers was carried out in such a way as to allow for maximum flexibility in the analysis stage, and involved a small modification to the database referred to in Chapter 6. This database, which was constructed for the purpose of classifying Type A directive speech acts ('directing' and 'suggesting') identified in the MAW corpus, contained several indexable fields which allowed characteristics of discourse, speaker and speech event to be cross-referred for the purpose of analysis. It will be recalled that it was thus possible to describe features of different groups' discourse in different meeting-types in the ways presented in Chapters 7 and 8.

In order to allow possible relationships between discourse and impression management to be explored, this database was modified so as to allow for the analyst's assessments, and those of participant-observers, to be recorded and subsequently cross-referred against discourse features.

10.3 The Discourse of Impression Management: *Analyst's Perspective*

The purpose of this section is to attempt to produce, from the analyst's perspective, a preliminary map of the relatively ill-defined territory of 'impression management-related discourse' in a multicultural business environment. The aim is to illustrate and describe some of this territory's salient features using the discourse analytical tools that were presented in previous chapters.

The following five sections deal with each impression managing category in turn. Each section is separated into two parts, dealing with:

(i) a brief survey of the occurrence of each category among Type A directive speech acts in the MAW corpus, and

(ii) a tentative exploration of possible links between certain discourse features and the creation of certain impressions[63].

As mentioned above, these observations are based on the analyst's metapragmatic assessment of speakers' discourse, and are contrasted with participant-observers' assessments in the next section (section 10.4).

10.3.1 Perceptions of Authoritativeness

Survey of Occurrence

Authoritativeness, according to the definition in section 10.2, is a matter of 'demonstrating authority, and an entitlement to obedience or acceptance.' Despite the fact that authoritativeness is a phenomenon distinct from 'authority' itself, it seems, intuitively, quite likely that those with higher authority (eg higher rank) may be more prone to demonstrate authoritativeness than those with lower authority (eg lower rank). Therefore, as the highest-ranking speaker in most meetings in the MAW corpus, it might be predicted that the chair will be universally judged to have the highest levels of authoritativeness of all meeting attenders. Do the analyst's metapragmatic assessments, in fact, confirm that this is the case (at least from the point of view of the analyst)?

Table 10.1 below provides a comparison of the 'average' levels of authoritativeness ascribed by the analyst to chair and participant directing speech acts (requests) and suggesting speech acts (suggestions) in the MAW corpus[64]. Where appropriate, data is given for different ethnic and gender groups.

	Requests	**Suggestions**
Chairs (Western)	8.07	7.06
Chairs (Chinese)	7.86	5.92
Chairs (Overall)	8.04	6.98
Participants (Western)	8.16	7.02
Participants (Chinese)	7.33	4.69
Participants (Male)	8.14	6.67
Participants (Female)	7.50	4.81
Participants (Overall)	8.12	6.55

Table 10.1 Analyst's perception of Chairs'/ Participants' 'Authoritativeness' in Type A directive speech acts

There does not appear, in fact, to be a very great difference between the average levels of authoritativeness associated with chair requests on the one hand and participant requests on the other (averages of 8.04 and 8.12 respectively). Neither does there appear to be a great difference between averaged judgments of authoritativeness among suggestions made by chairs and participants (6.98 and 6.55 respectively).

However, this apparent parity may in fact be nothing more than the consequence of a skewing of the data by the large number of Western males present in meetings. Closer examination reveals that Chinese chairs and participants are judged by the analyst to be noticeably less authoritative than Western chairs and participants in terms of the suggestions they make (5.92:7.06 and 4.69:7.02 for chairs and participants respectively). Women's suggestions are similarly judged to be considerably less authoritative than men's suggestions (4.81:6.67). These observations support the comment in the last chapter that women and Chinese participants in meetings in the corpus give the appearance of being less authoritative than Western males, who, in turn, show signs of being a 'dominant' group, at least from the analyst's perspective.

Another observation that can be made on the basis of table 10.2 is the marked difference in authoritativeness associated with the speech acts of 'directing' on the one hand, and 'suggesting' on the other. This observation is, perhaps, not surprising given that the propositions contained in suggesting speech acts are, by definition, less forceful than those contained in directing speech acts (see Chapter 5). It is therefore possible that judgments of authoritativeness are related to the forcefulness of propositions contained in speech acts[65].

The Discourse of Authoritativeness

As was seen in table 10.2, most requests made by chairs and participants are perceived by the analyst to be highly authoritative (ave. authoritativeness = 8.04 and 8.12 respectively). Most highly authoritative requests, irrespective of speaker status, are realised by means of a small set of high directness strategies including:

- direct requesting statements[66] (eg *We must stop doing that*; *I think you should do that quick smart mate ey?*; *Ron, you'll fix up that*; and so on)
- direct requesting imperatives (eg *Have a thought about that*; *Please raise it this afternoon*; *Firm that up for two days*; and so on)

In terms of the suggestions made by both chairs and participants, a high level of authoritativeness also tends to be associated with the use of high directness. In many cases, the lexico-grammatical form of such speech acts is very close to that of directing speech acts. Strategies include:

- direct suggestory statements[67] (eg *You need to do a bit of leading the witness*; *We should just keep an eye on it*; *I would just leave them flying around*; and so on)
- direct suggestory imperatives (eg *Just put them in there*; *See what the reaction is*; *Break their necks!*; and so on)

Some requests and suggestions judged to be highly authoritative, irrespective of speaker status, employ conventional indirectness through the use of certain:

- conventionally indirect requests (CIRs), such as *You'd better stay*; *Could I ask you to think of one today?*; *Maybe you could slip something to him on E-mail*; and so on.
- indirect suggestory formulae (ISFs), such as *Let's just look at what it's doing today, yeah?*; *Can we have a word in Nigel's shell-like?*; *It sounds like we'd better revive the Cathay-HAKL SACL group*; and so on.

Although the use of conventional indirectness normally correlates with perceptions of low/medium authoritativeness, utterances such as those mentioned above are perceived as highly authoritative. This may be due to the presence of certain prosodic features in these utterances, since each of the CIRs above has a marked 'low-fall' intonation contour which contrasts with the more common 'mid-fall' contour (commonly perceived as lower in authoritativeness), and each of the ISFs above has a low-fall contour, which contrasts with the 'low-rise' intonation contour (commonly perceived as lower in authoritativeness). In other words, I perceive the authoritativeness of (i) below as being considerably higher than the authoritativeness of (ii).

(i) ˌCan we have a ˌword in ˌNigel's ↘shell-like?

(ii) ˌCan we have a ˌword in ˌNigel's ˊshell-like?

It is also worth noting that judgments of high authoritativeness also tend to be associated, in the analyst's metapragmatic assessments, with the use of supportive moves (grounding, imposition-minimising and disarming moves). In other words, the perceived authoritativeness of (i) below is considerably higher than the perceived authoritativeness of (ii).

(i) *I would prefer to look at the ones where we have the worst punctuality. Because I think every person that buys a ticket on Cathay expects and is contracted as much to actually depart and arrive by the time we tell 'em.*

(ii) *I think the answ- I think what we do need to- I should like to g- I think we ought to try and look at some sort of retailers and how they value their shops, and I don't know how we can do that.*

Yukl & Tracey's (1992) observation (mentioned in Chapter 2) that successful influence attempts, especially in an 'upward' direction, tend to be accompanied by rational persuasion (ie the strategic use of logical arguments and factual information) thus receives a measure of support from the analyst's metapragmatic assessments[68].

10.3.2 Perceptions of Manipulativeness

Survey of Occurrence

Manipulativeness, according to the definition presented above, is a matter of 'influencing by means of careful contrivance and shrewd planning.' Contrary to certain interpretations of the word, this definition of manipulativeness does not cast manipulativeness as a necessarily negative phenomenon. Manipulativeness is, therefore, a matter of 'careful planning' rather than 'skullduggery', of 'designs' rather than 'schemes'. Who is judged to be the more manipulative in the business meetings in the MAW corpus? Chairs or participants? Chinese or Westerners? Men or women?

The following table illustrates judgments of manipulativeness ascribed by the analyst to chair and participant directing speech acts (requests) and suggesting speech acts (suggestions) in the MAW corpus. The data also allow for inter-ethnic and inter-gender comparisons.

	Requests	Suggestions
Chairs (Western)	3.76	4.26
Chairs (Chinese)	2.57	1.67
Chairs (Overall)	3.60	4.08
Participants (Chinese)	1.00	1.67
Participants (Western)	2.63	2.74
Participants (Male)	2.60	2.58
Participants (Female)	1.00	1.69
Participants (Overall)	2.54	2.52

Table 10.2 Analyst's perception of Chairs'/ Participants' 'Manipulativeness' in Type A directive speech acts

Table 10.2 illustrates that, generally speaking, the level of perceived manipulativeness in chairs' and participants' requests and suggestions is very low. However, in terms of both requests and suggestions, chairs (especially Western chairs) are considered by the analyst to demonstrate more manipulativeness in their utterances than participants (3.6:2.54 for requests, and 4.08:2.52 for suggestions). The groups demonstrating least manipulativeness are Chinese participants (1.0 and 1.67 for requests and suggestions respectively) and female participants (1.0 and 1.69 for requests and suggestions respectively). Western male participants' utterances are judged by the analyst to be considerably more manipulative than the utterances of either of these other groups.

Another observation that can be made relating to the manipulativeness of Type A directive speech acts is that there appears to be no difference between requests and suggestions in terms of possible intrinsic manipulativeness. Whereas it was remarked earlier that requests and suggestions appear to differ inherently in terms of their implied authoritativeness (requests having more implied authoritativeness than suggestions), this appears not to be the case in terms of manipulativeness. Neither requests nor suggestions appear to be judged intrinsically manipulative by the analyst.

The Discourse of Manipulativeness

Table 10.2 above illustrates that, according to the analyst's metapragmatic assessments, most requests and suggestions identified in the MAW corpus are associated with low levels of perceived manipulativeness (average manipulativeness ≅ 3).

Utterances which are associated with the lowest levels of manipulativeness are commonly the most direct (see [i] below), and those which are judged to be the most manipulative are commonly the least direct (see [ii] below). It is therefore extremely rare for direct requesting and suggestory imperatives to be perceived as manipulative. On the other hand, requestive and suggestory hints are often perceived as manipulative.

(i) **Low manipulativeness + high directness**

- See what the reaction is.
- Leave it till we get a reply back from CAE.
- Just put them in there.
- Say ' We're gonna, we think we're gonna be about ten minutes late' - you know as opposed to leaving half an hour late.

(ii) **High manipulativeness + low directness**

- Would it therefore be sensible to decide on 62 in the 200s, and see how significantly different that is from 60 in the 400s before deciding whether to go to 62 in the 400?
- But I think our point of view is you know that we welcome support of all the technocrats to get us the facility to operate our food carts without two cabin attendants in close proximity or whatever it is. We want one person carts.
- Maybe that should be the next step to get something like that out to say you know that can be part of Earlsdon pushing the first line on that.

Analysis of the MAW corpus reveals, however, that there is not a simple one-to-one relationship between perceptions of high manipulativeness and low directness, since not all indirect hints are perceived to be manipulative by the analyst. The picture that emerges from the corpus is that perceptions of high manipulativeness tend to occur where hints are understood to have a pragmatic force that belies the low level of directness encoded in them. As manipulativeness is always intentional, it follows that only hints that are perceived to have a 'hidden message' are seen as manipulative[69].

Tentativeness and indirectness, are not, therefore, the exclusive markers of extreme manipulativeness, at least from the analyst's perspective. In fact, some very tentative statements in the corpus are judged to be extremely low in manipulativeness. For example, none of the statements in [iii] is perceived as high in manipulativeness.

(iii)	**Low manipulativeness + low directness**
	• Well, given - Well, I don't know - we've got so many people from Kai Tak, I mean I wonder whether we should - Actually, today we've got quite a number of people from Swire House but erm I think quite hon- to be quite fair to them we ought to come over there. (discussing the location of the next meeting) • I'm catching the half past four flight but the whole afternoon I've got free if if you wanted. (arranging a meeting before the speaker leaves for Japan) • It would, it would be helpful though I mean to know where a trade-off point is, I mean, if the closet can be scaled back, and we're saying we have twelve less passengers, there's some point where there's a trade-off with what the pitch you can get. (suggesting a way of maximising seat size) • I quite like the idea of training though. I quite like the idea of Training because they touch a bit of everything, Training, don't they? (suggesting that staff from the Training Department should participate in a new scheme)

10.3.3 Perceptions of Sensitiveness

Survey of Occurrence

Sensitiveness, according to the definition presented above, is a matter of 'demonstrating receptiveness to the feelings of others and other forms of outside influence.' This impression managing category is associated with the use of discourse that shows that the speaker is attentive to the feelings, state of knowledge, wishes, and so on, of others.

Given that one of the roles of chairs in meetings in the MAW corpus is to engender among those who attend meetings an understanding of issues broader than sectional or departmental interests (eg a 'company' perspective, and even, in terms of 'environmentalism', a social perspective), it might be predicted that chairs' utterances more commonly demonstrate sensitiveness. To what extent is this demonstrated in terms of the analyst's metapragmatic assessments?

In the same way as was demonstrated in tables 10.1 and 10.2 above, table 10.3 illustrates judgments of sensitiveness ascribed by the analyst to chair and participant directing speech acts (requests and commands) and suggesting speech acts (suggestions) in the MAW corpus. As in other such tables, the data allow for comparisons based on the ethnicity of chairs, and the ethnicity and gender of participants.

	Requests	Suggestions
Chairs (Western)	4.72	5.75
Chairs (Chinese)	4.71	5.17
Chairs (Overall)	4.72	5.71
Participants (Chinese)	3.33	4.60
Participants (Western)	2.45	4.57
Participants (Male)	2.44	4.56
Participants (Female)	4.00	4.94
Participants (Overall)	2.50	4.58

Table 10.3 Analyst's perception of Chairs'/ Participants' 'Sensitiveness' in Type A directive speech acts

Table 10.3 shows that chairs were, indeed, consistently judged by the analyst to demonstrate most sensitiveness to their audiences (4.72:2.5 for requests, and 5.71:4.58 for suggestions). Interestingly, Western male participants' requests were judged to demonstrate the least sensitiveness.

It is also noticeable that there appears to be an intrinsic difference between the levels of sensitiveness associated with requests and suggestions, in the same way as was observed for 'authoritativeness'. This tends to coincide with the observation made by a number of Western participants during training that there may be an inverse relationship between authoritativeness and sensitiveness in requests and suggestions. Indeed, in the corpus, requests commonly receive judgments of higher authoritativeness and lower sensitiveness; conversely, suggestions commonly receive judgments of lower authoritativeness and higher sensitiveness.

The Discourse of Sensitiveness

It is interesting to notice that in the MAW corpus, participants' requests are most commonly perceived by the analyst to demonstrate low levels of sensitiveness. In the case of requests (including chair requests), perceptions of low sensitiveness are most commonly associated with high directness strategies (ie direct requesting imperatives and direct requesting statements), marked by the absence of supportive moves. Thus, utterances such as the following are perceived as demonstrating a relatively low level of sensitiveness.

- direct requesting statements[70] (eg *We must stop doing that*; *I think you should do that quick smart mate ey?*; *Ron, you'll fix up that*; and so on)
- direct requesting imperatives (eg *Have a thought about that*; *Please raise it this afternoon*; *Firm that up for two days*; and so on)

Perceptions of sensitiveness also seem to be affected by the prosodic features of utterances. For example, the occurrence of the 'fall-rise' intonation contour (identified elsewhere in this study as demonstrating 'irony'/'sarcasm') is generally associated with a low level of sensitiveness, as in the following examples:

ˈAsk him for any ˈsuggestions. ˈCos we'd ˇlove to ↘know.
If you ˈcan't ˇbeat em ˇjoin em, I ↘guess.
ˈBend their ˈarms, ↘Tom. ˈBreak their ˇnecks!
ˈForget about the ˇvoluntary.
ˈMaybe you should ˈjoin ˇin.

Conversely, the analyst's metapragmatic assessments suggest that the 'low-rise' questioning/tentative intonation contour tends to be associated with mid to high levels of perceived sensitiveness, for example in the following utterances:

I ˌthink I'm going to be ˏasking you to go down there ˏmate.
ˈWhat if I should ˌsay to you next ˌMonday we go and have a ˏlook at this?

It was noted earlier that suggestions, irrespective of who is making them, are generally perceived by the analyst to demonstrate more sensitiveness than requests in the MAW corpus. This is the case, even for suggestions with a high level of encoded directness. Thus, even suggestions realised with direct suggestory statements and direct suggestory interrogatives are perceived to demonstrate sensitiveness (at least from the analyst's perspective). It is also noticeable in the corpus that suggestions that are supported by grounding moves are perceived by the analyst to demonstrate more sensitiveness than those that are not. In terms of lexical choices, analysis of the corpus reveals that an informal tone is evaluated as higher in sensitiveness than a formal tone. Similarly, use of the personal pronoun 'we' to refer to the group appears to be perceived as more sensitive

than when it refers to the section, department or company, or when it refers exclusively to the hearer (as in *We should do that* = *You should do that*).

10.3.4 Perceptions of Frankness

Survey of Occurrence

Frankness, according to the definition presented above, is a matter of 'not practising concealment, demonstrating open-handedness and directness.' Bluntness or rudeness are not necessary preconditions for judgments of frankness, although these are particular forms in which frankness may be demonstrated. Frankness relates to the apparent candour or openness of speakers.

Table 10.4 compares the analyst's perceptions of frankness relating to chair and participant requests and suggestions in the MAW corpus.

	Requests	**Suggestions**
Chairs (Western)	6.43	6.69
Chairs (Chinese)	8.43	5.67
Chairs (Overall)	6.70	6.61
Participants (Chinese)	7.67	6.20
Participants (Western)	7.65	7.05
Participants (Male)	7.64	6.95
Participants (Female)	8.00	5.88
Participants (Overall)	7.65	6.88

Table 10.4 Analyst's perception of Chairs'/Participants' 'Frankness' in Type A directive speech acts

Table 10.4 demonstrates that, according to the analyst:

(i) most requests and suggestions are judged to be high in frankness;

(ii) there is only limited variation between the levels of frankness attributed to different groups' discourse.

Although it is interesting to note that the requests made by the single Chinese chair in the corpus were judged to be markedly frank (ave. 8.43), as were those of female participants

(ave. 8.0), it should be pointed out that in both cases requests tend to focus on actions with low implied imposition. Furthermore, as was pointed out in Chapter 7, the fact that Chinese and female participants tend not to make a great number of requests in the meetings in the corpus means that, when requests occur, they tend to be marked in some way.

It is also interesting that for these groups there appear to be different levels of frankness associated with requests and suggestions, whereas for Western male participants, perceptions of frankness tend be fairly consistent over requests and suggestions. Thus, the average frankness associated with Chinese chair requests is 8.43, and for Chinese chair suggestions, 5.67; the average frankness associated with Chinese participant requests is 7.67, and for Chinese participant suggestions, 6.2; the average frankness associated with female participant requests is 8.00, and for female participant suggestions, 5.88. The corresponding figures for Western chairs, on the other hand, are much closer at 6.43 and 6.69; and for Western participants, 7.65 and 7.05.

The above indicates that when certain meeting attenders make requests and suggestions, they mark these classes of speech acts in ways that are interpreted differently in terms of frankness by the analyst . The analyst perceives, for example, Chinese and female participants' suggestions as consistently lower in frankness than requests used by these groups. On the other hand, Western males mark both requests and suggestions in ways that are consistently interpreted by the analyst as frank.

The Discourse of Frankness

Analysis of the MAW corpus reveals that the analyst's assessments of high frankness are commonly associated with the use of high directness strategies (especially direct requesting/ suggesting imperatives and direct requesting/suggesting statements) marked by a 'low-fall' intonation contour. The highest perceptions of frankness tend to occur where utterances are in marked contrast with certain socio-cultural expectations about the appropriacy of forms of language behaviour, eg where a chair is 'urged' by a participant to do something, such as in the following examples:

- direct requesting imperatives (eg *Don't worry about that*; *Get somewhere near it. I mean -* ; *Go on write it on your damn viewfoil*; *Leave at 15 45, and add the bloody flight time*; *Well go on - pencil it in*; *Work backwards from that*; *You've gotta write down the facts and start from them*)

- direct suggesting imperatives (eg *Leave it till we get a reply back from CAD*; *Just put them in there*; *Say ' We're gonna, we think we're gonna be about ten minutes late' - you know as opposed to leaving half an hour late*; *Bend their arms Tom. Break their necks!*; *Forget about the voluntary*)

In these cases, high frankness may have certain negative connotations (ie of breaking the 'rules of the game'). However, high frankness is not intrinsically a negative phenomenon since analysis of the corpus reveals that, where utterances are reinforced by supportive moves (especially 'grounding' moves), there may be no such negative connotations in terms of the analyst's assessments.

Perceptions of medium frankness tend to be associated with the use, by both chairs and participants, of conventionally indirect utterances (CIRs in the case of requests, and ISFs in the case of suggestions), and certain nonconventionally indirect utterances (hints). In the same way as was observed above, utterances tend to be accompanied by supportive moves, although, in the case of medium frankness, these tend to be 'elaborating' rather than 'grounding' moves.

Finally, in the case of requests, perceptions by the analyst of low frankness tend to be associated with the use of requestive hints of the following type, unaccompanied by supportive moves. In such cases, the hearer is often left wondering whether or not a request has even been made.

- *Could I suggest that perhaps after this meeting you and Jim just sort out exactly how we can get this information out to our staff.*
- *It might be worth checking before.*
- *I think I'm going to be asking you to go down there, mate.*
- *Is it worthwhile saying that sometime in August would you have an outline Tom of that?*
- *Maybe we can outline things.*
- *You could go this week.*

It is also worth noting that this type of hint is often accompanied by the continuous high level pitch pattern that has, elsewhere in this study, been described as a pattern associated with 'musing' or 'contemplating'.

