GENDERED USE OF METADISCOURSE IN THE WORKPLACE EMAIL OF BRITISH MARKETING PROFESSIONALS

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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

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Jamie McKeown

Abstract:

Metadiscourse is a type of reflexive language, the frontiers of which have barely been breached. In answer to a research call from Aguilar (2008) and Smart (2016) with regards to interactive data and metadiscourse, the present study conducts a contrastive analysis into the use of the phenomenon in workplace group email. In the absence of a directly applicable framework, a relatively novel model of metadiscourse is used: the reflexive, minimally integrationist model. The model combines taxonomies of the broad approach to metadiscourse (Vande Kopple, 1985; Hyland, 2005); with theoretical precepts of the narrow approach (Ä del, 2006). It it minimally integrationist in that it advocates for the inclusion of a restricted class of stance markers (justified on reflexive grounds). This latter point effectively means that the model gives recognition to stance as a category of reflexive metadiscourse. Nevertheless, metadiscourse is upheld as consisting in a specific set of references (i.e. the reflexive triangle) within the world of discourse.

In answer to a research call with regards to metadiscourse and gender, the latter is used as the contrastive variable in the present study (Ä del, 2006). The use of the two cultures model (Maltz and Borker, 1983; Holmes, 2006) provides a conceptual measure for both the comparison of female and male behaviour, as well as the classification of language use in terms of gendered discourse norms. As will be seen, gender manifests in all forms of communicative phenomenon such that it is possible to observe affiliative and assertive principles in communication.

A total of 286 emails (comprising 54 chains), taken from three companies within the British marketing industry, are analysed in the present thesis. Qualitative textual analysis is the primary method. In terms of analysis, a given email chain is treated as the most meaningful unit of data (Androutsopoulos, 2006) meaning a text internal relation is treated as capable of stretching beyond the immediate message. It also means that a sender is taken as able to use metadiscourse in relation to another sender's content (e.g. express reflexive attitude). Where relevant, the level of analysis shifts from the sentential level to the macro-text level. This allows for insight into the global functions of certain markers (e.g. *transitions* and *frame markers*).

In terms of the core findings, senders in all three discourse communities displayed a pronounced orientation towards affiliative communication. Assertive communication was rare and by no means the chicane of male senders. Metadiscourse by its nature is highly facilitative and so was predominantly used in the execution of affiliative discourse strategies. Female and male senders displayed a pronounced degree of similarity in their frequency usage of metadiscourse. Functionally, the respective genders displayed greater difference. Consistent differences across the three communities occurred in the use of *phoric markers*; *attitude markers*; and *self mentions*. Female senders frequently used *phoric markers* to refer to earlier messages in the email. They also displayed a greater tendency to mark the contribution of others in such constructions. Male senders predominantly used the markers to refer to their own emails, and frequently marked their own contribution. In terms of *attitude markers*, male senders predominantly expressed gratitude. Female senders used the devices to express a wider range of affective sentiment. Such use frequently involved evaluative commentary.   In terms of *self mentions*, female senders indexed themselves as senders/constructors of the current message as part of a politeness strategy. Males did not engage in such behaviour.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

The following chapter is divided into five main sections. The first two sections will discuss the background and rationale behind the current study. The aims and research questions will then be presented. The final section will outline the organisation of the report.

1.2. Background

The use of email as a medium of communication is an inescapable reality for most workers in today's global economic hegemon. According to the Radicati group (2015) a typical email user sends and receives an average of 121 emails during his or her working day. Globally, a staggering 108.7 billion emails are sent within an average 24 hour period. Koester (2010) suggests that email has become the most important means of professional communication in the modern workplace; several other key studies also point to the seminal importance of email as a medium of communication (e.g. Nickerson, 1999; Argenti, 2006; Waldvogel, 2007; Evans, 2012). Email is such an integral part of today's commercial sphere that it is hard to imagine office based work without it. Indeed, I do not know a world without workplace email.

Before the digital revolution, communicating to groups of people was a costly affair requiring a considerable amount of effort. An individual wishing to communicate with multiple parties would have to resort to the use of analogue media such as company publications (e.g. internal magazines or newsletters), or arrange physical meetings. Whittaker et al (2005) claim the successful diffusion of email is largely due to the fact that it frees: 'participants from the constraints of space and time –allowing senders and recipients to communicate at times and in places that are convenient to each' (2005:1). Before the mass adoption of email:

'our primary mode of communication existed on a one-to-one level. We wrote a letter to one person; we placed a phone call and were connected...we could copy a memo and send it to several recipients, but even this required a further step of making copies and then physically develering them' (Freeman, 2015: 98).

Digital technologies like email have dramatically changed the communications landscape. But email has not only conquered space and time limits; it also has radically extended reach. The introduction of email into the modern office meant senders: '…could send the same message to as many recipients as we had addresses. We could forward and duplicate messages as fast as the most heavy-duty copier…' (Freeman, 2015: 98). Of course, one-to-one messages are still frequently sent, but there is a sense in which email has transformed the modern worker into a broadcaster.

Through group email, corporate employees are constantly involved in a one-to-many communication nexus. Indeed, many modern workers have to become accustomed to textualised public communication. This has been shown to be a major contributor to workplace stress (Jackson et al, 2003; Hair, 2006). Research has shown that those who prefer normatively masculine modes of communication tend to dominate in public situations (Tannen, 1995; Holmes, 2006; Baxter, 2010). In contrast, those who prefer normatively feminine modes of communication tend to prefer more private settings. The present research, in part, looks at the ways in which gendered discourse norms and ways of behaving are influenced by public digital spaces.

In the new communicative space that has been opened up by email, senders often have to oscillate between multiple conversations which may well require different response styles and registers. The ease with which a regretful or tactless remark can be amplified means the spectre of online humiliation constantly looms over senders[1]. They must further employ a range of linguistic and discursive strategies to overcome the problems inherent in a communicative situation that does not involve visual or audio cues. The present study looks at a specific type of discourse strategy i.e. metadiscourse, in order to see how senders organise their texts; express stance towards their texts; and engage their readers.

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[1] I confess to flushing with embarrassment when thinking about my own email faux pas.

1.3. Rationale

The axis around which the whole thesis turns comprises three main elements: workplace email; metadiscourse; and gender. The rationale behind the choice for each will be discussed in the following section.

1.3.1. Why study workplace email?

Astonishingly, it has been over 40 years since the first email message was sent, and over 30 years since researchers began to investigate computer-mediated-communication (Sproull and Kieslr, 1985). Despite the importance of the medium within a commercial setting, there has been a tendency for linguistic studies of email to focus on data taken from a tertiary or educational context (e.g. Bjørge, 2007; Bou-Franch, 2011; Chejnová, 2014). The present thesis therefore intends to add to the growing literature concerned with the use of workplace email.

The use of metadiscourse within email (workplace or educational) remains largely unexplored. This is particularly surprising given the fascinating communication nexus that arises between writers and readers within the medium. Indeed, Yaross Lee (1996) goes so far as to claim a moment of significance for email in the history of writing:

> 'By allowing readers and writers to meet in cyber space, email repairs the disjunction between authors and their discourse that philosophers from Plato to Derrida have found problematic…The electronic text embodies the author –the virtual speaker who meets the reader, who becomes embodied by a similar process in response' (1996: 275-276).

What happens to metadiscourse when readers and writers meet in a medium like email? At the time of writing, Jensen (2009) remains the only study to consider the use of metadiscourse within email. It should be noted that Jensen's study only examined the interactional component in Hyland (2005)[2]. The model used in the present study allowed for a full exploration of the textual, stance, and engagement components of metadiscourse. To my knowledge, there is no account of the use of reflexive metadiscourse in workplace email.

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[2] See Chapter 2, section 2.4.; and, Chapter 3; section 3.7.

As alluded to above, a further choice was made to examine a specific interactional context within workplace email: group email[3]. Three main reasons guided this choice. Firstly, although only a few studies have recognised the distinction between dyadic (i.e. one-to-one) and group emails, linguistically interesting differences have been found to exist. For instance, Perez-Sabater (2008) reports that orality and informality are more pronounced in one-on-one emails when compared to emails with multiple parties copied. McKeown and Zhang (2015) report that structural politeness (i.e. opening salutation, and closing valediction) varies significantly between dyadic and group emails. Secondly, despite having been an integral part of everyday commercial usage, the phenomenon of group email has been neglected in the literature. Thirdly, one-on-one dyadic emails resemble earlier epistolary forms of communication (i.e. letters) in that just two parties are privy to the content (Milne, 2010). Group email differs radically in that the content of such messages and interactional dynamics occur in the presence of copied parties. Through the use of group email, assertions, mistakes, arguments, insults, compliments, e.t.c. are all amplified in interesting and novel ways. Furthermore, face-to-face public contexts like meetings have been shown to influence gendered discourse norms (Holmes, 2006; Baxter, 2010). Group email is a digital meeting space in which interlocutors engage in communication. Little is known about how gendered discourse norms are influenced by new forms of workplace communication which involves a pronounced public element (i.e. numerous copied parties).

Whilst the choice to examine workplace email was driven by more theoretical considerations, the choice to examine emails taken from the marketing industry was driven by a practical consideration, i.e. access to data. Before pursuing a doctoral thesis I worked in the creative industries for a number of years. This meant that I was able to take advantage of connections made in my previously established professional network. Whilst data was collected from independent privately owned companies not subject to stringent data security, the choice of the three communities was not arbitrary. The first community (i.e. the marketing department) was chosen for the fact that the majority of the senders were client-side workers. Client-side workers occupy positions within the marketing department of a given organisation e.g. Nike, Cadburys, or Volkswagen. They hire (and fire) agencies to fulfil the various functions of a

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[3] Defined as an email chain in which each email contained a minium of three parties: sender; receiver; and at least one other copied party.

company's marketing e.g. promotions, advertising, direct sales. As a result they are relatively powerful. The second community (i.e. the advertising agency) was chosen because the majority of senders were agency-side workers. Agents are employed to provide expertise and specialist services to clients e.g. advertising, press relationships, packaging design. Although they do not hire and fire, agents hold the power of expertise vis-a-vis clients. Finally, the third community (i.e. the research agency) was chosen for the fact that the role of client/agent is relatively fluid. As a result of the nature of their work, research agencies (particularly the smaller variety) often have to outsource many aspects of their work (e.g. telephone interviews). A research manager may act in the capacity of agent in relation to his or her client in one moment. In the next moment, the same research manager may act in the capacity of a client when he or she outsources a particular part of a research project.

1.3.2. Why study metadiscourse?

Two main reasons guided the choice of metadiscourse as the concept of analysis: theoretical opportunities; and the richness of the potential insight gained. As will be explored in greater detail later, there currently exist two distinct schools of metadiscourse: respectively referred to as the narrow (non integrative) school and the broad (integrative) school. Although numerous minor differences exist between the schools, the major divisive issue concerns the inclusion or exclusion of stance as a category of metadiscourse.[4] The narrow school (Mauranen, 1993; Ä del, 2006) advocates the exclusion of stance (on the grounds that it does not satisfy the metalingual function). In contrast the broad school (Vande Kopple, 1985; Crismore et al, 1993; Hyland, 2005) advocates inclusion of the category (as a manifestation of speaker attitude). Despite offering a valuable theoretical opportunity, there has been no attempt, detectable by the author, to cross-fertlise approaches from the two schools. It is my belief that ideas revitalise, or even super-vitalize, when they compress. In other words, there are great advantages to be gained from principles fusion of models drawn from the separate schools of metadiscourse. For instance, the approach adopted in the present thesis allows for

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[4] It should be noted that the differences can run deeper than the inclusion or exclusion of stance dependent upon the model in question. For instance, Ädel (2006) differs from the broad school in a number of major ways such as the exclusion of all intertextual items, a focus on the world of discourse, and the use of reflexivity as the basis of identification.

an avoidance of contentious definitional issues that haunt the broad school[5], but still retain the taxonomical robustness involved in studies like Hyland (2005). The present thesis therefore uniquely advances the field by combining the two distinct approaches to metadiscourse.

Most studies on metadiscourse have been concerned with monologic, analogue forms of media such as chairman's letters (Hyland, 2005); academic articles (Hyland, 1998a; 1999; 2002; 2007); or history textbooks (Crismore et al, 1993). Indeed, Ä del (2010), Mauranen (2010) and Hyland (2017) warn that the approach is in danger of becoming narrowly associated with academic writing. The present thesis seeks to extend insight into the phenomenon of metadiscourse through the application of the concept to interactive data (i.e. email). Furthermore, most studies have also focused on the sentential level of analysis. In terms of counting, the unit of analysis remains relatively small (i.e. single words and phrases) in the present study. However, a concerted effort is made to consider the use of the phenomenon in relation to longer stretches of text (i.e. whole emails). Such an approach allows for insight into the way in which individual markers perform important macro-level functions beyond the immediate propositional environment (Aguilar, 2008).

A further theoretical opportunity is provided by the fact that many metadiscourse studies focus on the issue of defining metadiscourse and delineating the boundaries between individual markers of metadiscourse. More recent studies have begun to enrich the field through the application of different prisms with which to view items of metadiscourse (e.g. Ifantidou, 2005; Aguilar, 2008; Abdi et al, 2010). The present study builds on such a trend through the examination of the use of metadiscourse in relation to gender and language use. The examination of gender as a contrastive variable allows for a comparison of how men and women use metadiscourse. It also allows for a consideration of metadiscourse in the realisation of gendered discourse norms (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003).

In terms of insight, whilst metadiscourse can only ever represent a partial account of language use, it allows for the investigation of three highly important linguistic functions: the textual, expressive, and directive (Jakobson, 1998). According to Jakobson, the metalingual

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[5]See Chapter 2, section 2.5.2; and Chapter 3, sub-section 3.7.1, and 3.7.2.

function concerns explicit reference to the text or code itself. The expressive function concerns the explicit entry upon the text by the writer persona to provide commentary on what is being said. The directive function concerns the explicit involvement of the reader to elicit a response (usually in the form of recommended textual guidance). Ä del (2006) subsumes all three functions under her approach to metadiscourse. This allows for insight into the way in which writers explicitly refer to emails; enter the text to express thoughts and feelings towards the text; and pull readers into the texts.

The kind of insight generated by the study of metadiscourse leads to a more fundamental question: what is studied in the analysis of metadiscourse? Whilst it risks simplification, the use of an analogy is a fitting answer to this question. Aguilar (2008) uses an analogy of a fan in order to demonstrate her conceptualisation of metadiscourse and primary discourse: 'communication is seen to be in a constant flux where primary discourse and metadiscourse combine and intermingle…metadiscourse and primary discourse can unfold and open up into the flat semi-circular shape of the fan' (2008: 111).
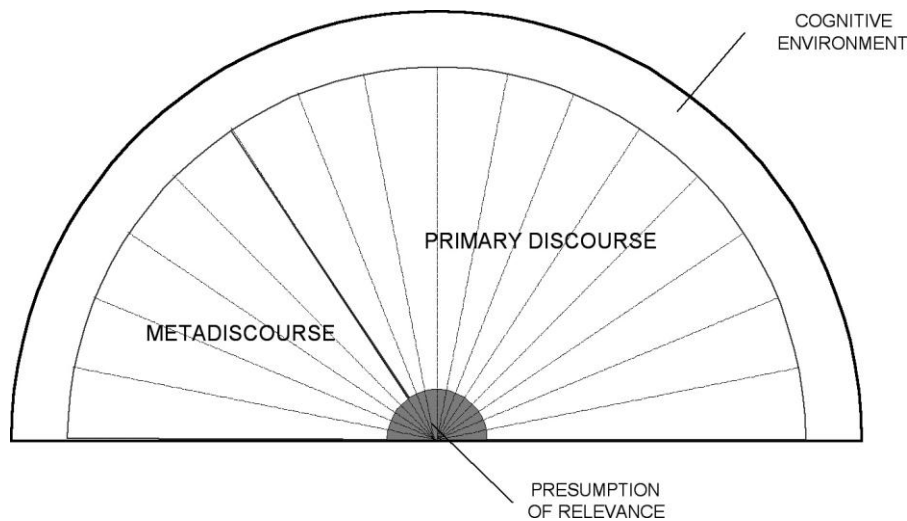
Figure 1: Distribution of metadiscourse and discourse (taken from Aguilar, 2008: 111).

In response to contextual factors the shape of fan (which shows the amount of metadiscourse used) 'can take many different shapes, as many different shapes and distributions as communicators and communicative situations' (Aguilar, 2008: 111).
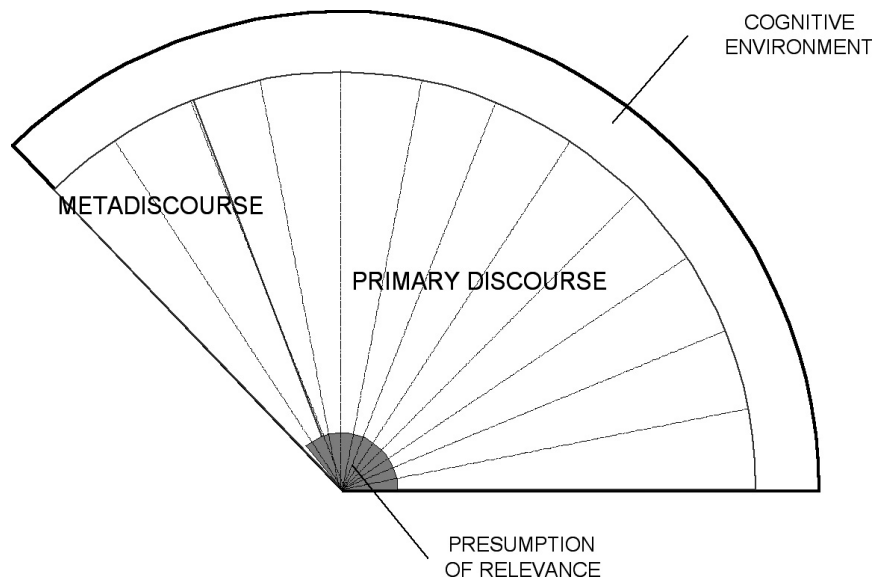
Figure 2: Other probable distributions of metadiscourse (taken from Aguilar, 2008: 112)

Whilst the fan analogy neatly captures the fact that users can expand or contract the amount of metadiscourse used in relation to context, I think the analogy is too static to capture the essence of metadiscourse. I believe that in its fundamental essence metadiscourse reveals the presence of the creative consciousness behind a given text[6]. I prefer an analogy based on light. Imagine there was a screen that was made from a translucent material such as cheesecloth, frosted glass, or tissue paper. Imagine further that a light was placed behind such a screen. Dependent upon the strength of the source, an individual standing before the screen would see various points of light seeping through the screen. Now imagine that the source of the light represented a writer's awareness of the reflexive triangle (Ädel, 2006) i.e. the text, the writer, and the reader. The screen represented a given text. The space in front of the screen represented the consumption environment (i.e. the reader).

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[6] This of course encodes the assumption that writers do indeed sit behind the texts they generate. Paglia (1990) addresses this issue most succintly:

'Most pernicious of French imports is the notion that there is no person behind a text. Is there anything more affected, aggressive, and relentlessly concrete than a Parisian intellectual behind his/her turgid text?' (1990: 34).
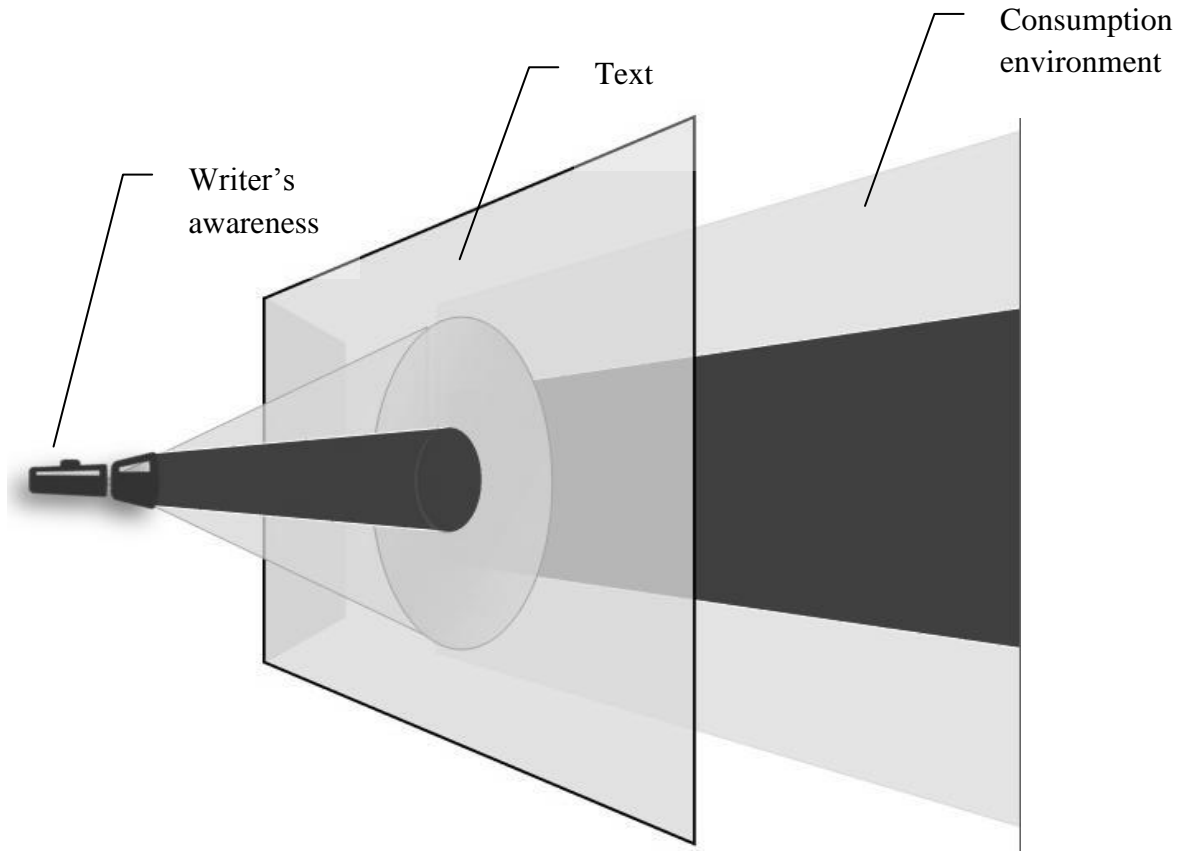
Figure 3: Metadiscourse as awareness writers bring to their texts

In response to contextual factors, a given writer can choose to let more or less light (i.e. metadiscourse) permeate the screen (i.e. the text). Certain writers may choose to use lots of metadiscourse as in Figure 3, others may use relatively less as in Figure 4 (or even none at all).
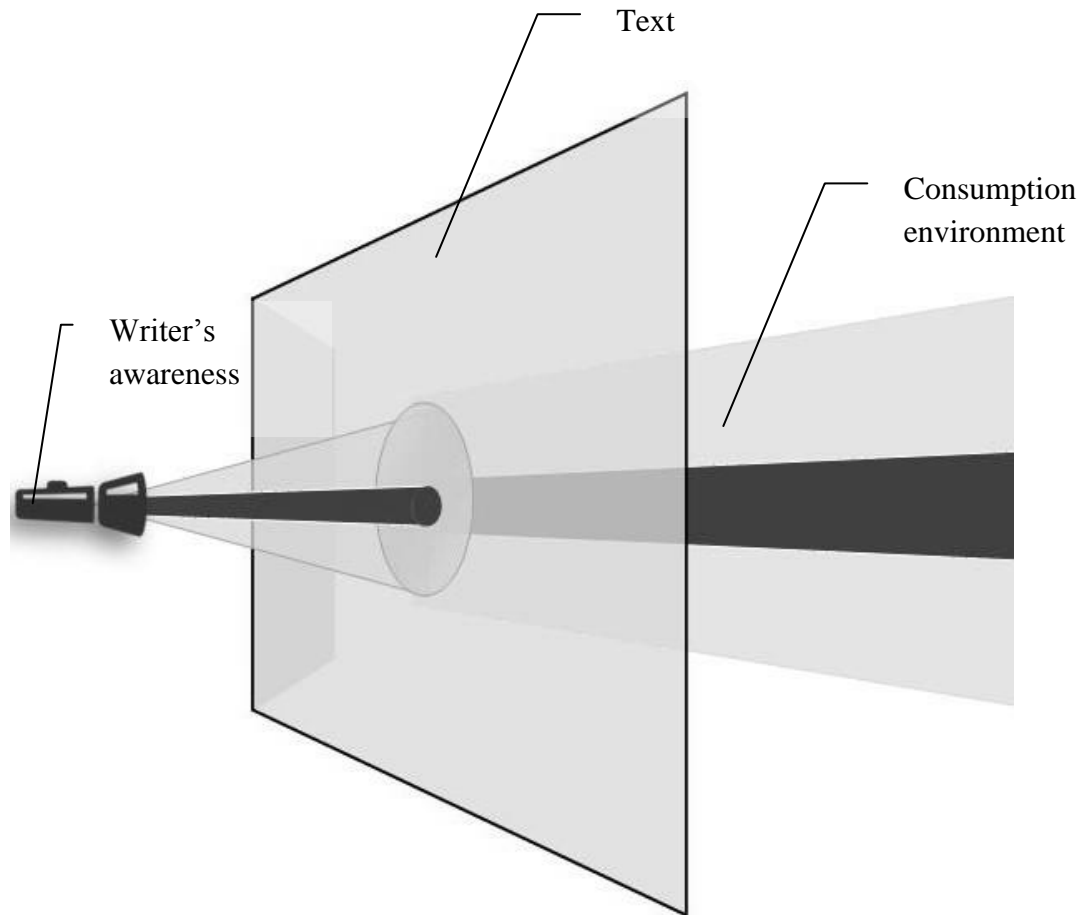
Figure 4: Other probable distrbutions of metadiscourse

Sticking with the analogy above, the examination of metadiscourse therefore allows us to see how much and in what ways male and female writers bring reflexive awareness to their texts. This neatly leads on to the question of why consider gender?

1.3.3. Why study gender?

Gender was chosen as the primary contrastive variable for two main reasons? Firstly, gender differences in the use of language have been shown to be reasonably robust across a number of different contexts. Indeed, Trudgill (2000) refers to linguistic gender differences as 'the single most consistent finding to emerge from sociolinguistic studies over the past 20 years' (2000: 73). According to Holmes (2006), gender is 'always there – a latent, omnipresent, background factor in every communicative encounter, with the potential to move into the foreground at any moment, to creep into our talk in subtle and not-so-subtle ways' (Holmes: 2006: 2). Secondly, despite sociolinguistic evidence indicating that gender is an influential variable, contrastive analyses of metadiscourse have not solely focused on the gender issue

(the notable exception being Tse and Hyland, 2008[7]). Indeed, Ä del (2006) makes a research call for greater enquiry into the phenomenon of metadiscourse and gender. This call is based on the findings of Crismore et al (1993) which indicate variation in the frequency and functional usage of certain markers.

In sum, those who are interested in metadiscourse may be inspired by the novel approach adopted in the present thesis. Scholars of gender and language may also be interested in the contrastive analysis of the relatively unexplored area of reflexive language use. Those concerned with the development of pedagogic materials will hopefully benefit from the findings and discussion of authentic business data used in the present thesis.

The following section will outline the organisation of the thesis.

1.4. Aim of the present study

The aim of the present study is to investigate the use of metadiscourse by male and female senders in workplace group email. The aim is achieved through the execution of the following broad objectives:

- The conduction of textual analysis of authentic email data taken from three discourse communities (all within the British marketing industry).
- The conduction of qualitative interviews with three data donors[8] to collect key demographic information on participants in the data (e.g. gender, role, status of senders and receivers, as well as copied parties).
- The use and proposal of a reflexive, minimally integrationist model of metadiscourse[9].

1.5. Research questions

The primary research question is:

How do male and female senders use metadiscourse in workplace group email?

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[7] Tse and Hyland (2008) simply contrast frequency and functional usage. They do not account for gendered language use and metadiscourse.

[8] Individuals from whom data was collected.

[9] This was principally created by delimitating the taxonomy used in Hyland (2005) with the reflexive theortical base found in Ädel (2006).

Two important factors need to be noted in relation to the concept of use. Firstly, the concept is conceptualised as involving two measures: frequency usage; and, functional usage. Secondly, as in Tse and Hyland (2008), the approach in the present thesis celebrates similarity as much as difference. I should take this opportunity to stress the following point: the present study does not simply focus on gender difference. Indeed, it reflects a wider trend in which 'gender and language research has attempted to be more balanced by searching for similarities as well as differences' (Baxter, 2010: 67). The guiding research question can therefore be divided into four further questions:

(1) What are the frequency similarities (if any) in the way men and women use metadiscourse in workplace group email?
(2) What are the frequency differences (if any) in the way men and women use metadiscourse in workplace group email?
(3) What are the functional similarities (if any) in the way men and women use metadiscourse in workplace group email?
(4) What are the functional differences (if any) in the way men and women use metadiscourse in workplace group email?

In answering the four questions above, the nature of the analysis also allows for consideration of the kind of gendered discourse norms present in the emails of male and female senders. As mentioned above, the literature on gendered language use provides a conceptual dichotomy in which communicative phenomenon can be classified according to affiliative (traditionally associated with normatively feminine communication) and assertive (traditionally associated with normatively masculine communication) modes of communication.

The following section will conclude the present chapter by outlining the present organisation of the present thesis.

1.6. Organisation of the report

In addition to the introductory chapter there are four other chapters in the present thesis. They are organised as follows:

Chapter 2 contains a review of the literature relevant to the present thesis; it is divided into four main sections. The first section covers the metadiscourse literature with a major focus on the work of Hyland (2005) as the current champion of the broad school, and Ä del (2006) as the current champion of the narrow school. Both approaches are outlined, and appraised from a theoretical perspective. They are also revisited in greater detail in Chapter 3 from a taxonomical perspective. The second section covers gender and language use. It briefly outlines the various approaches to gender and language use. It then considers in detail the two cultures approach (Maltz and Borker, 1983) which was used during the analysis of the present thesis. The third section locates the current thesis within the existing literature on email. Finally, the socio-interactional concept of politeness is considered for its relevance to the present thesis. Such literature was included for two main reasons. Firstly, email is by nature an interactional medium and according to Tracy (1990) all interaction impacts upon face. In the context of group email, issues of face and identity may be enhanced as senders and receivers interact in front of a digital audience. Secondly, whilst the present study was not centrally concerned with politeness, the use of metadiscourse often involves politeness considerations (Silver, 2003).

Chapter 3 contains a discussion of the methods and analytical frameworks involved in the present study. The chapter is broadly split into three sections: the data; the textual analysis exercise; and, the post analysis statistical measurement exercise. The data section begins with a discussion of data issues including the collection process and the characteristics of the final data set used for analysis (e.g. number of senders, email chains, individual emails, e.t.c.). The textual analysis section devotes considerable attention to the issue of taxonomical design and application, as well as the content of the two taxonomies used in the analysis, i.e. an email classification taxonomy; and, a metadiscourse taxonomy. The final two sections explain the z-test measure used to check the frequency results for statistical significance, and the justification for keeping the three data sets separate during the analysis.

Chapter 4 contains the findings and discussion. The chapter is divided into three sections each containing a discussion of the findings from the analysis of the separate discourse communities, i.e. the marketing department; the advertising agency; and, the research agency. The chapter finishes with a detailed consideration of the consistent similarities and differences observed across the three communities.

Chapter 5 contains the conclusion of the present thesis. The chapter is split into four sections. The chapter begins with a section that outlines the theoretical contribution. This comprises a detailed explanation of the reflexive, minimally integrationist model as well as the major theoretical departures from Hyland (such as metadiscourse is distinct from propositional material; metadiscourse does not include intertextuality; metadiscourse is based on reflexivity), and Ä del (i.e. metadiscourse does not include stance). The chapter then moves on to consider the empirical contribution. This comprises a detailed sumamry of the similarities and differences observed across the three communities. The third section of the chapter outlines the limitations of the present study.   Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the possible avenues of future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The following chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section covers the metadiscourse literature with a major focus on the work of Hyland (2005) and Ä del (2006). The second section covers gender and language use. The third section locates the current thesis within the existing linguistic literature on email. Finally, the socio-interactional concept of politeness is considered for its relevance to the present thesis.

2.2. Reflexivity and human language

'The basic characteristic of Man, the root of all his perfections, is his gift of awareness in the second degree. Man not only knows; he knows that he knows.' (De Chardin, 1964: 133).

As in cognition, humans are able to execute a linguistic curve in their system of speech; as in thought, humans can turn speech back upon itself. Humans not only say, they can also say, that they say. Indeed, while other species on earth appear to have rudimentary language systems, human language appears to be the only system that can refer to itself (Mauranen, 2010). This unique reflexive ability remains a relatively insufficiently studied phenomenon (Ä del, 2006).

Whilst researchers have developed a number of different terms to deal with the reflexivity in language, the most encompassing cover term is perhaps 'metalanguage'. Metalanguage ultimately refers to a first order/second order relationship in which language is used to refer to language. Rather confusingly, the concept can be used in various different senses. Excluding pre-modern references, polish mathematician Alfred Tarski (1937) introduced the first sense of the concept into the academic arena. According to such a conception metalanguage can be defined as a specialized language for communication about another language, i.e. an object language. For example, technical linguistic codes, like logical

semantic calculus and formal grammatical terms, both constitute metalanguage. Jakobson (1960) imported the concept into linguistics and essentially gave it a second sense. He claimed that the concept could be used to account for non-technical instances of language use where natural language was used to refer to the verbal code itself (e.g. paraphrasing, or supplying synonyms). For example, a relatively informal parent-child exchange in which the meaning of a word is explained: 'Nun means a woman who is married to G-d', would constitute Jacobson's metalingual function of language. He contrasted the metalingual function of language with instances of language use which referred to phenonema in the external world (i.e. object language). The latter sense, i.e. the ability of natural language to refer to itself, has largely informed the field of metadiscourse. Indeed, Aguilar states that 'metadiscourse has been traditionally described as metalinguistic discourse, an instantiation of metalanguage' (2008: 57).

The term 'metadiscourse' was first used by Harris (1959) in order to refer to the kernels of textual information that scientific researchers use to refer to the primary discourse. The concept received significant scholarly attention in the 1980s through the pioneering work of Vande Kopple (1985) and Crismore (1989) –much of which is still relevant today.

2.3. Metadiscourse

Mauranen (1993) divides metadiscourse into two distinct approaches: the narrow approach (Mauranen, 1993; Ä del, 2006; Sanderson, 2008) and the broad approach (Vande Kopple, 1985; Crismore et al, 1993; Hyland, 2005). According to Ä del:

> 'Linguists who study written texts characterize metadiscourse as a specialised form of discourse and take the perspective that it can be distinguished from other types of discourse. At this point, however, the consensus ends.' (2006:38).

The major difference between the two approaches rests on the inclusion, or exclusion, of stance as a metadiscursive category[10]. Regardless of the inclusion or exclusion of stance, metadiscourse has generally concerned itself with limited forms of language use (i.e. self-monitoring and audience design). Progress within both approaches to metadiscourse has

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[10] Although other fundamental differences do exist e.g. the definitional basis, and the focus on the current discourse.

been a rather princely affair in as much as one or two champions have been dominant in a given period. Interestingly, the past decade has witnessed the emergence of two intellectual heavyweights within the field, both of whom advocate models of metadiscourse aligned with the two distinct approaches. Hyland (2005) advocates a model consistent with the broad, integrationist approach (often referred to as the interpersonal model). His model aims to take account of the organisational aspects of writing (i.e. textual); the ways in which writers convey attitude towards content produced; and, the means by which writers engage readers (i.e. interpersonal). Ä del (2006) advocates a model consistent with a narrow, non-integrationist approach (often referred to as the reflexive model). Her model primarily focuses on textual elements but allows for the inclusion of minimal writer-reader interaction. In contradiction to Hyland's model and in accordance with the narrow tradition, Ä del explicitly excludes stance from the remit of metadiscourse.

 To date, the simultaneous emergence of Hyland and Ä del has not engulfed the field in a state of energetic debate. The two approaches have basically continued to develop in a parallel manner, although Hyland's model has proven the more popular of the two. Indeed, Hyland's approach has become somewhat hegemonic in as much as it seems to serve as the first port of call for analysts and students newly interested in the field[11]. But, hegemony inevitably promotes dissent. Indeed, many of the positions taken in the present thesis would surely be regarded as dissent by strict adherents to Hyland's model. That is not to say that Hyland's work does not have great strengths. I would argue that the main strengths of Hyland's model lie in the concise, clear taxonomy inherited from earlier pioneers in the field like Vande Kopple (1985). In terms of weakness, whilst Hyland's exposition highlights some of the problems inherent in the distinction of propositional from metadiscursive material, in the final instance it upholds the troublesome distinction. The particular strength of Ä del's model lies in the level of theoretical clarity contained within the 2006 volume. In terms of criticism, Ä del's narrow model is not so narrow in a taxonomical sense. Furthermore, as will be

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[11] If I were to wager a bet, I predict that there will be a sea change in that many analysts will come to see the meritous role of reflexivity as the basis of metadiscourse. Many are already beginning to question the inherent definitional problems of the interpersonal model. Sanderson (2008), even goes so far as to state 'so-called interpersonal metadiscourse is in fact evaluation' (177).

discussed below, it can be argued that Ä del's 2006 taxonomy is not entirely applicable to interactive data[12].

As stated at the outset, the approach adopted here seeks to cross-fertilise the narrow and broad approaches. In the process I hope to avoid the weaknesses and exploit the strengths of the two models. The theoretical aspects of the two models will be discussed in the following sections.

I will first deal with Hyland's (2005) model. I will begin by outlining the definition and theoretical basis of the model. I will then move on to the defining features and conceptual boundaries of the model.

2.4. The broad integrationist approach to metadiscourse: Hyland's interpersonal model

It should be noted that the broad approach to metadiscourse is rather narrow when compared to other approaches to metalanguage. The metapragmatic approach, for instance, views metalanguage as a ubiquitous dimension of all language use (Silverstein, 1976; Verschueren, 1999; Culpeper and Haugh, 2014). In other words, both the narrow and broad approaches to metadiscourse are relatively narrow compared to other approaches to metalanguage. Furthermore, both the narrow and broad approaches considered in detail here regard metalanguage in object terms i.e. as an object that can be distinguished from other forms of language. Indeed, according to Hyland (2005), a given text will contain elements that refer to the producer, receiver and the text itself as an evolving entity; these elements impart information about the participants, the discourse and the context. Hyland defines metadiscourse as a means of understanding:

> 'how writers project themselves into their work to signal their communicative intentions. It is a central pragmatic construct that allows us to see how writers seek to influence reader's understanding of both the text and their attitude to its content and the audience' (1998: 437).

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[12] Although it should be noted that Ädel (2010, 2017) does definitionally adapt the model in the 2006 volume so as to allow for interactive situations.

Beyond an initial focus on academic texts the broad, integrationist approach has been applied to a diverse range of texts and genres including: company reports (Hyland, 1998c); press editorials (Milne, 2003); workplace emails (Jensen, 2009); job adverts (Fu, 2012) and even Darwin's *Origin of the Species* (Crismore et al, 1993).

2.4.1 Functional Approach

The interpersonal model, as articulated by Hyland (2005), gives consideration to the communicative purpose of a metadiscursive item i.e. the function, which relates to the speaker, the hearer or the proposition itself. Hyland (2005) pronounces the key question of the functional approach in the following way:

> "Functional anlayses recognise that a comprehensive and pragmatically grounded description of any text must involve attending to the use of language in relation to its whole. The emphasis is therefore on meanings in context, how language is used, not what a dictionary says about it. So, when considering any item as a candidate for inclusion as metadiscourse, the question is not 'what is the function of this item' but 'what is this item doing here at this point in the text?'" (2005: 25).

The systemic functional linguistic approach, with its ultimate focus on the three metafunctions of language (Halliday, 1994), has traditionally provided a useful framework to draw upon for analysts of metadiscourse (Vande Kopple, 1985; Crismore and Farnsworth, 1990).[13] As outlined by Halliday (1994) the three metafunctions of language are pronounced as: the *ideational* function; the *interpersonal* function; and the *textual* function. In brief, the *ideational* function refers to the ways in which speakers use language to represent experiences and ideas; the *interpersonal* function refers to the way in which language encodes interaction between the speaker and hearer in order to negotiate roles, express feelings and understand attitudes; the *textual* function alludes to the use of language to organize a text into a coherent whole. According Hyland (2005) metadiscourse fulfils the textual and interpersonal aspects of language.

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[13] As will be seen, Adel's approach is particularly innovative in supplying an alternative functional basis for metadiscourse.

2.4.2 Defining features of the interpersonal model of metadiscourse

As already alluded to above, Hyland (2005) conceives metadiscourse as including most explicit cohesive and interpersonal devices that signal the presence of the author and his or her attitude towards the audience, the text and its reception. In Hyland's model, three key principles determine metadiscourse: metadiscourse is distinct from propositional content; metadiscourse is concerned with internal text relations; and metadiscourse involves the writer-reader interaction.

Metadiscourse is distinct from propositional content

According to this principle, metadiscursive material is distinct from propositional material. As will be seen, this defining feature of the interpersonal model has proven the most controversial, and remains an unresolved issue within the broad approach (see Khabbazi-Oskouie, 2013).

The historical development of the literature has witnessed attempts by a number of writers to illuminate the field as how to differentiate the propositional elements of a text from the (supposedly) non-propositional metadiscourse. Many writers (Vande Kopple, 1985; Crismore et al, 1993; Hyland, 2005) have drawn upon the definition of propositional and non-propositional as pronounced by Halliday (1994). According to Halliday, 'when language is used to exchange information, the clause takes on the form of a proposition' (Halliday: 1994:70). It subsequently transforms into an assorteric proposition that can be subject to a process of refutation i.e. is it true or false? Whilst conceptually neat, in a certain sense, it is possible to accuse this distinction of been seductively simple. Ä del (2006) highlights the fact that it only works for statements. Hyland (2005) further highlights the fact that a great deal of metadiscourse, just like propositional content, can be subject to a process of refutation, thus collapsing thus usefulness of the distinction on this ground.

Crismore (1989) claims the distinction between metadiscourse and propositional content parallels the distinction between illocutionary acts and propositional content as put forward by Searle (1984):

'Stating and asserting are acts, but propositions are not acts. A proposition is what is asserted in the act of asserting, what is stated in the act of stating…from [a] semantical point of view we can distinguish two (not necessarily separate) elements in the syntactical structure of the sentence, which we might call the propositional indicator and the illocutionary force indicator. The illocutionary force indicator shows how the proposition is to be taken, or to put it another way, what illocutionary force the utterance is to have; that is, what illocutionary act the speaker is performing in the utterance of the sentences (1984: 29-30).'

According to this logic, when a speaker makes a statement such as 'I believe that' or 'I am certain that', he or she is referring to a proposition not an object or an event in time, and is thus seeking to guide the reader through the discourse. Whilst this is certainly helpful, not all cases of metadiscourse are delivered as overt performative statements, and so this analogy is also of limited help.

Khabbazi-Oskouie (2013) claims that a purely functional approach, as that taken by Hyland, obscures the boundaries between propositional and non-propositional information due to its reliance on variable factors like context and audience. She proposes a syntactical appearance approach in which items that are separated from a clause through the use of punctuation marks, impersonal structures (e.g. 'it is'), or placed at the beginning of a clause are considered for metadiscursive status. Whilst Khabbazi-Oskouie's thinking is a welcome contribution one does have concerns as to the applicability of the syntactical appearance approach. The rejection function are somewhat odd given the fact that, in both the narrow and broad approach, metadiscourse is studied as a discourse phenomenon and not as a formal category[14]. Furthermore, the rejection of context seems out of sync with a wider enduring trend in which greater attempts are made to understand the ecologically embedded nature of language use.

A number of authors have distinguished between material that *guides* the reader versus that which *informs* the reader (Dillon, 1981; Williams, 1981; Crismore, 1993). It is worth noting that *guide,* as used here, does not simply refer to the spatial direction of readers across a text,

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[14] Although, rather surprisingly, the elementary principle in which formal and discourse categories are kept separate (see Ädel, 2006: Appendix 3) is seemingly abandoned in Jiang and Hyland (2016).

but also the ideological guidance given to readers regarding the reception of a text. Items which *guide* are candidates for metadiscourse, whilst those that inform are candidates for propositional content. Again, at first blush, this seems a rather neat way of distinguishing propositional from non-propositional/metadiscursive material. However, how does one reliably delineate between material which guides versus that which informs? Take the following utterance: 'I want to inform you…'. The utterance would certainly appear to fit categories of metadiscourse proposed by both Hyland (i.e. *frame markers*) and Ä del (i.e. *saying*).   But how does one reliably attribute a guiding function versus an informing function to such a marker? Surely the utterance, 'I want to inform', informs just as much as the content that follows the utterance. In this sense all metadiscourse informs the reader. Take the utterance 'For example…'. Again, such an utterance would qualify as a *code gloss* under the taxonomies of both Hyland and Ä del. How is it possible to attribute a guide versus inform function to such an utterance? On one hand, it can be said that the utterance guides readers in the interpretation of the writer's argument; on the other hand, it can equally be said that it informs readers that what follows the utterance should be regarded as an example.

The position taken under my model is one in which metadiscursive markers are seen as both informing and guiding readers. The guide versus inform function is too subjective to distinguish between propositional and metadiscursive material. It does, however, point to an erroneous assumption in the literature, i.e. meta-discourse cannot be propositional, or put another way, metadiscourse is non-propositional.

We should note that Hyland (2005) does criticise the propositional/non-propositional distinction of earlier researchers, but arguably does not reach a firm conclusion on the issue (for conflicting interpretations of Hyland's position, see Aguilar, 2008; and Khabbazi-Oskouie, 2013).   As a result, Hyland's model may be accused of containing a degree of ambiguity with regards to one of the traditional defining features of the broad approach, i.e. propositional versus non-propositional/metadiscursive material. He claims that there is no infallible means for separating the two concepts: 'there can be no simple linguistic criteria for unambiguously identifying metadiscourse as many items can be either propositional or metafunctional depending on their role in context' (Hyland, 2005: 25). This at least highlights the need for flexibility with regards to the principle.

Given that the distinction itself is based on questionable theoretical ground (Ä del, 2006), the principle was rejected in favour of the admission that m*etadiscourse can be propositional.* Indeed, it often expresses text internal propositions. This leads us neatly onto the next identification principle contained in Hyland (2005).

Metadiscourse is concerned with internal text relations

Hyland (and Ä del, 2006) both draw upon the work of Halliday and Hasan (1976) in order to articulate text internality. According to this principle, metadiscursive items should express a text internal relation i.e. refer to something within the text as opposed to an item that solely expresses an external relation i.e. refers to something outside of the text. In other words, metadiscourse 'is a relative concept in that metadiscourse items only function as metadiscourse items in relation to another part of the text' (Hyland: 2005: 24). Again, this seems conceptually neat but, as will be seen in the discussion of taxonomical development in Chapter 3, there are many examples in Hyland (2005) in which individual markers arguably have a text external orientation (such as intertextual evidentials, embedded objective modals, and individual attitudinal lexis).

Metadiscourse is concerned with writer-reader interaction

According to Hyland, the final key principle of the interpersonal model of metadiscourse expresses the idea that metadiscourse items must embody the kind of interaction that explicitly attempts to engage the reader as an active participant in the unfolding discourse. Hyland (2005)[15], gives a number of examples but does not significantly expand upon identification criteria for this principle. In the wider field, this aspect of Hyland's model has not generated the same level of researcher interest as the propositional/non-propositional issue. The relative neglect of this issue in Hyland is rather bizarre, as it intuitively feels closest to the central defining feature, i.e. interpersonal interaction.

2.4.3 Delimiting the interpersonal model of metadiscourse

In seeking to clarify the broad approach, a number of advocates have sought to define what is excluded from the remit of metadiscourse. This has led to disagreements within the literature,

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[15] See Hyland, 2005: 41-43.

although as Khabbazi-Oskouie (2013) highlights this can largely be attributed to the nature of the data used, i.e. most researchers within the field have tended to rely on specialised data such as academic writing, job adverts, or magazine editorials. Nevertheless, grammatical subordination and individual lexis have been explicitly banished from the remit of the broad approach to metadiscourse.

Grammatical subordination

Nagy (1988) notes that a producer of a text has two principal methods of signalling relative importance of textual information, namely: explicitly telling listeners and readers (e.g. ' *It is worth noting…'*) or by using a main clause with a subordinate clause, the latter according to Hyland (2005) should be excluded from the remit of metadiscourse. Explicitness (or lack of) seems to be the reason for the exclusion of grammatical subordination; however, what constitutes explicit is not particularly clear. Take for instance the use of adverbs without corresponding pronouns (e.g. *surprisingly there is not a single text in antiquity concerning the construction of the pyramids*), such constructions are able to transmit the attitudinal stance of a writer but are not overtly explicit. Crismore (1984) claims the analyst should ask whether the reader can recover the person to which the illocutionary act should be attributed. In the example above this attribution is supposedly possible with regards to the use of 'surprisingly'[16].   The theoretical inconsistency can perhaps be resolved with recourse to the terminology of Crismore (1984). According to Crismore, grammatical subordination is regarded as 'covert' signaling whereas non-performative sentences, such as that used above concerning the pyramids, should be regarded as 'partially-explicit'.

Individual lexis

Crismore et al (1993) claim adjectives and adverbs are not to be given metadiscursive status, Hyland (2005) in agreement, excludes evaluative lexis i.e. that which modifies a single lexical item (as opposed to that which modifies a whole proposition). Whilst this seems a relatively simple principle, it is possible to find examples in which lexical items which seem to be performing as adjectives are in fact listed as metadiscursive. Consider the example below taken from Crismore:

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[16] Nuyts (2001) questions the possibility of attributing subjectivity to sentence initial advebs.

'Among the *great* and *wonderful* institutions of the republics and principalities of antiquity…' (1984: 11).

Crismore (1993) presents the use of *great* and *wonderful* above as metadiscourse. However, on closer inspection it seems as though the items function as term-level adjectives that modify a discourse external conceptual item. Consider further the following example from Hyland:

'After digging their way out and molting into adults, billions of the *big, clumsy, red-eyed* insects will sing their ear-splitting love songs…' (2005: 99)

Hyland presents the use of the lexical items 'big, clumsy, red-eyed' as a metadiscursive attitude markers that create an informal tone and make the subject matter more accessible to a lay audience. Again, it is hard to see how the three items are not descriptive lexis modifying a conceptual item external to the text (i.e. the insects). Khabbazi-Oskouie (2013) proposes a rejection of attitudinal adjectives and adverbs that are not syntactically structured so as to demarcate them from the main clause. Take the example (cited in Khabbazi-Oskouie, 2013: 99):

'If, *on top of all that*, millions of workers lose purchasing power…'

Khabbazi-Oskouie claims the fact that the phrase 'on top of all that' has been added to the whole clause, and modifies the proposition, qualifies the phrase as a metadiscursive expression of attitude. According to Khabbazi-Oskouie, if an item is integrated into the whole clause and functions to modify people, things or events in the real world then it is not to be counted as metadiscourse. In contrast, Fu (2012) takes an inclusive approach to individual lexis, and allows for the inclusion of individual lexis if the marker in question echoes the macro-proposition of the text. For example, 'excellent', 'leading' and 'exciting' as modifiers of the term 'company' were included in his study of job advertisements. As will be seen, I do not agree with either Fu or Khabbazi-Oskouie with regards to individual lexis, although I do sympathise with eager analysts tempted to include an interesting aspect of writer attitude. However, it should be remembered that metadiscourse only ever provides a partial account of language use. The approach taken in the present thesis is one in which a

given attitudinal item, regardless of its sentential position, must have a stance object within the reflexive triangle in order to count as metadiscourse.

Having provided a brief outline of the theoretical content of the broad, integrationist, approach to metadiscourse (as proposed by Hyland, 2005), I will now turn to a similar discussion of Ä del's narrow, non-integrationist approach. Both will be revisited from a taxonomical perspective in Chapter 3.

2.5. The narrow non-integrationist approach to metadiscourse

Notable contributors of the narrow approach to metadiscourse include: Mauranen (1993); Bunton (1999); and, Thompson (2003). As already alluded to above, the current champion of the narrow approach is Ä del (2006). In proposing her model of metadiscourse, Ä del sets out to two goals. Firstly, she attempts to delimit the concept from neighbouring categories such as intertextuality, stance and participation. Secondly, she seeks to balance the need for clear and reliable means of identification with a desire to include certain aspects of writer-reader interaction. Indeed, Ä del claims the principal rhetorical functions of her model are writer commentary and writer-reader interaction:

> 'Metadiscourse is text about the evolving text, or the writer's explicit commentary on her own ongoing discourse. It displays an awareness of the current text or its language use per se and of the current writer and reader qua writer and reader' (2006: 20)

The reader may immediately be struck by the similarity of the definition above to that given by Hyland (2005). I would argue that the rhetorical functions above are wholly reconcilable with Hyland's wider approach. Indeed, the reader should bear in mind the great degree of synergy between the two approaches/models. That said, the following discussion of Ä del's reflexive model will inevitably involve focus on the differences from Hyland's model.

2.5.1. Functional Approach

Like Hyland (2005), Ä del also takes a functional approach to the understanding of metadiscourse. However, the work of Jakobson (1980) is preferred within Ä del's reflexive

model of metadiscourse. Indeed, Ä del rejects the use of Halliday's three metafunctions in favour of Jakobson's functional understanding of language.[17] Ädel's reflexive model:

> '… takes as a starting point Jakobson's functional model of language. Three of his six functions of language are used: the metalinguistic, the expressive, and the directive. Their corresponding foci, or so-called 'components of the speech event', are the text/code, the writer and the reader…Every instance of metadiscourse focuses on one or more of these speech event components… ' (2006: 17)

Broadly speaking, Jakobson (1998) describes six functions of language: Referential; Poetic; Phatic; Emotive (referred to as 'expressive' by Ä del); Directive; and, Metalingual. Jackobson's linguistic functions have six corresponding foci: Context; Message; Contact; Addresser; Addressee; and the Code.

According to Jakobson, language functions in the following way:

> 'The ADRESSER sends a MESSAGE to the ADRESSEE. To be operative the message requires CONTEXT… a CODE fully, or at least partially, common to the addresser and addressee…; and Finally, a CONTACT, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and stay in communication' (1998: 81)

Figure 5 shows Jakobson's functions with corresponding foci.

Function	Foci
Referential	Context
Poetic	Message
Phatic	Contact
Expressive	Addresser
Directive	Addressee
Metalingual	Code

Figure 5: Jakobson's functions of language and foci.

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[17] Mauranen (1993) also rejects the use of Halliday's three metafunctions, although she prefers the two planes model of language as proposed by Sinclair (1983).

The referential function of language takes context as its focus and consists of descriptive statements of situations, objects, and mental states. The poetic function pertains to the creative use of language for its own sake (e.g. rhymes and slogans) and has the focus of message. The phatic function details the use of language for interaction; Jakobson lists contact as its focus. The expressive function concerns the use of language by the addresser to express his or her feelings and opinions. The directive function concerns the use of language to concert a response in the addressee. Finally, the metalingual function refers to the use of language to establish mutual agreement on the language/code used.

As stated above, Ä del lists as the basic rhetorical functions of metadiscourse: textual commentary and interaction. Whilst either of these functions may be more dominant in any given instance, the metalingual function is regarded as indispensable because 'it is the attention to the text itself as what is ''communicated'' that is central to the concept of metadiscourse' (2006: 17). It is important to note that Ä del actually widens the narrow approach of earlier researchers, (e.g. Mauranen, 1993) who advocate an approach that only includes items that refer to the text or the writing process. Through the inclusion of certain aspects of writer-reader interaction, Ä del therefore advocates a concept of metadiscourse that includes items that go beyond a simple focus on the code.

Text (metalinguistic)

Reflexive linguistic expressions in reference to:

Writer (expressive)

Reader (directive)
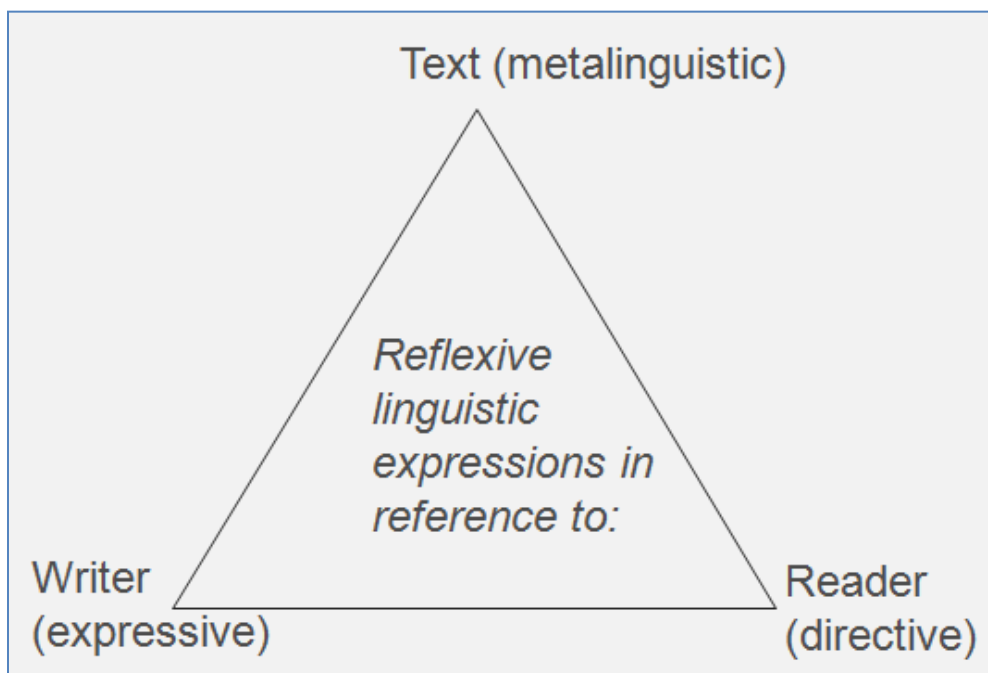
Figure 6: The reflexive triangle

The following section will deal with the defining features of Ädel's reflexive model.

2.5.2. Defining features of the reflexive model of metadiscourse

Ä del describes five key principles in the determination of metadiscourse: metadiscourse is based on reflexivity; metadiscourse is explicit; metadiscourse is concerned with the world of discourse; metadiscourse relates to the current discourse; metadiscourse refers to the writer as writer and the reader as reader. Each will be explained in greater detail below.

Metadiscourse is based on reflexivity

Ä del claims that reflexivity is usually defined as the ability of language to refer to itself (in support of this claim she cites Silverstein, 1976; Lyons, 1977[18]; Jakobson, 1980; Verschueren, 1999). Indeed, reflexivity refers to the ways 'in which writers use language to attract attention to aspects of language itself' (2006: 166). According to Ä del, such acts of textual self-reference constitute metadiscourse. In other words, in order to count as metadiscourse, a given textual item needs to refer to actual language use, or an element of the communicative situation (i.e. writer-reader persona).

Textual Item		Foci: Language use
Textual Item…		**Language:** text, paragraph, sentence.
Textual Item…	Explicitly refers to…	**Code**: proposition, clause, word.
Textual Item…		**Writer-Reader persona**.

Figure 7: Textual targets in the reflexive model of metadiscourse

Ä del's position is relatively clear as a principle of identification especially when compared to the metadiscursive/propositional principle. Furthermore, her concept of reflexivity is not so

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[18] It is arguable that the concept of reflexivity in Lyons (1977) extends beyond self-reference. Interestingly, Hyland (2005) also cites Lyons in support of his textual/interactive categorgy of metadiscourse. I would argue that this highlights the fact that the two approaches often draw upon the same source material, and, again, are not as distant as may seem at first sight.

narrowly confined so as to become uninteresting (a claim that could be levied at more narrow concepts such as text reflexivity in Mauranen, 1993).

Metadiscourse is explicit

Ä del (2006) points to historical inconsistencies within the field in which the notion of explicitness has ranged from explicit authorial presence to a general awareness of the text as text (Mauranen, 1993). She excludes paralinguistic factors such as typological markers, and instead advocates an explicitness of words i.e. things that are done in words. Design factors such as bold font, italics and underlining are therefore not regarded as metadiscourse.

Metadiscourse is concerned with the world of discourse

Like Hyland (2005), Ä del cites and supports the concept of text internality/externality proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976). Ä del proposes that analysts should ask 'whether the focus is on the ongoing discourse or on other, 'worldly', activities or phenomena that are external to the text' (2006: 28). Indeed, Ä del treats the concept of the world of discourse as 'more or less equivalent to text-internal' (2006: 183). Accordingly, metadiscursive items should express a text internal relation i.e. refer to something within the world of discourse (i.e. focus on an aspect of language or code). Furthermore, within the world of discourse, an item should refer to the reflexive triangle (i.e. the text, the writer, and the reader persona) to be counted as metadiscourse.

Metadiscourse relates to the current text

As proposed by Ä del, the third principle of the reflexive model of metadiscourse is currency. For an item to count as metadiscourse it must be indexical of the current text, writer or reader. Intertextual references to other texts are therefore excluded, as are references to third parties. Indeed, Ä del (2017) makes this abundantly clear. Such a requirement is further qualified by the following principle.

Metadiscourse Concerns the writer qua writer and reader qua reader

The fourth (i.e. writer qua writer) and fifth principles (i.e. reader qua reader) of the reflexive model express the idea that references to the current writer must be in his or her capacity as a

writer, and not as an experiential being in object reality. Likewise, in order to qualify as metadiscourse references to the reader must be in his or her capacity as reader. This contrasts with the position in Hyland whereby any first person or second person pronoun is counted as metadiscourse. The principles of writer qua writer, and reader qua reader seem relatively clear in principle, but as will be seen the dividing line between reader/writer in the medium of email is more fluid than in static mediums such as academic essays, newspapers, and job adverts.

In summary, the defining features of the reflexive model of metadiscourse, as pronounced by Ä del, can be listed as: metadiscourse is explicit; metadiscourse is concerned with the world of discourse; metadiscourse relates to the current text; and, metadiscourse is concerned with the writer qua writer, and reader qua reader. The next section will consider the conceptual limits of the reflexive model of metadiscourse.

2.5.3. Delimiting the reflexive model of metadiscourse

Ä del delimits the concept of metadiscourse from the neighbouring categories of intertextuality, stance, and participation/general engagement. Intertextuality is excluded on the grounds that it refers to objects and phenomena outside of the current text, and so fails to satisfy the second and third key principles of her defining features (see above). Stance is excluded due to the fact that:

> 'stance is not self-reflexive language; it does not involve the metalinguistic function…In stance markers, the writer and the reader are not primarily present qua "writer persona" and "imagined reader" of the current text, but rather as experiencers in the "real world", about which they possess feelings and opinions'. (2006:40).

Ä del's claim that stance is not reflexive and so should be excluded from the remit of metadiscourse will be questioned throughout the present thesis. Interestingly, she does allow for a number of borderline cases where the discourse act itself is foregrounded, and an element of opinion is present e.g. the phrasal verb *argue for* or performative verbs such as *claim* and *support*. As will be seen, the restrictive class of epistemic markers that I advocate for admission of metadiscourse can be understood as existing on a cline with such cases in Ä del.

Ä del further delimits metadiscourse from the neighbouring category of, what she terms, 'participation' i.e. narrative and descriptive passages which seek to insert personal experience of the real world into the discourse, and hence pull the reader into the discourse. She claims, as with stance, the category lacks the reflexivity so vital to her model. She gives the following example:

> 'Imagine that about one hundred and fifty years ago <u>you</u> were not allowed to divorce a man who was unfaithful to <u>you</u> or beat <u>you</u>'. (43: 2006)

Under broad model of metadiscourse, such as that proposed by Hyland (2005), the second person pronouns 'you' would be potential candidates for metadiscursive status. Ä del raises the point that the second person pronouns, in the example above, do not refer to the reader as reader in the current text but as an experiencer in the world under discussion.

As already stated above, Ädel's model is contains a clear and solid theoretical base. Indeed, many of her positions were adopted in the model used in the present thesis. The only major theoretical departure concerned the issue of stance. As will be seen, I argue for the limited inclusion of a number of stance markers. This issue will be revisited in Chapter 3.

Having considered the literature on metadiscourse, the next section will consider the relevant literature on gender and language.

2.6. Gender and Language

As already stated, the primary contrastive variable was gender. It should be noted that the vastness of the literature on gender and language necessitated selectivity in regards to what was considered. Issues that were not regarded as directly relevant to email, like the occupation of space within the workplace (Goman, 2011) were therefore excluded. The following section will first outline developments within the field. It will then consider in greater detail the chosen approach in the present thesis (i.e the two cultures approach) including the criticism leveled at such an approach. Finally, it will consider the sub-topic of gender and metadiscourse.

Sociolinguistic approaches to gender and language use

To date, scholarly inquiry into gender-differentiated language use has been conducted by an array of researchers from different persuasions, it may therefore be beneficial to very briefly outline the main sociolinguistic approaches. Early research into gender and language, exemplified by the work of Lakoff (1975), Ardener (1975) and Spender (1981), and often referred to as the deficit and dominance perspectives, generally begins from the premise that men use language as a means to suppress women. Women's language is seen as the deficient in comparison to normative male forms of language use. Furthermore, women are taught to use language in certain modes which, amongst other things, emphasises passivity and subordination (e.g. polite, indirect, non-coarse language). Additionally, language itself is seen as ideologically sexed in such a way as to discriminate against women as the deviant other. For example, a reference to a man as 'professional', at least at the time of early research, serves to enhance his status; the same reference when applied to a woman carries strong connotations of prostitution (Lakoff: 28). In making the assumption that all men are in a position to dominate all women, the approach is heavily criticized for the promotion of a monolithic view of communication and power. It is further criticized for treating male and female as undifferentiated categories. Despite losing favour, in comparison to latter approaches, the deficit and dominance understanding of gender and language has made a huge contribution in the initial address of many items of intellectual interest previously ignored.

Dominance and deficit perspectives gave way to the emergence of what is often referred to as the difference approach (or, the two cultures model). Such an approach, exemplified by the work of Maltz and Borker (1982) and Tannen (1990), views gender-differentiated language use as arising out of a dichotomous cultural model. Whilst traditional accounts within the two cultures approach affirm the male tendency to dominate and control interactional episodes with women (Tannen, 1995, 1997; Coates, 1998), this is not necessarily born of a conscious intention. Rather, dominance is understood as an unintended consequence of the interaction of two systems of communication that have radically different objectives. Female forms of language use are seen as equally valid to male forms of language use. Furthermore,

intersections with other social variables are recognised as having an impact upon differences in language use.

The reader may have noticed that the explanations in the previous approaches to gender and language use promote the idea 'that linguistic behaviour simply reflects social patterns' (Ladegaard: 1998:14). In response to an overderterministic view of social factors upon gender-differentiated-linguistic behaviour, certain researchers have raised questions about the inherent bias in earlier approaches. The salience of gender as a category has been questioned, for instance, Hogg and Abrams (1992), quoted in Ladegaard (1998), state 'sex identification does not directly affect all behaviour and is not fixed in content or degree. Rather at different times and in different situations sex might be more or less salient'. Others, especially third wave feminist scholars like Butler (1990), have opened the relatively static categories of male and female to conceptions of fluidity, personal construction, and performance as embodied communicative practice. Butler (1990) further challenges the structuralist distinction between reality and discourse; in doing so she claims all things are to be regarded as discursively produced; discourse provides subjects with positions to accept or reject as an exercise of their free will.

The two cultures model was most influential upon in the present thesis for a number of reasons. Firstly, the two cultures approach has developed so as to reflect upon its own assumptions and evolved more dynamic conceptions of gendered interaction which are deemed sufficient for the purposes of the present study. Secondly, the post-structuralist approach raises a number of worrying concerns for researchers not zealously committed to it. In criticising earlier approaches for over-estimating the static nature of gender, the post-structuralist approach can be equally criticized for over-estimating the freedom individuals have in the construction of gender. It can be further criticised for ignoring constraints like the influence of the central endocrinal nervous system, and or cultural/legal sanctions placed on individuals that constrain the way gender can be performed. The two cultures approach will be considered in greater detail in the next section.

2.7. The two cultures approach

As already stated, the two cultures approach proposes the existence of a dichotomous cultural model which codes two discrete sets of behaviour as assertive (i.e. masculine) and affiliative

(i.e. feminine) respectively. Such communicative propensities supposedly arise out of early socialisation processes. Indeed, the two cultures model emerged out of the study of childhood play. The next section will therefore consider the bedrock literature of the two cultures approach i.e. early socialisation.

2.7.1. Early Socialisation

The seminal work of anthropologists Maltz and Borker (1983), a meta-review of previous research findings generated on the social worlds inhabited by boys and girls in childhood, is the first in the literature to propose the idea of a two cultures model. The researchers report that even in the absence of formal prohibition boys and girls consistently elect to play in single sex environments and engage in different modes of play. This finding has been subsequently confirmed in numerous studies including: Eisernhart and Holland, (1983); Thorne, (1986); Maccoby and Jacklin (1987); Maccoby, (1988). Maltz and Borker report that boys typically prefer to be outside in large hierarchical groups, or alone in solitary play. Large male play groups display a clear division between those of high status (a product of the ability to issue orders, or a talent to entertain with jokes and stories) and those of lower rank. Popularity is a function of status which is secured by an individual's power. A clear preference exists for games that result in zero-sum outcomes (i.e. winners and losers), as well as those with complex rules of operation. In contrast, research findings indicate that girls tend to organise into small acephalous groups, or friendship pairs. Relationships are characterized by intimate, egalitarian relations. Games are generally inclusive and involve constant turn taking; competition for status based on a particular skill or talent is rare; acceptance is of higher importance than the assertion of superiority.