10.3.5 Perceptions of Deference

Survey of Occurrence

Deference, according to the definition presented earlier in this chapter, is a matter of 'demonstrating courtesy and respect'. Deference is not exactly synonymous with the folk category of *politeness*, although the two phenomena appear to be related. Deference is more a question of the use of *courtesy appropriate to the situation*. Deference, as defined here, may include such ingratiatory strategies as flattery and false praise[71].

In the following table, judgments of the deference associated with chair and participant requests and suggestions in the MAW corpus are compared.

	Requests	**Suggestions**
Chairs (Western)	5.07	5.51
Chairs (Chinese)	5.14	5.75
Chairs (Overall)	5.08	5.53
Participants (Chinese)	3.00	4.63
Participants (Western)	3.04	4.70
Participants (Male)	3.02	4.64
Participants (Female)	3.50	5.25
Participants (Overall)	3.04	4.68

Table 10.5 Analyst's perception of Chairs'/Participants' 'Deference' in Type A directive speech acts

Table 10.5 reveals, interestingly, that requests and suggestions made by chairs appear to be judged by the analyst to contain more deference than those uttered by participants (5.08:3.04 and 5.53:4.68 respectively). This is contrary to the view that due to the power differences between the two groups, chairs do not need to show respect for participants, but participants do need to show respect for chairs. In the MAW corpus, the reverse appears to be the case.

However, it it is worth reiterating that participants' requests and suggestions seldom have a direct addressee to whom respect needs to be shown, whereas chairs' requests and suggestions most frequently do have a clearly defined 'target'. This might explain why the

analyst tends to identify chairs' Type A directive speech acts as more deferential than participants'.

The Discourse of Deference

Table 10.5 illustrates that in the MAW corpus, there are few utterances that are perceived by the analyst as being highly deferential. That is, few utterances contain overt markers of courtesy. It is perhaps an indication of the closeness of the relationships between meeting attenders, that in most cases, these markers appear not to be necessary.

There are, in contrast, a number of utterances in the corpus which are perceived by the analyst to be very low in deference. These utterances often comprise highly direct strategies, where the head act is not reinforced with a supportive move.

However, it is clear that not all utterances that are highly direct result in perceptions of low deference[72]. In this respect, there appears to be a difference between the effects of high directness in the speech acts of directing and suggesting. A high level of directness in suggesting speech acts (eg use of DSSs and DSIs) is not perceived by the analyst to reduce the deference shown to the hearer as much as high directness in directing speech acts.

Also, judgments relating to deference tend to be affected by consideration of the status of the speaker. Thus, although direct requesting statements tend, across the board, to be perceived as low in deference, this is especially the case when they are uttered by participants to a chair, and/or are 'speaker exclusive', as in the following examples: *It's no good just glossing over these things*; *You know you mustn't sit there thinking that we don't miss connections now - we bloody well do*; *You should be more bloody proactive in the driving seat really*; *Leave them switched off*; and so on.

Despite the above qualifications, there do appear to be certain linguistic forms that are almost overwhelmingly perceived by the analyst to demonstrate low deference towards the hearer, such as direct requesting imperatives. In terms of their typical intonation contour, these utterances are often accompanied by a 'low-fall' rather than a 'mid-fall' intonation contour. Examples from the corpus include:

- *Don't worry about that.*
- *Go on write it on your damn viewfoil.*
- *Leave at 15 45, and add the bloody flight time.*
- *Well go on - pencil it in.*
- *You've gotta write down the facts and start from them.*

10.3.6 A Note on Reliability

The above findings are based on subjective metapragmatic assessments made by the analyst on the basis of short extracts involving Type A directive speech acts found in the MAW corpus. 105 'directing' speech acts and 420 'suggesting' speech acts were gauged in terms of the five impression managing categories mentioned above (a total of 2,625 judgments). In most cases, speech acts consist of discourse strings not exceeding 50 words.

It is not suggested that these judgments have anything other than a very subjective status. They simply constitute the analyst's own personal assessments of the language behaviours of others. However, they are no less valuable for this, since, as was argued earlier, there is no single view that has primacy in terms of impression management.

However, it would be as well to seek some measure of the reliability of my own perceptions (just as it is important, for example, that one Chinese participant should not be taken to represent the entire ethnic group of which they are a member, and likewise for women). For this reason, a research assistant (RA) was asked to complete the introspective diagnostic tool (IDT) so that his judgments could be compared with my own. The research assistant was a Western male, aged mid-forties, with a background in teaching and research in English for Specific Purposes, and so had a background very similar to my own. Prior to assessment, the research assistant underwent a three-hour orientation/ training session. During this session, impression managing categories were explained, and several exemplar scripts were jointly assessed so as to achieve a common understanding of impression managing categories.

A comparison of the metapragmatic assessments of the RA and the analyst reveals that inter-rater resonance[73] was extremely high (of the order of 90% agreement between them).

	Inter-rater resonance	
IM category	**Requests**	**Suggestions**
Authoritativeness	85%	85%
Manipulativeness	80%	85%
Sensitiveness	85%	90%
Frankness	90%	90%
Deference	90%	80%

Table 10.6 Inter-rater Resonance between the Perceptions of the Analyst and the RA

For the above table of inter-rater resonance, the 9-point Likert scale used by the analyst and the RA has been conflated into a 3-point scale. This scale refers to HIGH, MEDIUM and LOW levels of each impression managing category. A 'high' level is associated with scores of 7, 8 or 9 on the 9-point scale; a 'medium' level is associated with scores of 4, 5 or 6; and a 'low' level is associated with scores of 1, 2 or 3. While there was a certain amount of variation between judgments made by the analyst and the research assistant in terms of the 9-point scale, it can be seen from table 10.6 that this variation was seldom sufficiently great to affect judgments on the 3-point scale. It appears, therefore, that the analyst and the research assistant were largely in agreement in terms of what constituted 'high', 'medium' and 'low' levels of each impression managing category.

This high correlation between the analyst's judgments and those of the RA is probably due to the similar ethnic, gender and age profiles of the two individuals involved, although the process of 'assessment training' that the research assistant underwent prior to assessment, almost certainly contributed as well.

As will be demonstrated below, the metapragmatic assessments of the RA and the analyst appear to be the product of a 'Western male' perspective on impression management. It will be recalled that the 'Western male' group in the corpus appears to be the dominant cultural group. The 'culturo-centric' analysis presented so far in this chapter might therefore be of some practical use to those members of minority groups in Cathay Pacific Airways meetings who seek, in Tajfel's (1974) terms, social mobility through the assimilation of some of the discourse traits of the dominant group. Quite simply, in the case of Cathay Pacific Airways, female and Chinese participants in meetings might do well to emulate some of the types of behaviour identified above if they wish to be perceived in a positive light by their Western male colleagues. Clearly this has practical implications in terms of the syllabus design process[74].

However, as was mentioned in earlier chapters, it is not my primary intention in this study to advocate the mimicking by minority groups of majority groups' discourse practices. Rather, a form of training is favoured which fosters intercultural understanding on the basis of shared perspectives. In the case of the present study, these are perspectives which relate to the linguistic means by which different cultural groups seek to project 'positive' images of themselves to others, and the ways in which these behaviours are interpreted by different cultural groups.

In the next section, I compare some of the metapragmatic assessments of the analyst with those of participants from different cultural groups and conclude that different cultural groups appear to interpret spoken discourse in quite different ways. These findings have two principal uses:

(I) they are very valuable in terms of informing the analysis. Given the very subjective, hermeneutic, nature of making metapragmatic assessments, multiple perceptions are needed if the analysis is to have any explanatory power at all.

(ii) they serve as very important input to the type of intercultural awareness training described above (and in more depth in Chapter 11).

10.4 The Discourse of Impression Management: *Participant-Observers' Perspectives*

This section compares the metapragmatic assessments made by different cultural groups about each other's discourse. These assessments were collected using the introspective diagnostic tool referred to earlier in section 10.2. As was mentioned earlier, the IDT (see Appendix B) is a video-based questionnaire consisting of 20 clips of Type A directive speech acts extracted from MAW corpus meetings. The questionnaire asks participant-observers to record metapragmatic assessments about speakers on the basis of their discourse on rating scales for each impression managing category. These rating scales are identical to those used by the analyst and the RA above. The group of participant-observers who took part in this process reflected the full range of status, ethnic and gender groups present in the corpus, ie there were chairs and participants; Chinese and Westerners; men and women.

If raters' judgments from the IDT are compared with the analyst's judgments, it becomes apparent that raters with different status, ethnic and gender profiles make different judgments about speakers' verbal performances. Table 10.7 below indicates, as mentioned above, that the analyst's judgments are, as one might expect, generally considerably closer to those made by Western participant-observers than to those of Chinese participant-observers. Also, as one might intuitively expect, it appears that they are closer to male perceptions than to female perceptions.

IM category	**Inter-rater resonance**			
	Chinese	**Western**	**Male**	**Female**
Authoritativeness	55%	90%	75%	55%
Manipulativeness	60%	80%	85%	70%
Sensitiveness	75%	90%	80%	75%
Frankness	55%	85%	75%	75%
Deference	65%	90%	90%	65%

Table 10.7 Inter-rater Resonance between the Perceptions of the Analyst and Participant-Observers

Table 10.7 also shows that there is a degree of variation in the extent to which the analyst's judgments and Western participant-observers' judgments coincide. For example, in terms of judgments of 'authoritativeness', 'sensitiveness' and 'deference', the degree of parity is extremely high (90% agreement), whereas in terms of judgments of 'manipulativeness', it is slightly lower (80% agreement). Nevertheless, the overall degree of agreement between the analyst's and Western participant-observers' perceptions is noticeable.

If the perceptions of the analyst and Chinese participant-observers are compared, it becomes clear that the degree of agreement between their judgments is considerably lower than is the case between the analyst and Western participant-observers, suggesting that the analyst's perceptions are rooted in a Western perspective. For example, in terms of judgments relating to 'authoritativeness' and 'frankness', significant differences exist between the two, leading to a relatively low rate of agreement (55%). The highest agreement between the analyst's judgments and those of Chinese participant-observers is in terms of the impression managing category of 'sensitiveness' (75%).

On the other hand, comparison of the analyst's judgments and those made by male participant-observers shows a generally high rate of agreement, ranging between 75% in terms of judgments of 'authoritativeness' and 'frankness' to 90% for judgments of 'deference'. The rate of agreement is lower, however, between the analyst's judgments and those of female participant-observers. This may suggest that the analyst's perceptions are also rooted in a 'male' perspective.

The above observations confirm the 'commonsense' view that rater characteristics play a significant part in the process of person perception. They also confirm the need to produce an ethnographically grounded analysis that takes account of the diversity that exists between people's subjective perceptions of the same phenomena. Within this context, the

analyst's judgments of the impressions created by particular strings of discourse are considered to be neither more nor less valuable than those of participant-observers[75].

In order to understand some of the differences between judgments made by observers with different profiles, different groups' metapragmatic assessments can be compared. This process of comparison yields a number of observations about cross-cultural person perception. These are summarised below according to each impression managing category in turn.

In the following sections, an indication is given of the degree of inter-rater resonance in terms of the metapragmatic assessments of different groups for each impression managing category. I therefore compare and contrast data from the introspective diagnostic tool relating to chair and participant-observer perceptions; Chinese and Western perceptions; and male and female perceptions. It should not be forgotten, however, that the group of participant-observers whose assessments were collected was extremely small (8 participants), and, as a result, these findings are extremely tentative.

10.4.1 Chairs' and Participants' Metapragmatic Assessments

A comparison of the metapragmatic assessments made by Chairs and Participants reveals a generally low level of resonance between the perceptions of the two groups. As can be seen in Table 10.8, this is especially the case with the impression managing categories of 'sensitiveness' and 'manipulativeness'. With these two categories, chairs' and participants' judgments appear to be highly discordant.

IM Category	**Inter-rater resonance: Chairs vs Participants**
Authoritativeness	55%
Manipulativeness	25%
Sensitiveness	15%
Frankness	50%
Deference	35%

Table 10.8 Inter-rater Resonance between the Perceptions of Chairs and Participants

(i) *Chair/Participant Assessments of Authoritativeness*

In the case of chair perceptions, high authoritativeness is not associated with the speakers' use of particular functional-grammatical strategies[76], such as highly direct requests or suggestions. Rather, judgments of high authoritativeness tend to be spread between indirect hints, formulaic requests and suggestions, and more direct

strategies such as the use of imperatives to issue commands. Conversely, participants' assessments of high authoritativeness tend to be associated with speakers' use of high directness strategies, for example, the use of direct requesting/ suggestory imperatives.

Low authoritativeness also appears to be perceived differently by chairs and participants. Participants tend to perceive low authoritativeness in terms of indirectness and tentativeness, eg *I was wondering whether maybe we should get one of these for the Duty Manager which he can use together with the pager*, whereas, once again, chairs' perceptions tend not to be based solely on indirectness. A good example of this apparent difference in the metapragmatic assessments of chairs and participants is the following extract, which is generally perceived by participants to demonstrate low authoritativeness, but is generally perceived by chairs to demonstrate high authoritativeness.

Extract 1:

TK It seems to be an opportunity for us to - when the aircraft is down to do to think about refurbishment and er since they're going to have another five years of life in them so probably it's worthwhile spending a few bucks to to erm clean them out while it's it's while they're on the ground. I think that should be probably discussed somewhere else, but er it shouldn't be left cause the that opportunity of eighteen ((unheard)) of aircraft on the ground won't come to us again, I don't think.

(D.3 [p.389]: M/Ch/P)

In interview, it emerged that the chairs' judgments of high authoritativeness in this instance were based on the fact that the speaker had assumed a position of speaking 'on behalf of the company' (eg *an opportunity for us to ...*, *it's worthwhile spending a few bucks ...*, *won't come to us ...*). In contrast, it emerged that participants' judgments of low authoritativeness sprang from the hesitation and repetition used, and the tentativeness demonstrated by the speaker (eg *to think about ...*, *probably it's worthwhile ...*, *I think that should be probably discussed somewhere else ...*, *I don't think ...*). Thus, it can be seen that the same utterance can simultaneously create contradictory, or 'discordant', impressions in the minds of different hearers.

(ii) *Chair/Participant Assessments of Manipulativeness*

Table 10.8 above shows that the degree of resonance between chairs' and participants' metapragmatic assessments of speakers' manipulativeness is extremely low (25% resonance). However, analysis of IDT data reveals this is largely due to the fact that participants' responses tend to avoid extreme judgments of manipulativeness (ie either 'low' (scores of 1 to 3) or 'high' (scores of 7 to 9)), whereas the degree of variation in chair responses is considerably higher. The result of this is that while most of the participants' judgments of 'high' and 'low' levels of manipulativeness coincide with chair judgments, the reverse does not hold.

Judgments of high manipulativeness tend to be associated with indirect influence strategies, especially where these indirect strategies give way to increasing directness, as in the following two extracts:

Extract 2:

indirect strategy

Ch Maybe that should be the next step to get something like that out to say you know that can be part of Earlsdon pushing (1) the first line on that.

P1 It would certainly carry more weight if he put it out as a {Ch: Yeah} as a policy from {Ch: So, you know} a private office rather than my circulating it as a memo.

direct strategy

Ch Correct, and the fact that you and Prince and arguably myself are working on now getting the whole thing done. That will, and I think you should do that // quick smart mate] ey? Alright.

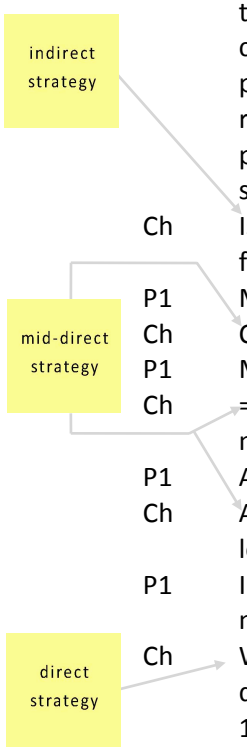
(D.8 [p.455]: M/W/Ch)

Extract 3:

indirect strategy

P1 Well we're busily going along with CBT. Erm, we've made a decision to buy 10 SoundBlaster professional cards instead of the IBM cards er it's a savings of er (2) 34 thousand dollars and that's in other words the SoundBlaster costs a quarter of what an IBM card. The advantage of using this card is that we now can take sound to the ports as well as to using it in the lab which is a big breakthrough for us, so that everybody can have sound with a card that costs this amount of money. Erm =

Ch = At the risk of being a fool, do we have one of these here now?



P1 Yes, well we've just got one last week and we've ordered // some more] (1) I think it's working. They were doing the final testing on it last week. The advantage of er this particular sound board is that it will run with all of our equipment except the high end IBM equipment which the company has decided not to invest in around the world anyways. Erm this means that we can't run a programme called the Audio Visual Connection, but we have other (1) programmes that are less sophisticated but will achieve the same results and if we want to go into specialised use of these show packages in the future, we can buy one or two rather than a whole series.

Ch Is it working?] What if I should say to you next Monday after we finish here we go and have a look at this, could you do that?

P1 Mmm mm

Ch Could you show us all?

P1 Mmm mm. {Ch: Alright?} We should be able to see something =

Ch = Could you tee something up for us? {P1: yeah I'll give you} say, next Monday morning?

P1 A demo. I'll also // show you]

Ch After] After we have this morning meeting we all go and have a look?

P1 I'll also show you how we can do photographs as well as graphics now which is // er]

Ch Well] could you set up a demo {P1: Mmm mm} All of us could go down and have a bo-peep say 10 o'clock, you know just a bit after 10 o'clock next Monday. Is that OK with everyone? (4) 10 o'clock. What date's that - the twenty fifth is it? Is it?

P2 Yes.

Ch The day before payday. ((Laughter)) Can't come soon enough ((Ch. laughs)).

(D.8 [p.455]: M/W/Ch)

Conversely, judgments of low manipulativeness are usually associated, both among chairs and participants, with speakers' use of direct strategies such as direct requesting/ suggestory statements. However, according to participants themselves, indirect utterances, too, can be perceived as low in manipulativeness, particularly in situations where it is clear that there is no 'hidden message', or where the speaker is known not to be attempting to achieve 'covert' goals. It appears, therefore, that metapragmatic assessments of manipulativeness, both on the part of chairs and participants, have to do with the assumed goals of the speaker, especially in situations in which utterances contain low levels of directness. This parallels the comment made about manipulativeness in section 10.3.2 above.

(iii) *Chair/Participant Assessments of Sensitiveness*

Table 10.8 also illustrates the considerable discordance between the perceptions of chairs and participants in terms of metapragmatic assessments of sensitiveness: in only 15% of cases do assessments coincide. Further analysis reveals, however, that in the case of 'sensitiveness', just as with 'manipulativeness', participants tend to avoid assessments which are either low (scores of 1 to 3) or high (scores of 7 to 9), and perceive most speakers in the IDT as demonstrating 'average' sensitiveness. Conversely, chairs tend to make more 'extreme' judgments, either low or high[77].

In the case of chairs, discussion revealed that assessments of high sensitiveness are normally associated with utterances that contain one or more of the following features:

(a) overt signs of deference, eg *Can I ask your advice? Would it be beneficial to erm have a gweilo in or would you like all Chinese?* (also see below under *Deference*);

(b) requests for advice, eg *Do you think it would be nice for Harry (1) to issue a letter to each ASO first, to to explain why we carry out this survey?*;

(c) tentativeness, eg *I was wondering whether maybe we should get one of these for the Duty Manager which he can use together with the pager*;

(d) identifying with the company (such as referring to the company as 'we'), eg *Could I suggest we actually find out where that's up to and how competitive or non-competitive are we? But I would I would just pose for a discussion point that we should be looking at saying to people 'yeah the lounges are there - we do have the lounges'.*

(e) attempts at consensus, eg *Shall we agree that we will address this list first. And what we have already - follow it up - continue that until it's finished and clean up this, because they don't add up to f- five sometimes and then rerun it so that it presents the top so many?*

In other words, judgments of high sensitiveness cut across the functional-grammatical features associated with directness. Similarly, chairs' judgments of low sensitiveness also appear to embrace a range of directness strategies. Hence,

indirect utterances can be perceived as either low or high in sensitiveness, depending on the circumstances that surround them.

Utterances such as in (c) above, for example, contain indirectness and are perceived as demonstrating high sensitiveness; utterances such as those in Extract 3 earlier in this section, however, contain indirectness which is perceived as demonstrating low sensitiveness. There appears, therefore, to be no correlation between directness and sensitiveness, at least from the chair's perspective.

(iv) *Chair/Participant Assessments of Frankness*

Table 10.8 illustrates that the degree of resonance between chair and participant perception of frankness is higher than for certain other impression managing categories (50% resonance). Whereas it was demonstrated above that chairs' judgments of sensitiveness appear to cut across directness strategies, this appears not to be the case in terms of judgments of frankness. Participants and chairs alike seem to equate frankness with linguistically encoded directness - thus, perceptions of high frankness are related to high directness strategies such as direct requesting/ suggestory, imperatives, interrogatives and statements, eg *Obviously you'll be answering by E-mail to Rick, I should think*, whereas perceptions of low frankness tend to be related to hints, and certain formulaic requests and suggestions.

Interestingly, Extract 3 above, which is linguistically rather indirect, is perceived by both participants and chairs to demonstrate both high frankness and high manipulativeness. This suggests that judgments of frankness and manipulativeness are not mutually exclusive. Thus, the view that frankness is antithetical to manipulativeness is not supported. A person can be perceived as both frank and manipulative at the same time.

(v) *Chair/Participant Assessments of Deference*

Lastly, table 10.8 illustrates that the degree of resonance between chair and participant perceptions of speaker deference is rather low (35% resonance).