Certain researchers have pushed for a more nuanced understanding of dynamics within the play groups of girls; the role of status receiving particular attention. Judith Baxter (2005) claims that that the preoccupation of girls with acceptance should not necessarily be seen as the opposite of the male preoccupation with status: female popularity often secures similar benefits e.g. power. However, Eder and Halliam (1978) argue that whilst popularity gives status to girls, it is a double edged sword in that popular girls often accrue the risk of been disliked. Given the supposed tendency for girl's friendships to be based along the lines of intimacy, popular girls must reject a great deal of potential friends, and so evoke reactionary

resentment which becomes particularly pronounced during the adolescent years. Furthermore, for the majority of girls, merit or distinction can carry a high risk of social penalization (Goodwin, 1990). It would seem that from a young age girls learn that popularity and power carry high social costs for the individual recipient.

The way in which young boys and girls try to influence one another both reflect and sustain the different social structures for which they apparently hold preference. Through the cultivation of the ability to give orders or resist such orders, boys are able to acquire status without compromising the fabric of the social collective. Sachs (1987) reports that even pre-school boys tend to use bald commands with one another and organize into hierarchical groups. Given the higher value placed on harmony in the social groups of young girls, Sachs (1987) reports that directives are often articulated in terms of indirect proposals e.g. 'let's go play in the sand box'. Goodwin (1990) reports the same communicative and organizational patterns amongst African American girls in Philadelphia. She highlights the fact that commands issued by girls are often accompanied with justificatory reasons that explain the benefit gained by the group as a whole. More recently, Baxter (2005) has discussed the fact that girls who try to assert leadership often encounter resentment. The literature would suggest that even at a young age male leadership seems more palatable to both sexes.

Early experiences within the family are synchronous with those experienced in the educational and play context. Gleason (1987) reports fathers issuing relatively more commands than mothers, and give more to sons than daughters. Psychologists Dinnerstein (1976) and Chodrow (1978) both argue separately that the source of resistance to female power lies in the fact that women often bear responsibility for early childcare. From a psychodynamic perspective both researchers argue that the control exercised by female caregivers leads to a residual notions of fear and domination in relation to powerful women. An individual's first struggle for freedom often involves conflict with a mother-Figure: 'every person's passage from nursery to society is an overthrow of matriarchy' (Paglia: 1990: 42). This supposedly mainifests as an unconscious suspicion and resistance to powerful female adults.

The literature suggests key differences in the communicative patterns of the young are also evidenced in the areas of conflict and dispute resolution. Sheldon (1990) observes that

conflicts involving boys last significantly longer than conflicts involving girls, and often lead to violence. In Sheldon's study girls are more inclined to preserve harmony through compromise and evasiveness. Sheldon highlights the point that the modes of conflict are pronounced tendencies within both groups not absolutes i.e. sometimes boys attempt compromise; and sometimes conflict involving girls escalates into violence. Ladegaard (2004) reports similar fluidity in play styles, but also frequently observes girls using pronouncedly assertive modes of communication during play. Goodwin (1987) also reports that girls in certain play forms, e.g. mock parent-child games, often give bald orders and organise into hierarchical relationships. Although not cited as such the observation of Goodwin (1987) would suggest that even in the early socialization period context does have an influential role on the kinds of communicative behaviours enacted by the genders. Closer reading of these studies suggests that instances of assertive and affiliative forms of communication can be found in the social worlds of both sexes, but the constant contest for power which characterises the world of play inhabited by boys gives birth to a situation in which underlying conflict is inherent.

Despite homo-social preferences, in both the play and educational space, boys and girls often find themselves in non-segregated environments. In such situations, the emergent communicative dynamics have proven to be of particular interest for researchers. Maccoby (1990), relenting on an earlier position that cast doubt on the presence of significant gender differences in communication styles (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974), reports significant gender differences in mixed sex groups and pairs. She argues that the typical communicative style of girls puts them at a distinct disadvantage during interaction with boys. Sadker and Sadker (1994), in their lifelong study of co-educational schools, report that girls tend to occupy observational roles, whilst boys assume active roles in mixed gender groups. Some studies suggest that adaption of style is the obligation of girls during episodes of mixed gender interaction (Hall and Braunwald, 1981; Carli, 1989). Leaper (1991) observes mixed dyads, and reports that girls are more likely to engage in communication strategies typified by the other gender. Madhock (1992) reports that lone boys in female groups speak twice as much as the female members of the group combined. In the reverse situation, lone girls are ignored and often silenced with insults. It would appear that girls tend to fair worse in mixed sex

environments than boys unless they are able to ape male behavior and have such strategies accepted by peers. Again, this is seen to influence communicative behaviours in adulthood.

In summary, approaches that draw upon socialization as an explanatory factor of gender differences basically uphold a model in which each gender progress through the formative stages of development as relative linguistic isolates. Whilst both genders display the raw ability to perform behaviours typical of the opposite gender (e.g. girls can be assertive; boys can be conciliatory), such behaviours are often employed in pursuit of different means, or appear as a function of the social constellation in which the individual is placed. According to certain researchers, these developmental propensities are carried into adulthood as normatively different paradigms of communication: the manifestation of the differences will be discussed in the next section.

As a final note on socialisation, I should like to highlight an assumption that seems to pervade the literature, and that is that the effects of socialization are implicitly assumed to end upon the conclusion of the adolescent period. Developmental psychologists (notably Lowe, 1993) posit the view that socialization and development continue throughout adulthood and into old age. Although it is beyond the scope of the current thesis this issue may well prove a fruitful avenue of research.

The next section will consider the manifestation of gendered types of talk within the context of the modern workplace. The nature of affiliative and assertive communication will be outlined in more detail. Key gender differences noted in the literature will also be discussed.

2.7.2. Manifestation of gendered types of talk in workplace communication

As already mentioned, the two cultures model recognises two gendered modes of communication: affiliative and assertive. Both involve a range of linguistic behaviours that have been traditionally coded as feminine or masculine. Again, it is important to note that these behaviours are normative rather than actual (Holmes, 2006). According to Holmes and Stubbe (2003) throughout a range of industries, organizations, and contexts, male and female modes of communication can be broadly seen as having the following characteristics:

Affiliative (feminine)	Assertive (masculine)
• Indirect	• Direct
• Conciliatory	• Confrontational
• Facilitative	• Competitive
• Collaborative	• Autonomous
• Minor contribution (in public)	• Dominates (public) talking time
• Supportive feedback	• Aggressive interruptions
• Person/process oriented	• Task/outcome oriented
• Affectively oriented	• Referentially oriented

Figure 8: Gendered normative communication styles (Adapted from Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 574).

By their own admission, Holmes and Stubbe (2003) point to the inadequacies of the use of such a list. They recognise that the list does not take account of potentially diversifying factors such as race, class and age. They also highlight the fact that it largely ignores contextual factors like the specific interactional situation. It is well appreciated that gender interacts with other aspects of identity and constraining factors like the relative status of interlocutors (Cameron, 1992; Tse and Hyland, 2008). Furthermore, Coates (1996) highlights that most individuals transition across a number of different contexts in a given time period and modify their behavior accordingly. In other words, males and females in the modern workplace most probably use a mix of assertive and affiliative behaviours. Whilst the list has inherent weaknesses: 'it does provide a useful summary of discursive strategies strongly associated with white middle-class men and women in the construction of their normative and unmarked gender identity' (Holmes, 2006:6). Furthermore, as Swann (2002) highlights: 'localized studies are framed by earlier research that established patterns of gender difference'. In the very least the list does provide researchers with a valuable normative yardstick against which male and female behaviour can be measured and dominant interactional patterns codified.

2.7.3. Affiliative communication

Affiliative modes of communication focus on the interpersonal as much as the transactional aspects of the interactive process. Examples of conversational traits include showing support, expressing agreement, and acknowledging the contribution of others. During affiliative talk stress is placed on the similarities between participants both in terms of innate qualities and personal experiences; conversation is both a valid end in itself and a method of building up a supportive network of like minded individuals (Tannen, 1995).

A range of linguistic and discursive strategies have been associated with affiliative modes of communication including: facilitative devices like tag questions (Holmes, 2006); mitigating devices like hedges and self-effacing statements (Lakoff, 1975; Herring 1992), e.g. 'I may be a little confused' or 'forgive my ignorance'; phatic conversational smoothers, e.g. the use of 'sorry' or 'thanks' when there is no real need for redress (Tannen, 1995); downplay of personal agency (Kuhn, 1992); trouble-sharing (Tannen, 1990; 1995); and, indirect request strategies (Holmes, 2006; Baxter, 2010). The last feature of request strategies leads neatly into the discussion of affiliative modes of communication and the exercise of power within the workplace.

Excluding disciplinary actions, the exercise of authority within the workplace is most obviously realized by the issue of commands, which can range in form from bald directives (coded as assertive) to indirect requests (coded as affiliative). Commands can range in form from bald directives to indirect statements of need. The literature indicates the existence of gender differences with regards to the enactment of authority; when issuing commands women (and those who prefer normatively feminine modes of communication) have been shown to labour conversationally in order to dismiss hierarchical differences (Horikawa et al, 1991). Interestingly, Kendall (1993), in her ethnographic study observes a senior female using 'local' commands (as opposed to bald directives), e.g. 'on *this show* we tend to do x', to placate her male interlocutor, and playing the role of interactional novice despite having significant technical knowledge.

Power can also play out during episodes of conflict. In terms of conflict resolution, affiliative modes of communication by their nature seek conciliation rather than

confrontation. Indeed, in the very first instance conflict is avoided in favour of consensus. Interestingly, the propensity to seek consensus can actually wield more power than aggressive forms of communication as seeking consensus often silences dissent by not allowing disagreement (Tannen, 1993). This challenges the notion that affiliative communication necessarily fosters more democratic styles of management (Berryman-Fink, 1997).

Particular attention also has been paid to the role of supportive feedback in the realization of affiliative communication. Indeed, the literature indicates gender differences exist in relation to the giving of praise and the expression of supportive feedback. Wolfson (1984) and Holmes (1986) both report women giving more compliments than men; although both studies report women giving compliments more frequently to other women, particularly subordinates. In terms of feedback, regardless of sentiment (positive, neutral or negative), male bosses are seen as generally more reticent with regards to supplying feedback within the workplace. This was confirmed by Johnson and Roen (1992) in a study of graduate student peer feedback; they found that male students were more likely to offer praise to female students. Such research would therefore suggest that men are apparently at a disadvantage in regards to receiving positive feedback from others.

Having briefly outlined the nature of affiliative communication, and highlighted key gender differences observed, assertive communication will be given the same treatment.

2.7.4. Assertive communication

Assertive modes of communication place greater emphasis on the transactional aspect of communication. Conversational traits include comfort in public speaking (Crawford, 1995), disagreeing with or openly challenging conversation partners (Ong, 1981), and an avoidance of emotional expression (Baxter, 2010). This form of communication places little importance on interpersonal engagement.

A range of linguistic strategies have been associated with assertive modes of communication including: verbosity (Swacker, 1975; Eakins and Eakins, 1987; Edelskey, 1993) particularly in a public context (Elshtain, 1981; Tannen, 1990; Crawford, 1995); profanity and humour (Case, 1988); unmodified statements (Holmes, 2006); imperatives (Baxter, 2010);

pronounced personal agency (Kuhn, 1992) especially in the expression of power; and, direct bald commands (Horikawa et al, 1991; Drew and Heritage, 1992; Tannen, 1995).

In the expression of power males have been reported as using more assertive forms of communication (Horikawa et al, 1991). However, the top-down exercise of authority does not constitute the only directional flow of authority in the modern workplace. In many situations juniors have to exercise authority in order to accomplish tasks and execute duties. Whilst not strictly relevant to the workplace, Leet-Peligrini (1987) reports that males cast in an expert role (in an experimental setting) are likely to dominate conversations; and, males cast as non-experts are particularly challenging to female experts. Females, when cast in both roles, are more likely to be supportive of their conversational partners. The researchers argue that male challenges may actually involve an inadvertent endorsement of women as worthy opponents, although they seem to overlook the relatively submissive role of non-expert males in male/male pairings. Linde (1988) reports that subordinate pilots are more likely to use mitigated, indirect forms of speech when in communication with seniors; a normative practice that has contributed to a number of fatal accidents. It should be noted that the cases considered by Linde (1988), due to the predominance of males in the aviation industry, involved exclusively male environments. Nevertheless, it would appear that male subordinates observe strict decorum with regards to their (male) masters, and display greater sensitivity to the operation of hierarchy. One cannot help refer back to Lever (1978) who makes the assertion that the style of boy's play better prepares them for the world of work given the greater level of complexity in social relations they learn to traverse from a young age. In an experimental setting, Tracy and Eisenber (1991) report gender differences in criticism of an ill-drafted business letter. Males are more likely to attend to the face needs of those in the superior position; females are more likely to show concern for the other person's feelings when acting in the superior role. Such results could be taken as the enactment of a mild kind of authority by women when in power. A rather more negative interpretation of the results could involve a view of women failing to play the subordinate role as well as their male peers.

The following section will consider the issue of the use of assertive and affiliative communication in the modern workplace, and the view taken in the present thesis.

2.7.5. Use of affiliative and assertive communication in the workplace

To what extent the use of affiliative and assertive modes of communication align with the use of language by the sexes is a legitimate question. Interestingly, in a meta-study of 63 articles, Leaper and Ayres (2007) report that men are more likely to engage in assertive forms of communication, and that women are also more likely than men to engage in affiliative communication. The difference between genders is greater in single sex groups, i.e. women are more likely to engage in affiliative communication in the company of other women. Gender differences were also found to be more exaggerated in studies published before 1985 than those published after 1986. The researchers explain the results by suggesting modern men are more perhaps more open to affiliative conversational traits than the previous generation (e.g. discussion of emotions).

Great care has to be taken when discussing dichotomies of gendered behaviour. Indeed, there are plenty of studies which contradict the existence of dichotomous behaviour. For instance, Ladegaard (2012) shows female leaders as behaving in normatively masculine ways; furthermore, other studies report that men and women use a combination of normative behaviours (Holmes, 2006; Ladegaard, 2011). Again, I think it is better to view the two modes less in terms of innate properties, and more in terms of discursive tools. Discursive tools in the sense that speakers can, theoretically, orient towards either of the dichotomous categories in accordance with the contextual co-ordinates of the specific interactional episode (Geyer, 2008; Kádár and Haugh, 2015). For instance, if the goal of the interaction is to offer consolation then a more affiliative mode of communication may be more appropriate to the achievement of such a discourse goal. However, it should also be noted that a number of researchers have highlighted a number of problems males and females can encounter when using modes of communication traditionally associated with the opposite sex.

A number of key researchers agree on the phenomenon known as the 'double bind', in which attempts to ape male forms of behavior are deemed as undermining femininity and consequently popularity (Stratham 1987; Wajcman, 1998; Holmes, 2006); whilst acting in an expected feminine manner undercuts perceptions of competence. As succinctly put by Jones (2000): 'If she talks like a manager she is transgressing the boundaries of femininity: if she talks like a woman she no longer represents herself as a manager' (2000: 196). Lakof (1975)

highlights the fact that being 'ladylike' is a bar to being powerful as the very image of authority is associated with maleness. Interestingly, a number of researchers indicate that male managers who deviate from standard expectations of behavior are evaluated negatively by male subordinates: suggesting that men are as much caught in the bind as women (Nieva and Gutek, 1980; Stratham, 1987).

A number of issues can be raised in relation to the double bind. Firstly, many of the studies are somewhat dated. One could legitimately question as to whether the studies are more reflective of a time when female participation in the workplace was novel or highly circumscribed (i.e. when women were confined to roles of support staff). Secondly, it could be argued that greater social liberalisation has allowed for greater fluidity in leadership role models which challenge double bind type thinking (e.g. openly gay CEOs like Timothy Cook of Apple Inc.). Finally, without pre-empting my results it should be noted that I did not observe evidence of constriction on the modes of communication used by the respective sexes. In other words, males and females fluidly used a mix of affiliative and assertive modes of communication.

The next section will consider various criticisms of the two cultures approach to language and gender.

2.7.6. Criticism of the two cultures approach

Critics of the two cultures approach have claimed that too much stress tends to be placed on difference (Hyde, 2005; Cameron, 2007) at the expense of similarity. Indeed, certain feminists even dismiss the discussion of gender difference as essentialism (Butler, 1990)[19]. Whilst such claims are valid, one should qualify the point with the fact that the tendency to exaggerate difference takes place in the more extreme or grossly simple applications of the two cultures approach. Such applications can be found in the popular work of Gray (1992) and Brizendine (2006); which have proven to be immensely popular. It should also be noted that the reverse argument (i.e. the deliberate denial of gender difference) has been charged against those who seek to stress similarities between men and women. Such claims appear

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[19] Many feminist researchers zealously affirm the idea of gender difference (Irigaray, 1974. Rich, 1976. Kristeva, 1980. Bono & Kemp, 1991), and even encourage essentialism (Lauretis, 1991).

to reflect a deeper ideological chasm within gender and language studies. Nevertheless, as already stated, the approach taken in the present thesis followed that of Tse and Hyland (2008) and treated difference and similarity with equal interest.

A further concern of many researchers with regards to the study of gender difference and language relates to the observation effect in which the very fact that gender is considered as the prime variable impacts upon the results. We should note that Leaper and Ayres (2007), in their meta-study, did not find such an effect when gender was a primary investigative variable, so such concerns can perhaps be released.

Cameron (2007) vehemently rejects the idea that communication between the sexes should be regarded as cross-cultural (2007). She claims that men and women do not misunderstand each other in the way that interlocutors using different languages genuinely fail to achieve mutual comprehension. Whilst semantic misunderstanding may be unlikely, pragmatic misunderstanding seems at least possible. Nevertheless, perhaps too much has been made of misunderstandings and failures of communication in the two cultures approach. Cameron further argues that the two cultures approach often attempts to make global claims in an academic context where the preferred mode of thought views gender as enacted in local communities. The findings generated here were regarded as relevant to the communities examined, and were not regarded as giving rise to grand generalisations.

A final criticism concerns a collection of value judgements and (dated?) narratives that are sometimes latent within the literature of the two cultures model. According to Baxter (2010) 'eminent scholars in business and management studies continue to conceptualise the female speech style as deficient' (2010: 57). Other scholars claim that such views are also held by business managers (Lakoff, 1990; Gal, 1991; Edelsky, 1993; McElhinny, 1995). As with the double bind, I would once again ask if this is true of today's workplace. Indeed, it could be argued that affiliative forms of communication are actually valued within the modern workplace. If it is true (i.e. affiliative speech is seen as deficient) then this is certainly regrettable as is the demonization of the masculine mode of communication. Kroløkke and Sørensen (2006), in a discussion of earlier deficit accounts of female communication, highlight the fact that 'feminist research in the 1980s and 1990s created a reverse story of the opposition of communicative styles of co-optation [affiliative] and competition [assertive], in

which the former is positively invested, the latter negatively' (2006: 105). In other words, certain accounts of gender and language tend to present masculine modes of communication negatively. Such a bias was resisted in the present thesis. Indeed, there is no need for a zero-sum outcome when it comes to preference for affiliative or assertive modes of communication. Both modes of communication surely have an appropriate role dependent on context (as suggested in Case, 1988; Holmes, 2006; Ladegaard, 2011; 2012).

Finally, the subtopic of metadiscourse and gender will be considered as it is highly relevant to the present thesis.

2.7.7. Metadiscourse and gender

As already stated, surprisingly little has been written on gender as a variable of metadiscourse. Crismore et al (1993) and Francis et al (2001) both report that men are more likely to use *boosters* than women in order to create a bolder style of written communication; Herbert (1990) reports that women are more likely to use *boosters* as an intensifier of praise. Tse and Hyland (2008), in an examination of academic book reviews, report a greater degree of similarity than difference: men and women both use interactional metadiscourse twice as much as interactive forms of metadiscourse; both use a number of *boosters* and *engagement markers* in order to create a sense of a shared writer-reader evaluative environment; both tend to guide their readers through the observation of the semi-formulaic conventions of the genre. With regards to difference, Tse and Hyland, note the fact that overall men use 13% more interactional metadiscourse than women. Men use *engagement markers*, *boosters* and *hedges*, in order to craft a personalised and engaging style. In accordance with previous research, women use *boosters* in order to intensify praise of an author; men use *boosters* in order to intensify their own opinions. Men also use *self mentions* with *boosters* more often than women in order to stamp a sense of personal agency on a statement of high modality. Perhaps the most relevant point of the study lies in the approach of the researchers: despite the fact that the raw distributional numbers of metadiscourse looked similar on the surface level, deeper consideration of the rhetorical function revealed interesting subtle differences.

As already stated, the third central component of this thesis is email. The literature on the linguistic/discursive study of email will be considered in the following section.

2.8. Email

The following section is broken into four sections. The first section will begin by outlining trends within the linguistic study of email; the second section will locate the present study within such developments. The third section will specifically discuss the issue of gender and email (calling upon a wide body of literature concerned with computer mediated communication). Finally, the fourth section will discuss the specific interactional context considered in this study.

2.8.1. Email as an object of linguistic attention

Linguistic and discursive research into email has focused on numerous of issues including; the nature of digital interaction; typological classification, and socio-pragmatic issues. Early researchers, through comparison of email with other mediums of communication, portray email as highly informal in nature, and as likely to cause a collapse in the strictures of formality present in epistolary modes of business communication (Baron, 2000; Crystal, 2001). Such studies, tending to examine emails in isolation and out of context, report on the possible emergence of a universal language of email characterised by abbreviations, a lack of adherence to traditional grammatical rules, and the presence of an informal and friendly style (Crystal, 2001; Gimenez, 2000; Li, 2000). Since the turn of the century, developments in the field of linguistics have witnessed a transition from computer-mediated communication (CMC) to computer-mediated-discourse (CMD) (Herring, 2001; Androutsopoulos, 2006). The latter approach focuses on, amongst other things, topic related studies, highlights social variability, and celebrates the diversity of electronic language usage in the exploration of the discourse practices of different online communities (De Oliveira, 2003; Duthler, 2006; Barron, 2006; Lange, 2007; Clarke, 2009).   The computer mediated discourse approach challenges notions like the homogeneity of email language, and the apparent collapse of formality. It claims in accordance with the leading view of Androutsopoulos, that use of the medium is too wide to make such broad generalisations. Methodologically, the approach objects to the atomisation of data, insisting that emails cannot be understood outside of the context (chain) in which they originate. In accordance with the computer mediated discourse

approach, the present study will not make claims beyond the discourse communities from which data was taken. Furthermore, each email was analysed as part of an ongoing chain of discourse.

2.8.2. Characterisation of the medium

In attempting to characterise the medium, researchers often foreground the role of politeness in the medium. For instance, Lui (2002), in a classroom experiment, reports that email is a depersonalised medium lacking many conventional politeness markers. Evans (2010), in a study of the five leading industries of Hong Kong, notes that the use of email often involves a dispensation of courtesy due to the need for haste. Alternatively, Mulholland (1999), in an earlier study, reports that politeness markers appear frequently, despite the need for haste. Furthermore, a number of studies highlight the importance of politeness, as a means of achieving social solidarity, in email (Duthler, 2006; Kong, 2006; Murphy and Levy, 2006). Murphy and Levy (2006) report that politeness strategies vary dependant on the imposition of the particular email. Such studies demonstrate the dangers in making generalisations about the nature of email, and the need to show greater sensitivity to specific practices within discourse communities.

Two competing views exist within the literature as to whether the technological modality of the medium inhibits participants from communicating in a way that achieves a meaningful subject-to-subject meeting of minds. Without reference to para-linguistic components of communication such as body language, tone, intonation e.t.c. there are those who feel the medium is 'poor' or in the language of rich media theory (Daft and Lengel, 1984) a 'lean' medium. According to this view, the medium is supposedly 'lean' in its ability to achieve any kind of consensus ad idem: in other words, artificially mediated communication is seen as rather unauthenticated. Due to lack of social cues available to CMC interlocutors, Walther (1996) claims that 10 minutes of face-to-face communication is worth 40 minutes of computer mediated communication. In order to compensate for a lack of para-linguistic resources, Nadler and Shetowsky (2006) implore users of email to establish common ground before engaging in any activity outside of the transmission of task-based information. Conversely, there are those who argue that the potential of email to carry rich authenticated

information is overlooked, for example through the use of unique features like emoticons, and even metadiscourse (Jensen, 2009).

Interestingly, Feenberg (1989), talking about CMC in general, highlights the ideological bias that posits inter-praesentes meetings as the richest form of communication: 'in our culture the face-to-face meeting is the ideal paradigm of the meeting of minds' (1989: 22). Merleau-Ponty (1973) goes further and claims that humans often fail to read (and execute) the supposed para-linguistic elements of daily communication. He further warns researchers against the over-emphasis of such factors in the process of pragmatic inference (such ideas also exist in the work of Tannen, 1990, in relation to communication between the genders). It is rather striking that breakdowns in communication or disagreements are often evidenced in favour of the 'lean' nature of the medium argument. However, researchers often fail to enquire into to whether the interlocutors would have misunderstood, or disagreed with one another in a face to face situation.

Email as a genre has posed particular problems with regards to typological classification. Although email, in the final instance, is a written form of language a number of features resemble speech. These include: the speed with which an email can be sent, the omission of punctuation (that often occurs), and the use of colloquial vocabulary and syntactic structures associated with speech. Others assert that the physical absence of interlocutors, the asynchronous nature of the communicative exchange, and the fact that message content is subsequently retrievable means email should properly be regarded as closer to written language (Baron, 2000). Yates (1999) discussing email, as well as other forms of CMC, claims that email is neither simply closer to spoken or written language. Email as a medium has absorbed aspects of both written and spoken forms of communication as a result of an evolution from earlier epistolary forms of communication, as well as subsequent technological innovation (Milne, 2010). Given that the central measure of this study, i.e. metadiscourse is a ubiquitous feature of all language forms (Crismore et al, 1993), it is perhaps permissible to dispense with the need to mire the discussion in the vagaries of such typological enquiries: within this study email was regarded as a written/textualised form of communication that draws on both written and spoken language (Herring, 1996).

Although researchers have attempted to classify the medium in terms of written and spoken language, I would submit that there may be a more important relationship worthy of exploration by such researchers: namely, the relationship between speech/communication and cognition/thought in the medium. This is certainly not the central focus of the present thesis, and is a topic that could probably sustain an entire thesis on its own. Nevertheless, I was particularly struck during my analysis by the frequent cognitive references in the content of the emails analysed. Senders frequently referred to emails as their 'thoughts'; elicited discourse by asking 'what do you think?'; claimed to 'look forward' to each other's 'thoughts'; and expressed opinions in cognitive terms (e.g. I think…). For the purposes of the present thesis such references were regarded as reflexive, although I fully recognise that there is much work to be done on this issue.

The next section will consider the sub-topic of email and gender.

2.8.3. Email and gender

A great advantage of email communication, like telephonic mediums, is the fact that physical distance poses little or no impediment to communication. At the point of distribution and reception email interlocutors are generally not physically present to one another (apart from of course the rather curious practice of emailing across a desk or office space). Early internet theorists speculated that the rise in inter-absentes communication could lead to greater egalitarian relations. Through the process of disembodiment such theorists felt that digital participants could transcend the cultural codes associated with class and the biological reality of the body such as gender, sexuality and race (Milne, 2010). Dreary (1994) encapsulates such utopian thinking as

> 'a technologically enabled, post-multicultural vision of identity disengaged from gender,
> ethnicity and other problematic constructions. Online, users can float free of biological
> and cultural determinants at least to the degree that their idiosyncratic language usage
> does not mark them as white, black, college-educated, a high-school dropout and so on'
> (1994: 2-3).

The utopian benefits apparently gained from the process of disembodiment involved in digital exchange are problematic for a number of reasons. The idea of disembodiment,

certainly with regards to gender, upholds an ideological assumption that the body is perceived as the primary site of authenticity (as claimed by the likes of Butler, 1993 and Kirkby, 1997). Secondly, despite seeming to communicate in a 'disembodied' manner, Herring (1992) has recorded the presence of noticeable gender patterns in CMC. Thirdly, to what extent the process of disembodiment is actually present in workplace email is highly questionable: people are generally known to one another either personally or via organizational networks. Ladegaard (2007) details senders searching the intranet in order to discern the identity of an unknown interlocutor (gender, ethnicity, age, e.t.c.). As highlighted by Slater (1998) the body of the average employee of an organization when engaged in digital communication, is not 'released through avatars or imagination from its traditional shapes, colours, genders' (1998: 91). Finally, as highlighted by Milne (2010) email does carry a degree of social information; most interlocutors can guess the gender of their interlocutor from his or her first name. Finally, institutional status is often communicated in signature information.

In summary, the following positions were taken upon consideration of the literature: generalisations about the medium cannot be made, as each digital discourse community is unique; the medium resists neat classification along a linguistic dichotomy (e.g. personal/impersonal); the medium does contain the ability to achieve a meeting of minds; and, the medium contains elements of both written and spoken forms of language.

Finally, the next section will clarify the specific interactional context of email examined here.

2.8.4. The specific interactional context of email

Males and females have been shown to vary language and discourse strategies according to specific workplace interactional contexts (Holmes, 2006). This necessitates further clarification in terms of the specific interactional context investigated. A number of ways are suggested in the literature as how to further define the specific interactional context of email. Mallon and Oppenheim (2002) define the interactional context according to the nature of the email: personal or work. Others make the simple distinction between academic and business email as the context of interaction under investigation (Gimenez, 2000). Ho (2011) makes the latter distinction, and displays greater genre sensitivity (choosing to focus on the specific

genre of request emails). There are also those who take a medium driven approach (as opposed to genre driven) and define the interactional context in relation to the nature of the medium. For instance, Gimenez (2006) looks at the interactional context of chain emails whilst Perez-Sabater (2008) considers group emails.

As stated in the introduction section, I defined the specific international context for investigation in the current study in the following way: workplace group email. Again, I made this choice for a number of reasons. Firstly, linguistically interesting differences have been found between dyadic and group emails. As mentioned in chapter 1, Perez-Sabater (2008) found that orality and informality were more pronounced in one-on-one emails when compared to emails with multiple parties copied. Secondly, request as a genre has already been well explored. Research has indicated that the request email genre is most dominant use/genre of emails in a given corpus (Goldstein and Sabin, 2005; Carvalho and Cohen, 2004) meaning it was unlikely that my data would contain a sufficient number of emails to consider another genre such as refusal (this was in fact true). Finally, I believe group emails are particularly interesting from the perspective of face and rapport management given the fact that interlocutors communicate before an audience.

The final main section of the literature review will consider the literature on face and politeness. As already stated in the introductory section, the field of face and politeness is included due to the fact that such issues are present within interactional situations (Tracy, 1990); the literature can also help to explain the use and articulation of certain metadiscourse markers.

2.9. Face and politeness

The following section gives consideration to the concept of face and politeness theory.

2.9.1. Brown and Levinson: politeness theory

Central to any discussion concerning face, politeness, and interaction is Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. Indeed, most major contributions to the understanding of politeness have utilised the approach (Gu, 1990; Nwoye, 1992; Pizziconi, 2003; Lee and Park, 2011; Lee et al., 2012).

The concept of face is central to Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. The researchers base their conception of face upon that of Goffman (1967) which can basically be defined as the image each person seeks to uphold for him or herself during an interaction. More specifically they claim there are two kinds of face: positive face and negative face. Tracy (1990) succinctly explains the difference: 'positive face concerns the desire to be appreciated and approved of by selected others. Negative face concerns a person's want to be unimpeded and free from imposition' (1990: 210). Any act whether linguistic or not that violates the principles of positive or negative face is seen as constituting a 'face threatening act'. For example, a complaint against someone's tardiness is a potential face threatening act to their positive face since it violates their desire to be seen positively. A simple request by a speaker to a hearer is theoretically a face threatening act since it impedes on the hearer's negative face i.e. the freedom to exist free from imposition.

Brown and Levinson's theory posits the idea that face is a universally applicable concept (perhaps one of the more contested claims of the theory); people are conceptualised as rational creatures stuck in a state of constant calculation as how best to mitigate potentially face threatening acts. Brown and Levinson claim an individual will take into account a number of pragmatic factors before deciding on a strategy. The factors taken into account include: the social distance of the parties; the relative power distribution between the parties; and the imposition of the act. As a factor for consideration social distance alludes to the fact that most sane, sober, adults will modify their behaviour in response to where they perceive themselves to be in relation to another interlocutor on a cline of closeness and distance. For example, the way one would ask to borrow an umbrella would differ depending on whether the request was made to a friend, a work colleague or a stranger. The distribution of power between the parties refers to the perceived status of the participants and the influence this has on interaction. For instance, how one chooses to interact with someone who holds important public office such as a judge, priest or university professor will be different to the way one would interact with a perceived equal. The concept of the relative imposition of the act allows for gradation, culturally as well as relatively, in terms of how onerous the act in question is likely to be perceived by the hearer. For instance, asking to borrow money for lunch is less imposing than asking for the sacrifice of someone's first born child (one would

guess this applies universally!). According to Brown and Levinson (1987) all three factors are taken into account when deciding which on the five potential strategies outlined below.

```
                                            1. without redressive action, baldly
                                 /
                    on record                      2. positive politeness
                      /   \                              /
                     /     \                            /
       Do the FTA<--'       `with redressive action<
        /         \                                     \
       /           \                                     \
      /          4. off record                       3. negative politeness
     <
      \
       \
    5. Don't do the FTA
```
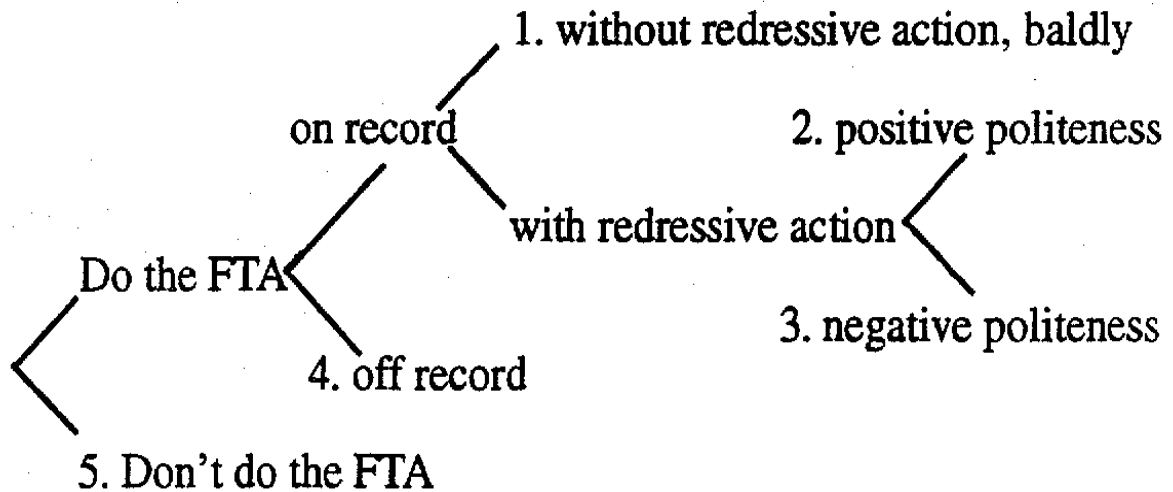
Figure 9: Face threat strategies (taken from Brown and Levinson, 1987: 11)

To refrain from committing the face threatening act is perhaps the most obvious way of avoiding the violation of another's face rights. However, as one can easily imagine, this would make daily life impossible. Practicalities simply necessitate that the speaker commit the act. Faced with the need to commit the FTA, speakers have the option of committing the FTA 'on record' or 'off record'. 'Off record' FTAs are done in such a manner that multiple interpretations of the utterance are possible thus removing the speaker from seeming to impose on the hearer. For example, 'I've forgot my purse' could be a hint to a co-worker that one needs to lend money to buy lunch without explicitly asking to do so. 'On record' FTAs are those that are basically unambiguous in their articulation: these can be done with or without redressive action. Without redressive action involves executing the act in the most clear and succinct way but carries an obvious face threatening risk. The final strategy available to a speaker involves execution of the FTA on record with redressive action i.e. a politeness strategy like offering to do something in exchange for the requested action.