Analysis of IDT data reveals that participants' metapragmatic assessments of high deference tend to be associated with speaker strategies that imply respect for the hearer and a certain degree of circumlocution, including:

(a) speakers' use of indirect strategies, such as requestive/ suggestory hints (eg *Do you think it would be nice for Harry to issue a letter to each ASO first, to explain why we carry out this survey?*); and

(b) speakers' use of politeness formulae, such as *Could I suggest that we're looking at a huge potentially huge area so if we can just focus in on those that existing things already, it might be better?*

Chairs, on the other hand, tend to assess speakers as being highly deferential when they address *issues*, as well as hearers, deferentially, that is when they treat issues in a 'thoughtful' way (ie recognising that a particular topic commands serious thought). An example will help to clarify what is meant by this.

In the following extract, although there are no explicit markers showing respect for the hearer (indeed, this speaker is not addressing his utterances at a clearly defined hearer so much as to the meeting as a whole), the speaker (P1) in this extract is perceived by chairs to be demonstrating high deference. In discussion, it emerged that it was the speaker's handling of the topic (rather than the speaker's treatment of the audience) that projected an impression of deference.

Extract 4:

Ch The (2) I do think that the Cathay Commitment does give a focus, just by the way, and I think that if you're looking if you're looking at problems and you look at that the it can give you help on which way to go to be quite frank // but I]

P1 Dan] can I say one thing about that? {Ch: Yeah} I had a private conversation with with Lance and with er Brian Bridge afterwards yesterday on that, and I think that the problem, the big problem for a lot of people, especially the maybe expatriates and senior locals that we're really not specific enough, for whatever - It's Swire culture or it's Chinese culture. We don't seem to talk enough about ourselves and we don't seem to be specific enough and our requirements or what we want. Specifically, if we're serious about the environment, why don't we put in every contract we let that every contractor has to ad- adhere to a set of standards that we think are important to the environment - why don't we say that, and then we come out come out firmly behind that - right now it's very very wishywashy. We say we support the environment but there aren't any really set standards that are published anywhere for people to // see]

(D.6 [p.442]: M/W/P)

Clearly, then, judgments about speakers' deference are not made simply on the basis of the politeness (in the non-technical sense of the word) speakers show for

their audience. Judgments of deference are also made on the basis of the way in which a topic is treated by a speaker[78].

10.4.2 Chinese and Western Participant-Observers' Metapragmatic Assessments

A comparison of the metapragmatic assessments of Chinese and Western participant-observers who completed the IDT questionnaire reveals a rather low level of agreement, or 'resonance', between the two groups' perceptions of speakers' language behaviour. Disagreement, or 'discordance', is greatest in terms of their assessments of 'authoritativeness', 'frankness' and 'deference'. Table 10.9 illustrates the degree of variation between the assessments of Chinese and Western participant-observers.

IM Category	**Inter-rater resonance: Chinese vs Western Participant-Observers**
Authoritativeness	55%
Manipulativeness	60%
Sensitiveness	70%
Frankness	55%
Deference	55%

Table 10.9 Inter-rater Resonance between the Perceptions of Chinese and Western Participant-Observers

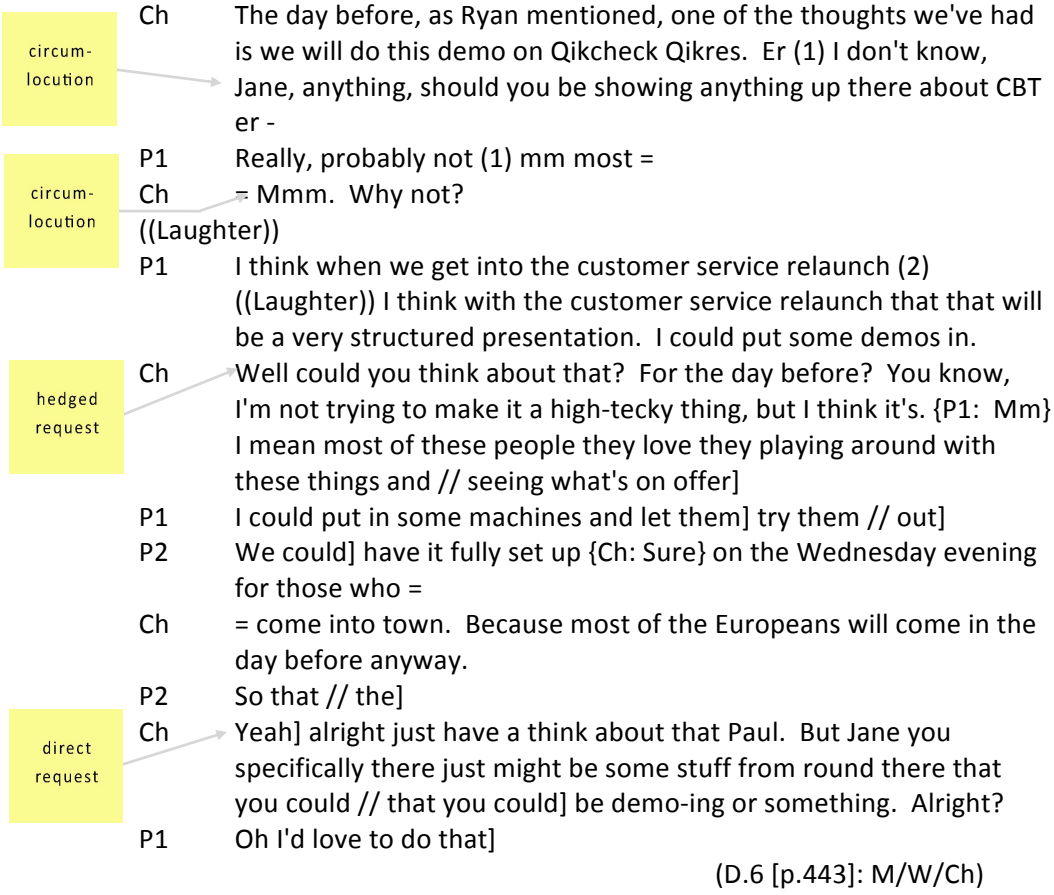
There may be several reasons for this relatively low level of resonance between Chinese and Western participant-observers' metapragmatic assessments. Some of these reasons relate to certain aspects of Chinese and Western value systems discussed in Chapter 2.

(i) *Chinese/ Western Assessments of Authoritativeness*

It is noticeable that both Chinese and Western participant-observers tend to assess as high in authoritativeness discourse that exhibits extreme directness. Thus, imperatives are universally interpreted as demonstrating high authoritativeness. Clearly, judgments are tempered with an awareness of the relative power of the speaker. Although there are no examples of relatively junior members of meetings using imperatives (perhaps unsurprisingly), if there were, I assume that neither Chinese nor Western participant-observers would attribute authoritativeness to such commands simply on the basis of their directness. In addition to the directness of utterances, Chinese participant-observers also attribute high authoritativeness to

circumlocutionary discourse in a way that is not common among Western participant-observers. Thus, the following exchange is considered to demonstrate high authoritativeness by Chinese participant-observers, but only mildly so by Westerners:

Extract 5:



Ch The day before, as Ryan mentioned, one of the thoughts we've had is we will do this demo on Qikcheck Qikres. Er (1) I don't know, Jane, anything, should you be showing anything up there about CBT er -

P1 Really, probably not (1) mm most =

Ch = Mmm. Why not?

((Laughter))

P1 I think when we get into the customer service relaunch (2) ((Laughter)) I think with the customer service relaunch that that will be a very structured presentation. I could put some demos in.

Ch Well could you think about that? For the day before? You know, I'm not trying to make it a high-tecky thing, but I think it's. {P1: Mm} I mean most of these people they love they playing around with these things and // seeing what's on offer]

P1 I could put in some machines and let them] try them // out]

P2 We could] have it fully set up {Ch: Sure} on the Wednesday evening for those who =

Ch = come into town. Because most of the Europeans will come in the day before anyway.

P2 So that // the]

Ch Yeah] alright just have a think about that Paul. But Jane you specifically there just might be some stuff from round there that you could // that you could] be demo-ing or something. Alright?

P1 Oh I'd love to do that]

(D.6 [p.443]: M/W/Ch)

In Extract 5, the participant's attitude towards giving a presentation at the forthcoming conference is turned around from being one of *Really, probably not* to *Oh, I'd love to do that*. This type of persuasion is generally considered by Chinese participant-observers to demonstrate authoritativeness, but is less so by Westerners. The same metapragmatic assessment is made of Extract 3 above, which is equally circumlocutionary, and equally judged by Chinese participant-observers to demonstrate high authoritativeness.

In discussion, Chinese participant-observers commented that a Chinese boss sometimes needs to use circumlocution to achieve goals. Western participant-observers, however, felt that this type of circumlocution was 'manipulative' rather

than 'authoritative'. These observations confirm to some extent the comments made in Chapter 2 regarding Chinese superiors' attitudes towards conflict resolution.

Judgments of low authoritativeness tend to differ cross-culturally, too. In very general terms, Chinese participant-observers tend to reserve judgments of low authoritativeness for utterances which are expressed in faltering style and which show insecurity through voice quality. A number of Chinese participant-observers remarked that *how* a thing is said demonstrates a speaker's authoritativeness. Extract 1 above, for example, is seen by Chinese participant-observers as demonstrating low authoritativeness.

Judgments of this type are far less noticeable on the part of Western participant-observers. Instead, there is a tendency for Westerners to reserve judgments of low authoritativeness for utterances which have a trivial semantic content. The following extract is viewed as demonstrating low authoritativeness by Western participant-observers, but mid authoritativeness by Chinese participant-observers:

Extract 6:

P1 To avoid erm Lai See jokes, we could approach it in a fairly first of all a green manner, but also in a fairly sort of light-hearted manner. This is what we're doing in our effort you may think it's a bit fuddy but er we have very good reasons for doing it.
P2 Yeah, yeah.
Ch This sick bag is a contribution to the environment.

(D.1 [p.354]: F/W/P)

In this extract, Western participant-observers commented that the semantic content of P1's comments undermined the 'seriousness' of its delivery. This mismatch was equated with low authoritativeness. This implies that the voice quality used in the making of requests and suggestions should match the semantic content of such speech acts, if a speaker's utterances are to be seen as demonstrating authoritativeness. In other words, a 'silk purse' of authoritativeness cannot be made from a 'sow's ear' of semantic content[79].

Extract 1 above, which has a 'significant' semantic content but 'poor' delivery, is an interesting example of these different views of authoritativeness. This extract is

interpreted as demonstrating low authoritativeness by Chinese participant-observers but high authoritativeness by Western participant-observers.

(ii) *Chinese/ Western Assessments of Manipulativeness*

There is evidence that Chinese and Western participant-observers view the impression managing category of 'manipulativeness' in different ways. Comments made during discussion illustrated that the Chinese participant-observers in the group felt that manipulativeness was essentially a negative phenomenon, involving the use of people's weaknesses to influence them; conversely, a number of Western participant-observers remarked that manipulativeness could be a positive phenomenon, akin to sensitiveness.

Despite apparent cross-cultural differences in terms of the underlying valence of the category, judgments of manipulativeness tend to be made on the basis of the same discourse features by both groups. Thus, circumlocutionary discourse of the type described above tends to result in hearer judgments of high manipulativeness. Extracts 2 and 3 above, for example, are considered by both groups to demonstrate high manipulativeness.

Conversely, judgements of low manipulativeness tend to be related to high levels of directness, and, in terms of the propositional content of utterances, low levels of contentiousness. In other words, where speakers clearly have no 'hidden agenda', their utterances tend to be perceived as low in manipulativeness.

(iii) *Chinese/ Western Assessments of Sensitiveness*

Table 10.9 above illustrates that there is quite a high level of resonance between Chinese and Western participant-observers' metapragmatic assessments of sensitiveness. This is mainly due to the fact that assessments are heavily bunched around the 'mid-point'.

An analysis of assessments of high and low sensitiveness among participant-observers reveals an apparent cross-cultural difference between Chinese and Western participant-observers' judgments, however.

In terms of Western participant-observers' judgments of high sensitiveness (Extract 1 above, and Extracts 7 and 8 below), these were invariably related to utterances that *offered* opinions.

Extract 7:

offer of opinion

Ch OK? Any other points?
P1 Erm do you think it would be nice for John (1) to issue a letter to each ASO first, to to explain why we carry out this survey?
Ch I think that's a very good // point]
P1 Otherwise] (1) It's so that they will help prepare, and then give you the true answer.
Ch Do you think you could draft something like that for Harry?
P1 Yes, I will.
Ch That's a good idea.

(D.11 [p.499]: M/Ch/P)

Extract 8:

P2 = I mean you can it can be done, but I mean it woul-, it woul- you know it would involve very significant - it isn't just a question of you know sort of minor adjustment, as it is // at the] moment.
Ch Patty?]

offer of opinion

P1 There's there's a couple of things that may be able to be done with the seat. I looked at the profile when we were on board the other day, and it's very thick. We may be able to, I haven't talked to Alan, but I don't know if you could carve out a bit like we do on the economy and business class seats, and actually gettin-gain inches there, and there's also the SwissAir er (2) technology which, if you can imagine, you've got your legrest like that - instead they move the seat up like this, when they move back. (2) So, if you think of your body; you move back like this, your legs go back as well. And, I measured the SwissAir seat, and it's shorter than ours, and yet (1) it still caters for the, and it's at sixty-two inch pitch because, and another reason I can think of is they go up like this.
Ch What the seat squab is shorter, this bit here?
P1 No, the whole from leg to leg, yeah.

(D.1 [p.331]: F/W/P)

Conversely, Chinese participant-observers' assessments of high sensitiveness were related to utterances that *requested* opinions, eg:

Extract 9:

P2 Well I think it doesn't matter - as long as we have a leader and an expert.

request for opinion

P1 Can I ask your advice? Would it be beneficial to erm have a gweilo in or would you like all Chinese?

((Long pause))

P3 What do you think? May? What do you think?
P4 I think sometimes for for the staff they will feel more freely to talk to // Chinese]
P2 To express] their // views]

P3 Chinese]
Ch And it can be conducted then in Cantonese as well.
P5 Yes more free.

(D.11 [p.492]: M/W/P)

This difference in the ways in which the two cultural groups attribute sensitiveness to speakers may be related to the issue of giving 'face' to seniors, discussed in Chapter 2. From a Chinese perspective, requests for advice show more respect (or 'face') for one's interlocutor than offers of opinion, which may be interpreted as 'slights' if they imply that one's senior needs advice. This is especially the case in Extract 8 above, where P1 (a Western female member of the Marketing department) is giving 'technical' advice to P2 (a very senior Western engineer). Evidence from P2 suggested that he did not consider P1's comments to demonstrate a lack of respect so much as an offer of constructive opinion. Nevertheless, Chinese participant-observers tended to see her comments as insensitive.

(iv) *Chinese/ Western Assessments of Frankness*

Table 10.9 reveals that the metapragmatic assessments of frankness made by Chinese and Western participant-observers were not subject to a high degree of resonance. Utterances which contain a high level of encoded directness, such as direct requesting/ suggestory statements, interrogatives and imperatives, almost invariably result in judgments of high frankness. Thus, the request, *Obviously you'll be answering by E-mail to Rick, I should think*, is universally interpreted as highly frank.

However, there is some evidence to suggest that Western participant-observers use a notion akin to *illocutionary force potential* (see Chapter 6) rather than encoded directness when making judgments of frankness, with the result that utterances such as *Could I suggest we actually find out where that's up to and how competitive or non-competitive are we?*, despite their lack of linguistically encoded directness, are nevertheless recognised as 'frank'. Conversely, Chinese participant-observers may tend to depend on overt linguistic markers of directness when making their assessments of frankness. This may not be an ethnic difference so much as one deriving from the fact that Chinese participant-observers are non-native speakers whose sociopragmatic competence may be somewhat limited.

(v) *Chinese/ Western Assessments of Deference*

Metapragmatic assessments of deference by Chinese and Western participant-observers show only a relatively low level of resonance. It is relatively common, therefore, for different cultural groups to attribute different levels of deference to speakers on the basis of their discourse. For example, according to the Chinese participant-observers interviewed, asking for advice from an audience (even if it is an audience that is subordinate to the speaker) is interpreted as showing deference towards that audience. This view of deference appears to be very close, conceptually, to the notion of 'face' discussed earlier. Thus, the speaker (P1) in Extract 9 above is seen by Chinese participant-observers to be demonstrating both high sensitiveness and high deference. It also emerged from discussion that this attribution of deference was also based on the speaker's *soft spokenness*, which Chinese participant-observers felt had a deferential quality. The notion of 'deferential voice quality' also helps us to understand why the speaker in Extract 6 above is also felt by Chinese participant-observers to be demonstrating deference.

Conversely, it appears, on the basis of IDT data, that judgments of high deference among Western participant-observers tend to correlate with speaker *proactiveness*. That is, speakers who give opinions and make suggestions are often seen as highly deferential (although these opinions and suggestions may need to be expressed in indirect terms). It will be recalled that this was also the case with Western participant-observers' judgments of high sensitiveness. Thus, from a Western perspective, in the following exchange, the speaker P1 is demonstrating high deference:

Extract 10:

indirect strategy

P1 Er and finally on the we have new generation telephone now the CT2 which is er (1) much cheaper than the (1) conventional mobile phone. Er it's about 2 or 3 thousand dollars as compared to about 20 thousand dollars. Er the catch of course is you can only make outgoing call you cannot receive any call, and I was wondering whether maybe we should get one of these for the Duty Manager which he can use together with the pager.

P2 Well, mmm.

Ch Maybe you and Ron could talk about that {P2: Yeah} see where it comes into the whole CEPIC thing {P2: Yeah}. I mean I I I hear what you're saying Paul, it may well be of interest but I mean let's er see - maybe you and Ron have a chat about that and tie it in with // the]

P2 We do] need something

P3 Yeah we do.
Ch Yeah, exactly.

(D.10 [p.472]: M/Ch/P)

10.4.3 Male and Female Participant-Observers' Metapragmatic Assessments

A comparison of the metapragmatic assessments of Male and Female participants reveals a slightly higher level of resonance between the perceptions of the two groups, especially in the case of their interpretations of 'sensitive' and 'frank' discourse, where perceptions were particularly resonant. There was thus a high degree of agreement between men and women who completed the IDT questionnaire as regards discourse that was believed to convey impressions of 'sensitiveness' and 'frankness'.

IM Category	**Inter-rater resonance: Male vs Female Participant-Observers**
Authoritativeness	55%
Manipulativeness	75%
Sensitiveness	90%
Frankness	90%
Deference	60%

Table 10.10 Inter-rater Resonance between the Perceptions of Male and Female Participant-Observers

(i) *Male/Female Assessments of Authoritativeness*

Table 10.10 illustrates that male and female metapragmatic assessments relating to the impression managing category of authoritativeness only demonstrate a limited degree of resonance (55%). Both men and women do, however, agree that where influence strategies are either (i) *highly direct* or (ii) *highly persuasive*, these strategies are highly authoritative. Highly direct utterances usually use direct requesting/ suggestory statements, interrogatives or imperatives, such as in the following extract:

Extract 11:

P1 What, can you just clarify for me Ron? What is the policy? Has it been decided that we will have someone out front of the counters?
Ch Yes.
((Pause))
P1 OK, (2) 'cause we don't.
Ch Well, obviously you'll be answering by E-mail to Pam, I should // think]
P1 Yes]

highly direct strategy

(D.9 [p.463]: M/W/Ch)

Highly persuasive strategies, on the other hand, usually involve exchanges which start indirectly and become more direct as they progress, eg Extracts 2 and 5 above. It was mentioned by both men and women during discussion that an important part of the chairing role involved getting participants into a position in which they could not refuse a request. The point was made that this had to be done with grace if the chair were not to be viewed as guilty of crass machiavellianism.

Several differences are noticeable between male and female assessments of authoritativeness. Firstly, women in the group generally felt that 'seeking consensus' was a demonstration of authoritativeness, such as in the following:

Extract 12:

Ch [Shall we agree-
P2 So this this is the second group of flights that we're gonna aim at - but we've still got to tidy up the first group, haven't we?
Ch Shall we agree that we we will address this list first (2) And er (1) what we have already follow it up continue that until it's finished and clean up this {P2: Yeah} because they don't add up to f- five {P3: Yeah} sometimes and and and then (2) rerun it so that it er presents the er (2) top so many, and also make an estimate what would happen if we increased (2) on-time performance by so many percent for each one - what the o- the on-time performance of the company increase by?

(D.5 [p.424]: M/Ch/Ch)

They also felt that 'talking on behalf of the company' was a demonstration of high authoritativeness (eg in Extract 4 above). Men, on the other hand, tended to limit their assessments of authoritativeness to the types of persuasive, 'competitive' strategies referred to above, including those used in Extracts 2, 3 and 5, in which the hearer is gently pressured into a corner.

These conclusions somewhat support findings elsewhere that male discourse is geared towards competition, whereas female discourse is geared towards cooperation and consensus. Coates (1986) comments, for example that:

> Men typically adopt a competitive style in conversation, treating their turn as a chance to overturn earlier speakers' contributions and to make their own point as forcibly as possible. Women, on the other hand, in conversation with other women, typically adopt a co-operative mode: they add to rather than demolish other speakers' contributions, they are supportive of others, they tend not to interrupt each other.
>
> (Coates, 1986: 11)

(ii) *Male/Female Assessments of Manipulativeness*

Table 10.10 above demonstrates that there is a relatively high degree of resonance between female and male metapragmatic assessments of manipulativeness in the IDT. Indirect influence strategies of the types in Extracts 2 and 3 above, for example, are universally perceived as highly manipulative. Conversely, direct strategies containing information and ideas considered to be uncontentious are universally perceived as low in manipulativeness.