Just as there are two kinds of face, Brown and Levinson (1987) claim there are two kinds of politeness: positive politeness and negative politeness. Positive politeness focuses on the other person's positive face wants. For example, a request for a report using positive politeness could involve an articulation along the following lines: 'I know you're fantastic at working with Excel formulas, could you possibly run me a mid-month performance report?'. Here the speaker can be seen to attend to the receiver's positive face in that it pertains to notions of him or her as a highly competent worker. Making the same request with the use of negative politeness could perhaps involve an articulation along the lines of 'I know you're very busy and probably can't but could you possibly run me a mid-month performance report'. Here the speaker can be seen to attend to the receiver's negative face by giving recognition to the hearer's right not to be imposed upon.

The theory has been criticised for a number of reasons. Some feel the theory is too anglocentric in that it overstates the importance of individual identity versus collective identity and so is not universally applicable (Matsumoto, 1988; Gu, 1990; Watts, 2003; Culpeper, 2008). It should be noted that the data used in this thesis is taken from the United Kingdom, a cultural collective largely defined towards the individualist end of the individualist/collectivist cline (as outlined by Hofstede, 1991). Consequently, perhaps it is fair to assume that Brown and Levinson's theory is applicable for the purposes of this study. Others have criticised the theory for using an incomplete and overly simplistic conception of face, for instance Culpeper (1998) notes that what is regarded as a face threat or insult by one person may not be held so by the next person. However, as Kádár and Haugh (2015) eloquently argue, the analyst perspective is still a valid perspective in the examination of face and politeness. Indeed, the understanding of politeness can involve multiple loci of understandings. Finally, the approach models linguistic politeness in abstract terms: politeness is seen to inhere in certain conventional forms. This notion has been subject to serious challenge (Kádár and Haugh, 2015). The present thesis observed the discursive interactional approach (Kádár and Haugh, 2015) and treated politeness as a situated practice. Politeness was not seen as residing in form, but in potential evaluations arising out of the specific interactional exchange. Despite considerable challenge the contribution of Brown and Levinson remains the first port of call for researchers calling upon the field of face and

politeness. Indeed, the 'framework still has an unprecedented status both within and outside the field of pragmatics' (Kádár and Haugh, 2015: 16).

Kádár and Haugh (2015) observe that the field of politeness took a 'discursive turn' at the start of the present century. They define 'discursive turn' as a 'shift towards examining politeness situated in discourse and interaction' (2015: 265). They also observe a 'relational shift' (i.e. 'the increasing focus on interpersonal relationships in post 2000 politeness research' 2015: 271). Two models have gained particular prominence in this period: the 'rapport management' framework (Spencer-Oatey, 2000, 2005, 2008), and the 'relational work' (Locher and Watts, 2005; Locher, 2013) framework. Both will be considered below. It should be noted that the additional frameworks discussed below were seen as helpful additions to the work of Brown and Levinson[20], not replacements.

2.9.2. Rapport management

Spencer-Oatey (2000, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2011) places particular emphasis on the importance of interpersonal relationships in the understanding of face and politeness. Throughout her work, she proposes three kinds of face: quality face; relational face and social identity face. The three kinds of face, proposed by Spencer-Oatey, reflect identity research that has sought to make finer distinctions between the various planes of personal representation (Hecht, 1993. Sedikides and Brewer, 2001). Quality face relates to the individual qualities we desire for others to positively value in us such as appearance, competence and character. The content of 'quality face' will obviously differ across individuals given differences in genetic endowments, cognitive aptitudes and personal values. The reader will notice the similarity of the concept to positive face as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987).

Social identity face is intimately bound with the social identity or interactional role ascribed to us as social beings e.g. manager, customer, mother (Spencer-Oatey, 2002). The conceptual certainty of this category has been diluted with the subsequent development of the concept of relational face (discussed next). Culpeper claims the key questions to ask when giving consideration to issues of social identity face violation as follows: 'does the interaction evoke an understanding that something counters positive values which a

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[20] Holmes (2006) takes a similar position.

participant claims not only to have in common with all other members in a particular group, but to be assumed by other participants as having?' (1998: 29). An example of a threat to social identity face could involve a situation whereby one interlocutor (say, an advertising practitioner) is insulted by the negative comments of another interlocutor regarding the declining creative standards of modern advertising.

The final sub-category of face proposed by Spencer-Oatey (2008) concerns relational face and pertains to the construction of who a person is taken to be in relation to a significant other in any meaningful social relationship e.g. family, friends, colleagues. As a concept it is closely related to that of interactional identity as proposed by Tracy and Robles (2013), in that it is very much a product of the identities that emerge from specific contexts[21]. An example of a relational face could arise in a work context whereby a senior manager takes on an interactional identity of a subordinate worker when interacting with a member of the executive committee. Under such circumstances uppity behaviour on behalf of the senior manager would be out of sync with his or her interactional identity. Such behaviour could commit a potential face threat to the relational face of the superior organisational member. The important point to grasp is the fluidity of relational identity, and the importance of context in the understanding of face.

Spencer-Oatey (2008) in criticising Brown and Levinson's concept of negative face proposes that issues relating to negative face should in fact be understood as issues of what she calls 'sociality rights'. The concept concerns the kind of rights interlocutors are entitled to, and the obligations they must observe during interactional episodes. She defines sociality rights and obligations as the 'fundamental social entitlements that a person effectively claims for him/herself in his/her interactions with others' (2008: 13). She claims that whilst face is intimately concerned with people's perceived social value, sociality rights are a reflection of concerns for fairness, appropriateness and what is expected as contextually normative.

Spencer Oatey (2005) proposes two subcategories of sociality rights: equity rights and association rights. Equity sociality rights are defined as a collection of interactional principles based upon three notions: the notion that people should not be exploited; the

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[21] Although as Culpeper (1998) highlights we should not simply assume that face and identity are synonymous. The former is largely a consequence of dyadic interaction.

notion that costs and benefits should be kept in proportion; and the notion that individual autonomy should be respected in that people should not be unduly controlled or imposed upon. Quite how this is distinct from negative face or how, through a basic extension, negative face fails to capture these notions is questionable.

Associational sociality rights reflect the fact that dependent upon the relationship in question individuals feel they have certain associational entitlements. This principle is based upon three notions: the notion that certain relationships give rise to certain types of involvement; the notion that people should share similar empathetic concerns; and the notion that an appropriate amount of respectfulness should be shown in a given relationship. Culpeper formulates the key question to ask when giving consideration as to whether there has been a violation of sociality association rights as: 'does the interaction evoke an understanding that something counters a state of affairs in which a participant considers that they have an appropriate level of behavioural involvement and sharing of concerns, feelings and interests with others, and are accorded an appropriate level of respect?' (1998:41).

In terms of the concept of face, the work of Spencer-Oatey has been very influential but one a pessimistic could claim that it sometimes simply replicates thinking already present in Brown and Levinson. Furthermore, the approach is scattered across multiple volumes. Nevertheless, the work has had considerable influence, certainly with journal gatekeepers. The approach in the present thesis remains largely committed to the underlying theoretical positions of Brown and Levinson (1987), but enriches the literature by highlighting gaps in the latter's thinking where necessary.

2.9.3. Relational work

The concept of relational work as proposed by Locher and Watts (2005, 2008) 'refers to all aspects of the work invested by individuals in the construction, maintenance, reproduction and transformation of interpersonal relationships among those engaged in social practice' (Locher and Watts, 2008: 96). Locher and Watts conceptualise relationships as dynamic entities that are subject to a constant process of (re)negotiation (often a product of language choices made by interlocutors). As a result, the approach focuses on the particular choices interlocutors make and the dynamics that emerge during subsequent events. The principal

criticism of Brown and Levinson's approach is the fact that it neglects those situations in which face-threat mitigation is not central to the interaction e.g. intentional impoliteness. Locher and Watts (2005) also criticise Brown and Levinson (1987) for failing to account for behaviour which is neither polite nor impolite, i.e. politic.

In seeking to fill this theoretical gap, the researchers propose four categories for understanding language choice: impolite; non-polite/politic; polite; and over-polite. Marked behaviour can occur in three ways: impolitely marked; politely marked and over-politely marked (negative). From discussion in the previous sections, the reader has gained an idea of the ways in which an utterance can be articulated in an impolite or polite manner. An interesting addition of the work of Locher and Watts (2005) includes the category of utterances that are marked in an overly-polite or sarcastic manner, like the overuse of 'thank you' in an email.

Politic behaviour relates to the basic normative behaviour that is expected in a given situation, the absence of which potentially transforms an utterance into what could be regarded as impolite behaviour. Politic relational work often occurs in an unmarked and largely unnoticed manner. An example of politic behaviour could for instance involve a very straight forward internal request email like 'send me the client contact dates'. The context is such that the sender can dispense with structural elements of politeness like opening and closing salutation, and make a bald request without redressive action. Exactly the same email could be taken as impolite if it was sent to an external client due to the fact that such a context does not necessarily allow for a relaxation of politeness norms. One feels somewhat compelled at this point to mount a defence in favour of Brown and Levinson's framework; within the literature it is simply taken that the theory of Brown and Levinson is unable to account for politic behaviour. It could be argued that politic behaviour falls within the on record without redressive action category (see Figure 9) proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). As the example above demonstrates, assuming that this behaviour automatically correlates with impoliteness would be incorrect. However, a common-sense interpretation of the three sociological factors proposed by Brown and Levinson would surely lead an analyst to rebut the presumption of impoliteness. In the next chapter I shall deal with the methods and analytical frameworks that informed the analysis.

Chapter 3

Methods and Analytical Frameworks

3.1. Introduction

The nature of the data used in the present thesis called for textual analysis as the primary methodological approach. Successful textual analysis relies on the development and use of sound taxonomies, therefore a considerable amount of attention will be given to the issue in this chapter. Two taxonomies were used in the present thesis: the first concerned the classification of emails according to sender intent (i.e. the primary purpose for which a given email was sent). Classification of sender intent was necessary for two important reasons: it allowed for comparability across the data sets used, and it provided an important piece of contextual information (i.e. purpose, see Van Dijk, 2008) for the analysis of individual emails. For reasons already well rehearsed, the second taxonomy contained the constellation of metadiscursive categories used for analysis.

The following chapter will first begin with a discussion of the data used in the present thesis. It will then move on to consider the fundamental principles of taxonomical development. This will be followed by a consideration of the sender intent classification taxonomy. The last section will consider the taxonomy of metadiscourse. The last section will first outline the taxonomy in Hyland (2005). The delimitation of Hyland's taxonomy, with the theoretical position in Ä del (2006), necessitated discussion of two issues: the text internality of *evidentials*, *self-mentions*, and *reader pronouns*; and the scope of *hedges* and *boosters*. The section will then move on to discuss the taxonomy in Ä del (2006). The final part of the section that deals with the metadiscourse taxonomy will consider the taxonomy used in the present thesis. This section will clarify what material was regarded as 'text' and what were the textual boundaries in email data. It will also reconcile the taxonomies of Hyland (2005) and Adel (2006), as well as set forth key positions (e.g. the restrictive inclusion of stance markers) adopted under the reflexive, minimally integrationist model. The final two sections

discuss the position on the quantification of metadiscourse (i.e. what was counted), and the significance test that was used to check the frequency results.

Before moving on to consider the issues outlined above, I want to briefly address an issue that underlies the methods used in the present thesis but does not neatly fit any of the areas to be subsequently discussed: researcher stance. According to Barton and Lee 'it is essential for researchers to make their relationship to the research, that is, their stance explicit' (2013: 176). Research stance can manifest in many ways (some of which may even be inaccessible to the researcher). Nevertheless, I will explicitly clarify two key aspects: researcher interest and role. My personal interest in group email arose out of personal participation in the medium in a commercial context. As alluded to in the introduction, I've had (and have witnessed) positive and negative experiences within the medium. The trials and tribulations of group email, faced by hundreds of millions (if not billions) of modern workers, fascinate me. In terms of researcher role, the primary role I assumed was analyst. I did not, for example, participate in any of the companies so as to assume the role of researcher as participants. I would argue the fact that I worked in the advertising industry for a number of years furnished me with a degree of insider status. Therefore, to a certain extent I regard myself as having assumed the role of researcher as insider in that I understood the professional references participants made as well as the processes to which they were subject (Barton and Lee, 2013).

3.2. Data Collection

As already stated this research project involved the of use data taken from a number of companies operating in the marketing industry within the United Kingdom. The data was donated by three individuals working respectively, in an advertising agency; a research agency; and a client-side marketing department. All three donors were female. At the time of donation, the marketing department donor was a junior marketing executive; the advertising agency donor was a senior planner; the research agency donor was a quantitative technical analyst. The choice of the United Kingdom and the marketing industry as sites from which to source data was largely driven by practicalities. As stated in chapter 1, I was able to exploit connections that form part of my previously established professional network. Furthermore, the fact that I have previously worked in a professional capacity within the

marketing industry furnished me with a degree of insider knowledge with regards to professional practices and cultural references that were present within the data (e.g. references to creative executions, focus group research stimulus e.t.c.).

3.2.1. Request Criteria

Donors were requested to select emails that fulfilled the following criteria:

- All emails should have occurred naturally (i.e. already be present in the donor's inbox);
- Emails should have involved work related issues (i.e. no purely personal email such as gossip, sharing memes, or emails arranging social activities with work friends);
- Where possible email chains should have been complete in that they had a clear initiator and terminator email (i.e. if the donor did not have the terminator then they were requested to send the last email in the chain to which they were privy);
- Emails should have involved native speakers from the United Kingdom[22];
- An equal mix of short, medium and long emails were requested for donation (previous research indicated that most email exchanges are only two or three messages in length: Carvalho and Cohen 2004; Bou-Franch, 2011);

As a result of not paying the donors or offering any kind of incentive, apart from the emotional reward of helping an ex-colleague, I was very conscious as to the imposition of the request especially as it is standard practice within the marketing industry to pay for data and 'gift' research participants.

3.2.2. Data redaction

Once received the data was subject to a process of redaction in order to ensure the removal and replacement of personally identifiable information (PII) and sensitive company details.

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[22] Inclusion of lingua franca speakers would have invited a number of variables which would not necessarily have enriched the current study. Furthermore, isolation of native speakers can provide a basis of comparison for future research.

3.2.3. Data characteristics

As can be seen in Table 1 below, fifty four email chains comprising two hundred and eighty six individual emails were used for analysis from the original quantity of data donated by the respective donors.

Table 1: Total Data collected by chain and individual emails

Discourse Community	Number of Group Email Chains	Number of Individual Emails	Total Words[23]
Marketing department	13	89	6,236
Advertising Agency	23	79	8,045
Research Agency	18	118	10,271
Total	54	286	24,552

The number of individual senders (as opposed to those simply copied) is broken down by discourse community in Table 2.

Table 2: Total number of senders by gender and discourse community

Discourse Community	Number of Female Senders	Number of Male Senders
Marketing department	10	14
Advertising agency	14	14
Research agency	12	13
Total	36	41

In terms of donor authorship, an issue on which many email studies are mute; Table 2 shows the percentage level of donor authorship for each respective community. As a very useful benchmark, the study by Waldvogel (2007) involved a situation in which the key donor authored half the messages in one of her data sets which was judged as admissible for a qualitative study. Even though the level of donor authorship in the marketing department community was rather high when compared to the other two communities, I would argue that this level of donor involvement is acceptable when compared to the results of Waldvogel. Furthermore, the overall level of donor authorship (n = 17.8%) was acceptable so as to rule out a disproportionate effect of idiolect on the final results.

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[23] A further breakdown by male and female senders in each community can be found in Appendix 2.

Table 3: Donor authorship level in the respective discourse communities

Discourse Community	Number of Emails Authored by Donor	% Donor Authorship
Marketing department	21	23.6
Advertising Agency	11	13.9
Research Agency	19	16.1
Total	51	17.8

3.3. Post-donation interviews

The data collection process was supplemented with subsequent donor interviews (semi-structured). The initial post-donation contact interviews were conducted in order to principally understand the three discourse communities from which the data was taken; the role of email within those communities; and the participant's institutional roles. During the post-donation interviews, I also listed all participants privy to the chain emails collected in order to gain an understanding of factors such as their institutional status, operational role (in terms of internal company member or external party e.g. a supplier) and where ambiguous their gender. The post-donation interviews were particularly helpful in aiding the subsequent interpretation of the data, and helped reduce the opacity involved in much of the pragmatic work based on authentic data (Hyland, 2005).

3.4. Textual Analysis

As already stated, textual analysis was the chosen methodological approach in the present thesis. Again, two taxonomies were used in the present thesis. I will first discuss classification of the data for sender intent. I will then move on to discuss the classification of metadiscourse.

3.5. Sender intent classification

Again, the purpose of the present thesis was to investigate the use of metadiscourse by males and females in workplace email. Workplace email can be used by senders for numerous different purposes. An email in which a sender requests the details of a meeting involves a very different communicative task from an email in which a sender proposes that an indolent

work colleague be removed from a project. In order to ensure parity amongst the respective data sets the data was first categorized in terms of sender intent. Sender intent was also regarded a key piece of contextual information (Van Dijk, 2008) which supported the achievement of the primary objective of the thesis (i.e. understanding the use of metadiscourse in email). The following sections will detail and explain the development of the taxonomy used the first stage of textual analysis.

The theory of speech acts has proven particularly useful in the classification of sender intent (Khosravi, 1999; Goldstein and Sabin, 2006; Carvalho and Cohen, 2004; Lampert et al, 2006). Interestingly, despite claimed influence from the likes of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), none of the studies cited above retained the original set of speech acts. Indeed, there has been little regard for other components of the speech act theory such as the role of felicitous conditions, or the locutionary, illocutionary or perlocutionary concepts. Despite utilising a relatively small aspect of the speech acts theory researchers have undoubtedly found it to be a useful framework to impose a sense of order on a corpus of email data: a view shared by the author. The taxonomy developed by Carvalho and Cohen (2004) was selected for use in the present thesis.

Two principal reasons informed the choice of the taxonomy in Carvalho and Cohen (2004). Firstly, it contained a sufficient amount of complexity necessary for the objective of the taxonomy. The taxonomy was not intended to capture fine distinctions between speech acts, but simply to assign sender intent at the level of email. Taxonomies concerned with sender intent that utilise speech acts usually contain around ten categories, although the number of subcategories can be much greater. For example, Finke et al (1998) use a system that contains 8 main speech acts with 60 subcategories; Levin et al (2003) use a system that contains just under 1000 domain actions, and a combination of main speech acts and subcategories that totaled over 70. Such complexity was simply not appropriate for the present thesis. Secondly, the taxonomy in Carvalho and Cohen (2004) was designed to reflect authentic usage as opposed to abstract academic notions[24] (Cohen et al, 2004). Given the use of authentic commercial data in the present thesis, the commercial orientation of

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[24] The reader may notice that certain categories contain several illocutionary points.

Carvalho and Cohen was particularly attractive. Table 4, below, explains the schema as developed by Carvalho and Cohen (2004).

Table 4: Taxonomy: Classification of sender intent

Verb	Explanation
Request	A request asks (or orders) the recipient to perform a given activity. A question is also considered a request (i.e. for delivery of information).
Amend	An amend message amends an earlier proposal or document.
Commit	A commit message commits the sender to a future course of action, or confirms the senders' intent to comply with a previously described course of action.
Deliver	A deliver message delivers something, e.g. information, a PowerPoint presentation, the URL of a website, the answer to a question, a message sent "FYI", or an opinion e.t.c.
Propose	A propose message proposes a joint activity, i.e. asks the recipient to perform an activity and potentially commits the sender. A typical example is an email suggesting a joint meeting.
Refuse	A refuse message rejects a meeting/action/task or declines an invitation/ proposal.
Greet	A greet message thanks, congratulates, apologizes, greets, or welcomes the recipient(s).
Remind	A reminder message reminds recipients of coming deadline(s).

Adapted Carvalho and Cohen (2004) and Cohen and Carvalho (2004)

The application of the taxonomy above necessitates clarification of a number of issues: what constitutes act occurrence (i.e. what criteria determine one kind of sender intent from another); the level of analysis (e.g. sentential or textual level); and, the treatment of ambiguous cases.

3.5.1. Act Occurrence

Act occurrence was primarily identified from the written lexical semantic content of the email under examination i.e. the form. This meant that the dominant point of view adopted was that that of the sender. Take the following example from the marketing department discourse community. Example 1, reproduced in full, occurred in an email chain concerned with a missing customer order. In Example 1, a female sender directly addressed a male colleague in order to *request information* (in this case contact details).

Example 1

Subject: Hampton court

1. I understand you took the initial call for these missing items. Do you have any
2. more details for Mr XXX (customer name)?

Example 2, reproduced in full, contains the male interlocutor's response. Despite his inability to provide the required information, the intent of the sender was judged as *deliver information*. Indeed, in stating his inability to answer the question, he did in fact deliver information (albeit in the form of a negative answer).

Example 2

Subject: Hampton court

1. Sorry Sandra,
2. I thought I did have it but when I rechecked it was the information for the guy who
3. ordered the 2 autoreel but only received one.
4. Regards
5. Joseph

Two other alternative approaches were possible. The sequential nature of email allowed for an alternative approach in which effect (i.e. the receiver's perspective) was taken into account. For example, if a response contained a *delivery of information* then the previous email could have been coded as a *request information*. Allwood (1980) makes the point that

effects can be used to determine action when data is ambiguous. In practice, the lexical semantic content in most cases was sufficient to identify basic sender intent. Furthermore, as will be discussed, the inclusion of an additional category allowed for the capture of sender intent in a number of ambiguous cases (see next section). The negotiated collaborative point of view (McRoy and Hirst, 1995) constituted a second alternative approach. This approach aims to take account of negotiated meaning between the parties privy to any given communication; this can often differ from the point of view of both individuals. As already stated, the intent identification annotation exercise was designed to simply identify the intent of the party clicking send, at the point of sending, as a way of dissecting a body of email data. The negotiated collaborative point of view approach was deemed of no major benefit to the present study.

3.5.2. Level of analysis

As in Goldstein and Sabin (2006) and Carvalho and Cohen (2004) each email was annotated as one unit. An alternative approach could have involved annotation at the sentence level (as in Lampert et al 2006).   Given that the taxonomy was not inherently interested in speech acts as an object of investigation, but in the assignment of overall sender intent, annotation at the sentence level would have involved an unnecessary degree of complexity. In practice this meant that at the sentence level emails often contained a mix of speech acts, but at the message were judged to have one overriding purpose. Take the following example from the advertising agency discourse community. In Example 3 a male sender wrote to an external marketing consultant with regards to specific marketing strategies that could drive a temporary lift in sales.

Example 3

Subject: LIFT![25] Session

1. Hi Scott

2. Hope you had a fab weekend

3. As discussed at last week's session– i'd really love to find a way of driving a <u>lift</u>[26] for an

4. extended period (<u>i.e. a week</u>).

5. What's the simplest/fastest way of achieving that?

6. Thanks

7. Andrew

In the example above, the male sender, opened his email with a salutation formula, and an expression of interpersonal rapport (i.e. concerned with his interlocutor's weekend). Despite containing 'greet' material, the majority of the email concerned a request for information. The overall purpose of the email was therefore regarded as request information.

3.5.3. Ambiguous intent

As the reader may have noticed, the categories in the Carvalho and Cohen (2004) framework are reasonably wide and allow for dual intentions (e.g. see the propose category in Table 4). In other words, the assignment of primary intent is not an act of brutal simplicity, indeed this is probably why in practice it was relatively unproblematic to apply. However, in a small number of cases, less than 10% of the data (i.e. 23 emails out of 286 emails), multiple acts were found to be present such that it was difficult to assign a single intent. In response to such a problem, Goldstien and Sabin (2006) propose the 'backward/forward function' concept. The backward/forward function concept basically distinguishes between those aspects of an email that respond to a previous message (hence backwards function), and those which are novel to the particular email (hence refer forwards). In other words, the backwards function recursively refers back to an item in the previous message or chain, whereas the forwards function constitutes novel material. In this way ambiguous emails can

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[25] I have substituted the noun for a semantically similar noun due to the fact that use of the original noun could lead to identification of the recipient's consultancy organisation.
[26] See previous footnote.

be assigned dual intent where needed. Take the following example from the research agency discourse community. Example 4 occurred in a chain taken in which a male supplier requested a data file earlier than had previously been agreed. The delivery of the file apparently took significant preparation on behalf of the agency.   In Example 4 a female agency side work (essentially acting in capacity as client) wrote to the supplier.

Example 4

Subject: REQUEST: Coded responses for unprompted awareness

1. Hi David,
2. Please find the coded unprompted awareness data file attached.
3. In the future, in case you need anymore data could you let us know in advance giving us
4. a decent time allowance. This would be appreciated.
5. Thanks,
6. Maz

The female sender responded to her interlocutor's previous request by delivering the necessary information (backward function). She also requested action (forward function) that the receiver allow for sufficient time in the future. Take another example from the research agency discourse community. Example 5 occurred in a chain concerned with research stimulus. In the email previous in the chain a female client sent additional research stimulus to be included in an ongoing research project. In Example 5 a male agency worker responded.

Example 5

Subject: Ads for April + Consumer Survey for "No. 1 claim"

1. Thanks for this Lauren, we will get the ad up and running asap.
2. Are there any other ads you want included in fieldwork this month?
3. Cheers,
4. Rob

In the example above, the sender referred forward with a commit (to upload the research material); he referred backwards with a request for information.

I had worried that application of backwards/forwards concept would significantly subsume the other categories, however in practice this was not the case.

In sum a taxonomical system of email acts as developed by Carvalho and Cohen (2004) was used in the determination of sender intent. This taxonomy was designed to capture evidence of basic sender intent at the message level. It was not intended to make fine distinctions between speech acts within the content of the message. Evidence of this intent was taken from the lexical semantic content of the messages. Where it was not possible to assign a dominant intent, the backwards/forwards concept was used.

The next section will consider the taxonomy used for the classification of metadiscourse.

3.6. Metadiscourse classification

In the following section I will outline the taxonomies presented in Hyland (2005) and Ä del (2006). I will also discuss the key issues noted with regards the two taxonomies. Finally, I will present the taxonomy used in the present thesis which was the product of both a reconciliation of the two taxonomies in Hyland and Ä del, as well as frequent patterns in the data. It should be noted that the examples used throughout the rest of the present chapter are intended to simply demonstrate form. Therefore, only basic contextual information will be supplied, and the focus will be kept at the sentential level.

The objective of the metadiscourse taxonomy was very simply to identify the lexical realizations of metadiscourse in email data. The yoking together of the approaches in Hyland (2005) and Ä del (2006) offered two potential sources for taxonomical development. The content of the taxonomies proposed in Hyland and Ä del shall be considered in the following sections.

3.7. Taxonomy: Hyland's interpersonal model

Based on earlier work by Vande Kopple (1985), Crismore et al (1993), Thompson and Thetala (1995), and Thompson (2001), Hyland's interpersonal model of metadiscourse distinguishes between two types of interaction in writing: the 'interactive' component; and the 'interactional' component. According to Hyland (2005) these 'these two dimensions are defining characteristics of any communication, whether spoken or written and are expressed through a range of rhetorical features which themselves perform more specific functions' (2005: 50). Interactive metadiscourse relates to that which seeks to guide the reader through the propositional material in a way that is coherent and plausible, or as stated by Hyland: 'the writer's awareness of a participating audience and the ways he or she seeks to accommodate its probable knowledge, interests, rhetorical expectations and processing abilities'(2005: 49). The category, as proposed in Hyland, has five main sub-categories: *transitions*; *frame markers*; *endophoric markers*; *evidentials;* and, *code glosses.* Interactional metadiscourse is that which involves the reader in the collaborative achievement of meaning, or as stated by Hyland: 'the ways writers conduct interaction by intruding and commenting on their message. The writer's goal here is to make his or her views explicit and to involve readers by allowing them to respond to the unfolding text' (2005: 49). The interactional category of metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005) also has five main categories: *hedges*; *boosters*; *attitude markers*; *self mentions*; and *engagement markers.*

Table 5 contains an explanation of the main taxonomy in Hyland (2005).

Table 5: Taxonomy: An interpersonal model of metadiscourse adapted from Hyland (2005)

Category	Discourse function	Example
Interactive	**Help to guide the reader through the text**	
Transitions	Express text internal additive, causative and contrastive relations in the author's cognition, and essentially help the reader envision the writer's argumentation as expressed in written clauses.	*In addition; but; thus; and.*

Frame markers	Announce discourse moves in the organization and argumentation of the text so as to provide readers with greater clarity. They can be used to (1) explicitly announce goals (2) label stages (3) sequence content (4) shift topics.	*Finally; to conclude; my purpose is.*
Endophoric markers	Refer to other parts of a text and act to guide the reader in the retrieval of material deemed relevant to the current proposition.	*Noted above; see Fig; in Section 2.*
Evidentials	Refer to information from other texts in order to guide the interpretation of the reader.	*According to X; Z states*
Code glosses	Expand upon propositional material in order to support the writer's dominant position, and cater to the reader's knowledge.	*Namely; e.g.; such as; in other words.*
Interactional	**Involve the reader in the text**	
Hedges	Express reservation with regards to a proposition. They function so as to democratize propositional information by rendering it liable to scrutiny and debate.	*Might; perhaps; possible; about.*
Boosters	Inflate the amount of certainty behind a proposition. They function so as to close down potential dialogue.	*In fact; definitely; it is clear that.*
Attitude markers	Express the affective sentiment, such as interest, horror or surprise, towards the immediate proposition.	*Hopefully; unfortunately; surprisingly.*
Self mentions	Explicitly refer to the author(s)	*I; we; my; our.*
Engagement markers	Build a relationship with the reader(s). The category is broad in the sense that it includes both the direct address of the reader, as well as items that provide textual and cognitive guidance.	*Consider; note; you can see that; your; we (inclusive).*

It should be noted that later in the 2005 volume, Hyland further breaks down the category of engagement markers (2005: 151-156) into four separate categories: *reader pronouns*; *personal asides*; *questions*; and, *directives*. *Reader pronouns* explicitly refer to the reader.

Personal asides comprise parenthetical comments writers use to briefly interrupt the propositional flow in order to remark on what has just been said. Even though *personal asides* are often propositional in nature, they have a marked interpersonal effect and create the impression that the writer is addressing an active audience. *Directives* command readers to perform a textual act or cognitively align with the reader. *Questions* work so as to engage the reader as an equal in the exploration of the unfolding narrative of the text.

In regards to the individual markers found in Hyland (2005), two issues present themselves as in need of consideration: the first concerns the issue of textual boundaries; the second issue concerns the scope of the categories of *hedges* and *boosters.* Both will be addressed below.

3.7.1. Text internality: evidentials; self mentions; and, reader pronouns

As already discussed in Chapter 2, in order to count metadiscourse linguistic items must perform a text internal role to the discourse. *Evidentials* in Hyland (2005) refer to texts outside the current text and thus constitue a violation of the text internality principle. Perhaps, Hyland regards metadiscourse as including any textual reference to text in which case the category of *evidentials* does not pose a problem. However, other researchers require metadiscursive items to refer to the current text (as in Mauranen, 1993; and, Ä del, 2006). This means *evidentials* are better regarded as intertextual not metadiscursive (see Ä del, 2006: 171). *Evidentials* are therefore not to be found in the final taxonomy used in the present thesis.

A similar issue can be raised in relation to *self mentions* and *reader pronouns.* It is not entirely clear in Hyland (2005) whether a distinction is maintained between references that refer to the writer/reader personas and references to such entities as people in the real world. In other words, it is not clear as to whether all personal pronouns and possessive adjectives are to be counted as metadiscourse. Ä del (2010) notes that the broad approach to metadiscourse tends to classify all such items as metadiscursive. As alluded to above, in the 2006 volume she favours a restrictive approach in which only references to the *writer as writer*, and *reader as reader* are classified as serving a metadiscursive function. Ä del's (2006) basic principl was followed as references to people in the real world do not express a

text internal function. However, as will be seen, the categories of reader and writer are much more fluid in an interactive medium like email. Therefore, latter positions of Ä del (2010, 2017) which allow for more complicated roles of speakers and listeners in interactive situations were also included in the present thesis.

As already stated above, the second major issue with regards to Hyland's taxonomy concerned the scope of hedges and boosters.

3.7.2. The scope of hedges and boosters

In Hyland (2005), *hedges* and *boosters* are both wide categories that include a mix epistemic modals, mitigation devices, and evidentials. As already discussed, Hyland (2005) requires items to modify propositions, and have a dominant text internal reading (i.e. *de dicto*). In practice, Khabbazi-Oskouie (2013) claims that analysts have struggled to distinguish between metadiscursive and propositional material in the analysis of interactional metadiscourse markers. She advocates a syntactical appearance approach in which the placement of a marker (i.e. at the start/end of an utterance or close to the start/end of an utterance) should determine metadiscursive status. Despite claiming to delimit the wide range of markers included in the broad school, the syntactical appearance approach still admits a wide variety of items as metadiscourse including certainty, usuality and approximation markers. It also relies on linguistic form for the purposes of identification without providing much in the way of theoretical justification. Khabbazi-Oskouie (2013) also abandons the terms *hedges* and *boosters* in favour of Abdi et al's (2010) terms: *uncertainty markers* and *certainty markers*. The same shift in nomenclature was observed in the present thesis as the current model includes as metadiscourse a pronouncedly more restrictive category than the wide categories found in Hyland (2005).

The approach taken in the present thesis only admitted (*un)certainty markers* which could be justified on reflexive grounds i.e. explicitly involved an expressive entry by the sender upon the text in order to personally mark a certain position (principally taking the form of mental state predicates e.g. I think). In order to provide a theoretical footing for such an approach, epistemic modality was the first port of call.

In its broadest sense, epistemic modality is a form of linguistic meaning that locates a given proposition in the space of possibilities, according to what is known and the available evidence (Von Fintel, 2006). As Von Fintel notes: 'some modal expressions have a comment-type meaning, while others contribute to the propositional content of the complex sentence' (2006: 9)[27]. In other words, some modals typically take a sentence adverbial role, whilst others are embedded within the propositional content. A restrictive class of markers from the former type was admitted as metadiscourse in the present thesis. Theoretical justification for such an approach was taken from the distinction between subjective epistemic modality and objective epistemic modality (originally presented in Lyons, 1977); and the subsequent development of this distinction by Nuyts (2001; 2001a)[28].

According to Lyons (1977: 793), utterances can be categorized into three basic types: categorical statements; subjectively modalised statements; and, objectively modalised statements. The first type involves an utterance that is presented as an unqualified, straightforward, statement of fact as in Example 6. In Example 6, a male sender in the research agency discourse community wrote to a number of clients in order to express an opinion with regards to a recommended sample size.

Example 6

Subject: Proposed Costs for Brand Tracking Q1 2014

1. If you reduce the sample any lower you will significantly increase variability in the
2. results particularly on a regional basis.

The utterance above was presented as a simple, straightforward statement of fact (i.e. a categorical statement). Categorical statements like that in the example above have the highest epistemic warrant (Lyons, 1977; Van Dijk, 2008; Abdi et al, 2010). In making such statements, senders are committed to the factuality of such propositions.

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[27] Whilst Hyland (2005) does not contain such a distinction, he does note a qualitative difference between types of modals (2005).

[28] Also contained within Van Dijk (2011).

Based on earlier work by Hare (1970), Lyons proposed the idea that propositions can be epistemically qualified in two ways: producers can qualify the neustic component of an utterance (i.e. 'I-say-so'); or, the tropic component (i.e. 'it-is-so'). Simply understood, it is possible to understand the the subjective/objective divide in terms of the quality of the evidence used in the modalisation of a statement. The former involves subjective guesswork as to the likelihood of an event, whereas the latter involves an objectively measurable chance (Nyuts, 2001). Van Dijk eloquently summarises the distinction:

> 'One way of accounting for the difference between these modalities is to define subjective modality in terms of the personal state of mind, namely (un)certainty of language users, and objective modality as (degrees) of probability, independently of the speaker, and based on external evidence, such as statistical probabilities, scientific research and so on' (Van Dijk; 2011: 277).

According to Lyons, subjective epistemically modified utterances qualify the 'I-say-so' component, and work so as to indicate the speaker's reservations about expressing a categorical, 'I-say-so' to the factuality of a proposition. Take the following example. In Example 7 a female sender in the research agency discourse community expressed an opinion with regards to the use of research stimulus.

Example 7

Subject: Debranded XXX and XXX

1. <u>I guess</u> it should be ok then.

The clausal expression 'I guess' demonstrated an interjection by the sender to qualify the neustic (I-say-so) component of the utterance which expressed a degree of subjective reservation. The writer persona was clearly present and explicitly stated an opinion.

Objective epistemically modalised utterances have an unqualified 'I say so' component, and a tropic ('it is so') component that is qualified by a degree of possibility/likelihood.   In Example 8, a male sender in the advertising agency discourse community expressed an opinion with regards to digitial strategy.

Example 8

Subject: More info and links

1. Using existing TV entertainment propositions or talent to build/anchor content <u>may</u>
2. be the easiest way to achieve success.

Notice that the sender in the example above did not qualify the I-say-so component, and was therefore committed to the factuality of the possibility expressed in the proposition. In other words, the sender can be taken as having said that 'he knows, and does not merely think or believe, that there is a possibility' (Lyons: 1977: 798) that TV may be the easiest way to achieve success.

The reader may ask what is the difference between Example 7 and Example 8? Two key differences should be noted. Firstly, objectively modalised statements as in Example 8 have an illocutionary force of telling (as do categorical statements)[29]. In contrast, the subjectively modalised statements as in Example 7 have the same illocutionary force as questions, and convert propositions into 'statements of opinions, or hearsay, or tentative inference' (1977: 799). The second difference worthy of note is the scope value of the two markers in Examples 7 and 8 are different. In Example 7 the clausal expression 'I guess' scoped over the entire utterance, whereas in Example 8 it was embedded between the reference and predicate structure of the proposition. The basic point to grasp at this point is that, according to Lyons, there are two broad types of modals which involve different types of qualification (i.e. subjective and objective).

Since Lyons (1977) first discussed the idea of subjective epistemic modality the idea has not received significant attention. Indeed, 'most treatments of epistemic modality somehow mention the dimension of subjectivity [however] they usually do not go beyond an intuitive characterization of it' (Nuyts, 2001a: 173). Nuyts (2001; 2001a; 2015) remains one of the only researchers to significantly develop the ideas present within Lyons. Interestingly, Nuyts questions the latent idea in Lyons that the subjective dimension always involves an epistemic qualification. According to Nyuts, 'the dimension of subjectivity is…probably not a

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[29] See McKeown (2017) for a treatment of the latter two types of statement (in relation to different data).

distinction within the epistemic domain but within the evidential domain' (2001a: 386). In other words, subjectivity (or qualification of the neustic component) is an evidential qualification, which does not necessarily place the target proposition in the realm of possibilities. Qualification of the I-say-so component marks the personal evidential nature of the target proposition, and as a by-product often provides a degree of epistemic commentary. Thus in utterances like that in Example 7 the sender indicates that s/he is offering information about a state of affairs that is strictly subjective. In other words, in explicit subjective qualification, the speaker marks the statement as an opinion. In a sense, explicit qualification of the I-say-so component is similar in an act of *saying* (in Adel). Indeed, Nuyts (2001) recognises the fact that:

'there is only a thin borderline between the mental state predicates and some other categories of predicates sometimes used to express a similar kind of speaker qualification. This includes the communication predicate say…and the perception predicate hear' (2001: 110).

Mental state predicates are treated here as existing on a cline with acts of saying in Ä del[30] (2006). Nyuts concludes that mental state predicates such as 'I think'; 'I believe'; 'I feel' (2001: 390) are inherently subjective, as well as markers in which the speaker is present[31]. Indeed, according to Nuyts, as soon as 'the speaking subject enters the scene..it immediately turns subjective' (2001: 391). Subjectivity alone, in Adel (2006)[32], would not be enough to qualify as metadiscourse. Her approach requires a writer to act within the world of discourse. Given that I regard mental state predicates as discursive acts the second requirement of Adel is upheld here. In other words, subjectivity alone is not regarded as disclosing metadiscourse in my model.

In sum, the inclusion of mental state predicates as metadiscourse was justified for a number of reasons. Firstly, it allowed for a clear discrimination between markers traditionally lumped under the umbrella of metadiscourse. Secondly, qualification of the neustic (I-say-so) component was felt to be inherently discursive (and, therefore reflexive). The key impact of

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[30] Adel recognises that certain acts of saying can express elements of stance (2006).

[32] Or at least in my reading of Adel (2006).

such an approach was the exclusion of embedded epistemic devices (e.g. modal auxiliaries), as well as those that perform a sentence adverbial role but make no explicit reference to the writer persona.

Having considered Hyland's taxonomies, we will now consider the taxonomy of Ä del (2006).

3.8. Taxonomy: Ä del's reflexive model

Ä del's taxonomical approach, based on student argumentative writing, is basically split into two categories: metatext; and, writer-reader interaction. Metatext as a category contains instances in which the writer directly refers to the code/or text. Writer-reader interaction incorporates aspects of the text in which the writer seeks to influence the reader through explicit interaction with him or her as reader (Ä del likens this to mock dialogue). She further discriminates between personal and impersonal metadiscourse. Personal metadiscourse directly refers to writers and readers of the current text (e.g. I conclude). In contrast, impersonal metadiscourse, does not make explicit reference to the discourse participants (e.g. to conclude). Personal metadiscourse is therefore, very simply, delimited from impersonal metadiscourse by the presence of writer and reader pronouns (including oblique and possessive forms) and nouns (e.g. author, reader). The distinction of personal and impersonal metadiscourse (found in Ä del, 2006) was not maintained in the current project as its inclusion would have added an unnecessary degree of complexity. Furthermore, according to Ädel it 'is not considered a theoretical distinction…but is merely a way of labeling different surface types' (Ä del, 2006: 16).

3.8.1. Personal Metadiscourse

Personal metadiscourse includes references to both the metatext well as writer-reader interaction. The taxonomy for personal metadiscourse has 16 subcategories: 10 for meta-text, and 6 for writer-reader interaction. The foci of the metatextual elements are the structure, discourse actions and wording of the text. The foci of the writer-reader elements are those features that allow the writer (explicitly as writer) to interact and influence the reader (explicitly as reader). Table 6 contains the various markers of personal metadiscourse in Ä del (2006).

Table 6: Taxonomy: A reflexive model of personal metadiscourse adapted from Ä del (2005).

Category	Discourse function	Example
Metatext: Code	**Comment on language used in the text**	
Defining	Explicitly comments on how to interpret terminology.	*What do we mean by; We have to consider our definition of.*
Saying	*Verba dicendi* in which the fact that something is being communicated is foregrounded.	*What I am saying is; A question I ask myself.*
Metatext: Text	**Guide reader through the text.**	
Introducing topic	Cataphorically announces what is to follow in the discourse.	*In the course of this essay… I will discuss.*
Focusing	Refers to a topic that has already been introduced in the text. The focusing unit simply demarcates the place where elaboration of the prior mentioned material will occur.	*Now I come to the next idea; I will only discuss.*
Concluding	Signals the point at which topic is concluded.	*In conclusion.*
Exemplifying	Explicitly introduces an example.	*As an example; If we take…as an example.*
Reminding	Anaphorically refers to a textual item that has previously occurred. They are distinct from focusing units in that they do not furnish further elaboration.	*As I mentioned earlier; As we have seen.*
Adding	States that a piece of information or argument is being added to an existing one.	*I would like to add that*
Contextualising	Contains traces of the production of the text or comments on (the conditions of) the situation of writing.	*I have chosen this subject; I could go on much longer but…*
Writer-reader	**Influence the reader**	

interaction	**through explicit interaction with him or her as a reader.**	
Anticipating readers response	Pays special attention to predicting the imagined readers reaction to an aspect of the text.	*I do realize that all this may sound…;.* *You would be very surprised*
Clarifying:	Marks a desire to clarify matters for the reader. Clarifying is it is motivated by a desire to avoid misinterpretation	*I am not saying; I am merely pointing out; By this I do not mean.*
Aligning perspectives:	Attempts by the writer to cognitively influence the reader.	*If we compare; we can see*
Imagining scenarios:	Essentially involve the rhetorical 'picture this' device.	*When you were that age…*
Hypothesising about the reader:	Guesses about the reader and his knowledge or attributes.	*You've probably heard people say.*
Appealing to the reader:	Instances where the writer tries to appeal to the reader through emotional sentiment	*I hope that the reader has understood; In order for…you and I must keep our minds open.*

I would argue that, in contrast to the nomenclature in Hyland, that Ä del's individual marker names are intuitively easier to understand. Whilst the individual categories are more intuitively labeled, I would argue that the taxonomy is somewhat more complex. For instance, it could be argued that there is no need to maintain the distinction between *defining* and *clarifying*. Furthermore, the line between *anticipating readers response* and *clarifying* by Ä del's own admission is 'fairly thin' (2006: 71).

3.8.2. Text internality: hypothesizing about the reader

Before moving on to consider Ä del's taxonomy of impersonal metadiscourse, two further issues should be raised with regards to the *hypothesising about the reader* and *appealing to the reader* categories. According to Ä del:

'Hypothesising About the Reader is similar to Anticipating the Reader's Reaction in its reader-orientation; the main difference is that the former category has to do with the readers identity (in the 'real world') rather than his reactions to the current text (specifically as reader)' (2006: 77)

I found this to be a troublesome sub-category of personal metadiscourse. I say this because some of the examples she cites seem to refer to discourse external phenomena. Take the following example:

'Thick and long eyelashes and a pair of beautifully curved eyebrowes [sic] would be really nice too. <u>You probably go on like this</u> every time you stand in front of the mirror, or <u>do you belong to</u> the lucky few who are completely…' (Ä del: 2006: 77)

The aspects of the example above that are underlined are cited by Ä del as metadiscourse. Elsewhere, Ä del cites the following example as falling within the neighbouring category of participation:

'<u>Imagine</u> that about one hundred and fifty years ago <u>you</u> were not allowed to divorce a man who was unfaithful to <u>you</u> or beat <u>you</u>'. (Ä del: 2006:43)

The two examples above make for a strange contrast. Ä del states throughout her 2006 volume that readers must be addressed as readers, not as experiencers in the real world. I do not see how the references in the first example referred to the reader as a reader. To my understanding they pertain to the hypothetical reader as an experiential being in the real world (i.e. looking in the mirror, and belonging to a fortunate class of people). In the second example, Ä del claims that the second person references (i.e. you) pertains to the reader as an experiencer in the real world not a reader in the world of discourse. It does not seem clear as to why the embodied experiences of the reader in the second example (not being able to divorce an unfaithful husband, and being beaten by him) do not count as metadiscourse, whilst those of the imagined reader in the first example do. This reflects my deeper concern with regards to the potential of this category to violate the world of discourse requirement set forth in Ä del (2006).

3.8.3. Stance considerations: appealing to the reader

According to Ä del, the *appealing to the reader* category refers to those instances where the writer tries to appeal to the reader through emotional sentiment. I would argue that this constitutes interpersonal stance e.g. '*I hope now that the reader has understood*'; and, '*must You and I keep our minds open*' (2006: 78). This is problematic because, as we have already seen, Ä del excludes stance from the remit of metadiscourse. Again, I would argue that a more sensitive approach should involve the inclusion of affective items that are explicitly keyed to an aspect of the reflexive triangle.

3.8.4. Impersonal metadiscourse

According to Ä del, impersonal metadiscourse consists of 'metadiscursive expressions in which the writer or reader is not explicitly mentioned' (2006:121). She proposes four categories of impersonal metadiscourse: *references to the text/code*; *phoric markers*; *discourse labels*; and, *code glosses*. Table 7 summarises the categories of impersonal metadiscourse found in Ä del (2006).

Table 7: Taxonomy: Impersonal metadiscourse in Ä del (2006)

Category	Discourse function	Example
Metatext	**Comment on language used in the text**	
References to the text/code	Display the writer's awareness of the current text. Such references can range in scope from individual words to the entire text.	*Essay; paragraph.*
Phoric markers	Point to parts of the current text.	*Above; again; already; back to; below, later, third, turn to.*
Discourse labels	Help readers interpret various discourse moves in the text.	*Add; aim; answer; conclude; mention; outline.*
Code glosses	Define words and concepts.	*i.e.; meaning; namely; that is.*

Whilst Ädel's reflexive approach is strong in a definitional sense, again, it is relatively more complicated in a taxonomical sense (when compared to Hyland's). It involves numerous categories and sub-categories, some of which seem to overlap. For example, in Hyland (1998a, 1998b, 1998c, and 2005) *code glosses* constitute one inclusive category. In Ädel, the same functions are spread across five categories (*personal defining*, *personal exemplifying*, *impersonal code glosses*, *impersonal defining*, and *impersonal exemplifying*). I will now move on to consider the taxonomy used in my reflexive model of metadiscourse.

3.9. Taxonomy: Reflexive, minimally integrationist, model of metadiscourse

Given the theoretical complexities involved in the concept of metadiscourse, I very much desired as much simplicity as possible at the taxonomical level. And so, I chose the taxonomy in Hyland (2005) as a base for further development. Furthermore, Hyland's taxonomy is derivative of the work of many earlier researchers and so offers a degree of continuation. The individual markers in Ädel were therefore reconciled with those in Hyland (2005).

It should be noted that the interactional category of metadiscourse in Hyland (2005) was split into stance and engagement (Hyland, 2005a; and, Fu, 2012) so as to allow for greater discrimination between the two concepts[33]. The approach in the present thesis therefore contained 3 categories of metadiscourse. Such a split allowed for a neat mapping of the categories onto the 3 functions of language proposed by Jakobson (i.e. metalingual/textual; expressive; and, directive).

 I will first start by addressing two important principles in relation to the application of the taxonomy: what constitutes the current text in email data; and, what are the textual boundaries. I will then present a reconciliation of the interactive category of metadiscourse in Hyland (2005) with the text/code category of metadiscourse in Ädel (2006). I will then outline the stance features included in the present study which of course are not considered in Ädel (2006). Finally, I will rationalise the engagement category of metadiscourse present in the approaches of the two authors. Again, it should be noted that the examples below are

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[33] Hyland (2005: 138-170: chapter 7) also splits the markers in such a way.

intended to simply demonstrate form. Therefore, basic contextual information will be supplied, but I will not at this stage engage in deeper socio-interactional analysis.

3.9.1. The constitution of the current text in email data

As already explained in section 2.8.1 email chains were treated as the most meaningful unit of data[34]. The major ramification of this decision involved answering the question: what should be regarded as the current text. The answer to this involved two closely related questions: what content was admitted as forming some part of the current text; and what were the boundaries of current text. Reference, commentary, or guidance to content not part of the current text, or outside of the boundaries of the current text, would obviously fall outside of the remit of metadiscourse. Figure 10 shows the three main content sources which are regarded as forming some part of the current text.

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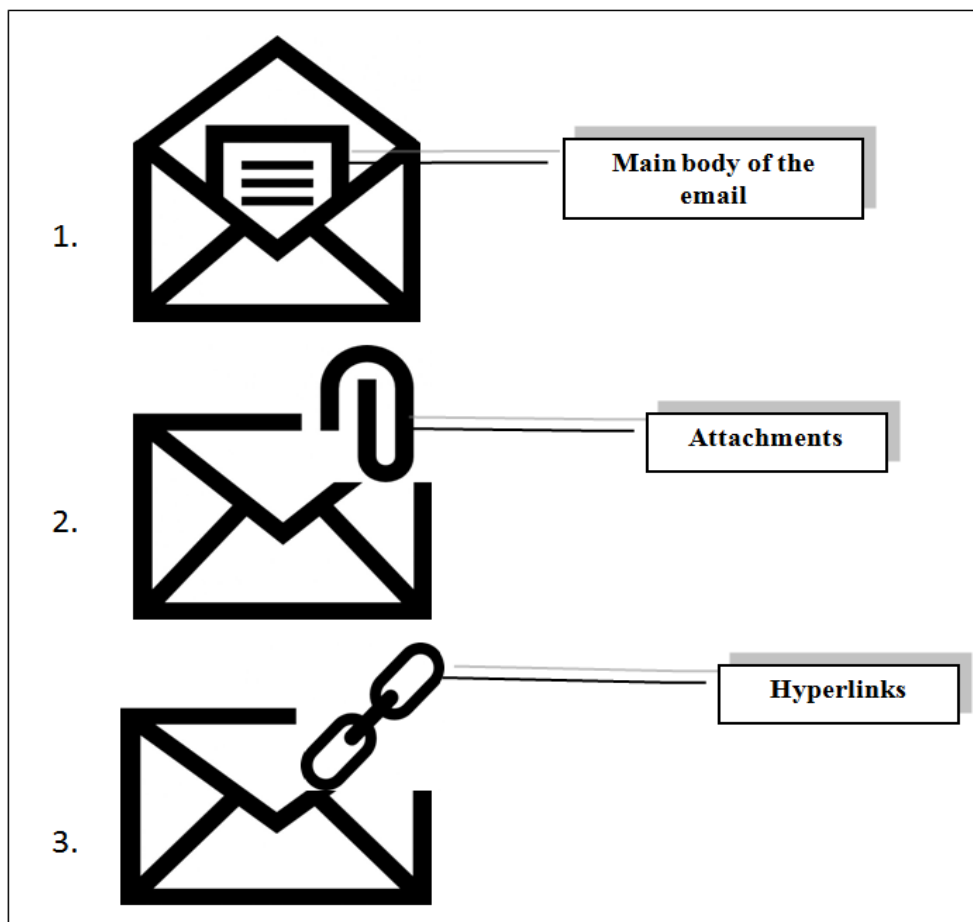
[34] In accordance with the school of computer-mediated-discourse (Adroutsopolous, 2006) and the discursive-interactional approach to language (Kádár and Haugh, 2015).

Figure 10: Main parts of the text

The actual message in the body of a given email frequently provided content to which senders referred and provided commentary and guidance (as in Examples 9, 10, 11, and 12 below). A possible approach to analysis could have treated such content as the only material falling within the ambit of metadiscourse. After all, such content often constituted the only material that the writer qua writer had written. Such an option was rejected for two main reasons. Firstly, such a view takes a rather narrow view of the medium: attachments and links are an integral part of the textual content of emails. Indeed, senders frequently refer to, and provide commentary and guidance on, attached documents and hyperlinks. To discount such references would essentially treat the digital medium like an epistolary form of communication (e.g. letters, or postcards). Secondly, the idea that a writer can only metadiscursively comment on material for which he or she is responsible reflects a monologic, static conception of a writer. Email senders do not simply write texts; they curate texts using multiple content sources (e.g. a status report written by a colleague). The view taken here is one in which references to attached documents are considered as referring to an aspect of the current text. Any reference, commentary, or guidance expressed in relation to such content is therefore regarded as metadiscursive (see Example 28). Material that is simply quoted without supply of the whole source material is not regarded as part of the current text. Such references are regarded as text-external and thus intertextual.

3.9.2. Textual boundaries in email data

As stated above, references by senders to the body of their own emails, attachments and hyperlinks are regarded as reflexive (see number 1 in Figure 11). However, textual boundaries should not be set at the level of the individual email. Indeed, building on the discursive interactional approach favoured here, I set textual boundaries at the level of the chain. This meant that when senders referred to the content of other sender's emails, attachments, and hyperlinks such references were also regarded as reflexive (see number 2 in Figures 11 and 12). This shift allows for greater consideration of the 'socially situated discourses in which…features are embedded' (Androutsopoulos, 2006:420). Furthermore, it does not exclude the interactive nature of the medium. Figure 11 demonstrates the kind of references that are regarded as text-internal. The two excerpts in Figure 11 were taken from

actual data used in the present thesis (taken from the research agency discourse community). The arrows show the direction of the text-internal reference.
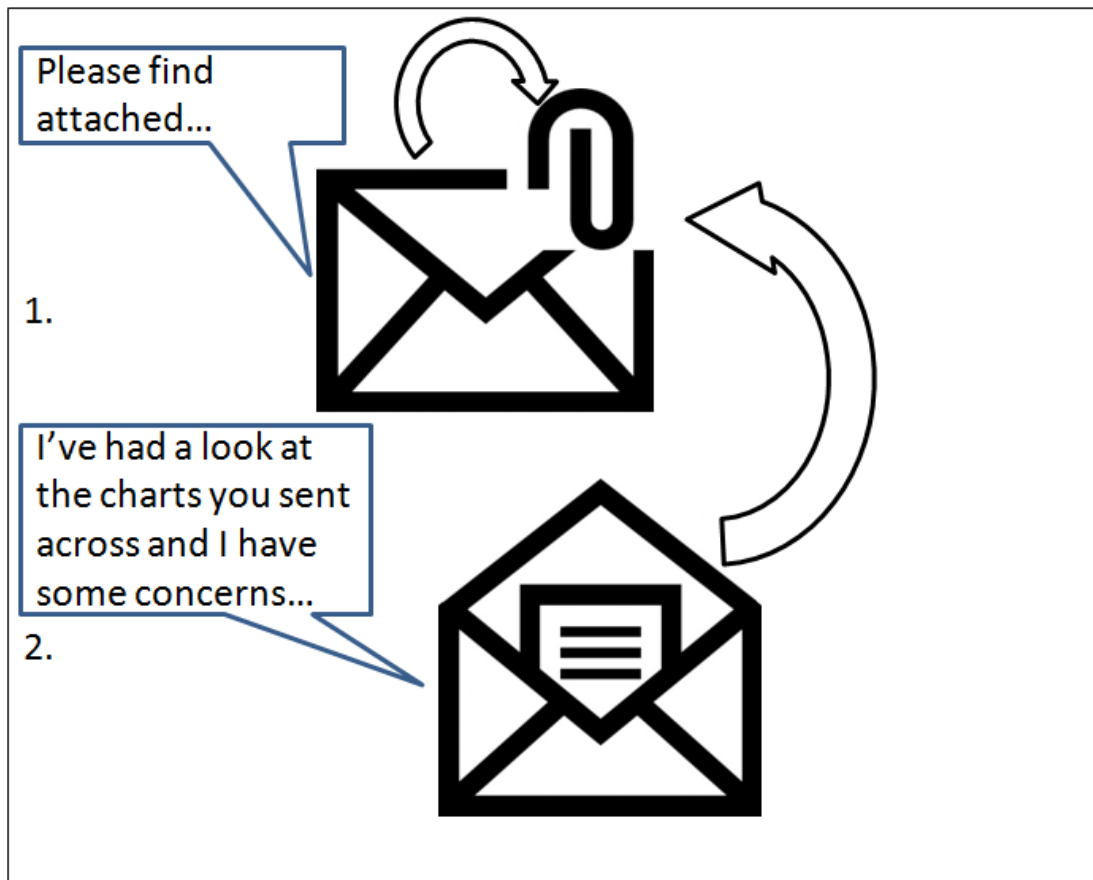
Figure 11: Typical configuration of text-internal references

In the first email, a sender initiated the chain in order to deliver a number of slides to his client. In doing so, he referred to a constituent part of his own text (i.e. the attachment). In the second email, a respondent also referred to the attached material in the first email (i.e. in order to express concern). For the reasons set out above, this was also regarded as a text-internal reference. Again the textual boundary was set at the chain level meaning both emails were treated as part of the same ongoing text. Figure 12 displays another typical configuration of a text-internal reference.
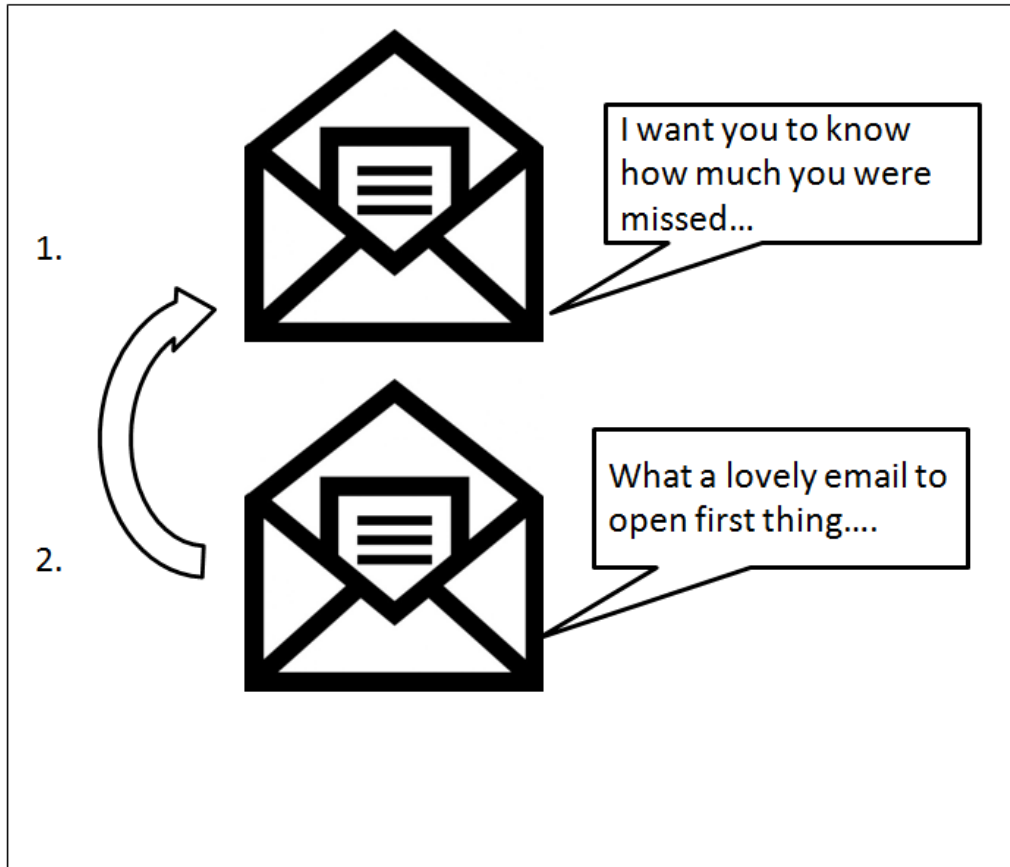
Figure 12: Another typical configuration of a text-internal reference

In the first email, taken from the advertising agency discourse community, a sender sent a flattering apology to an interlocutor. In the second email, the respondent referred back to the first email in order to positively comment on the content.

The three categories of metadiscourse contained in the taxonomy of the reflexive, minimally integrationist model will be considered below.

3.9.3. Organisational Metadiscourse

The *interactive* (Hyland, 2005) and *text/code* (Ä del, 2006) will be replaced with the label 'organisational metadiscourse'. The category is obviously taxonomically different from that in Ä del (2006). Whilst it bears an obvious resemblance to that in Hyland (2005), two key differences should be noted: it excludes *evidentials*, and advocates for the inclusion of *text mentions*. Again, I subscribe to the view that *evidentials* are intertextual phenomena; I also

argue that Hyland (2005) does not adequately capture references to the text. As proposed in my model, organizational metadiscourse comprises five subcategories: *transitions*, *frame markers*, *phoric markers*, c*ode glosses*, and the novel category of *text mentions*. Organisational metadiscourse provides insight into the ways email senders structure their email discourse, and position their readers in terms of presumed knowledge and comprehension needs.

Transitions

Ä del excludes *transitions* on the grounds that they represent more of a formal (i.e. morphosyntactic) rather than discourse category. In contrast, Hyland argues that the markers are discursive and argues that 'we should see the explicit signaling of connections and relationships between elements in an argument as related to the writer's awareness of self and of the reader' (2005:45). Verschueren claims that the markers are indeed reflexive in the sense that they 'serve as overt markers of suprasentential connections to surrounding elements of the linguistic context' (1999: 192). Furthermore, Mauranen (1993) includes a similar category of 'connectors'[35] in her narrow model of text reflexivity. She does so on the grounds that the markers add to the textuality of a given piece of writing. *Transitions* are included as a category of metadiscourse in the reflexive, minimally integrationist model. I fully sympathise with analysts, working with mega-corpora, who may elect to omit the markers due to the sheer overwhelming number of *transitions* that may be present in such a data set. In such cases, it may be worthwhile to perform a cost benefit analysis that weighs the effort needed in the analysis of such markers versus the potential insight gained.

Frame Markers

Saying, introducing the topic, focusing, adding, and c*oncluding* (as proposed by Ä del in relation to personal metadiscourse) can all be captured by the *frame markers* category in Hyland (2005). Furthermore, Ä del's functions are akin to the sub-function of *announcing a discourse goal* in Hyland (2005). Finally, it should be noted that ordinal numerals are not admitted as metadiscourse as the principle of explicitness requires metadiscursive acts to be executed in actual words (in agreement with Ä del, 2006). Again, functions in Hyland (2005)

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[35] Her category would also cover certain *frame markers* such as shift topic.

such as *shift topic* and *sequencers* whilst being relatively low in explicitness are included for the fact that they make the structure of the text itself explicit (thus can be seen as metalingual) and add to the textuality of the writing (Mauranen, 1993).

Phoric markers

The category of *endophorics* in Hyland (1998; 2005) can easily be reconciled with the inclusion of impersonal *phorics* in Ä del (2006). Whilst annotating the data, differences in referential direction were particularly striking i.e. where did the *phoric marker* direct users? Did it direct them to a section of the present email? Or, to an earlier email in the chain? Take the following example. In Example 9 a male sender in the marketing department discourse community used a *phoric marker* to spatially direct his interlocutor.

Example 9

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. Just checked 2013 pricing. See details in <u>my email</u> <u>below</u>.

The *phoric* in the example above referred to the remainder of the email in which it occurred. This can be contrasted with the following example. In Example 10, a female sender in the marketing department discourse community copied an interlocutor into a conversation.

Example 10

Subject: XXX (Retail brand name)

1. Hi Margaret,
2. As discussed briefly in the meeting yesterday, please see the email <u>below</u> from XXX
3. (Retail brand name)

In the example above, the *phoric marker* referred to an earlier email in the chain.

Code Glosses

In accordance with both Ä del and Hyland, *code glosses* in the current model are regarded as devices that writers can use in order to 'explain, elaborate or rework propositional meanings'

(Coa and Hu, 2014: 18). *Exemplifying*, *defining*, *clarifying* and *code glosses* in Ä del (2006) can all be captured with the use of *code glosses* in Hyland (2005; 2007). Hyland's (2007) distinction between exemplification, and reformulation *code glosses* were recorded during the analysis as this difference was noticeable present within the data, and therefore deemed worthy of further examination. The exemplification and reformulation functions also provide a basis from which to delimit *code glosses* from *personal asides*. Under the reflexive, mimimally integrationist, model the latter category does not involve exemplification or reformulation.

Text mentions

The taxonomy in Hyland (2005) does not contain a discrete category to capture reflexive references to the text. *Text mentions*, are therefore included as a novel category. During the analysis it became apparent that the terms regarded as references to the text/code in Ä del (2006) were not necessarily appropriate to capture similar phenomena in email data[36]. For instance, in Example 11 the male sender in the advertising agency discourse community ordained his text (i.e. the remainder of the email) in cognitive terms (i.e. my thoughts).

Example 11

Subject: More info and links

 1. Below is a download of my <u>thoughts</u>.

During the analysis it also became apparent that *text mentions* could be distinguished in terms of the level to which they referred: macro; micro; and, nano. Macro-level *text mentions* refer to the chain, or entire individual message. In Example 12 a female sender, in the advertising agency discourse community, requested that her interlocutor forward an email containing practical details for guests visiting a client site. She used the contractive 'this' to refer to refer to the entire email.

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[36] This is perfectly reasonable given the natural differences between student argumentative writing, and workplace group email.

Example 12

Subject: Cardiff working team, Thur 29th

1. Please can you pass <u>this</u> onto your guests.

Micro-level *text mentions* refer to specific constituent parts of the current email (e.g. attachments). In Example 13, a male sender, in the research agency discourse community, delivered information to his interlocutor. He used a *text mention* to explicitly name the attachment (i.e. a constituent part of the email).