Some women, in the discussion that followed the IDT, stated that they ascribed particularly low manipulativeness to utterances in which speakers made their intentions overt. Exchanges such as the following in Extract 13, in which a speaker supports a request with an overt statement of intention, are thus judged to be particularly low in manipulativeness.

Extract 13:

statement of intention →

P1 = Do you - sorry, yes, my voice is going. Erm could I suggest that we're looking at a huge (1) potentially huge area so if we can just focus in on those that existing things already, it might be better.

Ch Would you go along with that? (3) I r- really want to get this meeting moving and we're still at the er peripheral (1) edge of it. (3) So, can we focus on these things then, and see - I think these =

P2 = I think we should focus on customer service (1) because we are very lack of (3) lack of in this area.

(D.11 [p.478]: M/W/P)

Male participant-observers, on the other hand, mentioned that they felt that their judgments of low manipulativeness were more commonly based on (i) consideration of the linguistic directness of utterances, and (ii) consideration of the ideas contained in them, as mentioned above.

(iii) *Male/Female Assessments of Sensitiveness*

Generally speaking, the degree of resonance between male and female metapragmatic assessments of speaker sensitiveness in the IDT is extremely high. However, as was mentioned in section 10.4.2, this was largely due to the bunching of assessments around the mid-point on the rating scale. In the case of male participant-observers, for example, all assessments fell into the 'medium-

sensitiveness' category, while, for female participant-observers, 90% of assessments did so. When asked why this was the case, it became clear that participant-observers were rather uncomfortable about making judgments in terms of this impression managing category and had tended towards 'conservative' assessments. They did, however, point out that they had clear ideas about what constituted high and low sensitiveness. In the case of Chinese versus Western perceptions (described in 10.4.2 above), it was remarked that Chinese participant-observers assessed as highly sensitive those utterances which gave 'face' to an interlocutor, whereas Western participant-observers tended to make such assessments on the basis of the 'proactiveness' of utterances.

In terms of male and female participant-observers, very little data is available, since male perceptions did not deviate from the midpoint. Female participant-observers noted, however, that they tended to associate low sensitiveness with high directness, and 'rudeness'. Thus, they found Extract 11 above particularly insensitive. This observation offers a measure of support for the view that judgments of high authoritativeness may be equated in some people's minds with judgments of low sensitiveness. As one male manager put it during discussion:

> The higher the authoritativeness, the lower the sensitiveness is a fairly good observation from personal experience. A very authoritative person can sometimes miss out on the sensitive approach.

(iv) *Male/Female Assessments of Frankness*

It can be seen from Table 10.10 that the degree of resonance between male and female judgments of frankness is very high (90%). This is partly because the level of linguistic directness of the requests and suggestions in the IDT is generally high, and judgments of frankness tend to be heavily affected by considerations of linguistic directness.

As was observed in 10.4.1 (iv) above, participant-observers sometimes attribute both high frankness and high manipulativeness simultaneously to a speaker. This is interesting as it tends to undermine the belief that high manipulativeness is invariably a matter of using a low level of frankness. If the exchanges in which high manipulativeness correlates with high frankness (Extracts 2 and 3 above) are compared, it can be seen that they both contain influence strategies which involve

shifts in directness (indirect ➔ direct). To the extent that they appear to be consciously planned and executed influence strategies, they may give the appearance of being highly manipulative; to the extent that they end in very direct performative requests, they may be assessed as demonstrating high frankness. It is interesting to note that male participant-observers felt that Extract 13 above demonstrated high frankness, whereas female participant-observers did not. It emerged in discussion that, while men thought that the overt statement of intention it contained was symptomatic of high frankness, the women thought that it indicated a high degree of sensitiveness to the audience.

(v) *Male/Female Assessments of Deference*

Table 10.10 demonstrates that male and female participant-observers' metapragmatic assessments of speakers' deference tended to be rather discordant. It emerged from discussion that female judgments of speakers' deference are often based on the voice quality of the speaker, ie the more softspoken they are, the greater the level of perceived deference. Thus, in Extracts 4, 9 and 13 above, which all contain softspoken male speakers, speakers are considered to demonstrate high deference. Also, female participant-observers remarked that they felt that deference was a matter of demonstrating consideration for other people's feelings (thus making it rather similar to 'sensitiveness'). This often involved asking if other people would appreciate something, would find something useful and so on. This type of behaviour occurs in Extract 7, and is assessed by female participant-observers as highly deferential.

Conversely, male participant-observers tended to limit judgments of deference to those speakers who offered opinions in a polite way. In other words, the male participant-observers tended to apply criteria of (a) proactiveness and (b) politeness when gauging speakers' deference.

10.5 Summary: Towards a Multi-faceted View of Impression Management

The following is a summary of the principal findings detailed in sections 10.3 and 10.4 regarding the features ascribed by different cultural groups to the range of impression managing categories considered by this study. These are the impression managing

categories of: authoritativeness, manipulativeness, sensitiveness, frankness and deference. Although based on a very small sample, it is hoped that summaries of this kind will be of some usefulness to trainers involved in both cross-cultural awareness training and second language training in English. It should again be emphasised that:

(i) Although this handling of impression managing categories might suggest that impression managing categories can be neatly separated one from the other, this is not, in fact, the case.

(ii) These conclusions may have high internal validity due to the ethnographic methodological approach used for data collection. However, without carrying out comparative studies in a range of different organisational/cultural contexts, it is not wise to claim external validity for these findings.

Authoritativeness

Table 10.11 below illustrates different cultural groups' apparent interpretations of the impression managing category of 'authoritativeness'. From this table, it can be seen that linguistic directness appears to play a significant part in determining such judgments among all participant-observers. Thus, high authoritativeness tends to be associated with highly direct strategies (such as direct requesting imperatives), and low authoritativeness tends to be associated with highly indirect strategies (such as suggestory hints). Highly authoritative utterances tend to be backed up by mitigating supportive moves (particularly 'grounding' moves), whereas those judged to be lacking in authoritativeness tend not to be supported in this way.

Low Authoritativeness	High Authoritativeness
• Highly indirect strategies (A) • Little use of mitigating supportive moves (A) • Tentative delivery with frequent repetition (Ch) • Hesitant voice quality (Ch) • 'Trivial' semantic content (W) • Use of low-rise (questioning) intonation contour (A)	• Highly direct strategies (A) • Use of mitigating supportive moves (A) • Confident delivery (Ch) • Persuasive strategies extending over several exchanges (A) • 'Competitive' discourse (M) • 'Collaborative' discourse (F) • 'Circumlocutionary' discourse (Ch) • 'Significant' semantic content (W) • Use of low-fall (assertive) intonation contour (A)

(Codes in brackets indicate which groups identified features as particularly significant: Ch=Chinese; W=Westerners; F=Females; M=Males; C=Chairs; A=All)

Table 10.11 A Multi-faceted View of 'Authoritativeness'

The Chinese participant-observers in the sample tended to equate authoritativeness with the speaker's style of delivery. Thus, a confident delivery was considered authoritative, whereas speakers who were hesitant, and used frequent repetition, were considered to lack authoritativeness. Westerners, on the other hand, tended to consider the semantic content of what a speaker said more important than the delivery. Therefore, speakers who made utterances that contained a 'significant' message were considered more authoritative than those whose utterances were marked as 'trivial'. Judgments of lowest authoritativeness were reserved for those speakers whose utterances were both trivial and long-winded. This clearly has relevance in the light of Blum-Kulka & Olshtain's finding that non-native speakers' utterances are often longer than those of native speakers (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1986).

Several remarks by different cultural groups indicate that each group tends to restrict judgments of high authoritativeness to particular types of discourse. Thus, female participant-observers felt that 'collaborative' discourse of the 'consensus-seeking' type was very authoritative; male participant-observers tended to feel that 'competitive' discourse of

the 'I-know-better-than-you' type was the most authoritative; Chinese participant-observers, on the other hand, believed that certain circumlocutionary discourse was most authoritative.

Finally, in terms of prosodic features, the low-fall intonation contour was consistently judged by all participant-observers to demonstrate authoritativeness, while the low-rise and rise fall contours were generally equated with low levels of authoritativeness.

Manipulativeness

Table 10.12 below illustrates different cultural groups' apparent interpretations of the impression managing category of 'manipulativeness'. From this table, it can be seen that linguistic directness appears to also play a significant part in determining such judgments among all participant-observers. Thus, high manipulativeness tends to be associated with highly indirect strategies (such as requestive hints), and low manipulativeness tends to be associated with highly direct strategies (such as suggestory statements).

Low Manipulativeness	**High Manipulativeness**
• Highly direct strategies (A)	• Highly indirect strategies (A)
• Uncontentious semantic content (A)	• Highly contentious semantic content (A)
• Overtly expressed intention (F)	• Suspected 'hidden agenda' (F)
	• Complex influence strategies extending over several exchanges (A)
	• 'Circumlocutionary' discourse (W)

(Codes in brackets indicate which groups identified features as particularly significant: Ch=Chinese; W=Westerners; F=Females; M=Males; C=Chairs; A=All)

Table 10.12 A Multi-faceted View of 'Manipulativeness'

Generally speaking, judgments of manipulativeness among all participant-observers are affected by the declared (or suspected) agenda of speakers. Thus, where a hidden agenda is suspected, judgments of manipulativeness tend to be high, whereas, in situations in which speakers make overt statements of their intentions (that are believed by hearers),

judgments of manipulativeness tend to be lower. A hidden agenda which is addressed by means of complex influence strategies stretching over several exchanges between speaker and hearer is judged to be the highest in terms of manipulativeness, although, as observed above, different cultural groups ascribed different valences to such strategies, many Westerners expressing the view that skillful manipulativeness is a mark of an accomplished manager. Judgments of manipulativeness also appear to be affected by consideration of semantic 'contentiousness', highly contentious utterances being considered by all participant-observers to have potential for manipulativeness. Finally, of particular interest is the observation by Western participant-observers that circumlocutionary discourse is seen as highly manipulative (especially given that Chinese participant-observers often consider such discourse symptomatic of high authoritativeness).

Sensitiveness

Table 10.13 below illustrates different cultural groups' apparent interpretations of the impression managing category of 'sensitiveness'. From this table, it can be seen that linguistic directness appears to play a significant part in determining such judgments among all participant-observers. Thus, high sensitiveness tends to be associated with highly indirect strategies (such as requestive hints), and low sensitiveness tends to be associated with highly direct strategies (such as direct requesting imperatives). Highly sensitive utterances tend to be backed up by mitigating supportive moves (particularly 'disarming' moves), whereas those judged to be lacking in sensitiveness tend not to be supported in this way.

Low Sensitiveness	**High Sensitiveness**
• Highly direct strategies (A) • Little use of mitigating supportive moves (A) • Use of 'we' to refer to the company or used to exclude the speaker (we=you) (A) • Lack of sensitivity to lexical appropriacy (A) • Use of fall-rise (ironic/sarcastic) intonation contour (A)	• Highly indirect strategies (A) • Use of mitigating supportive moves (A) • Use of 'we' to refer to the group (A) • Overt markers of deference (A) • Requests for advice/opinion (Ch) • Offers of advice/opinion (W) • Attempts at consensus (F) • Sensitivity to lexical appropriacy (A)

- Use of low-rise (questioning) intonation contour (A)

(Codes in brackets indicate which groups identified features as particularly significant: Ch=Chinese; W=Westerners; F=Females; M=Males; C=Chairs; A=All)

Table 10.13 A Multi-faceted View of 'Sensitiveness'

It is noticeable that all participant-observers tend to view the use of the personal pronoun 'we' to represent the group of which the speaker is a part as more sensitive than discourse that uses the pronoun to refer to the company or exclusively to refer to the hearer (ie we=you), strategies which tend to be interpreted as distancing speakers from their hearers.

Of importance to judgments of sensitiveness is the issue of lexical appropriacy. Thus, considerations of lexical formality seem to inform judgments of sensitiveness. In certain contexts, informality is seen as appropriate (especially by Westerners), while in other contexts, lexical formality is felt to be appropriate. In other words, it appears that considerations of lexical appropriacy affect global judgments of speaker sensitiveness.

It is also interesting that certain cultural groups ascribe judgments of high sensitiveness to particular types of discourse. Thus, Chinese participant-observers tend to believe that requests for advice/opinion are particularly sensitive, whereas Westerners tend to believe that offers of advice/opinion (assuming that they are hedged with appropriate indirectness) reveal speaker sensitiveness. Female participant-observers also appear to believe that consensus-seeking discourse demonstrates high speaker sensitiveness.

Lastly, the prosodic features of speakers' utterances also appear to affect judgments of sensitiveness. Use of the low-rise intonation contour, for example, is associated in general with judgments of high sensitiveness, while the fall-rise (ironic or sarcastic) intonation contour is particularly associated with judgments of low sensitiveness.

Frankness

Table 10.14 below illustrates different cultural groups' apparent interpretations of the impression managing category of 'frankness'. From this table, it can be seen that linguistic directness appears to play a significant part in determining such judgments among all participant-observers. Thus, high frankness tends to be associated with highly direct

strategies (such as direct requesting imperatives), and low frankness tends to be associated with highly indirect strategies (such as suggestory hints). Highly frank utterances tend to be backed up by mitigating supportive moves (particularly 'grounding' moves), whereas those judged to be lacking in frankness tend not to be supported in this way.

Low Frankness	High Frankness
• Highly indirect strategies (A) • Little use of mitigating supportive moves (A) • Unclear purpose (M) • Use of low-rise (questioning) intonation contour (A)	• Highly direct strategies (A) • Use of mitigating supportive moves (A) • Overt statement of purpose (M) • Marked contrast with sociocultural expectations (A) • Use of low-fall (assertive) intonation contour (A)

(Codes in brackets indicate which groups identified features as particularly significant: Ch=Chinese; W=Westerners; F=Females; M=Males; C=Chairs; A=All)

Table 10.14 A Multi-faceted View of 'Frankness'

Judgments of frankness appear to be affected by how clear speakers make their purpose. Thus, where purpose is unclear (as in utterances considered high in manipulativeness), utterances tend to be assessed as low in frankness, whereas the converse is true in the case of utterances with a clearly stated purpose. This was particularly the case with male participant-observers' assessments of frankness.

Frankness also appears to be to do with sociocultural expectations. Where, for example, utterances are considered to be in breach of these expectations (eg where a junior member of staff expresses a strongly critical view), these utterances tend to be seen as particularly frank by all participant-observers.

Finally, judgments of frankness appear to be universally affected by consideration of the prosodic features of utterances. Thus, the low-fall (assertive) intonation contour is generally agreed to signal high frankness, whereas the low-rise (questioning) contour is generally regarded as low in frankness.

Deference

Table 10.15 below illustrates different cultural groups' apparent interpretations of the impression managing category of 'deference'. From this table, it can be seen that linguistic directness appears to play a significant part in determining such judgments among all participant-observers. Thus, high deference tends to be associated with highly indirect strategies (such as suggestory hints), and low deference tends to be associated with highly direct strategies (such as direct requesting imperatives), especially when these are addressed to hearers of a status higher than that of the speaker. Highly deferential utterances tend to be backed up by mitigating supportive moves (particularly 'disarming' moves), whereas those judged to be lacking in deference tend not to be supported in this way.

In addition, different cultural groups appear to ascribe high deference to particular features of discourse. For example, whereas politeness formulae and signs of consideration for the face of hearers are generally felt to demonstrate high speaker deference, it is noticeable that Chinese participant-observers in particular tend to feel that circumlocutionary discourse demonstrates a highly deferential conversational style. Chinese participant-observers also identify requests for opinion (with their implied face-giving properties), softspokenness[80], and sensitiveness to social relationships as demonstrating a highly deferential style of speaking. Conversely, Western participant-observers tend to identify proactive offers of opinion as indicative of a highly deferential conversational style.

Low Deference	**High Deference**
• Highly direct strategies, especially where they are addressed to a hearer of higher status than the speaker (A) • Little use of mitigating supportive moves (A) • Use of low-fall (assertive) intonation contour (A)	• Highly indirect strategies (A) • Use of mitigating supportive moves (A) • Politeness formulae and signs of consideration (A) • Sensitivity to social relations (C/Ch) • 'Circumlocutionary' discourse (Ch) • Face-giving requests for opinion/ advice (Ch) • Proactive offers of opinion/advice (W) • Softspokenness (Ch/F)

	• Use of low-fall (assertive) intonation contour (A)

(Codes in brackets indicate which groups identified features as particularly significant: Ch=Chinese; W=Westerners; F=Females; M=Males; C=Chairs; A=All)

Table 10.15 A Multi-faceted View of 'Deference'

Judgments of deference were also found to be affected by the prosodic features of utterances. Low-rise (questioning) intonation contours were generally assessed as higher in deference than either low-fall (assertive) or fall-rise (ironic/sarcastic) intonation contours.

Chapter Eleven

Awareness Training in the Discourse of Impression Management

11.1 Introduction

The relationship between analysis and training in this study is a symbiotic one. Training is therefore not only an ostensible product of the analysis, but also a source of valuable data for the purpose of analysis. In this chapter, I shall give a brief description of the methodology underpinning this type of training, which is broadly 'interactional sociolinguistic' (Tannen, 1994).

I shall also describe the implementation of a very small training programme at Cathay Pacific Airways which both helped refine the analysis in Chapters 6 - 10 of this study, and provided a means of using analytical data for intercultural training purposes. This training programme, which involved eight participant-observers, although very small, resulted in feedback that suggested that participant-observers had found the training to be useful and innovative. A number of these participant-observers noted, for example, that the training had touched on an area seldom discussed in the airline.

11.2 Methodology

As remarked in Chapter 3 (Materials and Methods), the methodological approach used in this study is an 'interactional sociolinguistic' one, based on ethnographic data collection. The data concerned are naturally-occurring spoken discourse that occurs in managerial-level cross-cultural business meetings at Cathay Pacific Airways.

According to Tannen (1994), the 'interactional sociolinguistic' methodological approach consists of the following five stages.

(i) Tape-recording naturally occurring conversations
(ii) Identifying segments in which trouble is evident
(iii) Looking for culturally patterned differences in signaling meaning that could account for the trouble
(iv) Playing the recording, or segments of it, back to participants in order to solicit their spontaneous interpretations and reactions, and also, perhaps later, soliciting their responses to the researcher's interpretations; and
(v) Playing segments of the interaction for other members of the cultural groups represented by the speakers in order to discern patterns of interpretation.

(Tannen, 1994: 6)

Although I have deliberately not focused on 'troubled' discourse and have, instead, opted to consider apparently 'non-dysfunctional' discourse, for the reasons outlined in Chapters 1 to

3, Tannen's five stages have been followed fairly closely in this study. This has also included Tannen's parenthetical reference to soliciting participants' reactions to the researcher's interpretations (stage (iv) above).

The final two stages of the interactional sociolinguistic approach involve the analyst refining his or her preliminary analysis by collecting participants' interpretations of the data and discerning 'patterns of interpretation'. According to Tannen, 'the last two stages are not an afterthought; they provide critical checks on interpretations, given the hermeneutic (that is, interpretive) methodological framework. They are also crucial to ensure that the scholar's work is grounded in the experience of the speakers whose behavior is the object of study' (Tannen, 1994: 6).

In addition to these important considerations, I would add that these final two stages appear to lend themselves to a form of intercultural training which can help participants to benefit directly from the analysis as well as from each other's interpretations of the data.

The form of training that is advocated in this study is built upon a non-normative stance regarding intercultural impression management. It does not assume that prescriptive judgments should be made about different cultural groups' impression managing behaviours through discourse. Instead, it is based on the development among all participants of a greater intercultural sensitivity and tolerance, which is derived from an increased awareness of discourse-related cultural norms other than their own.

This approach contrasts with the traditional language training paradigm, which holds that non-native speakers are simply considered deficient and in need of remedial help. While this approach may 'work' for language skills training, I do not believe that it should be used to prescribe cultural groups' impression managing behaviours.

It must be acknowledged, however, that gatekeepers frequently make norm-referenced 'negative' assessments of members of other cultural backgrounds than their own. In the quest for social mobility (Tajfel, 1974), members of minority cultural groups themselves may also seek to emulate the impression managing practices of the dominant cultural/language group in the environments in which they work.

The training model that has been elaborated for the present study, however, does not assume the superiority of one group's impression managing discourse practices over any other's, but is based on allowing speakers a free choice to make informed judgments

regarding their own discourse. Sometimes, this may lead to conformity (or 'convergence' in speech accommodation theory terms); at other times, it may lead to 'divergence'.

The following are the eight stages of the Cross-Cultural Impression Management (CCIM) training model used in the present study.

(i) **Preliminary Data Collection**
Video-record naturally occurring spoken discourse in intercultural contexts;

(ii) **Identification of Units of Analysis**
Identify discourse segments which appear pertinent in terms of their impression managing potential (in the context of the present study, these have been the Type A directive speech acts of 'directing' and 'suggesting');

(iii) **Preliminary Analysis**
Identify culturally patterned differences within and between these segments, and suggest possible effects on cultural groups' impression management in intercultural contexts;

(iv) **Development of a Diagnostic Tool**
Create an introspective diagnostic tool (IDT) consisting of discourse segments;

(v) **Perceptual Data Collection**
Collect participant-observers' interpretations (metapragmatic assessments) of the impression managing effects of discourse segments using an IDT. Participant-observers consist of both participants in the discourse and other members of various cultural groups in the discourse community of which the participants are members;

(vi) **Secondary Analysis**
Refine analysis in (iii) by consideration of participants' interpretations recorded in the IDT;

(vii) **Training**
Present the results of the Secondary Analysis in (vi) back to participant-observers and seek their reactions. Focused discussion in which members of cultural groups are encouraged to raise issues that appear relevant from their perspectives. Participants develop, on the basis of both the findings from the cross-cultural analysis and the focused discussion, a multi-faceted view of impression management processes and consequences;

(viii) **Tertiary Analysis**
Refine analysis as appropriate.