Example 13

Subject: Proposed costs for Brand Tracking Q1 2014

1. Please see attached the <u>revised scoping document for Q1 2013</u> to fit within the £30k
2. budget.

Infrequently, senders used nano-level *text mentions* i.e. constituent parts of micro-level textual artifacts (e.g. specific slides of an attached PowerPoint presentation). In Example 14 a male sender, in the research agency discourse community, delivered a number of documents. He used a nano *text mention* (i.e. link) to refer to a constituent part of a constituent part (i.e. spreadsheet).

Example 14

Subject: New questionnaires + Test links

1. If you want to test them, please use <u>the link</u> assigned to your name which you can find in
2. the attached <u>spreadsheet</u>.

The next section will consider collection of stance markers included in the reflexive, minimally integrationist model of metadiscourse.

3.9.4. Stance Metadiscourse

The stance aspects of Hyland's interactional category of metadiscourse are referred to as 'stance metadiscourse' in the minimally integrationist model. Again, only a fraction of what is counted in Hyland (2005) is counted as metadiscourse in my model. Stance metadiscourse alludes to the ways in which writers intrude upon texts in order to reflexively impart their position (epistemic or attitudinal) in relation to the object propositional content.

As already alluded to above, Ä del (2006) excludes stance from the remit of metadiscourse on the grounds that it is concerned with the discourse external world. I will argue throughout the present thesis that a restricted category of markers should in fact be included in reflexive accounts of metadiscourse. Indeed, in the minimally integrationist model only *uncertainty markers, certainty markers, attitude markers* and *self mentions* that are sufficiently reflexive are included as metadiscourse. As already discussed above, *(un)certainty markers* that involved a subjective qualification of an utterance are regarded as sufficiently reflexive. Such markers explicitly present 'a statement in which an opinion is embedded' (Barton and Lee, 2013: 31). In the case of *attitude markers* and *self mentions* sufficient reflexivity is satisfied by an explicit reference to an aspect of the reflexive triangle.

(Un)certainty makers

So as to avoid confusion with the wider categories in Hyland (2005), the nomenclature of Abdi et al (2010) is used: *hedges* are referred to as *uncertainty markers*; *boosters* are referred to as *certainty markers*. As has already been explained, *(un)certainty markers* discursively express speaker reservation through an explicit qualification of the neustic (I-say-so) component of an utterance (see section 3.7.2.). Examples include: *I feel*, *I guess* and sentence adverbials like *perhaps*. *Certainty markers* express a greater degree of certainty but still withhold speaker commitment to the expression of a categorical statement (the highest epistemic warrant an individual can express). Examples include: *I think*, and *I know*.

Attitude markers

Again, *attitude markers* are treated differently to *(un)certainty markers* under minimally integrationist model. *(Un)Certainty* markers are regarded as inherently discursive. In order

to count as metadiscourse, *attitude markers* must explicitly involve the metalingual function (i.e. explicitly refer to an aspect of the reflexive triangle). If a marker was ambiguous in regards to its referent object then it was not admitted as metadiscourse. Take the following three successive emails. Example 15, 16, and 17 were taken from the the same chain. In Example 15, reproduced in full, a female sender requested action of a male colleague (i.e. that he contact a customer concerning a missing item).

Example: 15

Subject: Hampton court show orders

1. Hi Joe,
2. I've just spoken to the customer and the timer is broken not missing, please could you
3. call him back this afternoon as this has been going on since Monday and his [sic] not
4. had any response.
5. Kind Regards
6. Sandra

In Example 16 the male briefly responded in order to confirm that he had dealt with the issue.

Example: 16

Subject: Hampton court show orders

1. Dealt with.

In Example 17 a senior female entered into the chain in order to express her gratitude to the male for his efforts.

Example: 17

Subject: Hampton court show orders

1. Thanks -you're an angel!

Unlike Example 18, below, it was not clear in Example 17 that the senior female thanked the male for his acts within the world of discourse. Therefore, the expression of gratitude was not regarded as metadiscourse.

Attitude markers that were regarded as metadiscourse functioned at the macro and micro levels. Macro level *attitude markers* refer to the message/chain level. Micro level *attitude markers* refer to the sentential level. At the macro level *attitude markers* were most frequently used to backchannel affective sentiment within the world of discourse. In Example 18 a female sender in the marketing department discourse community expressed gratitude for her interlocutor's previous email. In other words, she expressed affective stance at the macro-level in relation to her interlocutor's action within the world of discourse.

Example: 18

Subject: Blog

1. Thanks for getting back to me

As with macro level *attitude markers*, in order to be admitted as metadiscourse in the present thesis the expression of an affective device had to tie the sender to the reflexive triangle. As a result, this meant that many items which are considered as metadiscursive under Hyland's model are not counted in the minimally integrationist model. Take the following example from the advertising agency discourse community. In Example 19, a male sender used a sentence adverbial to express affective stance towards the immediate propositional material.

Example 19

Subject More info and Links

1. Interestingly, digital mechanics are increasingly being commercialized…

The sender in the example above expressed affective stance towards a portion of the text that was concerned with the real world. In Jakobson's terms; the expressive function, and the

referential function were indispensible. The metalingual function was not present[37]. The example above can be contrasted with that below also taken from the advertising agency discourse community. In Example 20, a male sender expressed affective stance towards an attached presentation.

Example 20

Subject: Investment trends - further strategic thoughts

1. <u>Interestingly,</u> <u>the results</u> showed how on XXX [Financial Services brand] clients are trading less frequently than XXX [Financial Services brand] customers…

In doing so, he explicitly tied himself to an aspect of the reflexive triangle, i.e. the text (the results referred to an attached PowerPoint presentation).

Self mentions

In regards to *self mentions* a primary distinction is made between references to the sender in the real world[38] (see example 21); references to the sender in the wider world of discourse (see example 22); and references to the writer in his or her capacity as a participant in the current discourse (see examples 23 and 24). Only the latter are regarded as metadiscursive. Take the following example from the marketing department discourse community. In Example 21, a female sender wrote to her client to inform her of a visit to a televised garden show.

Example 21

Subject: XXX (media brand name) Charity Garden

1. <u>I visited</u> the XXX (media brand name) Charity Garden and had a lovely morning.

The first person pronoun in the example above referred to the sender as an embodied experiencer in the real world (i.e. one who had a lovely morning at the garden show). In

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[37] I fully accept that under an interpersonal delimitation of metadiscourse the sentence adverbial can be taken to encode an interaction between discourse participants.
[38] Referred to as a 'Figure' in Goffman (1981: 147).

other words, the first person pronoun related to an experience 'accumulated outside of the word of discourse' (Ä del, 2006: 42). This can be contrasted with the following example from the research agency discourse community. In Example 22, a female sender informed her boss about previous external communication.

Example 22

Subject: XXX clients and Access to XXX fused data

1. I was corresponding with Steve K, is this still the appropriate contact at XXX (Research
2. Conglomerate)?

The first person pronoun referred to the sender as a (past) participant within the world of discourse[39] (see section 3.9.4 below). Of course, the sender was acting as an embodied self when communicating with Steve (e.g. she may have used her hands to type an email). The point to note is that the sender foregrounded the communicative act, and thus indexed herself as a participant within the world of discourse. However, despite indexing the sender as a participant within the world of discourse, the first person pronoun in Example 22 was not regarded as metadiscursive. The email chain contained no material from the previous correspondence to which the sender referred. In other words, the first person pronoun did not refer to sender as an active communicator in relation to the current text, but as a communicator in another discourse situation. Example 22 can be contrasted with Examples 23 and 24. In Example 23, a female in the research agency discourse community wrote to her client in order to highlight a mistake in a presentation previously sent (in the same chain).

Example 23

Subject XXX and XXX coding

1. Just noticed an error on the XXX (brand name) slides I sent thro to you.

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[39] The world of discourse was defined under the current model as any reference to any aspect of communication. Intertextual references were therefore regarded as falling within the world of discourse. However, as intertextual devices refer to other texts they do not satisfy the requirement of currency needed to establish metadiscursive status.

Like Example 22 the first person pronoun indexed the sender as a participant in the world of discourse. However, unlike Example 22, the first person pronoun in Example 23 both referred to the sender as a participant in the world of discourse, and tied her to an aspect of the reflexive triangle, i.e. herself as communicator. In doing so, she indexed the sender/constructor[40] aspect of the metadiscursive self. In the following example the sender indexed a slightly different aspect of the metadiscursive self. In Example 24, a male sender in the advertising agency responded to a client in relation to the arrangement of a meeting.

Example 24

Subject: Meeting

1. <u>I'd suggest</u> we put in a five or ten minute call before then just to touch base.

The first person pronoun explicitly referred to the sender as expressing a proposition within the current text. In doing so he indexed the authorial[41] aspect of the metadiscursive self. The next section will consider the collection of engagement markers considered in the current model of metadiscourse.

3.9.5. Engagement Metadiscourse

The engagement aspects of Hyland's interactional category of metadiscourse will be referred to as 'engagement metadiscourse' in my model. Engagement metadiscourse is a principal means through which writers involve their readers in the unfolding text. Engagement metadiscourse comprises: *reader mentions*, *directives*, and *personal asides*. These categories were chosen for two reasons: the markers were frequently present within the data; and, as already discussed above, the three markers allowed for the capture of the writer-reader categories of Ä del.

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[40] I regard this aspect of the metadiscursive self as similar in nature to the category of 'Animator' in Goffman (1981: 144).

[41] That is the aspect of the metadiscursive/discursive self that explicitly produces the 'sentiments that are expressed and the words in which they are encoded' (Goffman, 1981: 144).

Reader mentions

Anticipating the reader's response; *hypothesising about the reader*; and *appealing to the reader* in Ä del (2006) and *reader mentions* in Hyland (2005) can be subsumed under the category of *reader mentions* in the reflexive, minimally integrationist model. *Reader mention* is preferred to *reader pronoun* in Hyland as the data included the metadiscursive use of first names. Again, the reader pronoun had to primarily refer to the reader/communicator as reader in order to count as metadiscourse. In Example 25, a female sender, in the advertising discourse community, used a possessive (i.e. your) and second person pronoun (i.e. you). Neither constituted metadiscourse as both referred to the reader as an embodied individual in the real world.

Example 25

Subject: Bluffers guide to XXX methodologies

 1. Get your planner to have a look as you don't have access.

In Example 26 a female sender, in the advertising agency discourse community, used two second personal pronouns in the same utterance.

Example 26

Subject: An apology

 1. I'd like <u>you</u> to know how much you were missed.

The first second person personal pronoun (i.e. you to know) occurred as part of a *frame marker* and clearly indexed the reader as a reader. The second, second person pronoun (i.e. you were missed) occurred as part of the message of the object language. It primarily indexed the reader as an embodied self (one who happened to have missed an event).

Directives

In addition to the textual and cognitive *directives* discussed in Hyland (2005a), the writer-reader sub-functions of *aligning perspectives* and *imagining scenarios* found in Ä del can be

accounted for by the category of *directives*. Typical examples included: you will see; please see X; can you let me know.

Personal Asides

Rather interestingly, whilst Ä del (2006) does not contain a distinct category for *personal asides*, she does admit the following example as metadiscourse:

'(Yes reader: I too have made this mistake)' (Ä del: 2006: 73)

Ä del claims that 'although the writer's past experiences are mentioned the sentence is imbued with the presence of the writer, who explicitly engages in a dialogue with the reader' (Ä del: 2006: 74). Example 27 sent by a male in the advertising agency discourse community, occurred as part of a lengthy *deliver opinion* email.

Example 27

Subject: Online Demo Video

1. People like to do what others like to do: so seeing what others do in the same situation,
2. and connecting with them one-to-one to answer questions could help (<u>we've just done</u>
3. <u>this successfully on the TDA via a live Q&A Facebook page</u>)

The parenthetical comment above technically referred to events in the real world so, prima facie, would appear to be propositional (or object language). However, on closer inspection, I believe, there is a solid argument for claiming that the utterance actually functioned metadiscursively. The context of the email involved a situation in which an advertising strategist wrote to a senior client with a number of strategic suggestions. The writer began his exposition by stating a general principle of behavioural economics, and then discussed one way in which this could manifest as a marketing strategy. He then made a parenthetical comment in reference to a single past instance in which the proposed marketing strategy was used successfully. Whilst the writer referenced an event that occurred in the real world, it actually functioned as an epistemic device in regards to the previous utterance. The comment both implicitly expressed the writer's confidence in the previous proposition, and guided the reader to reach such an evaluation by creating the impression that sender was

interrupting the discourse flow in order to directly address the reader as an active participant. Despite being largely propositional in their orientation *personal asides* are included as metadiscourse in the reflexive, minimally integrationist model.

Table 8 below contains the taxonomy used in the application of the reflexive, minimally integrationist model of metadiscourse. Again, the taxonomy was largely based on that found in Hyland (2005), although was delimited (theoretically and definitionally) with the work of Adel (2006).

Table 8: Taxonomy: Reflexive, minimally integrationist model of metadiscourse

Category	Discourse function	Example	Foci
Organisational	**Help to guide the reader through the text**		
Transitions	Express text internal additive, causative and contrastive relations in the author's cognition, and essentially help the reader envision the writer's argumentation.	*And; also; but; so.*	
Frame markers	Announce discourse moves in the organization and argumentation of the text so as to provide readers with greater clarity. They can be used to (1) explicitly announce goals (2) label stages (3) sequence content (4) shift topics.	*I want you to know; I'd just add; just reconfirming.*	**text/code**
Phoric markers	Refer to other parts of a text and act to guide the reader in the retrieval of material deemed relevant to the current utterance.	*Attached; below.*	
Text mention	Explicitly refer to aspects of the text/code itself.	*Email; link; message;*	

Code glosses	Expand upon words and concepts in order to support the writer's dominant position, and cater to the reader's knowledge.	*E.g.; i.e.; namely; such as*	
Stance			
Uncertainty markers	*Express the speakers subjective reservation towards an utterance by marking a level of uncertainty.*	*I guess, I suppose*	**Writer's thoughts and feelings toward the world of discourse**
Certainty markers	*Express the speaker's subjective reservation towards a utterance by marking a level of certainty short of a categorical statement.*	*I expect; I think.*	
Attitude markers	Express the affective sentiment to a stance object within the reflexive triangle.	*Thanks; Interestingly;*	
Self mentions	Explicitly refer to the writer/sender persona.	*I; my; mine.*	
Engagement			
Reader mentions	Explicitly refer to the reader/recipient persona.	*You; your; first name.*	**Reader**
Directives	Command the reader to perform a textual or cognitive act.	*You will see; see; let me know.*	
Personal asides	Parenthetical comments which break the discourse flow in order to directly address the reader.	*(...)*	

3.9.6. Application of the metadiscourse taxonomy

With a potentially infinite number of lexical items realizing a metadiscursive function, the taxonomy above involves a high degree of complexity[42]. Communication form provides the criteria for identification of act occurrence. In the application of the taxonomy, annotation occurs at the level of the utterance upwards (i.e. word level upwards), although any given unit is regarded having both micro-propositional or macro-propositional scope.

3.9.7. Quantification of metadiscourse

Ä del highlights the importance of researcher transparency with regards to methods of quantification of metadiscourse markers (i.e. what and how to count metadiscourse). A number of approaches have been taken in the field ranging from those that count large chunks of text (e.g. Crismore and Farnsworth, 1990; Bunton, 1999) to those that count at the micro-level such that numerous metadiscursive units may be counted within one clause (e.g. Ä del, 2006). The latter approach was adopted in the present thesis. Take the following example, from Crismore and Farnsworth (1990), cited in Ä del (2006: 48):

You might want to read the last section first

Crismore and Farnsworth (1990), count the entire utterance as one unit. The approach taken in the present thesis counted three units of metadiscourse:

<u>You</u> might <u>want to read</u> <u>the last section</u> first

The second person pronoun 'You' was taken as a *reader mention* that clearly referred to the reader persona. The phrase 'want to read'was taken as a *directive*. The term 'the last section' was judged as a *phoric marker* for the fact that it clearly expressed spatial direction. I should note that this is an interesting borderline case between *phoric markers* and *text mentions* (which often collocate with one another in the data used in the present thesis). Indeed, such a borderline case conveniently raises the issue of multifunctionality. According to Ä del, 'when facing a multifunctional expression, the analyst needs to decide whether to count one primary function only, or whether to consider as many functions per unit as

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[42] Even though simplicity was desired.

possible' (Ä del: 2006: 48). I elected to adopt the former approach for the fact that it forced greater reification of the respective sub-categories used in the current model.

A final note on counting concerns the exclusion of data specific linguistic phenomena. In order to control inflation of the *self-mention* and *reader pronoun* categories, opening salutation and closing valediction, as forms of structural politeness formulae (Bunz and Campbell, 2002; Knupsky and Nagy-bell, 2011), are not taken into account during the analysis. Subject lines were also excluded from the ambit of analysis. Whilst they are recognised as potentially fascinating sites of metadiscourse, it should be noted that they rarely respond to interaction (i.e. are infrequently changed beyond the chain initiator). It was felt that the markers would be better treated in a stand alone study. This essentially means that the thesis focuses on metadiscourse within the main body of emails.

Finally, having decided on the counting method, analysts must also decide on measuring frequencies. The approach taken in the present thesis followed Ä del (2006) by measuring metadiscursive units per a given nominal amount of words (here 1000 words). Such an approach allowed for easy comparison of results between the sexual dyads, as well as across the data sets.

3.9.8. Significance test

The frequency results generated from the textual analysis exercise were subject to a statistical significance test. The specific test used was the two-sample z-test. This allowed for the identification of difference amongst discrete populations. The purpose of the test was to evaluate whether there is a statistically significant difference between male and female senders in using a specific measures of metadiscourse (e.g. overall use of *transitions*). The results of the test can be found in appendix 2.

3.9.9. Seperation of the three data sets

As will become apparent in the next chapter, the three communities were analysed in isolation from one another. The reason for such choice was that it allowed for identification of consistent similarities and differences between the sexual dyads across the three communities. This was important as what was found to be true of the three communities

suggested itself as a consistent gender based difference (or similarity) as opposed to a fluke in the data, or some other community level variable. Figure 13, below, demonstrates the viewed gained by keeping the data sets separate.

	Marketing department			Advertising agency			Research agency			
	M	+	F	M	+	F	M	+	F	
Both genders use a similar overall amount of metadiscourse	✓			✓			✓			Consistent (frequency) Similarity
Females use attitude markers to express a wider range of affective sentiment	✓			✓			✓			Consistent (functional) difference
Males use more transitions	✓			✗			✗			Community level (frequency) difference

Figure 13: Identification of consistent behaviours across the data sets

In the figure above, it is possible to see that both genders used a similar overall amount of metadiscourse in all three communities. In other words, it was a consistent (frequency) similarity. Likewise, the fact that females used *attitude markers* to express a wider range of effective sentiment was true of all three communities. In other words, it was a consistent (functional) difference. In contrast, the fact that male senders used more *transitions* than females was only true of the marketing department. In other words, it was a community level difference.

Chapters 2 and 3 presented the theoretical and methodological considerations that underpinned the present research. Chapter 4 will present the findings from the application of

the reflexive, minimally integrationist model of metadiscourse. Community level similarities and differences will be discussed under the specific community sections. Consistent similarities and differences will be discussed in a summary section at the end of Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

Findings and discussion

4.1. Introduction

The following chapter will discuss the findings from the textual analysis exercise. It will begin with a consideration of the classification of sender intent. It will then consider the combined results of the application of the reflexive, minimally integrationist model of metadiscourse. Finally, the three communities examined in the present thesis (i.e. the marketing department; the advertising agency, and, the research agency) will be examined in greater depth. Numerous examples will be presented over the following pages, it should be noted that the underlining does not always indicate metadiscursive status. Although the specific metadiscourse item under discussion is always underlined in each example, frequently other (non-metadiscursive) items are underlined whilst other co-occurring metadiscursive items are not underlined.

4.2. The classification of sender intent

As stated in Chapter 3, whilst the present study did not involve a genre based approach, the assignment of sender intent to individual emails was regarded as important for two reasons: firstly, it provided an important piece of contextual information in the analysis of the emails; secondly, it allowed for comparison of data across the various data sets used in the present thesis. Table 9 below shows the combined results of the three communities of the sender intent classification exercise[43].

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[43] For examples of the various types of sender intent see Chapter 3.

Table 9: Combined overall results of the sender intent classification exercise

Sender intent	Overall Frequency	Overall %
Request	85	29.8
Deliver	93	32.5
Propose	31	10.8
Commit	26	9.3
Amend	9	3.1
Refuse	1	0.3
Greet	11	3.8
Remind	7	2.4
Backwards /Forwards Intent	23	8.0
Total	**286**	**100**

Whilst email has the potential to be used in a multitude of ways, the predictable nature of workplace communication (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 2005) means it is generally used, in a commercial context, as either a tool of distribution or as a medium of negotiation (Cohen, 2004). The former use appears to have been the dominant use in the data used in the present study. As we can see in Table 9, above, the *request* and *delivery of* information were the most frequent reasons for which email was used in the data. Less common in the data were email acts associated with communicative negotiation such as *propose*, *commit* and *refuse*.

Sarangi and Roberts (1999) identify three main types of workplace discourse: institutional discourse; professional discourse; and personal discourse. Institutional discourse relates to the exercise of authority, duties and responsibility; professional discourse relates to routine activity and the daily exchange of skills and knowledge; personal discourse relates to everyday conversation regarding the personal sphere. The nature of the data analysed was largely concerned with the second kind of discourse i.e. everyday professional. There was very little discussion of roles, responsibilities or authority, save one email chain in the marketing department data which contained a disagreement between two managers regarding

team responsibility for an arduous data management process. Table 10, below shows the results of the email classification exercise broken down by individual community.

Table 10: Results of the sender intent classification exercise by discourse community

Sender intent	Mar Freq	Mar %	Adv Freq	Adv %	Res Freq	Res %
Request	22	24.7	27	34.2	36	30.5
Deliver	24	27.0	26	32.8	43	36.4
Propose	14	15.7	9	11.4	8	6.8
Commit	10	11.2	4	5.1	12	10.2
Amend	4	4.6	1	1.3	4	3.4
Refuse	1	1.1	0	0	0	0
Greet	2	2.2	7	8.9	2	1.7
Remind	3	3.4	0	0	4	3.4
Backwards /Forwards Intent	9	10.1	5	6.3	9	7.6
Total	**89**	**100**	**79**	**100**	**118**	**100**

As can be seen in Table 10 above, *request* and *deliver* were the most frequent purposes for which emails in all three communities were sent. This reflected the professional, everyday nature of the data collected.   Whilst *request* and *deliver* were the most frequent reasons for which email was sent, there were slight differences in terms of what was *requested/delivered* in the communities. The marketing department data contained more requests for action. Given that marketing departments are the locus of power within the client/agent relationship this was not so surprising; paying clients ask agents to do things. The advertising agency data contained a greater exchange of information and opinion, and less action oriented requests.   This was also not particularly surprising given that advertising is an industry of ideas (Ogilvy, 1985). Indeed, agencies are employed to supply ideas in the form of creative concepts, executions, information, and opinions. It therefore seemed reasonable that the data should reflect this trend. Senders in the research agency discourse community were more likely to focus on the discussion of budgets, research objectives, and the wording of survey instruments.

4.3. The reflexive, minimally integrationist model of metadiscourse

As already explained in the introduction, the present project examined the use of metadiscourse in workplace group email. As will be shown in the following chapter, metadiscourse is an integral feature of email discourse that serves important discourse functional roles and socio-pragmatic concerns[44]. Unfortunately, the literature is scarce on such a fascinating topic: search efforts produced just one journal article (i.e. Jensen, 2009)[45]. Again, gender was used as the primary contrastive variable. Despite the fact that research indicates significant gender differences exist with regards to the use of individual metadiscursive markers (Crismore et al., 1993; Francis et al., 2001) there is little in the literature that focuses on the issue of gender and metadiscourse. Indeed, a search produced just one paper (i.e.Tse and Hyland, 2008). The concept of gender was used in a dynamic and flexible manner within the present thesis: where difference was found to exist it was further investigated; however, similarity was treated with equal interest. Indeed, the consideration of both difference and similarity secured a deeper understanding of metadiscourse in workplace email[46].

Table 11, directly below, shows the combined frequency results of the application of the reflexive minimally integrationist model of metadiscourse.

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[45] This article applies just one half of Hyland's (2005) model (i.e. interpersonal metadiscourse). Again, I was unable to find an account of reflexive metadiscourse in workplace email.
[46] As opposed to a simple focus on difference.

Table 11: Combined results of male and female use of metadiscourse per 1000 words

Organisational Metadiscourse	Actual Male Frequency	Overall Male Tokens Per 1000 Words	Actual Female Frequency	Overall Female Tokens Per 1000 Words
Transitions	94	8.3	90	6.8
Frame markers	38	3.4	36	2.7
Phoric markers	39	3.5	55	4.2
Text mentions	68	6.0	106	8.0
Code gloss	17	1.5	14	1.1
Sub-total	**256**	**22.7**	**301**	**22.8**
Stance Metadiscourse				
Uncertainty markers	4	0.4	10	0.7
Certainty markers	27	2.4	11	0.8
Attitude markers	74	6.5	112	8.5
Self mentions	83	7.2	102	7.7
Sub-total	**188**	**16.5**	**234**	**17.7**
Engagement Metadiscourse				
Reader mentions	75	6.6	103	7.8
Directives	67	5.9	85	6.4
Asides	12	1.2	13	1.0
Sub-total	**154**	**13.7**	**201**	**15.2**
Total	**598**	**52.9**	**736**	**55.7**

In terms of the overall use of metadiscourse in email, Table 10 contains a number of noteworthy points. Given that *transitions* often serve additional morphosyntactical roles the high frequency in both data sets was not particularly surprising. The high frequency of *text mentions* in the data from was encouraging in terms of the choice to include it as a novel category. The fact that (*un*)*certainty markers* were not frequently used when compared to other markers was initially surprising[47]. However, consideration of two factors made the result entirely reasonable. Firstly, the approach taken in the present thesis was far more restrictive than that taken by the likes of Hyland (2004; 2005). Secondly, as highlighted by

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[47] *Uncertainty markers* were overall the least popular marker.

Nuyts (2001) in written language 'there are no immediate reactions, and a writer normally thinks more carefully about opinions voiced' (2001: 124) thus negating the need for the constant use of mitigation devices.   Furthermore, the fact that such markers were infrequently used does not preclude the fact that they were deployed to serve important discourse strategies. As with *text mentions* the high frequency of *attitude markers* in the data was also encouraging in terms of the choice to include it as a novel category. As will be seen senders frequently expressed attitude in relation to the current world of discourse.

In terms of gender usage, male and female senders used a similar overall amount of metadiscourse (a finding consistent with Hyland and Tse, 2008). Female senders used significantly more *text mentions* and thus displayed higher awareness of the text component of the reflexive triangle. Male senders used significantly more *certainty markers*; females used significantly more *attitude markers.* In other words, in the realization of the expressive function of metadiscourse: male senders displayed a slightly greater evidential/epistemic orientation, whereas women displayed a slight greater affective orientation.

The amalgamation of the results in Table 11 obviously ignores a multitude of variables at play.   Furthermore, combination of the results in such a way does not account for the underlying functional purposes for which the various markers were used. Neither does it account the realisation of gendered discourse norms in email. As we will be seen, interesting differences emerged when the results were examined at a more local level. Furthermore, consideration of the three communities in isolation allows for the identification of consistent patterns across the three communities. The following sections will consider the use of metadiscourse in the three communities examined in the present thesis: the marketing department; the advertising agency; and the research agency.

4.4. Gendered Use of Metadiscourse in the Marketing Department Discourse Community

The marketing department from which data was collected was based in a company that engaged in the wholesale and retail of garden furniture and equipment. At the time of data collection it was a private limited company. The marketing department had an operating staff of 11 workers. The data donor was a female who at the time of donation was a junior marketing executive.

In terms of senders in the data, 17 of the 24 senders were internal employees of the client organisation; the remainder were external agents; 10 of the 24 senders were female; 14 were male. As stated in Chapter 3, thirteen email chains were used in the analysis of the marketing department discourse community; this broke down to eighty nine individual emails.

Again, the model used in the present thesis involved three main categories: organisational metadiscourse; stance metadiscourse; and, engagement metadiscourse. The three categories provided insight into the various ways email senders in the marketing department called upon aspects of the reflexive triangle (i.e. the text, the writer, and the reader) in their email discourse. In other words the categories provided insight into the ways in which emails senders structured and brought the current text into focus; how they expressed positions towards the current text; and, how they directed readers within their text. Table 12 displays the combined male and female results from the application of the current model of meatadiscourse used in the present thesis.

Table 12: Overall results of the application of the reflexive minimally integrationist model of metadiscourse in the marketing department

Organisational Metadiscourse	Frequency	% Frequency
Transitions	33	27.7
Frame markers	12	10.1
Phoric markers	29	24.4
Text mentions	40	33.6
Code gloss	4	3.4
Sub-total	**119**	**100**
Stance Metadiscourse		
Uncertainty markers	3	2.6
Certainty markers	9	7.8
Attitude markers	48	41.7
Self mentions	55	47.8
Sub-total	**115**	**100**
Engagement Metadiscourse		
Reader mentions	43	50.6
Directives	39	45.9
Personal asides	2	3.4
Sub-total	**84**	**100**
Total	**309**	**---**

In terms of organisational metadiscourse, signaling discursive relations between content (i.e. with the use of *transitions*); providing spatial guidance (with the use of *phorics*); and, explicit reference to the text (i.e. with the use of *text mentions*) were all important in the marketing department discourse community. *Code glosses* were not particularly favoured by senders in the marketing discourse community. As will be seen, most of the emails discussed knowledge that was seemingly codified in the discourse community. In other words, the topics of most of the emails did not necessitate a need for glossing devices. In terms of stance metadiscourse, the expression of attitude towards the text was as almost as important as explicit sender visibility. As will be seen this reflected a culture in which attitude was often used to express politeness. In terms of engagement, *reader mentions* were the most frequently used markers, closely followed by *directives* (a finding consistent across all three communities). The latter two markers frequently co-occurred with one another. In other words, readers were often made visible in order to be directed within the world of discourse. Table 13 contains the standardised frequency results split by gender.

Table 13: Marketing department: metadiscourse items per 1000 words by gender

Organisational Metadiscourse	Male	Female
Transitions	7.5	4.1
Frame markers	2.4	1.7
Phoric markers	5.2	4.4
Text mentions	6.1	6.6
Code gloss	0.9	0.5
Sub-total	**22.1**	**17.3**
Stance Metadiscourse		
Uncertainty markers	**0**	0.7
Certainty markers	3.3	0.5
Attitude markers	5.2	8.8
Self mentions	9.9	8.2
Sub-total	**18.4**	**18.2**
Engagement Metadiscourse		
Reader mentions	5.2	7.8
Directives	5.6	6.5
Personal asides	0.5	0.5
Sub-total	**11.3**	**14.8**
Total	**51.8**	**50.3**

As can be seen in Table 13 above, when the results were standardised to show total metadiscourse items per 1000 words, the difference in the overall use of metadiscourse between the sexes was negligible. The respective sexes used a similar amount of all three categories. In the use of organisational metadiscourse males used significantly more *transitions* suggesting that the clear signposting of sentential and suprasentential relations was particularly important. Whilst both male and female senders used an overall similar amount of stance metadiscourse, in terms of individual markers male senders used significantly more *certainty markers*. This initially suggested that males were more concerned with marking strong opinions.

4.4.1. Gendered use of organisational metadiscourse in the marketing department

As stated above, female and male senders used a similar amount of organisational metadiscourse. The one significant difference occurred in the use of *transitions*: males used more. Each subcategory will be discussed in detail below.

The following section will consider the use of *transitions* with the marketing department discourse community. As explained in Chapter 3, in Hyland (2005) *transitions* express relations between propositions. It should be noted, in the present thesis transitions were observed as often expressing relations between larger stretches of text than mere propositons e.g. sentence initial *transitions* that indicate the way an utterance relates to the remainder of the text. Martin and Rose (2003) detail the functions of *transitions* as: consequential; additive; and, comparative. In terms of metadiscourse, additive *transitions* add material (e.g. *also*); comparative *transitions* compare and contrast material (e.g. *however*); and consequential *transitions* signal conclusions (e.g. *therefore*).

Transitions

Male senders used significantly more *transitions* than their female counterparts in the marketing department discourse community. This was largely a result of the fact that most males occupied job roles which involved a greater need to engage in acts of suasion (i.e. they were agents communicating to their clients, or situated in different departments and thus needed to engage in persuasion in order to get things done). It should be noted that females in the marketing department discourse community used the least amount of *transitions* of all groups considered in the present thesis. This can be understood by an important contextual factor: relative power. Seven of the ten female senders in the marketing department data were client side workers; a further four of these occupied senior positions, i.e. women held positions of relative power within the discourse community. In other words, women for the most part did not need to craft highly persuasive arguments. Indeed, they were the targets of suasion efforts. The contextual evidence would therefore suggest that the difference in the use of *transitions* was not a gender based difference.

Table 14: Marketing department: Functional use of transitions by gender (tokens per 100 words)

Transition	Male	Female
Consequential	6.6	2.7
Additive	1.4	0.5
Comparative	0.9	1.0

In terms of functional usage, Table 14 shows that both genders predominantly used *transitions* to express consequential relations between clauses. As will be seen in the following examples, both sexes predominantly used consequential *transitions* in order to provide grounder explanations (i.e. justifications for requests). Interestingly, grounders basically occurred in two communicative situations: external communication (where agents communicated to their clients); and internal communication between members of different departments. Example 1 occurred in a chain concerned with the arrangement of an off-site annual planning event. After two days of reviewing the previous year's marketing activity, it had been decided that staff from the marketing department would attend a relatively fun event hosted by one of their creative agencies. In Example 1, a male agency side worker[48] wrote to three client side workers[49] in order to prompt confirmation of attendance.

Example 1

Subject: Game Runners - the event

1. Hey guys,
2. Have you had a chance to confirm the attendees for the game runners day yet? We are
3. aiming to have the programme printed next week <u>so</u> it would be great if I could know
4. as soon as possible who is attending from XXX (company name).
5. Cheers,
6. Tariq

The *transition* in line 3 (i.e. so) had a strong anaphoric role in that it linked the subsequent request in lines 3-4 with the previous grounder, i.e. the reason for the request (Vine, 2004; Blum-Kulka, 1989; Ho, 2014). The *transition* worked with other elements of the email (e.g. the appreciation upgrade i.e. it would be great) to index what has traditionally been coded as a relatively feminine style of discourse i.e. softened and indirect requests (Holmes: 2006). As will be seen throughout the present chapter, male senders frequently displayed an ability to shift to contextually appropriate modes of communicative behaviour. In the example

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[48] Again, as defined in appendix 1 an agent side worker was an individual who worked outside of the client organization in the capacity as an agent.

[49] Again, as defined in appendix 1 a client side worker comprised an individual who worked with the marketing department i.e. the client organization.

above, the sender communicated across a corporate border (i.e. agency to client organisation);
he also essentially pushed his client for an answer. In such a communicative situation the use
of a normatively feminine mode of communication presumably helped negotiate politeness
concerns. As will be seen throughout the present chapter, politeness played an important role
in email discourse (Mulholland, 1999; Duthler, 2006; Kong, 2006; Murphy and Levy, 2006).
In the example above explication of the grounder was fairly straightforward (similar
examples from female senders can be found in Examples 3 and 4 below).

As already stated, grounders also frequently occurred in communicative situations where
members of different departments communicated as in the following two examples (also see
Example 38 line 3; and, Example 58, line 2).   Example 2 occurred in a chain initially
concerned with a pricing document. The chain was initiated by a senior female whose team
had recently been assigned responsibility for data maintenance as the result of a wider data
consolidation exercise[50]. In the chain initiator the female directly addressed a male colleague
in order to ask him to check the validity of certain pricing data. She also copied the sales
department via a distribution list. Example 2 contains the male's response.

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[50] It will be seen that this was somewhat of a contentious issue within the marketing department discourse
community; responsibility for data maintenance and responsibility was not gladly received by the senior female or
her team.

Example 2

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. Hello, Carol,

2. Thank you for the update , will review all price lists shortly.

3. Michael told me that for EFTA the 2014 price plan includes discount irrespective of

4. order size , <u>meaning</u> a number of pipeline orders will have margins reduced.

5. Have discussed with XXX (retail chain) plans of new stores openings –3 new stores

6. are to be opened by this December, <u>therefore</u> it's highly probable XXX (retail chain)

7. will place the order for those stores in September <u>so</u> it is more profitable to delay

8. any price reductions until Jan. This order XXX will place based on the current price

9. list, as according to the contract - price list is usually valid during calendar year, and

10. if we want to change pricing – we are supposed inform XXX 90 days in advance .

11. <u>Therefore</u> for this small supply we would like to get in current pricing , while next

12. season we will implement new pricing according to 2,6% increase plan.

13. Best Regards,

14. Ian

Interestingly, the senior male did not initially satisfy the female's request[51], but diverted attention to the issue of pricing strategy. Throughout his email he utilised *transitional markers* which functioned to persuasively constrict the reader's comprehension process (Blakemore, 1987; Blass, 1993).   In line 4 of the first paragraph the sender used a transitional device (i.e. meaning[52]) to explicitly state the commercial implication of the previous statement.   In the second paragraph he used two *transitions* to signal textual junctures at which conclusive points been were drawn. The *transitions* signaled how the content cumulatively worked together according to the sender's preferred interpretation. The first transition (i.e. therefore) anaphorically pointed to the content of the previous proposition

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[51]Although he explicitly committed to do so; and subsequently sent 5 emails concerned with the data validity issue.
[52] Under Adel (2006) this could be classified as a *code gloss* that expresses consequential meaning. In the present study, only devices that exemplified or reformulated were counted as *code glosses*.

(i.e. store openings), and cataphorically forward to enable the speculative proposition that followed (i.e. probable placement of orders). The second *transition* (i.e. so), referred anaphorically to the proposition concerned with the likely placement of orders, and cataphorically to the final recommendation (i.e. delay of price reductions). In the fourth paragraph, the sender used a third consequential *transition* (i.e. therefore) in order to anophorically link the size of the order to his desire for a delayed price reduction. I would argue that the spatial placement (i.e. in the sentence initial position in a paragraph demarcated by a line break) of the transition in line 11 gave it a strong global role. The marker functioned so as to clearly signal a major point of conclusion.   In making a recommendation based on analysis of cause and effect relationships, and presented as a kind of deductive calculus, the sender projected a sense of personal authority and expertise with regards to the sector. Furthermore, he was able to present a coherent and persuasive argument in favour of his proposed solution i.e. a delay in price reduction.

A less complex and more typical use of a consequential *transition* can be found in the following example. Example 3 occurred in a chain concerned with contact details for packaging suppliers. In Example 3, a female sender initiated the chain with a request for information. She directly addressed a female in the accounts department and also copied her own supervisor.

Example 3

Subject: Packaging Orders

1. Hi Sue,
2. How are you?
3. Can you tell me who managed the contracts with XXX (name of printing
4. company), or XXX (name of packaging company) <u>so</u> that I can gather
5. contact information and begin the orders for Spring/Summer2014.
6. Thanks in advance,
7. Fiona

In line 4, the female sender used a consequential *transition* to present a grounder. Although Examples 2 and 4 involved internal communication (i.e. amongst employees of the same company), it occurred between different departments.

A slightly different use of a consequential *transition* occurred in Example 5 below. Example 4 and 5, both reproduced in full, occurred in a chain concerned with the validity of pricing information. The chain was initiated by a female sender who requested that a number of colleagues check a pricing report (see Example 73). In Example 4, a male employee from the sales department made a brief contribution to the chain.

Example 4

Subject: International Pricing

1. <u>Missing information not on XXX (proprietary system name)</u>:
2. "XXX 9016","Not on XXX(garden equipment brand name)",10.56
3. "XXX 0000","Not on XXX (garden equipment brand name)",5.87
4. "XXX 9002","Not on XXX (garden equipment brand name)",1.75

In Example 5 a different male employee from the sales department commented on Example 4 in order to essentially provide additional information.

Example 5

Subject: FW: International Pricing

1. Those products aren't on XXX (proprietary system name), <u>so </u>they will need to be
2. manually added when the product has been set up

In line 1, the first proposition of the email echoed the information in Example 5 i.e. a number of products were missing from a proprietary database. The sender then used a *transition* to explicitly signal the second proposition as a consequence of the first. The male sender displayed particularly facilitative (usually coded as a normatively female style of communication) communicative behaviours. He both compensated for the lack of information in Example 5, and also explicitly signaled the relation between the two

propositions of his email, thus relieving his reader of the burden of having to rely on context to make sense of the utterance (Blass, 1993).

Although female senders used *transitions* less frequently than the male senders, the functional usage was similar. Both of the following examples are typical of male and female senders. Senders in the marketing department used additive *transitions* to deliver positive news or information that was beneficial to the recipient as in the following example. Example 6, reproduced in full in Example 47 below, occurred in a chain concerned with social media content. A female agent had attended a garden event and secured promotional coverage for the agency by a leading garden blogger (i.e. Steve S). In Example 6, the female agent initiated the chain in order to inform her client of developments.

Example 6

Subject: XXX (media brand name) Charity Garden

2. Hi Margaret,
3. I visited the XXX (media brand name) Charity Garden and had a lovely morning.
4. I have taken some great images of the garden show and Steve S using our XXX
5. (brand name) product. I will create an album on XXX's Facebook too. <u>Also</u>, Steve
6. had kindly said he will produce a testimonial for the XXX (company name) – he is a
7. massive fan of this product!

In the excerpt above the female agent used an opening paragraph to deliver positive news to her client. The additive *transition* (i.e. Also) in line 4 had the powerful rhetorical effect of listing positive news. Similar examples occurred in the data from the male senders (see Example 8, line 10; and Example 16, line 5).

Senders in the marketing department used comparative *transitions* to provide alternate choices. Example 7 occurred later in the same chain as Example 2 above. Indeed, it was the fifth email in the chain: the third sent by the female initiator. In Example 7, the female sender responded to feedback in regards to the presentation of information the pricing report.

Example 7

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. Hi Ian,
2. This is how *Janesh*[53] told us to set it up <u>but</u> if you need something
3. different <u>or</u> know a different method let us know.
4. Thanks
5. Carol

The female sender used two *transitions* to provide her interlocutor with alternative options. In line 2, the female sender first used a *transition* (i.e. but) in order to offer a contrastive option to her interlocutor. In line 3, she then used an additive *transition* (i.e. or) in order to offer an additional option[54]. Initially, the female sender's behaviour appeared particularly facilitative in that the female sender accommodated her interlocutor's request. However, there may be more at play then initially meets the eye. Firstly, the sender presented herself as simply following due process (i.e. This is how Janesh told us to set it up). Furthermore, the fact that Janesh was a senior male in the accounts department clothed the current format with a degree of authority. This effectively positioned the male's request for a format change as challenging due process. Interestingly, after a number of subsequent format requests the same female sender seemingly reneged on the offer in the example above (see Example 39).

Transitions alone do not guarantee optimal comprehension (Blass, 1993; Mauranen, 1993). However, Sloan (1984) also claims that when used effectively *transitions* do lighten the processing load of readers, meaning they do not have to over-rely on background assumptions to reach the correct interpretation. As highlighted by Aguilar (2008) in English responsibility lies with the writer for guiding the reader to the correct interpretation. In this sense, male employees can be taken to have spent greater effort in relieving their readers of the burden of having to infer the links between ideas within their texts. Although as already noted this was more the product of the job roles occupied by males and the communicative tasks they had to engage in, rather than a gender based propensity. Furthermore, as will be

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[53] Janesh was listed as a senior male in the accounts department by the donor.
[54] Note that the reference/subject in the final proposition (i.e. know a different method…) was regarded as elliptical.

seen when female employees needed to create more reader friendly texts they employed the markers (for instance see Example 13 line 1 below).

The following section will consider *frame markers*. As was stated in Chapter 3, *frame markers* announce discourse moves in the organization and argumentation of the text so as to provide readers with greater clarity. Indeed, Abdi et al (2010) talk of *frame markers* as an overt attempt of the writer to relieve the burden of the processing load of the reader

Frame markers

Again, *frame markers* involve a collection of markers that explicitly enable senders to announce discourse goals (e.g. *I want you to know…*); label stages (e.g. *Finally…*); sequence arguments of textual steps (e.g. *first, second, third*); and, manage shifts in topic (e.g. *separately…*).

Table 15: Marketing department: Functional use of frame markers by gender (tokens per 1000 words)

Function	Male	Female
Announce goal	1.4	1.2
Label stage	0.9	---
Sequence content	---	---
Shift topic	---	0.5

In terms of frequency, the genders used a similar amount of *frame markers* in the marketing department discourse community. In terms of functional usage, as can be seen in Table 15, both male and female employees most often used *frame markers* in order to announce discourse goals. Both male and female senders used conventionally polite language in the articulation of announce goal *frame markers*. Example 8, occurred in the same chain as Examples 2, and 7 above. In Example 8, after sending two requests with regards to the format of the report (and been lightly rebuffed by a senior female sender for doing so: see Example 39) a senior male sender answered the initial request for information.

Example 8

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. Hello Carol
2. I have checked all the prices, <u>let me confirm the following</u>:

3. XXX (garden furniture brand name) prices matching, as already discussed they
4. will place the order in Sept. by current pricing, while for the whole of the next
5. season we will work as per prices sent by you. <u>Can we make sure prices for next</u>
6. <u>season are not released to anyone before then.</u>

7. XXX (garden product brand name), XXX (garden product brand name) & XXX
8. (garden product brand name) prices are matching ours, however <u>I would like to</u>
9. <u>have a column with net 2014 prices, as attached.</u>
10. Also, as the hose price for XXX (Garden supplies retailer) was missing I modified
11. the 2013 prices.

12. Best Regards
13. Ian

In line 2, the male sender used a *frame marker* in order to explicitly announce his discourse goal. The *frame marker* drew the attention of the reader to the material that followed. It also reflexively echoed the initial request of the female sender i.e. that the male sender check and confirm the validity of the information in the pricing document.

Interestingly, although the sender's articulation of the *frame marker* focused on his own discourse actions, he actually smuggled in two requests at the end of the first two paragraphs (see line 5-6, and 8-7).   In other words, whilst the *frame marker* focused on the act of confirmation the material to which it referred ultimately placed a request on the receiver. Both of the subsequent requests to an extent also suppressed the agency of the receiver (note the inclusive *we* in line 5; and the preference statement in line 8) . Again, it should be noted that the public exchange in Example 8 occurred between two equally senior colleagues.

From a first wave politeness perspective (Brown and Levinson, 1987), the sender's articulation choices can be taken to have served politeness concerns. As will be seen in the next example, the suppression of the receiver's agency may have allowed the sender to avoid having to express a direct command.

Example 9 was the thirteenth email in the previously discussed chain, and comprised the male sender's sixth email. The male sender (i.e. Ian) wrote to the original female sender (i.e. Carol) in order to inform her that the pricing report under discussion was missing important information.

Example 9

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. Hi Carol,
2. <u>I would like to add the following missing items</u>:
3. XXXXP0000
4. XXXXP9018
5. XXXXP0009
6. Best
7. Ian

In line 2, the sender reflexively used a *frame marker* in order to explicitly announce his discourse goal of adding missing information. In reality, the sender only added information to the email chain, and was not responsible for the compilation of the pricing report (responsibility for which lay with Carol's team, as presumably did culpability for the missing information). Again, the *frame marker* construction focused attention on the personal agency of the male sender, and suppressed the agency of the interlocutor. The delivery data of the email disclosed the fact that whilst Carol (as team head) was the direct addressee, 3 of her subordinates were copied as well as the distribution list for the entire sales department. This made the use of a relevant pronoun or deictic reference (e.g. 'you 'or 'your team') potentially problematic for two primary reasons. First, the male sender (a senior member of staff) could have been taken to commit an FTA against equally senior Carol if he publically directed her (e.g. I would like <u>you</u> to add). In other words, the sender avoided the expression of a direct

request through the construction of a metadiscursive element that placed attention on him. Secondly, if the sender referenced Carols's team, he could have been taken to have committed an FTA through the perceived usurpation of her power to direct her team (e.g. I would like your team to add). Therefore, the self-focused request may be understood as a politeness strategy that allowed the sender to negotiate a number of potential face threats in relation to his direct addressee.

As already stated, female employees in the marketing department also predominantly used *frame markers* to announce discourse goals. In terms of commercial background to Example 10, the marketing department employed a creative agency to manage their social media presence. The email occurred in a chain that was concerned with the maintenance of the company blog. In Example 10, a female agency side worker requested confirmation from a client side female.

Example 10

Subject: Blog

1. Hi Margaret,
2. Just re-confirming that you are happy for us to go live with blog post.
3. Kind regards
4. Sheridan

In line 2 of her email, the sender reflexively announced her discourse goal of confirmation. The mitigating minimiser 'just', as used in the example above, was used in 3 of the 5 announce goal constructions used by female senders.[55] As used above, 'just' worked so as to minimise the communicative imposition (Brown and Levinson, 1987), and I would argue carried the meaning of 'only'[56] (Vine, 2004).

Interestingly, 4 of the 5 announce goal *frame markers*, used by female senders in the marketing department discourse community, contained redressive elements. There was just one *frame marker* construction which did not contain a redressive element. Example 11

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[55] In total there were 14 instances of 'just' in the marketing department data: 11 occurred in the data from female employees; 3 occurred in the data from male employees; 7 were used in metadiscursive constructions.
[56] As in 'I'm only re-confirming and not doing anything else'.

occurred in a chain concerned with the compilation of international pricing documents. A junior female initiated the chain (see Example 73) with a request for data and feedback on a pricing document. In Example 11 the same female sender distributed the final version of the report to a number of male colleagues all of whom were senior in rank to her.

Example 11

Subject: International Pricing

1. <u>FYI</u>, I attach the report
2. Sandra

In a very brief deliver information email, the female sender dispensed with opening salutation and closing valediction formulae. Instead she chose to open her email with the acronym FYI. In the use of such an opening, the female sender can be taken to have explicitly announced her discourse goal i.e. distribution of a report for the recipient's information. It can further be inferred, from the use of the acronym that she intended to signal that no further action was required of the recipients (Johnson, 2007). As already mentioned, despite communicating upwards the sender chose to dispense with traditional politeness markers. Vine (2004) demonstrates that politeness can migrate across interactions such that a final interaction can be done in a relatively bald manner if sufficient groundwork has been done earlier. In the example above, the sender may have felt entitled to rely on the relatively indirect, polite articulation of the chain initiator (see Example 73). She can also be taken as conferring a benefit on the readers i.e. in the supply of up-to-date information which may have further justified her dispensation of traditional politeness markers.

The data from the male employees contained two examples of *frame markers* being used in order to reflexively label discrete parts of emails. Both will be discussed below. Example 12 occurred in the same chain as Example 1. Example 12 was the first email in a chain concerned with a client/agent annual planning meeting. As has already been explained, it had been decided that the marketing department staff would attend an event held by the creative agency at the end of the annual client-agency planning event. In Example 12, a male agent sent an invitation that detailed the event.

Example 12

Subject: Game Runners - the event

1. Hello All,
2. [sender sets up the email with an explanation that the information below details the third day of the client/agency away day]
3. <u>Event info:</u>
4. Open play and live paint sessions 12-5pm
5. *Free play on small BLOCKS format @ 30 stations*

6. Final tournament from 6.30pm
7. Groups of people in heats *(heat 1 - groups of 8 people x 30 = 240 players, heat 2 –*
8. *groups of 4 people x 30 = 120 players, heat 3 - groups of 2 people x30 = 60 players)*
9. Finals from 7.30pm
10. Event finishes at 8.30pm. The winner takes home PlayStation Move and a PS3!
11. 9:00pm –drinks at XXX (London location).

12. Look forward to seeing you there (mobile no: XXX)
13. Cheers,
14. Tariq

In line 2, the male agent used a *frame marker* to reflexively label a distinct part of his message (i.e. Event info: see line 2). Aguilar (2008) highlights the fact that *frame markers* can be used to pragmatically organize a text both locally (i.e. micro-level) and globally (i.e. macro-level) in order to mark textual boundaries and structures. In the example above, at the macro level the *frame marker* functioned so as to clearly mark the section from the remainder of the email. At the local level, the *frame marker* indicated that the following content should be regarded as a semantic unpacking of the label. In other words, the reflexive label (i.e. 'Event info:') scoped over three subsequent bulleted points concerned with the proposed schedule.

Example 13 occurred in the same chain as Examples 4 and 5. During the progression of the email chain one of the originally copied male employees forwarded the chain initiator (see Example 73) to an additional group of male colleagues (see Example 20, below). In Example 13 one of the additionally copied males responded to the original request with a list of missing items.

Example 13

Subject: International Pricing

1. <u>Missing information not on XXX (proprietary system name)</u>:
2. "XXX 9016","Not on XXX(garden equipment brand name)",10.56
3. "XXX 0000","Not on XXX (garden equipment brand name)",5.87
4. "XXX 9002","Not on XXX (garden equipment brand name)",1.75

In a bare response, the male sender dispensed with all forms of structural politeness (e.g. opening salutation). In line 1, he provided his readers with a *frame marking* label indicating the material that followed was 'missing information'. In other words, minimal effort was spent in relieving the processing burden of the reader. The minimally interactive, transactional nature of the email could be construed as authoritative and normatively masculine (Holmes: 2006). Interestingly, the male sender in the example above publically responded to a *directive* from a peer (in terms of seniority, both were mid-level members of staff). In this light, the bare response may have been an intentional reassertion of equality amongst two peers.

Finally, the data from the female employees contained two *frame markers* that shifted topics. Both will be considered below. Example 14 occurred in the same chain as Example 10 above. The email chain concerned the company's blog. In Example 14, reproduced in full, a female agent responded to a client's request for updated information concerning in-store promotional activity to be promoted on social media.

Example 14

Subject: Blog

1. Not at the mo <u>but</u> ill come back. <u>On another note</u> we are pushing XXX (product
2. name) as a prize sprinkler. Simon posted it on facebook to make sure we
3. capitalize on this whilst the weather is hot.
4. Many thanks
5. Sheridan

The female sender was unable to provide the information her client desired. After explicitly acknowledging such a failure, the female sender used a comparative *transition* to commit to further communication (i.e. ill come back). She then used a *frame marker* to shift the focus of the conversation to a more positive topic i.e. spontaneous promotional activity undertaken by the agency for the client organisation.

Example 15 occurred in a chain also concerned with pricing information. In Example 15, the chain initiator, a female employee sent a number of pricing documents to two male interlocutors in order to obtain a validity check.

Example 15

Subject: 2014 PRICE LISTS

1. Hi Both
2. Please find attached our 2014 transfer price list (effective 1 September).
3. As you will now be managing XXX (*brand name*) as well as XXX (*brand name*) I
4. have also included their Price List plus a copy of the standard International Price List.
5. The Picture Price List is in pdf format – the excel sheets are working documents.
6. Please can you check them through before issuing out to customers to check that you
7. are happy with them.
8. <u>Completely unrelated</u>, who should I speak to about making the catalogue digital?
9. Thanks
10. Carol

In line 8, at the end of the email, the female sender used a *frame marker* (i.e. completely unrelated), to shift to an unrelated topic. In doing so, she managed the expectation of her readers by explicitly signaling the textual disjuncture. Again, the use of the *frame marker* can be understood as having had both a local (micro) function and a global (macro) function. Locally, the object level material that directly superseded the metadiscursive item was reflexively constituted as novel information. Globally, the marker worked so as to structurally signpost the utterance as separate from the rest of the email (rather like a post-scriptum comment). Interestingly, the question to which the *frame marker* related was not answered by any of the sender's interlocutors: as in similar chains the subsequent responses focused on missing information, and formatting issues.

In all of the examples above, the use of *frame markers* was particularly potent in creating a sense of a text that is being born, rather than a text that simply is. In other words, through the use of metadiscursive units such as 'I would like to add', 'On another note' and 'Completely unrelated', the senders obviously disclosed the production of their unfolding discourse, and the active writers behind the texts. Overall, the unmarked use of *frame marker*s in the marketing department discourse community was reflective of a normatively feminine mode of communication (i.e. mitigated, indirect, polite).

The next section will consider the use of *phoric markers*. Again, *phoric markers* are devices that 'point to various portions in the text' (Ä del: 2006: 101). They principally help readers in the spatial navigation of the text and allow writers to avoid needless repetition (Abdi et al, 2010)..

Phoric markers

As explained in the methodology section, a distinction was made between in the present thesis between *phorics* that referred to the current email (i.e. directed the sender's attention to an aspect of the current email e.g. see attached presentation) versus those that referred to an earlier email in the chain (e.g. see my earlier message below).

Male and female senders used a similar amount of *phoric markers*. The results in Table 16 show that female employees displayed an equal propensity to refer to current and earlier

emails, whereas male employees predominantly used *phoric*s to refer to a part of the current email (see Examples 16, 17, 18 and 19 below).

Emails chains are inherently collaborative efforts. As already discussed in chapter 3, email chains contain multiple contributions from different sources such as emails sent by other parties, attachments, links, e.t.c. In other words there are many different elements to which senders can spatially direct readers. Furthermore, often current senders many not be personally responsible for such elements. There was also a noticeable difference between male and female employees with regards to the marking of agents responsible for material to which the *phoric markers* referred. As will be seen female employees displayed a greater propensity to explicitly mark the contributions of others; male employees tended to mark their own contribution or leave the source unmarked.

Table 16: Marketing department: Referential direction of phoric markers per 1000 words

Part of chain	Male	Female
Current email	4.7	2.2
Earlier email	0.5	2.2

As briefly stated above, when male employees in the marketing department referred to the current email they were just as likely to mark themselves as the source of the contribution as to leave it unmarked (indeed, 5 of the 10 Examples contained such explicit marking; the other 5 Examples contained unmarked contributions). Example 16 occurred in an email chain concerned with the arrangement of in-store demonstration activity. In Example 16, a store manager replied to an earlier request for images of a competitors stand from a client side worker.

Example 16

Subject: XXX (retail brand)

1. Hi Sheridan
2. Please see <u>attached </u>for images of display.
3. Can you send us a XXX (product name) which we're able to use in our garden
4. centre to demonstrate to our customers.
5. Also, we had a guy from XXX (company name) in our store demonstrating these
6. back over the May bank Holiday weekend, is it possible we can have someone
7. back in store over the August Bank Holiday?
8. Regards
9. Scott

In line 2, the male sender used a *phoric marker* to direct the female interlocutor's attention to the attached images. He chose not to explicitly mark the source of the contribution (i.e. the images). Given that the sender answered a request for the images, it could be argued that there was no need for the sender to mark his personal agency. However, in cases where context could be relied upon to attribute personal agency male employees still often chose to do so. Take the following example. Example 17 was the male sender's fifth in the chain. The chain concerned the validity of pricing information in a company report.

Example 17

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. Hello Carol,
2. Just checked 2013 pricing. See details in <u>my email</u> <u>below</u>.
3. 2683 0000 was at $15,16 for Ukraine , so I think 2683P9018 needs to be
4. $15,55 for 2014 , 2490P0009 was at $62,16 , so for 2014 it should be $63,77
5. Best Regards,
6. Ian

In the second sentence of his email, the male sender used a *phoric marker* to cataphorically refer to the remaining content of the current email. In doing so he chose to explicitly mark his authorial self. Again, the *phoric* in the example above referred to the remainder of the current email. The marking of personal agency therefore seemed somewhat redundant: who else could have authored and sent the present email? Likewise, in Example 18 the male sender chose to explicitly mark ownership of a section of his email. Example 18 occurred in a short email chain (it contained just two emails). The male sender delivered research findings with regards to retail prices. He also copied four other members of the marketing department.

Example 18

Subject: Water Butts

1. Hi Peter
2. Have been in to XXX (retain brand) a little while ago and done some research on
3. Water Butts. <u>Here</u> are a few of <u>my findings</u>,
4. They tell me that supply has been a real problem from all manufacturers this year,
5. they used to stock ranges from both QRS and RST but due to QRS's insistence on a £
6. 99 minimum order they have cut that down to promotions only and now stock a
7. range from RST which is as follows.
8. Stackable 100ltr Water Butt cost £99-99, sell £99-99
9. [sender goes on to list another 10 pricing items]
10. Regards
11. Stephen

In the example above, it could be argued that the sender's personal responsibility for the findings was recoverable from the background assumptions in line 2 (i.e. he had actually visited the retail store). Nevertheless, in line 3 the sender chose to use a possessive pronoun (i.e. my) to explicitly mark ownership of the findings.

There was no propensity of males of a certain rank to engage in such behavior: Example 17 was sent by a senior male; Example 18 was sent by a mid-level agent. The following

example was sent by junior male. In Example 19 a junior male in the sales department wrote to a female in the marketing department detailing two orders.

Example 19

Subject: Hampton court

1. Hi Selena,
2. <u>According to my records (attached)</u> Mr M (customer name) ordered 2 40m autoreels
3. on 9th of july but only received one Mr A (Customer name) ordered a AC+ timer 8th
4. of july.
5. Regards
6. Joseph

In line 2, the male sender chose to use a possessive pronoun (i.e. my) in order to indicate ownership of the attached file. Again, such behaviour would suggest itself as self-promotional and arguably indexical of assertive behaviour (traditionally coded as masculine).

Unlike their female counterparts, male senders in the marketing department did not mark the contribution of others when using *phorics* to refer to the current email i.e. there were no emails in which male employees did not engage in activities like sharing the work of other colleagues. There was just one example of a male employee using a *phoric marker* to explicitly refer to the contribution of another. Example 20 occurred in the same chain as Examples 2, 3, 11 and, 13 above. As already stated, the chain was concerned with the compilation and validity of a number of international pricing documents. The chain was initiated by a female sender who wished to obtain a validity check on pricing information (see Example 73). In Example 20, reproduced in full, one of the original addressees forwarded the chain initiator to a number of his sales colleagues.

Example 20

Subject: International Pricing

1. Can you action as per <u>Sandra's</u> email <u>below</u>.

In a brief one line email, the male sender spatially directed a number of his colleagues to the earlier request email. He also explicitly recognised the sender (i.e. Sandra). In doing so, he displayed particularly facilitative behavior in relation to the female sender i.e. helping increase the scope of the validity check.

As already stated above, there were two noticeable differences in the way female employees used *phorics* in the marketing department discourse community: firstly, they were more likely to recognize the contribution of others in *phoric* constructions; secondly, they were more likely to refer to earlier parts of the email chain: indeed, half of all *phorics* used by female employees referred to earlier emails.

Female employees also displayed a greater propensity to refer to the contribution of others in *phoric* constructions. Example 21 occurred in an email chain concerned with the validity of information contained in a business performance report. In the chain initiator, a female sender requested a number of team heads check the validity of the information within the document.

Example 21

Subject: Status Report

1. Dear All,
2. <u>Attached is Fifis status update</u> with latest billing figures.
3. If you have any questions please shout as we want to check we are picking up data
4. from the correct source !
5. Best
6. Carol

In line 2, the female sender used a *phoric marker* to direct her readers to an attached report. In doing so, she chose to explicitly mark the contribution of a female subordinate. Likewise,

in Example 22. Example 22 and 23 occurred in the same chain. The chain discussed a specific finding from a research exercise into the company's online assets (e.g. the homepage, the blog, and online advertising).   A female sender initiated the chain in order to inform a number of colleagues of the need to improve the homepage.

Example 22

Subject: XXX (product name) Product Information

1. Hi All,
2. We've had the debrief from XXX(research agency name). Topline is that we need to
3. update images as the homepage is looking very dated, see <u>Sandra's</u> notes on the
4. debrief (<u>attached</u>).
5. <u>Sandra's</u> going to take charge of this one. Please send any recent (glossy)
6. photography to <u>her</u>.
7. Thanks
8. M

In the example above, the female sender used a *phoric* marker (i.e. attached) to explicitly refer to an attached document (i.e. notes from the debrief). In doing so, she also explicitly marked the agent responsible for the attachment (a subordinate female). In line 5, the female sender gave further recognition to the subordinate female as a professional individual capable of taking charge of projects. The assumption of generosity here rests on the fact that the work was of a sound level, and that the reference to the junior member of staff was not born out of a cynical wish to put distance between the sender and substandard work.   As with the male tendency towards self-promotion, the female expression of generosity was not confined to one status group of females (e.g. senior females). The following example was sent by a junior female. Example 23 terminated the chain in which it occurred. The subordinate female mentioned in Example 22 (i.e. Sandra) sent information and photography she had compiled to a design agency, she also copied two internal[57] senior female employees, and a senior male.

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[57] Employees that worked in the marketing department.

Example 23

Subject: XXX (product name) Product Information

1. Hi,
2. <u>Please find attached</u> product information and <u>Kevin's images</u> for XXX (product
3. name) listings. Should you require any help please do not hesitate to contact me.
4. Kind Regards
5. Sandra

The female sender gave recognition to another's contribution (i.e. Kevin). Interestingly, Kevin[58] was not copied in the email. Again, theoretically the female sender could just as easily have omitted the reference to Kevin's contribution in the production of the images.

As already alluded to, the second major difference between male and female employees in the marketing department concerned the greater propensity of female employees to refer to earlier parts of the email chain.   Example 24 occurred in the same chain as Example 16. In Example 24, in a propose email, a female agent proposed arrangements for in-store demonstration activity. In doing so, she copied a senior female into the chain, and directly addressed her.

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[58] In the post-donation interview the donor listed Kevin as an internal, junior male employee.

Example 24

Subject: XXX (retail brand)

1. Hi Margaret,
2. As discussed briefly in the meeting yesterday, please see the email <u>below</u> from XXX
3. (retail brand). They are very interested in a sales rep attending the store over the
4. August bank holiday – I guess this is something you would need to set up. However,
5. if you want me to send a XXX (product name) over to them, I am more than happy to
6. sort this for you. I will try and get them to tweet XXX (company name) on the back
7. of this too!
8. Look forward to your thoughts.
9. Kind Regards
10. Sheridan

In the email above, the sender followed up on a conversation in a meeting (note the opening intertextual reference) concerned with in-store demonstration activity. In line 2, the female sender displayed a high degree of communicative facilitation. She first reminded the senior female of the topic with the use of an intertextual reference (i.e. the discussion in yesterday's meeting).   She then used a *phoric* marker to direct the senior female's attention to an earlier email in the chain that evidenced a store manager's interest in collaborating with the client company. Example 25 occurred in the same chain as Examples 10 and 14. Again, the chain was concerned with the strategic management of the company's blog. In Example 22, a senior female directed two female subordinates: one client side worker (i.e. Sandra); and one agency (i.e. Sheridan).

Example 25

Subject: Blog

1. Hi Sandra,
2. Can you look into the email <u>below</u>.
3. Sheridan do you have any information on live instore garden furniture activity?
4. Many thanks
5. Margaret

In line 2, the female sender used a *phoric* to spatially guide one of the readers (i.e. Sandra) to an earlier email in the chain. Again, we can see how the chain was relied upon as a relevant source of information. Rather than repeating the content of the email the female sender simply directed one of her readers to the relevant email. Two further Examples (i.e. 'earlier email' and 'below') can be found in line 3 of Example 68 below.

In sum, in their use of *phorics*, female employees explicitly displayed an active consumption all aspects of the email chain. They also displayed themselves as more generous in terms of giving recognition to the efforts of other members of the discourse community. In other words, female senders displayed behaviour in accordance with the literature that suggests normatively female modes of communication involve the recognition of the efforts of others (Wolfson, 1984; Holmes, 1986; Aries, 1987; Leet-pelligrini, 1987; Case, 1988; Berryman-Fink, 1997).

The next section will consider the use of *text mentions*. Again, the inclusion of this category was justified on the grounds that the application of Hyland's (2005) category was not felt to fully capture explicit references to the text (a core component of the reflexive triangle).

Text mentions

As already explained in the methodology chapter, in regards to *text mentions* a distinction was made between three levels of reference: macro; micro; and, nano. Macro-level *text mentions* referred to the chain, or an entire individual message; micro-level *text mentions* referred to constituent parts of the current email (e.g. attachments or specific sections); nano-

level *text mentions* referred to a part of a constituent part (e.g. a specific price entry in a price sheet).

The respective genders in the marketing department used a similar amount of *text mentions* per 1000 words. In terms of reference level, both male and female employees in the marketing department displayed equal concern for both the macro-level (i.e. to the whole email) and the micro-level (i.e. a constituent part of an email). Both male and female employees displayed micro-level textual awareness in request/deliver emails.

Example 26 occurred in a chain in which a female employee sent an email to two male interlocutors in order to obtain a validity check on a number of pricing documents. In Example 26, reproduced in full in Example 15, a female sender dedicated the first three lines of her message to making her readers explicitly aware of the various constituent parts of the text.

Example 26

Subject: 2014 PRICE LISTS

1. Please find attached our <u>2014 transfer price list</u> (effective 1 September).
2. As you will now be managing XXX (*brand name*) as well as XXX (*brand name*)
3. I have also included their <u>Price List</u> plus a copy of the <u>standard International Price</u>
4. <u>List.</u>
5. The <u>Picture Price List</u> is in pdf format – the <u>excel sheets</u> are working documents.
6. Please can you check them through before issuing out to customers to check that
7. you are happy with them.