Figue 11.1 Cross-Cultural Impression Management (CCIM) training model

11.3 Implementation of the CCIM training model

Figure 11.1 above illustrates that the CCIM training model consists of four basic processes. These are data collection, data analysis, introspection and training[81]. In this section, each of these processes is described in turn. In each case, I consider some of the difficulties that were encountered with processes. These difficulties have much in common with difficulties encountered in other ethnographic research.

11.3.1 Data Collection (The MAW Corpus)

For the purpose of this study, corpus data were collected at the airline in 1991 and 1992. In the first year, a broad spread of senior management meetings was attended and recorded. The decision as to which meetings would be attended was made by the then General Staff Manager of the airline. In the second year, department heads were asked, on a voluntary basis, to allow observers into their meetings, with the result that I was able to attend a series of regular departmental meetings in the Ground Services Department of the airline thanks to the goodwill of the General Manager concerned. Subsequent interviews and training sessions have only been able to be organised with the agreement of the individuals concerned, on an entirely voluntary basis. This has meant that I have been entirely in the hands of the airline in terms of data collection and training.

Getting people together for the purpose of these two activities has sometimes proved difficult, due to circumstances beyond my control. In addition to being subject to a very rapid turnover of staff, airlines frequently require their senior staff to spend both short periods (a matter of days) and long periods (a matter of years) in other countries. This has caused logistical difficulties for the collection of data and the design of training programmes which have to fit in with managers' other arrangements. In the course of this project, for instance, approximately 70% of those present in the meetings recorded in 1991 have subsequently moved on, both within the airline and to other companies. Admittedly, one would anticipate the period between data collection and training in any future corporate-based programmes of this type to be significantly reduced (perhaps to six months); however, turnover of staff and staff absence are important constraining factors in this type of research and training.

The net effect of this is that I have not been in control of the corpus that has driven the research project, nor of the resultant training that has taken place, insofar as when and

where training would take place and who would be involved. Ideally, a considerably higher level of control would be exercised over each of these processes; however, as is so often the case in ethnographic research, the researcher's interests have to take second place to respondents' needs and wishes. Fortunately for the project, I have received a high level of interest and commitment from certain 'significant' people within the airline.

Data collection was conducted in contexts which were completely authentic, and involved minimal intrusion by the observer on the event. The recording equipment was quite unobtrusive, as was the observer. Had circumstances permitted, I would have physically removed myself from the event, for example into an adjoining room with remote controlled cameras or two-way mirrors. However, this was not possible. Goodwin (1993) offers some practical assistance in relation to recording interactions in natural settings.

Participants in the discourse were asked to grant permission for the collection of data, but were unaware of the specific features of discourse that were being investigated. This was so as to minimise any distortion of the discourse.

Data were also collected relating to the socio-cultural and organisational context of the speech event being investigated, including information about company products, corporate structure and hierarchy, information about the topics discussed in meetings, any documentation used in meetings (eg agendas and minutes), information about participants' backgrounds, and so on.

11.3.2 Analysis

Analysis of the data should employ units of analysis considered appropriate to the data that has been collected. The CCIM model does not impose any particular analytical frame of reference on the part of the analyst, and does not restrict the analyst's repertoire of tools. For the purpose of the present study, for example, I have based my analysis on 'speech acts'. These units of analysis have been favoured due to the transparency of terminology for the non-specialist, who, in terms of training, cannot be expected to have a background in discourse analysis.

It is crucial for the analytical framework adopted to be comprehensible from the perspective of participant-observers, since their interpretations are sought as an integral part of the analysis (see *Introspection* below). In other words, the framework should be confirmed by

participants' observation of the event, rather than simply rooted in the analyst's own (perhaps rather limited) perspective. Consequently, participant-observers should be able to readily identify the units of analysis selected by the analyst, and ascribe meaning to them in their own terms.

11.3.3 Introspection

As mentioned above, the CCIM training model involves participant-observers sharing their interpretations about spoken discourse with the analyst. These subjective interpretations, or 'metapragmatic assessments' (Kasper & Dahl, 1991: 238), are collected by means of an introspective diagnostic tool (IDT). In this study, the IDT has involved a video-based questionnaire consisting of clips from MAW corpus meetings of chairs and participants making requests and suggestions (see Appendix B).

The IDT asks participants to record their metapragmatic assessments of observed spoken discourse in terms of the five impression managing categories of authoritativeness, manipulativeness, sensitiveness, frankness and deference. These judgments serve both to inform analysis and to act as input to subsequent training.

There are a number of difficulties associated with the collection of subjective assessments on the basis of short strings of spoken discourse. Firstly, judgments in real-life are seldom made on the basis of spoken discourse alone. Prior acquaintance is extremely significant in determining how a speaker's words on a particular occasion are interpreted, as are the particular circumstances pertaining at the time of the utterance. The fact that clips were, in many cases, video clips meant that participant-observers were at least able to gauge non-verbal aspects of the discourse as well as verbal aspects (for example, gaze direction, facial expressions, body language and so on). Although isolating discourse from its context makes the collection of participants' interpretations rather difficult and inherently unreliable, the analyst can attempt to overcome these problems by explaining to participant-observers the context within which the discourse occurred. Although it is never possible to completely rule out problems of validity in this way, at least such problems can be reduced.

Secondly, there is some evidence to suggest that impression managing categories relate to phenomena that are interpreted differently cross-culturally, not only in terms of how they are manifested discoursally, but also in terms of their underlying characteristics and 'social desirability'. The most obvious example of this is 'manipulativeness', which appears to be

interpreted in quite different ways by different cultural groups. In order to overcome inter-rater reliability problems that might occur by virtue of different cultural groups rating essentially different phenomena, it was decided to be stipulative in terms of what was meant by each impression managing category. Although this meant that I could be reasonably sure that categories were understood to relate to particular phenomena, it must be acknowledged that the process of stipulating meanings might weaken the analysis. Nevertheless, although this might have undermined the reliability of assessor (participant-observer) performance on the IDT, assessors were free to explain their own interpretations of categories during training, with the result that the analysis itself should be considered a reasonably reliable reflection of the attitudes of participant-observers.

11.3.4 Training

In contrast with much language training, CCIM training is not based on normative judgments relating to the 'correctness' of participants' behaviour, and does not consist of demonstrating how participants can come to conform to the practices used by particular (eg dominant) groups[82]. Instead, training refers to the process of helping raise participants' awareness of their own and others' impression managing discourse practices, so that participants may come to understand both some of the factors that motivate others' language behaviours, and some of the ways in which their own discourse can affect others' perceptions of them.

Training involves the analyst feeding back to participants analysis based on the researcher's analysis of the discourse, informed by the findings from the IDT. These two sources facilitate discussion on certain impression managing aspects of discourse in context that are identified both by the analyst and the participant-observers. Focused discussion takes place within a framework that is controlled jointly by the analyst/ trainer and participant-observers, and which is informed by the products of formal discourse analysis and the participants' own assessments.

During the course of the training that was undertaken for the present study, I fed back to participants the results of the discourse analysis that had been conducted, including findings relating to speech act utilisation, and speech act realisation by different gender, status and ethnic groups. I also gave participants the results of an analysis of the IDT, vis-à-vis the perceived attributes of certain speakers they had observed in the video. These perceptions

were in a form rather similar to the figures and tables that appear in Chapters 6 - 10 of this study.

The discussion that followed this input resulted in the many observations that have been integrated into Analysis (B) that appears in Chapter 10.

11.4 Conclusion

A 'traditional' foreign language training approach considers trainees to be people who lack certain language skills needed in order to cope effectively in their dealings with speakers of the foreign language, and sets about meeting these training needs in as efficient a way as possible.

This, however, is not the approach that has been adopted in the CCIM model. The purpose of training within the CCIM model is not simply to effect change among those who, according to tradition, are viewed as deviating from the communicative 'norm' of dominant L1 use (eg non-native speakers).

Research by Hofstede (1980, 1983, 1985) reminds us that individuals, companies and national groups all have cultural value systems. These cultural values affect the ways in which individuals set about projecting 'positive' impressions of themselves to others, and the ways in which they interpret the self-presentations of others. The purpose of CCIM training is to effect change in the ways in which individuals of *all* cultural groups make decisions about their own impression management strategies, and reach conclusions on the basis of available evidence about others' impression management strategies.

In their discussion of ways in which organisations can help their members to 'work more effectively across cultural lines', Smith & Bond (1993) refer to the importance of 'training in the effective use of the organization's common language for *both* native *and* non-native speakers' (Smith & Bond, 1993: 204). This is precisely what the CCIM training model sets out to achieve. In Brislin's (1989) terms, the targets of this type of training are participants' *cognitions* (the ways in which they think about other groups); participants' *affect* (the ways in which they feel about other groups); and participants' *behaviour* (the ways in which they act towards other groups) (Brislin, 1989: 442-443).

It must be conceded that many companies prefer to adopt a strongly normative stance in terms of what is considered 'acceptable' behaviour among their staff and what is not[83]. Therefore, within contexts in which there is a strongly dominant culture, there may be some value in helping minority groups to understand some of the ways in which features of discourse are interpreted by the dominant group. While it is not the purpose of this study to advocate the mimicking by one group of another, it is recognised that this type of familiarisation training may be of some practical usefulness.

However, companies that choose to completely disregard the fact that different cultural groups manage impressions in different ways are in danger of not realising the full potential of large sections of their workforce. Feedback from the training programme that has been carried out indicates that participants who found sessions useful did so precisely because they felt that training focused on an important topic that is largely ignored in multicultural organisational life.

Chapter Twelve

Conclusion to the Study

12.1 A Cross-Cultural Vignette

It is a Sunday morning. The scene is a mini-rugby tournament in Hong Kong. Teams from all over the Territory have come to take part in the tournament. These teams reflect the full ethnic diversity of Hong Kong, as Chinese, European, Indian and Gurkha children play happily side by side. The referees overseeing the matches that are simultaneously being played on a number of pitches, are a mixture of Chinese and Westerners. Parents line the pitches, eagerly watching as their sons and daughters play. The scene is one of happy cultural diversity.

This scene is slightly marred, however, by what is happening on one particular pitch, where a Chinese referee is being vociferously berated by a group of Western parents. The referee, they protest, has ignored several flagrant breaches of the rules by certain of the opposing team's players. The situation is made even worse by the fact that the referee appears not only to be ignoring the parents' pleas for action but also to be avoiding coming near them. He even seems to be unwilling to make eye contact with them. At the end of the match, amid the jeers of parents, the referee quickly exits, clearly embarrassed. Meanwhile, the parents of Chinese players in the team watch on, studiously oblivious to what has happened.

After the match, the parents, Chinese and Western, chat about the referee's style and all agree that it could have been better. Why, the Western parents ask, did the Chinese referee ignore their protests? Why, they wonder, but do not ask in so many words, did the Chinese parents not make their views heard? Why, the Chinese parents wonder, but do not say in so many words, did the Western parents have to 'make a scene' in so blunt a fashion?

This vignette is interesting in that it throws into relief different cultural groups' approaches to balancing an individual's 'face needs' with their need to demonstrate 'task effectiveness'. By 'face needs', I am referring to a person's 'positive' face (ie the right to be accorded respect, akin to *minzi*, 面子), and their 'negative' face (ie freedom from the interference of others). I would suggest that in this vignette, the Chinese parents attach primary importance to protecting the referee's face, whereas, for the Western parents, it is the need to highlight weaknesses in the referee's task effectiveness that is paramount.

From the Western parents' perspective, the fact that the referee demonstrates that he is not 'effective' means that they are justified in pointing out (rather vocally) his shortcomings.

Although these protests threaten the referee's face, they are justified on the basis of the overriding need for 'task effectiveness'.

By contrast, from the Chinese parents' perspective, although the referee has shown his considerable inadequacies as a referee, he does not deserve to be treated in this way. By not according the referee the *minzi* to which he is due by virtue of his position, spectators' behaviour constitutes a serious face threat, and is thus considered rather 'ill-mannered'.

One of the Chinese parents said, in a private conversation after the match, that she had felt uneasy about the Western parents' outbursts, despite the fact that they were 'technically' justified. It was, she explained, not the Chinese way to make this type of violent outburst against authority figures who deserve public respect (although the possibility of 'private disdain' is not ruled out). It was important, she remarked, to maintain the status quo, and to respect how things are and should be.

In Western individualist cultures, children are socialised to believe that face threatening acts (FTAs) are broadly acceptable in the interests of 'task effectiveness'. In Chinese collectivist cultures, on the other hand, as was discussed in Chapter 2, a respect for social order and social relationships is at least as important as being seen to demonstrate or uphold task effectiveness[84], and face threatening acts are assiduously avoided.

These observations appear to have pertinence to an understanding of cross-cultural impression management as it occurs in the workplace[85]. They illustrate to me, for example, that, in cross-cultural encounters, individuals view each other's performances in culturo-centric ways, events almost invariably being interpreted in ways which support the cultural values people already hold. It is the fact that people find it so difficult to see the same phenomenon in two different lights simultaneously that leads many cross-cultural encounters to confirm existing prejudices.

It is clear that a multi-faceted analysis, reflecting the multiple perspectives of different cultural groups, is needed if intercultural communication is to be made more effective, and misinterpretation of the type described above avoided.

12.2 The Study in Brief

This study has sought to present such a multi-faceted analysis of the spoken discourse of cross-cultural business meetings. The study considers not only the formal features of certain speech acts that occur in these meetings (Type A directive speech acts) but also some of the impression managing consequences of their use (in terms of impressions of authoritativeness, manipulativeness, sensitiveness, frankness and deference). The meetings that are studied (the Meetings at Work (MAW) corpus) are managerial-level cross-cultural business meetings at a large corporation employing a multicultural workforce in Hong Kong (Cathay Pacific Airways).

The study started with a brief contextualisation in terms of prior research in the areas of *cross-cultural discourse analysis*, *gender-based studies of discourse*, *social psychological studies of impression management and intra-organisational influence*, and *intercultural studies*. The ethnographic methodological paradigm within which the study is situated (see Chapters 1 to 3) was also described.

In Chapter 4, the Cross-Cultural Impression Management (CCIM) model of discourse was presented. This model takes account of the effects of certain contextual factors, such as gender, ethnicity, personality, age, education and so on, on the conversational styles of cultural groups (where the term 'culture' is defined in somewhat broader terms than 'ethnicity'). It also recognises the role of the audience (including the 'self' as audience) as a 'filter' in terms of the creation of certain impressions.

In Chapter 5, I identified and defined the principal unit used in the analysis to classify utterances (the 'speech act'), and produced a tentative taxonomy of business meeting-related speech acts. It was argued that the main value of this taxonomy of business meeting-related speech acts lay in its transparency and accessibility to the non-specialist trainer. Although not purported to be an exhaustive or authoritative taxonomy, it does appear to have descriptive adequacy in terms of the particular meetings in the MAW corpus. For each class of speech act, I provided exemplification and explanation.

In Chapter 6, on the basis of this taxonomy, I identified a group of speech acts in the corpus that were of particular interest due (i) to their high frequency of occurrence in the corpus, and (ii) their inherent face-threatening properties. This group, which I termed 'Type A' directive speech acts, consists of the speech acts of 'directing' and 'suggesting'. The

functional-grammatical, lexical and prosodic features of these speech acts, as they are realised by different cultural groups, were described in Chapters 6 - 9. This analysis yielded profiles of 'chair-talk' and 'participant-talk' (including comparisons of Chinese and Westerners' discourse, and comparisons between the discourses of men and women). I believe these profiles will be of considerable practical usefulness in terms of the design of language training materials to help particular groups, eg non-native speakers of English, overcome common language difficulties they face in business meetings.

In Chapter 10, I explored the relationship between the ways in which Type A directive speech acts are realised (in functional-grammatical, lexical and prosodic terms) and the impressions that are created in the minds of a range of audiences of varying status, ethnicity and gender. Although Type A directive speech acts have been the focus of a considerable body of research, there has so far been no attempt to investigate them from the point of view of their impression managing properties.

The analysis presented here, in addition to drawing upon the analyst's perceptions, has been informed by the metapragmatic assessments of participants. These assessments of impression managing aspects of utterances were collected using an introspective diagnostic tool (or IDT). The analysis in Chapter 10 resulted in a series of multi-faceted (ie multi-perspective) profiles of impression managing categories, from which it can be concluded that there seem to be significant differences between status, ethnic and gender groups in terms of how they interpret speakers' words and attribute characteristics to speakers (see tables 10.11 - 10.15). This appears to be particularly the case in terms of the impression managing categories of 'authoritativeness', 'manipulativeness' and 'deference'.

The principal purpose of the above analyses has been to provide explanations that are useful for a form of training that aims to raise the awareness of meeting-attenders about the impression managing potential of the discourse they and their colleagues use in the multicultural workplace. In Chapter 11 of this study, I presented a model for cross-cultural awareness training that can empower speakers, whether or not they represent the communicative norm, to make informed choices about the discourse they use in cross-cultural encounters. The training process focuses on participants' acquisition of self-analytical skills which facilitate impression management, particularly in 'marked' situations, eg in mixed-status, cross-cultural and inter-gender encounters, whether or not participants represent the 'dominant' party in these situations.

The anticipated benefits of applying the CCIM training model mainly spring from improvements in the effectiveness of organisational communication and from the satisfaction individuals gain from mutual understanding in the workplace. Although this latter type of benefit is difficult to quantify, it is nevertheless a very real benefit for organisations.

Training seeks to address all aspects of impression management processes (including participants' understanding of, feelings towards, and behaviour towards the discourse of other cultural groups) through a process of introspection and focused discussion. This approach has been used in other forms of intercultural communication training (eg Brislin, 1989); however, it has not been used before to help raise participants' awareness of the impression managing aspects of their own and others' discourse patterns.

12.3 Training Applications for the CCIM Training Model

With its emphasis on the positive contributions of interactants, irrespective of status, ethnicity and gender, and its focus on non-dysfunctional communication, the CCIM training model avoids the 'remedial' approach associated with traditional language training. Also, with its emphasis on the development of self-analytical, facilitating skills by *all* participants, the model to some extent bears more resemblance to a form of 'training for empowerment' than it does to conventional language training.

This may result in the model being more easily applied in certain cultural environments than others. Smith & Bond, for example, state that intercultural training stands a better chance in cultural contexts marked by low rather than high power distance (Smith & Bond, 1993: 204).

This may be the case with the CCIM training model, too. Hong Kong is recognised as being high in power distance, and Cathay Pacific Airways also appears to be rather hierarchically structured (according to managers' responses to the Cross-Cultural Communication Survey (CCCS) referred to in Chapter 3). In such a situation, the CCIM training model can actually somewhat undermine the corporate structure within which it operates since it questions the status quo in the corporate environment, especially where it is marked by a heavily hierarchical power structure. Coates (1986), for example, states that:

> Sociolinguistics aims not only to describe linguistic variation and the social context in which such variation occurs, but also to show how linguistic differentiation reflects social structure. Sociolinguistic studies reveal that linguistic variation is not random but structured: structured linguistic variation is a direct consequence of the structured social variation found in the speech community.
>
> (Coates, 1986: 12)

This may mean that the type of awareness training advocated in this study will never become part of the mainstream training agenda in Hong Kong. It appears far more likely, in contrast, that training of the type treated rather dismissively above will prove to be more attractive to companies in Hong Kong. That is, training which helps employees (especially non-native English speaking employees) to develop impression managing styles which conform to the corporate 'standard'. There is already some proof that middle-level executives must develop, *ad hoc*, these skills if they are to be promoted past the 'bottle-neck' of middle management. Training packages focusing on 'how to project positive impressions within particular corporate environments', eg for local Chinese employees working in multinational corporations based in Hong Kong, expatriate employees working in local Chinese businesses or the Civil Service, and so on, would almost certainly be popular.

Other areas that might benefit from a CCIM training approach include the training of 'gate-keepers', such as personnel managers, customs and immigration officials, police officers and so on. These are people who need to develop the interactive interpretive skills necessary to understand those people over whom they exercise such control, and the skills of projecting a reassuring, caring impression.

CCIM training might also be of considerable practical value to cross-cultural negotiators who need to be able to faithfully interpret the impression management of those with whom they negotiate. These people also need, on occasion, to consciously manipulate their impression management in order to achieve gains around the negotiation table.

CCIM training of the type advocated in this study would also benefit those working in the caring professions, eg doctors, nurses and social workers, who should be particularly acutely aware of the impressions their discourse creates. Therapists, whose therapy depends on effective discourse, would also do well to consider the impression managing consequences of their words on patients.

12.4 Potential for Future Research

There is clearly a need to validate some of the findings contained in this study, which has been based on a relatively small corpus derived from a single corporate source. Firstly, the findings need to be validated externally against bigger corpora of spoken discourse collected in a range of corporate contexts. It is quite possible, for example, that patterns of communication between different cultural groups in the essentially British corporate culture of Cathay Pacific Airways differ quite markedly from those that might be found in, say, Chinese run conglomerates, such as the China Investment Trust and Investment Corporation (CITIC), or Comitex.

Secondly, the analysis presented in this study would benefit from greater internal validity if a more in-depth, longitudinal research project were carried out, involving more ethnographic data collection through ethnographic interviews. Although the present study has used the ethnographic interview as a useful data gathering tool, practical time constraints have limited how much data could be collected in this way. A longer term project would overcome this weakness.

More wide-ranging research in the fertile area of 'discourse as impression management' is also called for. Areas that might profitably be investigated include the following:

12.4.1 Research in different contexts with different groups of interactants

Firstly, a study of the impression managing strategies used by other ethnic groups than 'Westerners' and 'Chinese' might prove revealing, including consideration of the two cultural groups overlooked by the present study, ie Chinese individuals brought up in the West (eg expatriate Chinese staff), and members of staff whose first language is English, yet whose cultural orientation is not Western (eg Indians). It might also be of interest to consider closer examination of the validity of the term 'Westerner' as opposed to national terms, such as 'Australian', 'British' and so on.

Secondly, research into impression management in different socio-cultural/ corporate contexts from the one that is the focus of the present study might also be worthwhile. The impression managing styles and strategies of employees in different types of social organisation (such as social clubs), as well as in companies of different size, ownership, hierarchical structure and function, might also usefully be compared.

Thirdly, future research could focus on some of the differences between the ways in which individuals manage impressions in a first language and how they do it in a second language, since it seems likely that we manage impressions differently in the two situations. In order to do this, greater consideration of the role of speakers' language proficiency would be needed than has been necessary in the present study.

12.4.2 Research into Speech Act Realisation and Impression Management

The study of other speech acts than directives, ie representatives, commissives and evaluatives (Searle, 1976), has been outside the scope of the present study. Although the directive speech acts of 'directing' and 'suggesting' have been considered salient in this study, in different contexts, other speech acts might more naturally be the focus of study. For example, a large amount of research has been devoted to the evaluative speech act of 'apologising' in social contexts (eg Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Blum-Kulka, et al, 1989; Garcia, 1989; Olshtain & Cohen, 1984; Trosborg, 1987), although seldom from the point of view of impression management.

The impression managing consequences of the strategic grouping of speech acts into influence strategies might also be the subject of future research. It is evident in the MAW corpus, for example, that speech acts tend to be grouped strategically. It is quite possible that these influence strategies create, maintain or harm impressions, more than their constituent speech acts.

12.4.3 Research into the Effectiveness of the CCIM Training Model

It is as yet unclear whether the CCIM training model results in significant, long-term change in terms of individuals' actual language behaviours in the workplace. It would, therefore, be extremely useful to carry out longitudinal research into the long-term effectiveness of CCIM training. This would help clarify whether the CCIM training model does, in fact, result in the tangible improvements in intercultural communication and inter-cultural awareness that I believe make it of considerable relevance to today's multicultural workplaces.

Bibliography

Ansari, M A, & Kapoor, A (1987). Organizational context and upward influence tactics. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *40*, 39-49

Arkin, R M (1981). Self presentation styles. In: Tedeschi, J T (ed.). *Impression Management Theory and Social Psychological Research*. New York: Academic press, 311-333

Arkin, R M & Shepperd, J A (1990). Strategic self-presentation: an overview. In: Cody, M J & McLaughlin, M L (eds.). *The Psychology of Tactical Communication*. Monographs in Social Psychology of Language (2). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 175-193

Aronson, E, & Linder, D (1965). Gain and loss of esteem as determinants of interpersonal attractiveness. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *1*, 156-171

Asante, M K & Davis, A (1989). Encounters in the interracial workplace. In: Asante, M K & Gudykunst, W B (eds.). *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*. London: Sage, 374-391

Asante, M K & Gudykunst, W B (eds.) (1989). *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*. London: Sage

Bachman, J G (1968). Faculty satisfaction and the dean's influence: an organisational study of twelve liberal arts colleges. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *52*, 55-61

Bachman, J G, Bowers, D G & Marcus, P M (1968). Bases of supervisory power: a comparative study in five organisational settings. In: Tannenbaum, A S (ed.). *Control in Organizations*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 229-237

Ball, P, Giles, H & Hewstone, M (1985). Interpersonal accommodation and situational construals: an integrative formalisation. In: Giles, H & St. Clair, R N (eds.). *Recent Advances in Language, Communication & Social Psychology*. London: Erlbaum, 263-286

Banks, S P (1987). Achieving "unmarkedness" in organizational discourse: a praxis perspective on ethnolinguistic identity. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *6*, 171-190

Barge, J K, Downs, C W & Johnson, K M (1989). An analysis of effective and ineffective leader conversation. *Management Communication Quarterly*, *2(3)*, 357-386

Bashiruddin, A, Edge, J & Hughes-Pellegrin, E (1990). Who speaks in seminars? Status, culture and gender at Durham University. In: Clark, R, Fairclough, N, Ivanic, R, McLeod, N, Thomas, J & Meara, P (eds.). *British Studies in Applied Linguistics 5: Language and Power (Papers from the 22nd Annual Meeting of the British Association for Applied Linguistics)*. London: CILT/BAAL, 74-84

Baxter, L (1984). An investigation of compliance-gaining as politeness. *Human Communication Research*, *10(3)*, 427-455

Becker, C B (1986). Reasons for the lack of argumentation and debate in the Far East. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *10*, 75-92

Beene, L M & Giles, H (1984). Speech accommodation theories: a discussion in terms of second-language acquisition. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *46*, 5-32

Beebe, L M & Takahashi, T (1989). Sociolinguistic variation in face-threatening speech acts: chastisement and disagreement. In: Eisenstein, M R (ed.). *The Dynamic Interlanguage: Empirical Studies in Second Language Variation*. New York: Plenum, 199-218

Ben-Amos, D (ed.) (1976). *Folklore Genres*. Austin: University of Texas Press

Ben-Amos, D (1976). Introduction. In: Ben-Amos, D (ed.). *Folklore Genres*. Austin: University of Texas Press, ix-xv

Benson, J D & Greaves, W S (eds.) (1985). *Systemic Perspectives on Discourse (vol 1)*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex

Berkowitz, L (ed.) (1979). *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology (vol 12)*. New York: Academic Press

Bhatia, V K (1983). An applied discourse analysis of English legislative writing. *Research Report*. Birmingham: University of Aston (Language Studies Unit)

Bhatia, V K (1991). A genre-based approach to ESP materials. *World Englishes*, 10(2), 153-166

Bhatia, V K (1993). *Analysing Genre: language use in professional settings*. London: Longman

Bilbow, G T (1991). *Business Writing for Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Longman

Bilbow, G T (1992). *Write for the Job*. Hong Kong; Commercial Press

Bilbow, G T (1993). Pragmatic failure in cross-cultural business meetings. In: Boswood, T, Hoffman, R & Tung, P (eds.). *Perspectives on English for Professional Communication*. Hong Kong: City Polytechnic of Hong Kong, 169-181

Bilbow, G T (1995a). *Hospitality Business: Craft and English Skills for the Hotel and Catering Business*. Hong Kong: Longman

Bilbow, G T (1995b). *Writing Business Reports: a Case-study Approach for Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Commercial Press

Bilbow, G T (1995c). Requesting strategies in the cross-cultural business meeting. *Pragmatics*, *5 (1)*, 45 -55

Bilbow, G T (in press). Spoken discourse in the multicultural workplace in Hong Kong: applying a model of discourse as 'impression management'. In: Harris, S & Bargiela, F (eds.). *The Languages of Business: An international perspective*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Bilbow, G T (in press). *Business Speaking for Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Longman

Bilbow, G T & Flowerdew, J (1992). Impression Management: an alternative model for cross-cultural discourse analysis. Paper presented at the 2nd International Conference on English for Professional Communication, City Polytechnic of Hong Kong

Bizzell, P (1982). Cognition, convention, and certainty: what we need to know about writing. *PRE/TEXT*, *3*, 213-241

Blum-Kulka, S (1982). Learning to say what you mean in a second language: A study of speech act performance of learners of Hebrew as a second language. *Applied Linguistics*, *3*, 29-59

Blum-Kulka, S & Olshtain, E (1984). Requests and apologies: A cross-cultural study of speech act realization patterns (CCSARP). *Applied Linguistics*, *5*, 196-213

Blum-Kulka, S & Olshtain, E (1986). Too many words: length of utterance and pragmatic failure. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, *8*, 165-180

Blum-Kulka, S, House, J & Kasper, G (eds.) (1989). *Cross-cultural Pragmatics: requests and apologies*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex

Bodman, J & Eisenstein, M (1988). May God increase your bounty: the expression of gratitude in English by native and non-native speakers. *Cross Currents*, *15*, 1-21

Bond, M H (ed.) (1986). *The Psychology of the Chinese People*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press

Bond, M H, Leung, K & Wan, K-C (1982). How does cultural collectivism operate? The impact of task and maintenance contributions on reward allocation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *13 (2)*, 186-200

Bond, M H, Wan, K-C, Leung, K & Giacalone, R (1985). How are responses to verbal insult related to cultural collectivism and power distance? *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *16*, 111-127

Bond, M H & Hwang, K K (1986). The social psychology of Chinese people. In: Bond, M H (ed.). *The Psychology of the Chinese People*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 213-266

Bond, M H & Chung, K V (1991). Resistance to group or personal insults in an ingroup or outgroup context. *International Journal of Psychology*, *26(1)*, 83-94

Bond, M H (1991a). *Beyond the Chinese Face: Insights from Psychology*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press

Bond, M H (1991b). Cultural influences on modes of impression management: implications for the culturally-diverse organization. In: Giacalone, R A & Rosenfeld, P (eds.). *Applied Impression Management*. London: Sage, 195-215

Booher, D (1988). *Send me a Memo*. Hong Kong: Book Marketing Ltd

Booth, A (1972). Sex and social participation. *American Sociological Review*, *37*, 183-192

Boswood, T, Hoffman, R & Tung, P (eds.) (1993). *Perspectives on English for Professional Communication*. Hong Kong: City Polytechnic of Hong Kong

Bradford, L P (1976). *Making Meetings Work*. San Diego: University Associates Inc

Brieger, N & Comfort, J (1993). *Developing Business Contacts*. Hemel Hempstead: Prentice-Hall

Brislin, R (1989). Intercultural communication training. In: Asante, M K & Gudykunst, W B (eds.). *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*. London: Sage, 441-457

Brouwer, D, Gerritsen, M & De Haan, D (1979). Speech differences between men and women: on the wrong track? *Language in Society*, *8*, 33-50

Brown, R & Gilman, A (1972). The pronouns of power and solidarity. In: Giglioli, P (ed.) (1972). *Language and Social Context*. London: Penguin

Brown, G & Yule, G (1983). *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Brown, P (1976). Women and politeness: a new perspective on language and society. (a review of Lakoff, R (1975). Language and Woman's Place. New York: Harper Row). *Reviews in Anthropology*, *May/June*, 240-249

Brown, P & Levinson, S (1978). Universals in language usage: politeness phenomena. In: Goody, E (ed.). *Questions and Politeness: Strategies in Social Interaction*. Cambridge: CUP, 56-289

Brunner, J A & You, W (1988). Chinese negotiating and the concept of face. *Journal of International Consumer Marketing*, *1(1)*, 27-43

Burgoon, M, Heston, J K & McCroskey, J (1974). *Small Group Communication: A Functional Approach*. New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston

Burgoon, M, Dillard, J P, Doran, N E & Miller, M D (1982). Cultural and situational influences on the process of persuasive strategy selection. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *6*, 85-100

Butturff, D & Epstein, E L (eds.) (1979). *Women's Language and Style*. Akron: University of Akron

Byrne, D D, Nelson, D & Reeves, K (1966). Effects of consensual validation and invalidation on attraction as a function of verifiability. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *2*, 98-107

Cameron, D (ed.) (1990). *A Feminist Critique of Language*. London: Routledge

Candlin, C (1978). Discoursal patterning and the equalising of interpretative opportunity. Paper read at Culture Learning Institute, East-West Center, Hawaii, February 1978 (Quoted in Bhatia, 1993)

Candlin, C (1987). Beyond description to explanation in cross-cultural discourse. In: Smith, L E (ed.). *Discourse across Cultures: Strategies in World Englishes*. London: Prentice Hall International, 22-35

Carnes, W T (1987). *Effective Meetings for Busy People*. New York: IEEE Press

Carrell, P (1983). Some issues in studying the role of schemata, or background knowledge, in second language comprehension. *Reading in a Foreign Language*, *1*, 81-92

Carrell, P & Konneker, B H (1981). Politeness: comparing native and nonnative judgments. *Language Learning*, *31(1)*, 17-30

Cartwright, D (ed.) (1959). *Studies in Social Power*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

Case, T, Dosier, L, Murkison, G & Keys, B (1988). How managers influence superiors: a study of upward influence tactics. *Leadership and Organizational Development Journal*, *9(4)*, 25-31

Cashman, J, Dansereau, F, Graen G & Haga, W J (1976). Organizational understructure and leadership: a longitudinal investigation of the managerial role-making process. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *15*, 278-276

Cathay Pacific Airways (1992). *Annual Report*. Hong Kong: Cathay Pacific Airways

Cheng, J L (1983). Organizational context and upward influence: an experimental study of the use of power tactics. *Group & Organization Studies*, *8*, 337-355

Chinese Culture Connection, The (1987). Chinese values and the search for culture-free dimensions of culture. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *18(2)*, 143-164

Cialdini, R B, Finch, J F & De Nicholas, M E (1990). Strategic self-presentation: the indirect route. In: Cody, M J & McLaughlin, M L (eds.). *The Psychology of Tactical Communication*. Monographs in Social Psychology of Language (2). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 194-206

Clark, R, Fairclough, N, Ivanic, R, McLeod, N, Thomas, J & Meara, P (eds.) (1990). *British Studies in Applied Linguistics 5: Language and Power (Papers from the 22nd Annual Meeting of the British Association for Applied Linguistics)*. London: CILT/BAAL

Coates, J (1986). *Women, Men and Language*. Harlow: Longman

Cody, M & M McLaughlin (1980). Perceptions of compliance-gaining situations: a dimensional analysis. *Communication Monographs*, *47*, 132-148

Cody, M, Woelfel, M L & W Jordan (1983). Dimensions of compliance-gaining situations. *Human Communication Research*, *9*, 99-113

Cody, M J & McLaughlin, M L (eds.) (1990). *The Psychology of Tactical Communication*. Monographs in Social Psychology of Language (2). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters

Cohen, J, & Cohen, P (1975). *Applied multiple regression/correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum

Cole, P & Morgan, J L (eds.) (1975). *Syntax and Semantics 3: speech and acts*. New York: Academic Press

Coulthard, M (1977). *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman

Coulthard, M (ed.) (1992). *Advances in Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge

CPA Public Relations (1990). *Cathay Pacific Airways - An Illustrated History*. Hong Kong: CPA Public Relations

Dansereau, F, Graen, G & Haga, W J (1975). A vertical dyad linkage approach to leadership within formal organizations: a longitudinal investigation of the role making process. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *13*, 46-78

Deluga, R J, & Perry, J T (1991). The relationship of subordinate upward influencing behaviour, satisfaction and perceived superior effectiveness with leader-member exchanges. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, *64*, 239-252

Deluga, R J, & Perry, J T (1994). The role of subordinate performance and ingratiation in leader-member exchanges. *Group & Organization Management*, *19(1)*, 67-86

Dienesch, R M, & Liden, R C (1986). Leader-member exchange model of leadership: a critique and further development. *Academy of Management Review*, *11*, 618-634

Dockery, T M, & Steiner, D D (1990). The role of the initial interaction in leader-member exchange. *Group & Organization Studies*, *15*, 395-413

Doherty, M, Knapp, L & Swift, S (1987). *Write for Business*. Harlow: Longman

Duchon, D, Green, S G, & Taber, T D (1986). Vertical dyad linkage: a longitudinal assessment of antecedents, measures, and consequences. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *71*, 56-60

Dunegan, K J, Duchon, D, & Uhl-Bien, M (1992). Examining the link between leader-member exchange and subordinate performance: the role of task analyzability and variety as moderators. *Journal of Management, 18(1)*, 59-76

Dunnette, M D (ed.) (1976). *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*. Chicago: Rand McNally

Dunsing, R J (1976). *You and I have simply got to stop meeting this way*. New York: Amacom

Edelsky, C (1981). Who's got the floor? *Language in Society*, *10*, 383-421

Edmondon, W & J House (1981). *Let's talk and talk about it*. München: Urban & Schwarzenberg

Eisenberg, E M (1984). Ambiguity as a strategy in organizational communication. *Communication Monographs*, *51*, 227-242

Eisenstein, M R (ed.) (1989). *The Dynamic Interlanguage: Empirical Studies in Second Language Variation*. New York: Plenum

Erickson, F (1976). Gate-keeping encounters: a social selection process. In: Sanday, P (ed.). *Anthropology and the Public Interest: Fieldwork and Theory*. New York: Academic Press

Erickson, F & Shultz, J J (1982). *The Counselor as Gatekeeper: social interaction in interviews*. New York: Academic Press

Ervin-Tripp, S M (1976). Is Sybil there? The structure of American English directives. *Language in Society*, *5*, 25-66

Ervin-Tripp, S M, Strage, A, Lambert, M & Bell, N (1987). Understanding requests. *Linguistics*, *25*, 107-143

Faerch, C & Kasper, G (eds.) (1987). *Introspection in Second Language Research*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters

Faersh, C & Kasper, G (1989). Internal and external modification in interlanguage request realization. In: Blum-Kulka, S, House, J & Kasper, G (eds.). *Cross-cultural pragmatics: requests and apologies*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 221-247

Fairclough, N (1989). Language and Power. Harlow: Longman

Fairclough, N (1990). Critical linguistics, new times and language education. In: Clark, R, Fairclough, N, Ivaniç, R, McLeod, N, Thomas, J & Meara, P (eds.). *British Studies in*

Applied Linguistics 5: Language and Power (Papers from the 22nd Annual Meeting of the British Association for Applied Linguistics). London: CILT/BAAL, 7-20

Fiksdal, S (1988). Verbal and nonverbal strategies of rapport in cross-cultural interviews. *Linguistics and Education*, *1*, 3-17

Fillmore, C J, Kempler, D & Wang, W S-Y (eds.) (1979). *Individual Differences in Language Ability and Language Behavior*. New York, San Francisco and London: Academic Press

Fishman, J (ed.) (1971). *Sociolinguistics: a brief introduction*. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House

Fishman, P (1980). Conversational insecurity. In: Giles, H, Robinson, W P & Smith, P M (eds.). *Language: Social Psychological Perspectives*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 127-132

Fletcher, W (1983). *Meetings, Meetings: How to manipulate them and make them fun*. Sevenoaks: Coronet

Flowerdew, J (1990). Problems of speech act theory from an applied perspective. *Language Learning*, *40(1)*, 79-105

Flowerdew, J (1991). Pragmatic modifications on the 'representative' speech act of defining. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *15*, 253-264

Fontaine, G & Beerman, J (1977). Affective consequences of social power: powerholder and target expectancies associated with different types of power. *Psychological Reports*, *40*, 771-774

Fox, B A (1984). Discourse structure and anaphora in written and conversational English. Unpublished PhD manuscript. Los Angeles: UCLA

Francis, G & Hunston, S (1992). Analysing everyday conversation. In: Coulthard, M (ed.). *Advances in Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge, 123-161

Fraser, B (1983). The domain of pragmatics. In: Richards, J & R Schmidt (eds.). *Language and Communication*. London: Longman, 29-59

Freed, R C & Broadhead, G J (1987). Discourse communities, sacred texts, and institutional norms. *College Composition and Communication*, *38*, 154-165

French, J R P & Raven, B H (1959). The bases of social power. In: Cartwright, D (ed.). *Studies in Social Power*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 150-167

Garcia, C (1989). Apologizing in English: politeness strategies used by native and non-native speakers. *Multilingua*, *8*, 3-20

Gardner, R C (1985). *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning*. London: Edward Arnold

Gardner, W L & Martinko, M J (1988). Impression management: An observational study linking audience characteristics with verbal presentations. *Academy of Management Journal*, *31*, 42-65

Garfinkel, H (1972). Remarks on ethnomethodology. In: Gumperz, J J & Hymes, D H (eds.). *Directions in Sociolinguistics: the ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, 301-324

Geertz, C (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books

Giacalone, R A & Rosenfeld, P (eds.) (1989). *Impression Management in the Organization*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum

Giacalone, R A & Rosenfeld, P (eds.) (1991). *Applied Impression Management*. London: Sage

Giglioli, P (ed.) (1972). *Language and Social Context*. London: Penguin

Giles, H (1977). Social psychology and applied linguistics: towards an integrative approach. *ITL: Review of Applied Linguistics*, *35*, 27-42

Giles, H, Robinson, W P & Smith, P M (eds.) (1980). *Language: Social Psychological Perspectives*. Oxford: Pergamon Press

Giles, H & Byrne, J L (1982). An intergroup approach to second language acquisition. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *3*, 17-40

Giles, H & St. Clair, R N (1985). *Recent Advances in Language, Communication & Social Psychology*. London: Erlbaum

Giles, H & Franklin-Stokes, A (1989). Communicator characteristics. In: Asante, M K & Gudykunst, W B (eds.). *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*. London: Sage, 117-144

Gimson, A C (1980). *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English (3rd edition)*. London: Edward Arnold

Godfrey, D K, Jones, E E, & Lord, C G (1986). Self-promotion is not ingratiating. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *50*, 106-115

Goffman, E (1955). On face-work: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. *Psychiatry*, *18(3)*, 213-231

Goffman, E (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday life*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday

Goodale, M (1987). *The Language of Meetings*. Brighton: Language Teaching Publications

Goodwin, C (1993). Recording human interaction in natural settings. *Pragmatics*, *3 (2)*, 181-209

Goodwin, M H (1980). Directive-response speech sequences in girls' and boys' task activities. In: McConnell-Ginet, S, Borker, R & Furman, N (eds.). *Women and Language in Literature and Society*. New York: Prager, 157-173

Goody, E (ed.) (1978). *Questions and Politeness: Strategies in Social Interaction*. Cambridge: CUP

Gordon, W I, Infante, D A & Izzo, J (1988). Variations in voice pertaining to dissatisfaction/ satisfaction with subordinates. *Management Communication Quarterly*, *2(1)*, 6-22

Graen, G (1976). Role-making processes within complex organizations. In: Dunnette, M D (ed.). *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1201-1245

Graen, G, & Cashman, J (1975). A role-making model of leadership in formal organizations: A developmental approach. In: Hunt, J G, & Larson, L L (eds.). *Leadership Frontiers*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 143-165

Graen, G, Novak, M, & Sommerkamp, P (1982). The effects of leader-member exchange and job design on productivity and satisfaction: testing a dual attachment model. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *30*, 109-131

Graen, G, Wakabayashi, M, Graen, M R, & Graen, M G (1990). International generalizability of American hypotheses about Japanese management progress: a strong inference investigation. *Leadership Quarterly*, *1*, 1-23

Grice, H P (1975). Logic and conversation. In: Cole, P & Morgan, J L (eds.). *Syntax and Semantics 3: speech and acts*. New York: Academic Press, 41- 58

Gu, Y (1990). Politeness phenomena in modern Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *14*, 237-257

Gudykunst, W B, Yoon, Y-C & Nishida, T (1987). The influence of individualism-collectivism on perceptions of communication in ingroup and outgroup relationships. *Communication Monographs*, *54*, 295-306

Gudykunst, W B, Ting-Toomey, S & Chua, E (1988). *Culture and Interpersonal Communication*. Newbury Park: Sage

Gumperz, J J (ed.) (1982). *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: CUP

Gumperz, J J & Cook-Gumperz, J (1982). Interethnic communication in committee negotiations. In: Gumperz, J J (ed.). *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: CUP, 145-162

Gumperz, J J & Hymes, D H (eds.) (1972). *Directions in Sociolinguistics: the ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston

Gumperz, J J & Tannen, D (1979). Individual and social differences in language use. In: Fillmore, C J, Kempler, D & Wang, W S-Y (eds.). *Individual Differences in Language Ability and Language Behavior*. New York, San Francisco and London: Academic Press, 305-325

Gumperz, J J, Jupp, T & Roberts, C (1990). *Crosstalk: An Introduction to Cross-Cultural Communication*. London: CILT

Gustafsson, M (1975). Some syntactic properties of English law language. Department of English, University of Turku, Turku

Hall, L (1977). *Meetings*. Plymouth: Macdonald and Evans

Halliday, M A K, (1978). *Language as a Social Semiotic*. London: Edward Arnold

Halliday, M A K, McIntosh, A & Strevens, P D, (1964). *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching*. London: Longman

Handy, C, (1987). *The Making of Managers*. London: NEDO/HMSO

Hanks, P & Corbett, J (1986). *Business Listening Tasks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Heider, F (1958). *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations*. New York: Wiley

Herbert, R K & H S Straight (1989). Compliment-rejection versus compliment-avoidance: listener-based versus speaker-based pragmatic strategies. *Language and Communication*, *9*, 35-47

Herzberg, B (1986). The politics of discourse communities. Paper presented at the CCC Convention, New Orleans, La, March, 1986 (Quoted in Swales, 1990)

Hewstone, M, Bond, M H & Wan, K-C (1983). Social facts and social attributions: the explanation of intergroup differences in Hong Kong. *Social Cognition*, *2(2)*, 142-157

Hildebrandt, H W (1988). A Chinese managerial view of business communication. *Management Communication Quarterly*, *2(2)*, 217-234

Hill, A A (1958). *Introduction to Linguistic Structures*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co

Hill, B, (1988). *Visitron: The Language of Meetings*. Harlow: Longman

Ho, D Y-F (1976). On the concept of face. *American Journal of Sociology*, *81 (4)*, 867-884

Hofstede, G (1980). *Culture's Consequences: International differences in work-related values*. London: Sage

Hofstede, G (1983). The cultural relativity of organizational practices and theories. *Journal of International Business Studies*, *1983*, 75-90

Hofstede, G (1985). The interaction between national and organisational value systems. *Journal of Management Studies*, *22(4)*, 347-357

Hollett, V (1991). *Business Objectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Holmes, J (1988). Paying compliments: a sex-preferential politeness strategy. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *12*, 445-465

Holtgraves, T & Yang, J-N (1990). Politeness as universal: cross-cultural perceptions of request strategies and inferences based on their use. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *59(4)*, 719-729

Hsu, F L K (1949). Suppression versus repression: a limited psychological interpretation of four cultures. *Psychiatry*, *12*, 223-242

Hsu, F L K (1971). Psychological homeostasis and jen: conceptual tools for advancing psychological anthropology. *American Anthropology*, *73*, 23-44

Hu, H C (1944). The Chinese concept of face. *American Anthropologist*, *46*, 45-65

Humble, J (1967). *Improving Business Results: the definitive work on Management by Objectives*. New York: MacGraw-Hill

Hunt, J G, & Larson, L L (eds.) (1975). *Leadership Frontiers*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press

Hwang, C H (1982). Studies in Chinese personality: a critical review. *Bulletin of Educational Psychology*, *15*, 227-240

Hwang, K K (1985). Face and favour: the Chinese power game. *American Journal of Sociology*, *92(4)*, 944-974

Hymes, D (1974). *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: an ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

Hymes, D (1977). Qualitative/quantitative research methodologies in education: a linguistic perspective. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, *Summer*, 165-176

Ivencevich, J M (1970). An analysis of control, bases of control, and satisfaction in an organizational setting. *Academy of Management Journal*, *13*, 427-436

Jackson, J A (ed.) (1968). *Social Stratification*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Jackson, J (1975). Normative power and conflict potential. *Sociological Methods and Research*, *4(2)*, 237-263

Janis, I L (1973). *Victims of Groupthink*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin

Janner, G (1986). *Janner on Meetings*. Aldershot: Gower

Johnson, D W & Johnson, S (1972). The effects of attitude similarity, expectation of goal facilitation, and actual goal facilitation on interpersonal attraction. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *8*, 197-206

Jones, D (1980). Gossip: notes on women's oral culture. *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, *3*, 193-198

Jones, E E (1964). *Ingratiation: A Social Psychological Analysis*. New York: Appleton, Century, and Crofts

Jones, E E, Rhodewalt, F, Berglas, S, & Skelton, J (1981). Effects of strategic self-presentation on subsequent self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *41*, 407-421

Jordan, J M & Roloff, M E (1990). Acquiring assistance from others: the effect of indirect requests and relational intimacy on verbal compliance. *Human Communication Research*, *16(4)*, 519-555

Kaplan, C. (1990). Language and gender. In: Cameron, D (ed.). *A Feminist Critique of Language*. London: Routledge, 57-69

Kaplan, R B & Ostler, S (1982). Contrastive rhetoric revisited. Paper read at the 1982 TESOL Convention, Honolulu, Hawaii (Quoted in Swales, 1990)

Kasper, G & Dahl, M (1991). Research methods in interlanguage pragmatics. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, *13*, 215-247

Kasper, G (1990). Linguistic politeness: current research issues. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *14*, 193-218

Katz, E & B Danet (1966). Petitions and persuasive appeals: a study of official-client relations. *American Sociological Review*, *31*, 811-832

Kim, K L, & Organ, D W (1982). Determinants of leader-subordinate exchange relationships. *Group & Organization Studies*, *7*, 77-89

King, A Y-C & Myers, J T (1977). *Shame as an Incomplete Conception of Chinese Culture: A Study of Face*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong (Social Research Centre)

Kipnis, D, Schmidt, S M, & Wilkinson, I (1980). Intraorganizational influence tactics: explorations in getting one's way. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *65 (4)*, 440-452

Kipnis, D, & Schmidt, S M (1982a). *Trainer's Manual for the Kipnis-Schmidt Profiles of Organizational Influence Strategies*. San Diego: University Associates

Kipnis, D, & Schmidt, S M (1982b). *Profiles of Organizational Influence Strategies (Form M)*. San Diego: University Associates

Kipnis, D, & Schmidt, S M (1988). Upward-influence styles: relationship with performance evaluations, salary and stress. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *33*, 528-542

Kipnis, D, & Vanderveer, R (1971). Ingratiation and the use of power. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *17*, 280-286

Kirkbride, P S, Tang, S F Y & Westwood, R I, (1991). Chinese conflict preferences and negotiating behavior: cultural and psychological influences. *Organisational Studies*, *12(3)*, 365-386

Kramarae, C (1981). *Women and men speaking: frameworks for analysis*. London: Newbury House

Kramarae, C (1982). Gender: how she speaks. In: Ryan, E B & Giles, H (eds.). *Attitudes towards Language Variation. The Social Psychology of Language (vol 1)*. London: Edward Arnold, 84-98

Kress, G (1985). *Linguistic Processes in Sociocultural Practice*. Geelong: Deakin University Press

Kumar, K, & Beyerlein, M (1991). Construction and validation of an instrument for measuring ingratiatory behaviors in organizational settings. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *76*, 619-627

Labov, W (1966). *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, D C: Center for Applied Linguistics

Lafayette De Mente, B (1994). *Chinese Etiquette and Ethics in Business*. Chicago: NTC Business Books

Lakoff, R (1975). *Language and Woman's Place*. New York: Harper Row

Landis, D & Brislin, R W (eds) (1983). *Handbook of Intercultural Training (vol 1)*. New York: Pergamon

Larwood, L (1991). Start with a rational group of people... In: Giacalone, R A and Rosenfeld, P (eds.). *Applied Impression Management*. London: Sage, 177-194

Larwood, L, Szwajkowski, E & Rose, S (1988). Sex and race discrimination resulting from manager-client relationships: applying the rational bias theory of managerial discrimination. *Sex Roles*, *18*, 9-29

Lawton, P, Rigby, E R & Hall, L, (1987). *Meetings: their Law and Practice*. London: M & E Handbooks

Leary, M R & Kowalski, R M (1990). Impression management: a literature review and two-component model. *Psychological Bulletin*, *107(1)*, 34-47

Leet-Pellegrini, H M (1980). Conversational dominance as a function of gender and expertise. In: Giles, H, Robinson, W P & Smith, P M (eds.). *Language: Social Psychological Perspectives*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 97-104

Leung, K & Bond, M H (1982). How Chinese and Americans reward task-related contributions: a preliminary study. *Psychologia*, *25*, 32-39

Leung, K (1987). Some determinants of reactions to procedural models of conflict resolution: a cross-national study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *53(5)*, 898-908

Levinson, S C (1979). Activity types and language. *Linguistics*, *17*, 365-399

Levinson, S C (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: CUP

Lewin, K (1951). *Field Theory in Social Science*. New York: Harper and Row

Liden, R C, & Graen, G (1980). Generalizability of the vertical dyad linkage model of leadership. *Academy of Management Journal*, *23*, 451-465

Liden, R C, & Mitchell, T R (1988). Ingratiatory behaviors in organizational settings. *Academy of Management Review*, *13*, 572-587

Liden, R C, & Mitchell, T R (1989). Ingratiation in the development of leader-member exchanges. In R Giacalone & Rosenfeld, P (eds.). *Impression Management in the Organization*. Hillsdale, NJ; Erlbaum, 343-361

Liu, W (1966). Chinese value orientations in Hong Kong. *Sociological Analysis*, *27*, 55-66

Lobingier, J (1969). *Business Meetings that make Business*. London: Macmillan

Lord, R G (1977). Functional leadership behaviour: measurement and relation to social power and leadership perceptions. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *22*, 114-133

Marriott, H E (1990). Intercultural business negotiations: the problem of norm discrepancy. *ARAL Series S*, *7*, 33-65

Martin, J R (1985). Process and text: two aspects of human semiosis. In: Benson, J D & Greaves, W S (eds.). *Systemic Perspectives on Discourse (vol 1)*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 248-274

Marwell, G & Schmitt, D R (1967). Dimensions of compliance-gaining behavior: an empirical analysis. *Sociometry*, *30*, 350-364

McCall, I & Cousins, J (1990). *Communication Problem Solving: the language of effective management*. Chichester: Wiley

McConnell-Ginet, S, Borker, R & Furman, N (eds.) (1980). *Women and Language in Literature and Society*. New York: Prager

Millen, M, O'Grady, C & Porter, J (1992). Communicating in a multicultural workforce: pragmatics and a problem-centred approach to cross-cultural training. *Prospect*, *7(2)*, 46-56

Miller, C (1984). Genre as social action. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, *70*, 151-167

Miller, L C & Kenny, D (1986). Reciprocity of self-disclosure at the individual and dyadic levels: a social relations analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *50*, 713-719

Mowday, R T (1978). The exercise of upward influence in organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *23*, 137-156

O'Driscoll, N & Pilbeam, A, (1987). *Meetings and Discussions*. Harlow: Longman

Olshtain E & A Cohen (1984). Apology: a speech act set. In: Wolfson, N & Judd, E (eds.). *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House, 18-35

Pandey, J (1981). A note about social power through ingratiation among workers. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, *54*, 65-67

Pandey, J, & Rastogi, R (1979). Machiavellianism and ingratiation. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *108*, 221-225

Patchen, M (1974). The locus and basis of influence on organizational decisions. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *11*, 195-221

Pedersen, P (1983). Learning about the Chinese culture through the Chinese language. *Communication and Cognition*, *16*, 403-412

Pufahl Bax, I (1986). How to assign work in an office: a comparison of spoken and written directives in American English. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *10*, 673-692

Rahim, M A & Buntzman, G F (1989). Supervisory power bases, styles of handling conflict with subordinates, and subordinate compliance and satisfaction. *Journal of Psychology*, *123*, 195-210

Rahim, M A & Buntzman, G F (1991). Impression management and organizational conflict. In: Giacalone, R A & Rosenfeld, P (eds.). *Applied Impression Management*. London: Sage, 157-174

Ralston, D A (1985). Employee ingratiation: the role of management. *Academy of Management Review*, *10*, 477-487

Ralston, D A and Elsass, P M (1991). Conformity: a subtle means of impression management. In: Giacalone, R A & Rosenfeld, P (eds.). *Applied Impression Management*. London: Sage, 241-256

Redding, G (1980). Cognitions as an aspect of culture and its relation to management processes: an exploratory view of the Chinese case. *Journal of Management Studies*, *17*, 127-148

Redding, G & Wong, Y Y (1986). The psychology of Chinese organizational behaviour. In: Bond, M H (ed.). *The Psychology of the Chinese People*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 267-295

Rees, W D (1991). *The Skills of Management*. London: Routledge

Richards, J & R Schmidt (eds.) (1983). *Language and Communication*. London, Longman

Roberts, C, Davies, E & Jupp, T (1992). *Language and Discrimination*. London: Longman

Roloff, M & Barnicott, E F (1978). The situational use of pro- and anti-social compliance-gaining strategies by high and low machiavellians. In: Rubin, B (ed.). *Communication Yearbook 2*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transactions Books, 193-205

Rosenfeld, P & Giacalone, R A (1991). From extreme to mainstream. In: Giacalone, R A & Rosenfeld, P (eds.). *Applied Impression Management*. London: Sage, 3-12

Rotter, J B (1966). Generalized expectancies for internal vs. external locus of control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs*, *80* (whole)

Rubin, B (ed.) (1978). *Communication Yearbook 2*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transactions Books

Rubin, D (1990). Effects of accent, ethnicity and lecture topic on undergraduates' perceptions on nonnative English-speaking teaching assistants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *14*, 337-353

Rubin, D, DeHart, J & Heintzman, M (1991). Effects of accented speech and culture-typical compliance-gaining style on subordinates' impressions of managers. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *15*, 267-283

Ryan, E B & Giles, H (eds.) (1982). *Attitudes towards Language Variation. The Social Psychology of Language (vol 1)*. London: Edward Arnold

Sacks, H, Schegloff, E A & Jefferson, G (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language*, *50*, 696-735

Sanday, P (ed.) (1976). *Anthropology and the Public Interest*: Fieldwork and Theory. New York: Academic Press

Saville-Troike, M (1982). *The Ethnography of Communication*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Schilit, W K & Locke, E A (1982). A study of upward influence in organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *27*, 304-316

Schlenker, B R & Leary, M R (1982). Social anxiety and self-presentation: a conceptualization. *Psychological Bulletin*, *92*, 641-669

Schlenker, B R & Weigold, M F (1990). Self-consciousness and self-presentation: being autonomous versus appearing autonomous. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *59*, 820-828

Schneider, D J (1981). Tactical self-presentations: towards a broader conception. In: Tedeschi, J T (ed.). *Impression Management Theory and Social Psychological Research*. New York: Academic press, 23-40

Scollon, R & Scollon, S B K (1981). *Narrative, Literacy and Face in Interethnic Communication*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex

Scollon, R & Scollon, S B K (1983). Face in interethnic communication. In: Richards, J & R Schmidt (eds.). *Language and Communication*. London: Longman, 156-188

Searle, J R (1969). *Speech Acts*. Cambridge University Press

Searle, J R (1976). A classification of illocutionary acts. *Language in Society*, *5 (1)*, 1-23

Sebastian, R J & Ryan, E B (1985). Speech cues and social evaluation: markers of ethnicity, social class and age. In: Giles, H & St. Clair, R N (eds.). *Recent Advances in Language, Communication & Social Psychology*. London: Erlbaum, 112-143

Sheng, R (1979). Outsiders' perceptions of the Chinese. *Columbia Journal of World Business*, *Summer 1979*, 16-22

Shenkar, O & Ronen, S (1987). The cultural context of negotiations: the implications of Chinese interpersonal norms. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *23(2)*, 263-275

Sinclair, J McH & Coulthard, M (1975). Towards an analysis of discourse. In: Coulthard, M (ed.). *Advances in Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge, 1-34

Smith, L E (ed.) (1987). *Discourse across Cultures: Strategies in World Englishes*. London: Prentice Hall International

Smith, P B & Bond, M H (1993). *Social Psychology Across Cultures: Analysis and Perspectives*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf

Smith, S W, Cody, M J, LoVette, S & Canary, D J (1990). Self-monitoring, gender and compliance-gaining goals. In: Cody, M J & McLaughlin, M L (eds.). *The Psychology of Tactical Communication*. Monographs in Social Psychology of Language (2). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 91-135

Snyder, M (1979). Self-monitoring processes. In: Berkowitz, L (ed.). *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology (vol 12)*. New York: Academic Press, 85-128

Snyder, M (1987). *Public Appearances, Private Realities: The Psychology of Self-Monitoring*. New York: Freeman

Spekman, R E (1979). Influence and information: an exploratory investigation of the boundary role person's basis of power. *Academy of Management Journal*, *22*, 104-117

Staw, B W & Salancik, G R (eds.) (1977). *New Directions in Organizational Behavior*. Chicago: St. Clair Press

Sullivan, E V (1984). *A Critical Psychology: interpretation of the personal world*. New York: Plenum

Swales, J M (1981). Aspects of article introductions. *Research Report No 1*. Birmingham: University of Aston (Language Studies Unit)

Swales, J M (1990). *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Tajfel, H (1974). Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Social Science Information*, *13(2)*, 65-93

Tajfel, H (ed.) (1978). *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in Intergroup Behaviour*. London: Academic Press

Tajfel, H (1981). *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Takahashi, T & Beebe, L M (1987). The development of pragmatic competence by Japanese learners of English. *JALT Journal*, *8*, 131-155

Takahashi, T & DuFon, P (1989). Cross-linguistic influence in indirectness: the case of English directives performed by native Japanese speakers. Unpublished manuscript, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu (Quoted in Kasper & Dahl, 1991)

Tandon, K, Ansari, M A & Kapoor, A (1990). Attributing upward influence attempts in organizations. *The Journal of Psychology*, *125(1)*, 59-63

Tang, S F Y & Kirkbride, P S (1986). Developing conflict management skills in Hong Kong: an analysis of some cross-cultural implications. *Management Education and Development*, *17(3)*, 287-301

Tannen, D (1985). Cross-cultural communication. In: van Dijk, T A (ed.). *Handbook of Discourse Analysis (vol 4)*. London: Academic Press, 203-215

Tannen, D (1990). *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*. New York: William Morrow

Tannen, D (ed.) (1993). *Gender and Conversational Interaction*. Oxford: OUP

Tannen, D (1994). *Gender and Discourse*. Oxford: OUP

Tannenbaum, A S (ed.) (1968). *Control in Organizations*. New York: McGraw-Hill

Tedeschi, J T (ed.) (1972). *The Social Influence Processes*. Chicago: Aldine

Tedeschi, J T (ed.) (1981). *Impression Management Theory and Social Psychological Research*. New York: Academic press

Tedeschi, J T & Melburg, V (1984). Impression management and influence in organizations. *Research in Sociology of Organizations*, *3*, 31-58

Tedeschi, J T (1990). Self-presentation and social influence: an interactionist perspective. In: Cody, M J & McLaughlin, M L (eds.). *The Psychology of Tactical Communication. Monographs in Social Psychology of Language (2)*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 301-323

Tedeschi, J T, Bonoma, T V & Schlenker, B R (1972). Influence, decision, and compliance. In: Tedeschi, J T (ed.). *The Social Influence Processes*. Chicago: Aldine, 346-418

Terborg, J R (1981). Interactional psychology and research on human behavior in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, *6*, 569-576

Thomas, J (1983). Cross-cultural pragmatic failure. *Applied Linguistics*, *4(2)*, 91-112

Thomas, J (1984). Cross-cultural discourse as 'unequal encounter': towards a pragmatic analysis. *Applied Linguistics*, *5(3)*, 226-235

Thomas, K & Kilmann, R (1978). Comparison of four instruments for measuring conflict behavior. *Psychological Reports*, *42*, 1139-1145

Thorne, B & Henley, N (eds.) (1975). *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House

Triandis, H C (1967). Interpersonal relations in international organizations. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *2*, 26-55

Triandis, H C (1983). Essentials of studying cultures. In: Landis, D & Brislin, R W (eds.). *Handbook of Intercultural Training (vol 1)*. New York: Pergamon, 82-117

Trosborg, A (1987). Apology strategies in natives/non-natives. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *11*, 147-167

Tsui, A S, & Barry, B (1986). Interpersonal affect and rating errors. *Academy of Management Journal*, *29*, 586-599

van Dijk, T A (ed.) (1985). *Handbook of Discourse Analysis (vol 4)*. London: Academic Press

Varonis, E M & Gass, S M (1985). Miscommunication in native/nonnative conversation. *Language in Society*, *14*, 327-343

Vecchio, R P (1985). Predicting employee turnover from leader-member exchange: a failure to replicate. *Academy of Management Journal*, *28*, 478-485

Ventola, E (1987). *The Structure of Social Interaction: A Systemic Approach to the Semiotics of Service Encounters*. London: Francis Pinter

Watson-Gegeo, K A (1988). Ethnography in ESL: defining the essentials. *TESOL Quarterly*, *22(4)*, 575-592

Wayne, S J, & Ferris, G R (1990). Influence tactics, affect, and exchange quality in supervisor-subordinate interactions: a laboratory experiment and field study. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *75*, 487-499

Wayne, S J & Kacmar, K M (1991). The effects of impression management on the performance appraisal process. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *48*, 70-88

Wheeler, L & Nezlek, J (1977). Sex differences in social participation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *35*, 742-754

Whyte, G (1989). Groupthink reconsidered. *Academy of Management Review*, *14*, 40-56

Widdowson, H (1979). *Explorations in Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Williams, A, Giles, H & Pierson, H (1990). Asian Pacific language and communication: foundations, issues and directions. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, *1 (1)*, 1-24

Williams, M (1988). Language taught for meetings and language used in meetings: Is there anything in common? *Applied Linguistics*, *9(1)*, 45-58

Willing, K (1992). Problem-solving discourse in professional work. *Prospect*, *7(2)*, 57-64

Willing, K (1992). *Talking It Through: clarification and problem-solving in professional work (Research Series 1)*. Sydney: NCELTR

Wolfson, N & Judd, E (eds.) (1984). *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House

Wolfson, N (1989). The social dynamics of native and nonnative variation in complimenting behavior. In: Eisenstein, M R (ed.). *The Dynamic Interlanguage: Empirical Studies in Second Language Variation*. New York: Plenum, 219-236

Wortman, C B & Linsenmeier, J A W (1977). Interpersonal attraction and techniques of ingratiation in organizational settings. In: Staw, B W & Salancik, G R (eds.). *New directions in Organizational Behavior*. Chicago: St. Clair Press, 133-178

Yang, K S (1981). Social orientation and individual modernity among Chinese students in Taiwan. *Journal of Social* Psychology, *113*, 159-170

Yngve, V (1970). On getting a word in edgewise. *Papers from the 6th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society*, 567-578

York Associates (1993). *Effective Meetings*. The York Training Packs, York: York Associates

Yukl, G (1989). *Leadership in Organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall

Yukl, G & Tracey, J B (1992). Consequences of influence tactics used with subordinates, peers, and the boss. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *77*, 525-535

Yukl, G, Falbe, C M, & Youn, J Y (1993). Patterns of influence behavior for managers. *Group & Organization Management*, *18(1)*, 5-28

Zimmerman, D & West, C (1975). Sex roles, interruptions, and silences inconversation. In: Thorne, B & Henley, N (eds.). *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 105-129

NOTES

1 1994 Hong Kong Census and Statistics Office figures

2 Gweilo (关系). Literally 'ghost'. A term used by the local Chinese in Hong Kong to refer to any foreigner. When marked, it can have disparaging, abusive or amusing overtones.

3 This survey (the Cross-Cultural Communication Survey, or CCCS) appears in Appendix C at the back of this study.

4 In the literature, this term is used interchangeably with the term 'impression management'.

5 The study of gender-based discourse could be considered to be a branch of the study of cross-cultural discourse, since, for the purpose of the present study, the term 'culture' embraces all groups of people whose behaviour may influence individual communicative behaviour. This definition would consider the notion of 'cross-cultural' to embrace considerations of gender as well as ethnicity. However, gender-based studies of language do appear to have a literature of their own, separate from studies of inter-ethnic discourse, and it is for this reason that the two are separated here.

6 Lakoff (1979) found, for example that the occurrence of tag questions and questions in general was considerably higher in female than in male speech (Lakoff, 1979: 143), although Fishman (1980) refutes the claim that this is evidence of 'powerless' speech, and maintains that, since questions collocate with answers, the making of questions may be indicative of more 'powerful' speech than the making of statements.

7 As Smith & Bond (1993) note, however, 'The social change option is likely to be a slow and difficult process everywhere (in individualist and collectivist groups), since changes in the attributes of one whole social group may well threaten the position of other groups and take time to mobilize' (Smith & Bond, 1993: 81).

8 The 'rewards' for successful impression management in the workplace include the more obvious promotion, salary raises, successful job applications, and so on, as well as the less obvious returns that come from good relationships with our superiors, subordinates and colleagues.

9 Bond's chapter on cultural modes of impression management in Giacalone & Rosenfeld (1991) is one of the exceptions to this observation. In fact, Bond has sought over the years to explain some of the ethnic (especially Chinese) bases of impression management.

10 For example, research by Coates (1986) and Tannen (1994).

11 Clearly, the notion of 'good impression' varies cross-culturally. So a 'good impression' among Chinese interactants may be perceived as a 'bad' impression among Westerners, and vice versa.

12 This is not necessarily the case. Some very 'effective' influence strategies, especially those that place a heavy pressure on subordinate targets to comply, may lead to the creation of negative impressions of the 'influencer'.

13 Referring to French and Raven's (1959) division of power into 'referent power', 'expert power', 'legitimate power', 'reward power' and 'coercive power'.

14 A number of participants in the training programme that was run at Cathay Pacific Airways suggested that social mobility was common as staff progressed up the corporate ladder. With promotion came the requirement of conformity to a corporate 'norm', especially among staff working for the holding company, Swire Pacific (see footnote 7 in Chapter 3).

15 Part of the pressure for this to happen may come from the unwillingness of minority groups to adopt dominant group discourse practices. For example, research by Giles and Byrne (1982) and Gardner (1985) has shown that, in some situations, the desire to withstand pressures to conform may lead certain groups to emphasise their ethnic separateness through discourse in their encounters with representatives of the dominant language group.

16 Such as has occurred in the fields of television and radio broadcasting in Britain.

17 Also transliterated as *mien-tzu* and *mianzi* by other authors.

18 The audio-recording, as well as the soundtrack to the video-recording, was carried out using Sony Digital Audio Tape (DAT) recording equipment. The data has subsequently been converted into permanent optical form (compact disk) using Denon digital equipment. This technology allows random access to the data, and the ability to index data in ways that are impossible using traditional technology.

19 Figures from Cathay Pacific Airways' Illustrated History, CPA Public Relations (1990), p.15

20 Mr Richard Stirland, Cathay's Director of Corporate Development, quoted in the *South China Morning Post*, 13/5/92

21 Figures from Cathay Pacific Airways' Illustrated History, CPA Public Relations (1990), p.13

22 *Roberts' Rules of Order* are a widely accepted set of rules that govern chairmanship and patterns of participation in formally constituted meetings.

23 An item is defined as an exchange or sequence of exchanges, relating to a single topic. See section 5.5.2 in Chapter 5 for a description of speech acts used to mark the boundaries between items ('marking' speech acts).

24 Nevertheless, according to those interviewed, certain distinctions could, perhaps, be made between employees of CPA and Swire Pacific. For example, the former are usually technical specialists employed on contract terms, whereas the latter tend to be 'generalists' on career terms. During interviews, it emerged

that there might be grounds for distinguishing between the two groups on the basis of (i) their technical knowledge (ii) their company 'allegiance and values' (terms used by those interviewed).

25 The term 'status' should not be confused with the term 'power', used in later chapters of this study. 'Status' is a matter of the role a meeting-attender plays in a meeting; 'power', on the other hand, relates to a combination of 'bases of influence', some of which are described in Chapter 2. These include 'authority', 'control over resources and rewards', as well as less official sources of power such as 'reputation', 'physical presence' and so on. This type of power is central to the discussion in later chapters of this study.

26 A study of the discourse patterns of these other groups might constitute an interesting area of future research.

27 In terms of their speaking skills, the average proficiency of non-native English speaking chairs and participants at or above Assistant Manager-level in the MAW corpus meetings is of the order of a level 5 or 6 in the IELTS test. In some cases, it is far higher.

28 In this study, I have used the term 'resonance' to describe broad agreement between the impressions formed by two or more people on the basis of a string of discourse. The term 'discordance' is used to describe the situation where a given discourse string produces divergent impressions on the part of two or more hearers.

29 Including 'one-liners', as in the following example, the purpose of which appears to be more to do with the maintenance of a congenial atmosphere in the meeting room than to do with substantive comment:

RW So (1) erm Will Millside is aware of this and he said essen- essentially these sort of thing will happen {JD: Yeah}, will continue to happen, but er (1) he's hoping we'll get some people back from from from no smoking so - (2) The other thing is well er =
JD = *Who was that? Philip Morris or someone was it?*
BW Probably.
((Laughter)) (D.8 [p.452]: M/W/P)

30 These seem rather similar to the speech act of 'aside', identified in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), to describe 'empty' utterances made by a teacher to the blackboard or the floor.

31 Typically, meetings in the MAW corpus have a four phase structure. This consists of an *introductory* phase, a *'business'* phase (with or without prescribed agenda-items), an *'any other business'* phase, and a *concluding* phase.

32 An item is defined as an exchange or sequence of exchanges, relating to a single topic. Items appear to be particularly meaningful in the context of business meetings, where discourse is often regulated by an agenda which makes explicit reference to items.

33 It is not suggested, however, that other speech acts are devoid of impression managing potential. Indeed, I believe that future research could profitably focus on, for example, the impression managing potential of 'representatives', and other classes of speech act.

34 By comparing the discourse of different groups within the meetings attended, it it not implied that these speakers are necessarily representative of the cultural groups of which they are members.

35 Although, as this study depends not only on the analyst's but also on the participants' perceptions of discourse (see Chapter 10), it may benefit more from a high degree of internal validity.

36 Research on compliments by Herbert & Straight (1989), for example, has shown that complimenting strategies are not only a reflection of solidarity but also a means of constructing it

37 'Politeness' appears to be rather similar to the impression managing category of 'deference' which is analysed in the chapter that deals with the impression managing potential of speech acts (Chapter 10).

38 This is identical, in lexico-grammatical terms, to the 'Can we' used in the direct requesting interrogative, *Can we talk about that after the meeting?*. However, in prosodic terms, it is distinct. This illustrates the point that a single grammatical form may have several functions in context.

39 This is partly because the CCSAR Project was based on discourse completion tasks, whereas the present study is based on the analysis of authentic conversational data.

40 This is distinct from a 'grounder' in that it is not the *reason* for the request that is being explicated, so much as the *propositional content* of the request. All supportive moves, however, serve the same purpose of increasing the suasive properties of Type A directive speech acts.

41 This is a measure of the *relative frequency of occurrence* of each class of speech acts, *as identified by the analyst*. It is not a measure of the *quantity of discourse* devoted to the four categories of speech acts. The 'representative' speech act of *informing*, for example, involves a far greater quantity of discourse than, say, the 'directive' speech act of *eliciting*, which is normally realised with a single word or short phrase.

42 Although an analysis of Chinese and Western discourse patterns reveals that Western participants more frequently respond verbally to information given by the chair (see the comparison of Chinese and Western speech act utilisation in Chapter 8).

43 Perhaps this reflects (i) the demographic profile of Cathay Pacific Airways, and/or (ii) the corporate culture of the company, as described in Chapter 3.

44 For instance, the chair's high level of authority ('legitimate power' in French & Raven's (1959) terms), time constraints in meetings, the predictability and high frequency of chair requests and commands, and so on, might all lead one to predict that chairs' discourse might be relatively more direct than participants' discourse.

45 This last locus-type is, I suspect, very specific to this corpus, in which it was very common for meeting attenders (particularly Western males) to prescribe the problem-solving approach that they felt was most appropriate to a particular occasion.

46 It will be noted that such locus-type I requests often involve the use of the pronoun 'we' to refer to the hearer.

47 This number represents the total number of meeting attenders in the meetings in the MAW corpus at or above Assistant Manager-level. In some cases, the same individuals were present in a number of meetings.

48 This raises questions regarding the representative nature of the discourse, and whether linguistic behaviour in contexts in which speakers are in the numerical minority differs from those in which they are in the majority. Although, for the purposes of the present study, variation arising as a result of speakers' being numerically 'disadvantaged' in this way is not considered, this might prove an interesting area of future study (see footnote 7 below).

49 It is interesting to note that the appropriateness of reacting verbally to chair information may be socioculturally prescribed, since there appears to be a general trend for neither Chinese nor female participants to react verbally to chair-furnished information, whereas Western male participants often react verbally. However, it is noticeable that this tendency is restricted to co-ordination meetings (Ma meetings), in which there is a heavy preponderance of highly knowledgeable, high ranking and 'powerful' Western males. Thus, meeting typology and 'power' may also be factors which affect whether a participant reacts verbally to chair information.

50 Researchers in the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (see Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper (1989) also discovered a consistent preference for grounding supportive moves (p.239).

51 This may be a direct reflection of each groups' relative power (Brown & Gilman, 1972).

52 It is not suggested that these (and/or other) patterns are necessarily identifiable in talk throughout the corpus. It is quite likely, in fact, that Type A directive speech acts are markedly different from other speech acts in that their use may be predicated upon speakers' having a certain 'power' base.

53 Once again, a question is raised as to whether, if females were in the majority in meetings, their discourse would demonstrate similar or different patterns. It has been assumed that their verbal performances would be similar, although it must be conceded that this may not be the case. Coates (1986), for example, in her discussion of female behaviour in mixed-groups, suggests that this is not the case (Coates, 1986: 151).

Equally, with such a limited sample size, the presence of certain vociferous individuals in certain meetings can easily skew data. Future research with larger sample sizes will, hopefully, clarify these two issues.

54 Given the fact that Chinese participants tend not to use these strategies, this table is virtually identical to that presented for Western participants in the preceding section.

55 This finding is in contrast with, for example, Lakoff's finding (Lakoff, 1975) that female discourse contained a high proportion of questions in general, and of tag questions in particular. The virtual absence of tag questions in female discourse in the corpus may be partly due to the differences between the discourse of business meetings and the discourse of social events, which were the focus of Lakoff's research. It is also possible, but by no means proven, that, if the presence of tag questions demonstrates affective involvement, their absence in female discourse may reveal that women are 'marginalised' in certain business meetings, as was suggested above.

56 Clearly, since 'elaborators' serve to spell out the propositional content of a speech act, they tend to only occur in 'post-head' position.

57 This data, which relates to chairs rather than participants, has been included here because it relates to apparent differences in the behaviour of Chinese and Western meeting attenders.

58 There may be some basis for suggesting that women's non-use of directive speech acts in business meetings may be a reflection of the fact that women have no 'ownership' of this particular speech event. Coates quotes research by Goodwin (1980) into the use of directive speech acts by young girls and boys as demonstrating that, when free to choose, females tend to use different types of directive speech act than males. 'The linguistic forms used reflect the social organisation of the group: the boy's group is herarchically organised, with leaders using very strong directive forms to demonstrate control, while the girls' group is non-hierarchical with all girls participating in decision-making on an equal basis' (Coates, 1986: 107)

59 The term 'participant-observer' describes those who took part in the training in Phase III of the project. In many cases, they were people who had taken part in the meetings in the MAW corpus (ie chairs or participants); in others, they were colleagues of those who had taken part.

60 Although both of these studies were based on 'roleplay' data rather than on naturally occurring spoken discourse.

61 Although this is just my own perception, and I acknowledge that participant-observers may hold different views on this, views which emerge from their metapragmatic assessments and from discussion.

62 On the one hand, Westerners in the group tended to feel that manipulativeness could, in many contexts, be a positive characteristic, eg *'I'm very much 'for' manipulation if it's for the good of both parties. To me it's part of being sensitive. To me if you're sensitive enough to realise that you're going to have to do things slightly differently, you may call it 'manipulative' but it's in a good way; it get things done; it gets people to understand what's happening.'* On the other, Chinese participants tended to see manipulativeness in a negative light, eg *'To me, manipulativeness means 'not fully honest' and also, 'making use of others' weakness'*.

63 The discourse features that are discussed in this analysis include the functional-grammatical, prosodic and lexical features summarised in Chapter 9. In the description of each of the impression managing categories in this chapter, only those features that are considered salient are discussed.

64 As was mentioned in preceding chapters, it must be acknowledged that the MAW corpus is of limited size, and, thus, the presentation of statistical evidence in this and other tables should not be taken to imply that findings are universally applicable.

65 It should be reiterated that judgments about speakers made on the basis of strings of their discourse alone (as in the present analysis) do not provide a complete picture of person perception. Person perception in real-life is not a matter of a simple accrual of perceptions based on spoken discourse. Firstly, judgments about people are often made on the basis of what they do not say, as well as on the basis of what they say. Secondly, people are bound to be perceived in the light of their actions as well as their words. It should not therefore be inferred from this analysis that a speaker's words are the sole basis on which person perception occurs.

66 Chairs tend to focus their requests on a particular hearer or hearers, and so tend to use 'speaker-exclusive' direct requesting statements with *You can*/ *you should*/ *you must* and so on. Participants, on the other hand, tend to use 'speaker-inclusive' direct requesting statements with *We can*/ *we should*/ *we must* and so on.

67 Chairs' suggestions tend to focus on what a particular hearer (or group of hearers) should do. In a similar way to chair requests (see footnote 8 above), chair suggestions tend to use 'speaker-exclusive' direct suggestory statements with *You can*/ *you should*/ *you must* and so on. Conversely, participants tend to use 'speaker-inclusive' direct suggestory statements with *We may have to*/ *we need to*/ *we ought to* and so on.

68 This comment is based on the assumption that impressions of authoritativeness lead to successful influence attempts. However, this is by no means certain. It must be acknowledged that the real-world effects of perceptions of authoritativeness (and other perceptions) on the success or otherwise of influence attempts are still rather unclear.

69 It is, for a relative 'outsider' such as myself, difficult to make judgments about what constitute hidden messages in the discourse in the corpus. Due to this difficulty, I have had to seek advice/clarification from people in the meetings on several occasions.

70 It will be recalled that these strategies tend to also be associated with perceptions of high authoritativeness, supporting the view that there may be an inverse relationship in some cultural contexts between authoritativeness and sensitiveness.

71 It is rather difficult, on occasions, to differentiate between sincere deference and insincere false praise. This does not, however, weaken this type of subjective analysis. Rather, it highlights the ambiguity inherent in impression management.

72 Given the closeness of relationships that exist in the meeting room, the time constraints in operation and the familiarity of all present with particular topics, a certain apparent lack of deference may almost be expected in business meetings. Whereas, to an outsider such as myself, some utterances in a meeting might appear to be lacking in deference, this view might not be shared by the people in the meeting. This point and others like it, strongly argue in favour of the collection of participants' metapragmatic assessments of discourse, knowing, as they do, the contextual factors that affect considerations of appropriateness.

73 As mentioned in Chapter 1, 'resonance' is a measure of the agreement that exists between metapragmatic assessments relating to impression managing categories. 'Discordance' is a measure of the discrepancy between different individuals' or groups' metapragmatic assessments relating to impression managing categories. As far as I am aware, these terms have not been used before to describe these phenomena.

74 It is, after all, a fact that, in terms of language training, considerable effort is devoted to helping minority groups to conform to the conventions established by 'dominant' groups.

75 It could even be argued that the analyst's judgments are to some degree less valid than those of people who took part in the event, since the analyst's understanding of the event does not usually extend to a full understanding of the personal relationships between those taking part, nor to an awareness of the reputational characteristics of the individuals involved.

76 As can be seen in Appendix B, IDT items reflect the full range of speakers' directness strategies (from indirect requestive/ suggestory hints to direct requestive/suggestory imperatives).

77 This point illustrates that asking different cultural groups to assess verbal performances subjectively, and according to criteria that are not clearly defined either in terms of their underlying meaning or in terms of their variability, has a number of shortcomings. These shortcomings, do not, however, invalidate the process of collecting metapragmatic assessments in the way outlined in this chapter. They do, however, suggest that if participants' questionnaire responses are to be meaningful, they must be followed up and clarified in some way. In the case of the present study, this has been achieved through a process of discussion/ training (see Chapter 11).

78 The notion of topic-handling as a form of deference is a new and exciting one, I think, and it is one which remains to be explored more fully than it is handled here.

79 Clearly, to continue the farmyard analogy, there is an element of 'chicken and egg' here. As junior members of staff seldom have things of great significance to report in meetings, how can they ever project impressions of authoritativeness? Discussion with senior managers reveals, however, that the notion of 'significance' changes as a member of staff rises through the ranks. It seems that a 'good' manager helps junior members of staff feel that they are making a 'significant' contribution, even when the content of their reports is objectively quite trivial. There are a number of instances where this appears to be happening in the MAW corpus.

80 This was also identified by female participant-observers as a significant factor in assessments of deference. Females appeared to associate softspokenness with a highly deferential speaking style.

81 Clearly, given the fact that training also generates results which are fed into the analysis, these four processes also represent the analytical model used in this study. As remarked before, the relationship between analysis and training is therefore a symbiotic one.

82 Although, this may be one way in which training could be carried out. Many people welcome training that teaches them to conform to dominant practices, since promotion to senior positions in a company may be dependent upon an individual demonstrating that they are familiar with, and prepared to conform to, certain practices that are marked as 'appropriate' for a particular rank.

83 This may be especially true at senior levels of companies, where, perhaps, staff are required to 'represent the company'

84 Seldom, however, are the two so graphically juxtaposed as in the present illustration.

85 Business meetings share certain formal and functional features with the rugby match described in this vignette. Firstly, both activities are goal-oriented and rule-governed, and involve performance by 'players'. Secondly, there is, in both, someone who coordinates the activities of players and ensures that play is 'conventionally appropriate'. Thirdly, the ethnic and gender composition of teams (both 'rugby teams' and 'work-teams') reflects the ethnic and gender diversity of the organisations of which they are a part.