In the example above, the female sender displayed a high degree of reflexive awareness for both the text and the concerns of the reader. In the first *text mention* (i.e. 2014 transfer price list, line 1) the sender supplied additional information as an *aside* that highlighted the date when the document would come into effect. As has already been seen, such information was regarded as important by the readers due to the fact that it had the potential to have an adverse impact on prospective orders. In the second (i.e. Price List, line 3) and third (i.e. standard International Price List, line 3-4) *text mentions* she explicated the personal relevance

(to the readers) for the inclusion of two further documents. In the fourth (i.e. Picture Price List, line 5) and fifth (i.e. excel sheets, line 5) *text mentions* she provided information regarding the format of the documents. At first it was hard to understand why she felt the need to explicate such a detail since the format would be fairly obvious to the reader in the attachment name. However, when read in conjunction with the co-text concerning the excel sheets and the directive in line 5, it became apparent that in providing information regarding the format the female sender intended to indicate that the 'Picture Price List' document could not be edited (due to its pdf format). In other words, changes would have to made via her team. In the fifth *text mention* (i.e. excel sheet, line 5) the sender indicated that the excel sheets could be edited. She also implicitly indicated the epistemic status of the excel files i.e. working documents as opposed to final documents. Lines 1-5 in the example above can be taken as an orientation towards the tact maxim (Leech, 1983): her communicative endeavor benefitted the readers. In other words, in the provision of important information (i.e. the date of operation); personal relevance; and formatting information, the female sender displayed a high degree of communicative facilitation. Again, such communicative behaviour has been traditionally coded as feminine. Likewise in Example 27 below.

Example 27 occurred in the same chain as Example 3 above. The chain was concerned with contact details for packaging suppliers. In Example 27, a female sender from the accounts department responded to an earlier request for information (see Example 3).

Example 27

Subject: Packaging Orders

1. Hi Fiona,
2. Natalie used to managed this before she left. For quick reference, here's a <u>copy</u>
3. <u>of XXX (company name) current contractors</u> with contact details. You should be
4. able to find what you need under <u>"Origination & Middle Marketing Contractors"</u>.
5. Hope you're doing well. Look forward to touching base soon.
6. Sue

In line 2 the female sender explicitly foregrounded the usefulness of the attached document (i.e. quick reference). She then referred to the document by name as part of a *phoric*

construction; finally, in line 4 she used a nano level *text mention* in order to provide a helpful suggestion as to where the desired information could be found. Throughout the email, and in her use of *text mentions*, the female sender displayed a strong orientation towards facilitative communication.

As we seen in the previous section, male employees did not use *phorics* to spatially direct readers to earlier emails (either their own or those of others), however they did use *text mentions* to refer to constituent parts of other people's earlier emails. As in Example 28, such use principally occurred in the delivery of information: indeed, 4 of the 5 *text mentions* from the male employees were used in such a manner. Example 28 occurred in the same chain as Example 26. Again, the chain was initiated by a female who requested that two colleagues perform a validity check on a pricing document. In Example 28 a male sender responded to a female employee's earlier request.

Example 28

Subject: 2014 PRICE LISTS

1. Hi Carol,
2. The <u>pricelist</u> for <u>transfer price</u> is not correct. We have agreed with Martin W 2014's
3. years prices in sek[59].
4. Regards
5. [auto-signature]

In the example above, the male sender explicitly mentioned the part of the document (i.e. pricelist) to which his assertion applied (in Example 15 five documents were attached). Likewise, in Example 29, a male sender used a series nano-*text mentions* in order to facilitate easier comprehension. In Example 29, reproduced in full in Example 17, a male sender used three nano-level *text mentions* in order to deliver information.

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[59] Swedish Krona

Example 29

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. <u>2683 0000</u> was at $15,16 for Ukraine , so I think <u>2683P9018</u> needs to be $15,55 for
2. 2014 , <u>2490P0009</u> was at $62,16 , so for 2014 it should be $63,77

In the example above, the sender helpfully listed both the incorrect information, and the correct information. Note, the markers above were regarded as nano-level in that they referred to a part (in this case specific product listings) of a constituent part (i.e. the attached price list).

As is apparent form the examples above, there was a subtle difference with regards to the use of *text mentions* to refer to the constituent parts of emails (i.e. the micro-level). Women displayed micro-level textual awareness of their own texts; males displayed micro-level textual awareness of the constituent parts of other people's texts. However, this might have been less the product of a gender based propensity, and more the product of specific job roles. Very simply, a group of females had to initiate validity checks; a group of males had to respond to such requests.

The unmarked use of micro-level and nano-level *text mentions* involved a mix of normatively feminine and masculine communicative traits: normatively masculine in that the use of micro-level and nano-level *text mention*s was ultimately goal oriented; normatively feminine in that the use of the of the devices was facilitative (i.e. helpful) in regards to the communicative task at hand. For instance, in Example 26 the female sender used *text mentions* to provide various kinds of information (e.g. effective date) to aid her readers in fulfilling their assigned tasks; likewise, in Example 29 the male sender both by highlighted the incorrect prices as well as supplied the information that should replace it.

At the macro-level both male and female employees in the marketing department largely used *text mentions* in conjunctions with *directives* (as in Example 30) and *phoric marker*s (as in Examples 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 above) or *attitude markers* (see line 7 Example 32;

and line 1 Example 45 below). In Example 30 a male sender external to the company asked another male to forward his email to the client organisation[60].

Example 30

Subject: XXX (company name)

1. Hi Jez <u>please</u> can you forward <u>this</u> to XXX (company name) for me.
2. <u>Pic</u> <u>below</u> is just his email address.
3. Cheers
4. Scott

In the example above the male used a *text mention* in order to cataphorically refer to the remainder of the current email. It should be noted that macro-level *text mentions*, as in the example above, usually occurred in the opening section of the email (see discussion of *attitude markers* below). Unusually, the *text mention* in Example 31 below occurred in the closing line. Examples 31 and 32 occurred in an email chain that was concerned with the resolution of a customer order. A customer had attended a garden show and allegedly ordered delivery of a product from the company's promotional stand. He subsequently claimed non-delivery. In Example 31, the chain initiator, a female contacted the promotions agency (i.e. those who acted on behalf of the company at events like the Hampton court garden show) in an attempt to track the order.

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[60] It was not clear from the email chain why he needed such assistance.

Example 31

Subject: Hampton court show orders

1. Hi Jeremy,
2. Further to our conversation, please could you guys look for a receipt for [61]a Mr XXX
3. (customer name), for XXX (product name). Does Alan recall this customer, as it's a bit unusual why he wouldn't have carried it away being only a small item?
4. Kind Regards
5. Sandra

In Example 32,, in a deliver information email, a male sender from the promotions agency responded to the female's request.

Example 32

Subject: Hampton court show orders

1. Hi Sandra,
2. I didn't put a XXX (product name) timer out, however someone else might have put
3. one out later. The only receipts we will have is if the customer paid by credit card.
4. We will need to know the date purchased, the number of the credit card used and how
5. much they paid (did they make any other purchases on the same transaction?). Jeremy
6. will have these receipts, unless they have already been returned to you.
7. Hope this gives some help.
8. Alan

At the end of his email, the male sender used a contractive (i.e. this) to anaphorically refer to the content of his message that had previously followed. In other words, the writer can essentially be taken as having said 'I hope my email helps'. In expressing such sentiment he discursively produced himself as a caring writer concerned with the needs of his reader. As an external supplier, the construction of such an identity would obviously be conducive to a positive working relationship with his client. There was one other similar example in the

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[61] A good example of a text external directive.

data from the male employees that warrants consideration. Example 33 occurred in the same chain as Example 29. Again the lengthy email chain was concerned with correcting information in a pricing document. In Example 33, a male sender in his second email[62] of the chain used a *text mention* to effectively apologise for the fragmented state of communication.

Example 33

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. Thank you Carol,
2. <u>Sorry</u> for feeding back in <u>bits and pieces</u>, just had a quick glance at XXX (company
3. name) <u>Unisaw price list</u> - <u>I think</u> <u>the formula</u> is not established <u>i.e.</u> not
4. showing net prices after discounts.
5. Best Regards
6. Ian

In the ordination of his spurious emails, the sender in the example above strategically managed the flow of the ongoing discourse by giving open recognition the tediousness of the communicative situation. In doing so, he can be seen to have displayed sensitivity to a moral order based on negative face i.e. the senior female interlocutor and her team should not ordinarily be overly bombarded with emails. Temporally, the *text mention* referred to the current email; retrospectively apologised for his previous email; and, signaled the potential for further emails (indeed four more emails followed). A similar use of *text mentions* will be seen in the data from the advertising agency discourse community.

In sum, both male and female senders largely displayed an orientation to facilitative modes of communication in their use of *text mentions*. This included, helpfully walking readers through the component parts of emails as well as providing additional information with regards to the content of component parts.

The final section under organizational metadiscourse will consider the use of *code glosses*.

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[62] He sent six emails in total.

Code glosses

Code glosses accounted for just 3% of organisational metadiscourse in the marketing department discourse community. Indeed, there were just three examples in the data from the male senders, and two examples in the data from the female senders. As already stated, *code glosses* are generally theorized as a reflection of the writer's presumed need to cater to a perceived lack of specific knowledge. Depending on the needs of the audience, the writer interjects on the text to reflexively define a term or concept. The relative underuse of such items, by senders in the marketing department, would suggest that senders were not likely to perceive a lack of knowledge in those with whom they communicated.

Closer examination of the data revealed that all three male *code glosses* reformulated discourse units; whilst the data from the female employees contained one reformulation *code gloss*, and one exemplification *code gloss*. In Example 34, reproduced in full in Example 33, a male agency side worker used a reformulation *code gloss*, in a request action email, to clarify the exact meaning of the target structure (i.e. not established).

Example 34

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. <u>I think</u> <u>the formula</u> is not established <u>i.e.</u> not showing net prices after discounts.

In the example above, the *code gloss* functioned so as to exhaustively define the target structure leaving no room for reader interpretation. This can be contrasted with Example 35. Example 35 occurred in a chain in which a female sender in the marketing department attempted to procure free online advertising from a retail partner[63]. In Example 35, a female sender who ran the marketing function of the retailer responded to a request (see Example 62 for original request).

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[63] The retail partner was a small (but national) garden retail brand with outlets across the UK.

Example 35

Subject: Website uploads

1. Hi Amanda,
2. Thank you for contacting me, yes i am the right person, please do send any
3. material (<u>video, additional images, content etc</u>)
4. I look forward to receiving these.
5. Thanks
6. Victoria

The female sender used exemplificatory material in a *code gloss* construction in order to further aid the reader's understanding of her request. In order to transmit her understanding of the vague target structure (i.e. any material), the writer effectively called upon the reader's background knowledge of the appositive exemplificatory material (i.e. video, additional images, content, etc). Such material would almost certainly have been known to the reader as part of her background professional knowledge. Marketers, after all, deal with such materials as part of their daily jobs roles. The *code gloss* therefore highlighted material that was conceptually available, but may not have been currently salient, in the reader's consciousness.

4.4.2. Summary: Gendered use of organisational metadiscourse in the marketing department

Again, the concept of use in the present thesis involved a consideration of both similarity and difference. Two aspects were primarily considered: frequency usage, and functional usage. The results above showed that the use of organisational metadiscourse in the marketing department was characterised by more similarity than difference.

In terms of similarity, males and females used an overall similar amount of organisational metadiscourse, as well as a similar amount of *frame markers*; *phorics*; *text mentions*; and *code glosses*. In other words, for the most part females displayed themselves as equally active in the management of their texts as males. Males and females also used *frame markers*, and *text mentions* in a functionally similar manner. The unmarked use of *text*

*mention*s whilst ultimately goal oriented was highly facilitative (i.e. also indexical of feminine modes of communication) in that both male and female senders referred to the text to aid reader comprehension.

In terms of difference, males used a significantly greater amount of *transitions*. In doing so, males displayed a strong propensity to signal consequential relations amongst propositions. Females did not show particular care for the expression of sentential/supra-sentential relations. As already discussed, this may have been the result of their relative status i.e. as clients they were not required to write carefully crafted, highly persuasive, emails. Indeed, many emails sent by the internal female employees were mono-propositional. Functionally, males used *phorics* in a self directed, and often self-promotional manner. Females often used *phorics* to mark the contribution of others (indexical of the female trait of generous recognition: Wolfson, 1984; Holmes, 1986; Berryman-Fink, 1997), and to refer to earlier parts of the email chain which could be taken as facilitating easier reader comprehension. Finally, females displayed a formal tendency to use exemplificatory appositive material in *code gloss* constructions.

The next section will consider the use of stance metadiscourse. Again, whilst the approach in the present thesis used Ä del (2006) for theoretical delimitation, a major deviation from the latter concerned the minimal inclusion of stance. Four markers were felt to be sufficiently reflexive to warrant inclusion: *uncertainty markers*; *certainty markers*; *attitude markers*, and *self mentions*[64]. In other words, all four markers included for analysis involved the metalingual function.

4.4.3. Gendered use of stance metadiscourse in the marketing department

In terms of overall use, the respective sexes used a similar amount of stance metadiscourse. In terms of individual markers, male senders used significantly more *certainty markers*; female sender exclusively used *(un)certainty markers*.

As already noted in Chapter 2, the subjective qualification involved in *(un)certainty markers* was regarded as reflexive under the approach taken in the present thesis. The explicit

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[64] *Self mentions* can effectively be found under the writer-reader interaction categories in Adel (2006).

evidential qualification involved in such predicates was seen as exclusively emanating from the writer persona: 'the use of the mental state predicates leaves no doubt about who is responsible for the epistemic evaluation' (Nuyts, 2001: 113). Furthermore, as will be seen the explicit expression of mental state predicates often serves important discourse roles i.e. more than just a qualification role (Coates, 1987; Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer, 2007; Cornillie and Pietrandrea, 2012). The next two sections will consider the use of *(un)certainty markers* in the marketing department discourse community.

Uncertainty markers

Female employees exclusively used *uncertainty markers* in the marketing department discourse community. Example 36 occurred in the same email chain as Examples 31 and 32 above. Again, the chain concerned a customer claim of non-delivery. In Example 36, a female sender essentially discontinued her investigation of the issue with the promotions agency that had managed the garden show activity. She directly addressed one male from the promotions agency, although two other males were copied.

Example 36

Subject: Hampton Court Show orders

1. Hi Alan,
2. Until he calls again, there isn't much else we can do. I need to speak to him as <u>I</u>
3. <u>feel maybe </u>there's been some crossed wires along the way with all the
4. messengers involved. Don't worry about it now, I will resolve it, thank you for
5. your help.
6. Kind Regards
7. Sandra

The female sender used an *uncertainty marker* in line 1-2 to express an opinion with regards to confusion that had resulted from a series of email exchanges. The two juxtaposed hedging devices (i.e. the clausal expression 'I feel[65]', and the modal 'maybe') were counted as one

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[65] Every marker was contextually analysed as to whether it expressed relative certainty or uncertainty. In accordance with positions in Lyons (1977); Hyland (1998; 2005; 2008) and Khabbazi-Oskouie (2013) as well as

uncertainty marker. I would argue that the *uncertainty marker* in the example above primarily served politeness concerns. If the sender's insinuation had been expressed as a categorical statement[66] it could have been construed as an attack on the positive face of her interlocutors i.e. they were incapable of providing help and thus at fault. Through the expression of the *uncertainty marker*, the female sender weakened the strength of her insinuation. The use of the clausal expression (i.e. I feel) bracketed the insinuation as based more on her subjective feelings, and less on objective reality: 'the subjective evidential meaning of the mental state predicate suggests that what is said is the speakers own personal opinion, and need not be shared by other people' (Nuyts, 2001: 165). In other words, the female sender provided redressive room for the copied parties to resist any offence (Brown and Levinson, 1987). In the remainder of the email she worked so as to express affiliative sentiment: note her reassurance in line 4 (i.e. don't worry) and her expression of gratitude (i.e. thank you for your help).

Example 37 occurred in the same chain as Examples 22 and 23 above. Again, the commercial context was one in which feedback from a consumer research exercise suggested that the company website would benefit from the use of better imagery. In the chain initiator a female sender requested images from various members of the company (see Example 22). She further directed her readers to contact a subordinate female if they had any relevant imagery. In Example 37, a female sender responded to the subordinate female with a suggested source of images.

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consideration of the context, the clausal expression Í feel' in the example above was judged as an *uncertainty marker*.

[66] i.e. I need to speak to him as there's been some crossed wires along the way with all the messengers involved

Example 37

Subject: XXX (product name) Product Information

1. Hi Sandra
2. <u>Just a thought – last time we spoke I seem to remember </u>you saying Nathan had
3. a whole load of images for XXX (outdoor media owner) – possible use for the
4. homepage?
5. Nathan can you confirm if you did upload some images onto their ftp and what they
6. were.
7. It might then be a case of reminding Dave S about these plus adding any others.
8. Thanks
9. Amanda

The female sender used two hedging devices (counted as one metadiscursive unit) to deliver information. The female sender marked her subjective sense of uncertainty with reference to both a fleeting thought (i.e. just a thought), and a vague memory[67]. In doing so, she converted the proposition into a mere opinion. Hedges (including mental state predicates) have been well identified as resources commonly drawn upon by women in order to provide a degree of protection from evidential counter-claims (Lakoff 1974; Baker, 1975; Herring, 1992). Interestingly, the female sender copied Nathan (i.e. a second potential source of challenge) into the email, which suggests that the device was indeed intended to provide an element of protection.

The next section will consider *certainty markers*. I should remind the reader again, that *certainty markers* were not regarded as having the ability to inflate a proposition such that it has an epistemic strength greater than a simple bald statement (Abdi et al, 2010; Van Dijk, 2008; Lyons, 1977). In other words, any qualification of the I-say-so (or neustic component in Lyons, 1977) was regarded as weaker than a simple categorical, unmitigated, statement. According to such a view, the difference between *uncertainty* and *certrainty markers* involved a different degree of tentativeness.   As we will see throughout the three

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[67] The reader may also notice that the sender also identified the source of the information (i.e. the direct addressee). Again, in agreement with Adel (2006) reported speech was regarded as intertextual not metadiscursive in the present thesis

communities, the most interesting thing to consider is the slip of uncertainty allowed by *certainty markers*.

Certainty markers

Men used significantly more *certainty markers* per 1000 words than women in the marketing department discourse community. This finding was consistent with other studies that have shown a greater male propensity to use more *certainty markers*[68] (Crismore, 1993; Francis et al, 2001, Tse and Hyland, 2008). In Example 38, in a amend email, a male sender requested a change of format.

Example 38

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. Thank you, Carol. <u>I think</u> I would prefer <u>net prices</u> after <u>discounts column</u> , as XXX
2. (European brand name) and XXX (European brand name) are taking full trucks,
3. otherwise <u>I think </u>the cost of transportation will be too high compared to cost of goods.
4. Central europe are very price sensitive, don't want to upset the apple cart .
5. Best Regards,
6. Ian

In the use of two *certainty markers*, the sender expressed a high degree of certainty (although not a bald statement) in relation to his preference for a certain format. In line 1, the first utterance (i.e. I think I would…) can be understood as utilising reflexive and object communication for the achievement of politeness. The articulation of the object proposition (i.e. 'I would prefer…') can itself be taken as a redressive politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Ho, 2011) i.e. an indirect request. The redressive nature of the request was further compounded through the use of the reflexive *certainty marker* 'I think' which converted a categorical statement into a personal opinion and allowed for greater manoeuvre by the reader. The second *certainty marker* (i.e. I think, in line 2) occurred in a grounder construction which offered a further reason for the previous request[69] i.e. the undiscounted

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[68] Although those studies counted a wider range of markers than the current study.
[69] Note the presentation of a consequential relation in line 2 i.e. otherwise.

prices would appear too high. Interestingly, whilst the utterance in line 3 was expressed as a personal opinion (albeit a strong one), it was bolstered by a subsequent categorical statement about the central European market (see line 4).

 A good deal of literature highlights the normatively feminine practice of using less direct discourse strategies as a means of achieving request satisfaction (Gleason, 1982; West, 1995; Hanak, 1998; Holmes, 2006). The male in the example above clearly oriented towards such a mode of communication. However, despite his conversational labour, the sender ultimately failed to achieve satisfaction. In Example 39, a female sender lightly rebuffed the male's request.

Example 39

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. Hi Ian,
2. <u>If you can just amend</u> <u>the document</u> to whichever format you prefer that's fine –we
3. will just pass it on to XXX (retail brand).
4. Thanks
5. Carol

The following three examples were also taken from the same chain as Examples 38 and 39. The following three examples occurred later in the chain. The three examples raise interesting lines of speculation with regards to the appropriate use of gendered discourse norms in the commercial environment.   Example 40 occurred in the same chain as Examples 38 and 39. In Example 40 a male sender joined the conversation in order to support the position advocated by another male (see Example 2 above) with regards to a delay in price discounts.

Example 40

Subject: 2014 Pricing

1. Carol,
2. We need a delay or flexibility with discount in value. Currently
3. $299,871 is projected in XXX (proprietary system name) for one order of XXX
4. (garden furniture brand name). <u>I expect</u> the order to be within one truck load so the
5. discounts will pull a lot of value out of the deal unless I close before calendar
6. date.
7. Nathan

The *certainty marker* in line 4 worked with other aspects of the email to index behaviour normatively coded as masculine i.e. direct and transactionally focused. In line 1, the male sender first used a bald and direct salutation formula (i.e. Carol). He then rearticulated Ian's earlier position (see Example 2 above) in stronger terms i.e. as a forceful need statement suggesting a price delay or greater flexibility was imperative (Ervin-Tripp, 1976). After discussing a high value deal not yet closed, he used a *certainty marker* (line 4, i.e. I expect) to express a strong opinion with regards to the size of the order. Interestingly, Carol was seemingly positioned in a combative sense, even though she had not overtly refused the call for a price delay. As is apparent in Example 41, earlier in the chain Carol had merely highlighted the fact that this was going to be a problem.

Example 41

Subject: 2014 Pricing

1. Hi Ian
2. We will have the same situation with lots of retailers where we have a contract based
3. on calendar year pricing.
4. Thanks
5. Carol

Tannen (1990, 1995) details how female conversational partners often cement solidarity through the sharing of trouble. It could be argued that in the example above the sender (i.e. Carol) actually expressed a degree of solidarity (i.e. we are all in this together). She can also be seen as having displayed a greater tolerance of ambiguity, also associated as feminine traits of behaviour (Paglia, 1990). In contrast, the male senders (i.e. Ian and Nathan) assertively pushed for a solution (as was apparent in Examples 4 and 40 above). This may have driven antagonism towards Carol. In contrast to the assertive orientation of the male sender in Example 40, the male sender in the following example displayed a more affiliative orientation. Example 42 occurred in response to Example 41. In Example 42, a third male sender entered the conversation in order to resolve concerns raised in regards to the company's ability to concert a delayed pricing strategy.

Example 42

Subject: 2014 Pricing

1. Hi Both[70],
2. Re: price changes, <u>I believe</u> it requires some formal action, like verifying copies in
3. London Chamber of Commerce, so the prices will have to be supplied to clients later.
4. Cheers
5. Phil

In line 2, the male sender explicitly signaled that his email related to the issue of price changes. He then used a *certainty marker* to essentially offer a helpful opinion. Even though the *certainty marker* weakened the epistemic strength of the proposition, the male sender still displayed himself as able to provide a strong opinion regarding technical legal knowledge. Furthermore, the opinion allayed concerns regarding the date of operation. In his attempt to de-escalate the communicative situation, I would argue that the male displayed an orientation towards behaviour traditionally coded as feminine (i.e. conciliatory).

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[70] Three parties (i.e. Carol, Ian, and Nathan) were copied in the 'To field' of the address bar meaning the direct addressee was not clear. Given that Ian and Nathan had requested the price delay perhaps it is possible to infer that the males were the intended direct addressees.

Again, Example 40, 41, and 42 invite an interesting line of speculation with regards to the role of affiliative and assertive forms of communication. As noted in Chapter 2, assertive communication is sometimes looked upon in a negative light. I would argue that there was a legitimate role for the assertiveness in Examples 40 and 4. Most commercial organisations exist for the maximization of profit. Carol's ambiguity in Example 41 with regards to the confirmation or rejection of the proposed solution potentially threatened the profit margin of a number of orders. The profit motive thus necessitated pushing Nathan's pushing of the issue (see Example 40), and Ian's earlier effective usurpation of the topic of the chain (originally concerned with the validity of pricing information: see Example 2). An important point to grasp here concerns the role of assertiveness. As will become apparent, assertiveness where used by males or females has a role within the modern corporation. As do more affiliatively oriented forms of communication as in Example 42.   Again, affiliative and assertive modes of communication can both perform legitimate roles dependent upon the contextual coordinates of the communicative situation.

The two examples of *certainty markers* used by women, in the marketing department, involved relationship focused propositions (i.e. affiliative). This finding is consistent with findings elsewhere in the literature (Tse and Hyland, 2008).   Example 43 occurred in a second email chain concerned with the missing customer order detailed in Examples 31, 32, and 36. In Example 43, reproduced in full, the same female sender launched a second internally focused investigation into the discovery the missing customer order. Having discovered the original email sent on the subject, the female sender wrote directly to a male colleague that had authored the email. She also copied both of their direct supervisors.

Example 43

Subject: Hampton court

1. I understand you took the initial call for these missing items. Do you have any
2. more details for Mr XXX (customer name)?

She dispensed with opening salutation formulae, and opened her email with the meta-cognitive reference 'I understand'.   Even though it was negative, the example still concerned an affiliative relationship between the sender and the receiver. The discursive relationship

was essentially one of accuser and accused, enacted by the sender through the declarative object proposition, and the judicious nature of the meta-component. Even though she used a *certainty marke*r, her choice still allowed space (however slight) for a possible retort. In a sense, the meta-component comprised the only redressive action within the accusative email (which again was made in the presence of two other parties).

Aguilar (2008) argues that interpersonal metadiscourse[71] is often embedded within primary discourse such that it cannot be removed without alteration of the meaning. This can very clearly be seen in relation to the *uncertainty markers* considered thus far. Omission of any of the devices above would fundamentally change the value of the object propositions to which they apply. For instance, omission of the meta-component, in Example 43, would convert the truth value of the proposition such that it would be based on the addressee having taken the call. Explication of the meta-component, however, converted the truth of the utterance such that it was based on the sender having merely believed the addressee took the call. In other words, the truth value of the proposition moved closer to the sender/writer persona (Langford, 1986) through the expression of the meta-component. In such cases, it is very possible for the meta-component to be true and the object proposition to be false.

The other example in the data from the female senders involved an interesting discourse strategy. Example 44 occurred in a chain in which arrangements were made ahead of an annual yearly review. The meeting required three days out of the office. In Example 44, a junior female wrote to two seniors in order to request clarification as to whether she was required to attend the event.

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[71] Which would include the restrictive class of stance markers I have included here.

Example 44

Subject: Game Runners - the event

1. Hello Amanda and Carol
2. Sorry to be a bother, but Tariq has messaged asking me to confirm attendance for the
3. away day event. He has put my name on the attendees list – should I confirm or is the
4. London meeting for management only?
5. Thanks,
6. Fiona

In Example 45, a female sender responded to the subordinate female.

Example 45

Subject: Game Runners - the event

1. <u>I think </u>it would be a poorer day without you ☺ so yes please book your tickets!
2. Sandra and Jez will also attend -If anything it'll be a good chance for the three of you
3. to get some face time with XXX (creative agency name) and have an input on the
4. strategic projects coming up. I will present on the budget and sales targets for
   2013/2014 – I might need your help pulling the pres[72] together.
5. A

In line 1, the female sender used a *certainty marker* (i.e. 'I think') in relation to the object level proposition (i.e. it would be a poorer day without you). As argued above, the explicit expression of the subjective dimension converts a proposition into a personal opinion. Interestingly, the addition of the meta-component (i.e. I think) theoretically injected the utterance with a degree of ambiguity. Such logic runs thus: even though the sender marked certainty, she still chose to hold back from the expression of a categorical statement. In other words, in disclosing the object proposition (i.e. it would be a poorer day without you) as her distinct subjective opinion, she weakened (however slightly) the strength of the object proposition. In doing so, she gave rise to the possibility of the following interpretation: I think (implication: but not everyone else does) it would be a poorer day without you. Put

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[72] Taken as shorthand for presentation.

another way, the sender can be taken to have said that she alone thought the junior's presence would enrich the day, but did not regard this as a common held view within the community. I would argue that this was not in fact the sender's intended meaning.

Subjective qualification often occurs in situations where speaker/hearer disagreement arises or is perceived to have the potential to arise (Nuyts, 2001). In other words, where the speaker disagrees with something the hearer has previously said then the speaker often marks his or her disagreement with a mental state predicate. That is a more common sense interpretation of the meta-component in Example 45. The meta-component functioned to express the sender's personal appreciation of the subordinate worker. The lack of paralinguistic factors available in spoken language, like intonation contours, may explain the female sender's use of other meaning making devices. For instance, the emoticon and the exclamation marker in line 1 further intensified the sender's positive sentiment towards the direct addressee. In lines 4-5 she also expressed the possibility of needing help in the production of a presentation which again would suggest that the sender valued the addressee. Baxter (2010) discusses the fact that some studies have shown senior females as unsupportive towards subordinate females (Sunderland, 2004; Mullany, 2007). In terms of actual behaviour, senior females in the marketing department discourse community displayed the opposite behaviour i.e. were particularly supportive of subordinates (both female and male). Example 45 is a clear example of such behaviour, as are Examples 48 and 49 below.

The next section will consider the use of *attitude markers*. As already discussed, *attitude markers* were not regarded as inherently discursive therefore they were required to explicitly involve the metalingual function to be included as metadiscourse. In other words, the markers disclosed the sender's affective attitude to an aspect of the reflexive triangle.

Attitude Markers

The results showed that female and male senders used a similar amount of *attitude markers*. The most popular *attitude marker* used by male and female employees within the marketing department discourse community was the politeness marker 'please' used in conjunction with *directives.* Indeed, 7 of the 11 *attitude markers* from the male employees involved such use; 18 of the 37 examples from the female employees involved such use. As highlighted by

Sloan (1984) some markers have a strong propensity to appear in clusters; for this reason the micro-level *attitude marker* 'please' will be considered along with *directives* (see engagement section below).

Backchannels (i.e. units that imparted affective evaluation in relation to the previous email) were the second most frequent form of attitudinal metadiscourse used by male and female employees. Males used backchannel *attitude markers* quite narrowly i.e. to backchannel gratitude. This may accord with the notion that males give positive feedback in more subtle ways (Tannen, 1995). In Example 46, reproduced in full, a male sender expressed gratitude to one of his colleagues for responding to an earlier email.

Example 46

Subject: International Pricing

1. <u>Thanks</u> for the <u>update</u>

In the example above the metalingual function was satisfied by the sender's explicit mention of the text (i.e. the update).

Female employees also used *attitude markers* for the same purposes as their male counterparts i.e. to backchannel gratitude (8 of the 15 macro-level *attitude markers* involved the expression of thanks). A noticeable difference between male and female employees was the fact that the latter used *attitude markers* to express a wider range of affective sentiment at the macro-level. Example 47 occurred in a chain concerned with social media content. A female agent had attended a garden event and secured promotional coverage for the agency by a leading garden blogger. In Example 47, in a propose email, the female agent initiated the chain and delivered the positive news to her client.

Example 47

Subject: XXX (media brand name) Charity Garden

1. Hi Margaret,
2. I visited the XXX (media brand name) Charity Garden and had a lovely morning.
3. I have taken some great images of the garden show and Steve S using our XXX
4. (brand name) product. I will create an album on XXX's Facebook too. Also, Steve
5. had kindly said he will produce a testimonial for the XXX (company name) – he is a
6. massive fan of this product!
7. He will be showcasing the garden soon as an open day and will have all the XXX
8. brand name) products out –demonstrating their uses and to make the point that XXX
9. (brand name) helped with the watering. He would love it if XXX (company name)
10. could provide their brochures –a box full- to hand out to visitors, if this would be
11. possible?
12. <u>I look forward to your thoughts</u>
13. Kind Regards
14. Sheridan

The personal pronouns in lines 2, 3, and 4 were not regarded as metadiscursive as they pertained to the individual within the object world. The final personal pronoun in line 12 was regarded as a *self mention* as it anticipated a future act within the world of discourse (i.e. the reader's response). The female entered the text in order to provide encouragement to her reader (similar examples can be found in Example 62 line 9, and Example 63 line 3). Such behaviour could be interpreted in light of the literature that conceives of women as performing the role of conversational coach (Fishman, 1983).

 Females also used *attitude markers* to express evaluative feedback, as in the following two examples. In Example 48, reproduced in full, a female sender responded to news that a subordinate worker had taken initiative action on a project.

Example 48

Subject: 2014 PRICE LISTS

1. <u>Good</u> to hear!

The sender in the example above used an *attitude marker* to backchannel evaluative commentary. Similarly, in Example 49 a female sender used an *attitude marker* (i.e. good) to positively ordain her interlocutor's previous email (see Example 24).

Example 49

Subject: XXX (retail brand)

1. <u>Good</u> call.
2. Please liaise with Sandra if you need us to send a sample product.

Such behaviour could be interpreted in the light of the literature produced by the likes of Wolfson (1984), Holmes (1989) and Tannen (1995) which conceives of women as more likely to give positive feedback and praise to co-workers. As already discussed in Chapter 2, the use of backchannels by women has been interpreted as a form of disempowerment, but such a view may be revised for a number of reasons. Firstly, I would argue that whether positive, neutral, or negative, the expression of evaluative feedback is an act of assertion. The individual who expresses such feedback presents themselves as having the right to evaluate the significance of the interaction (Holmes: 2006). Furthermore, the individual who expresses evaluative pronouncements exercises power over those to whom the judgement applies. In saying something is good; the individual surely discloses the power to withdraw such an endorsement, or even express a contrary position (i.e. pronounce a negative evaluation). Secondly, the kind of evaluative feedback, contained in the example above, when used in an explicitly positive sense, may well have furnished the individual sender with positive perceptual attributes like alacrity, as well as allowing her to display an ability to maintain the espirit de corps (Fletcher, 1999).

Thus far, attention has been given to the use of relatively positive *attitude markers*, but what of *attitude markers* that did not carry positive overtones? Whilst there were no examples of overtly negative *attitude markers* in the data from the male employees, there was one such example in the data from the female employees. The following series of emails are particularly pertinent in demonstrating the fluidity in which males and females use assertive and affiliative modes of communication. Examples 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, and 55 occurred in a chain concerned with the production of a weekly business performance report. The chain was initiated by a senior female (see Example 21) who asked a number of team heads to check the validity of the information within the document. In Example 50, a senior male sender requested information as to why certain data was not included in the final draft of the report.

Example 50

Subject: Status Report

1. Thank you, Carol, and Fifi.
2. <u>Can I just ask</u> what has happened to the <u>pipeline data</u>?
3. Best Regards
4. Ian

In making such a request the male displayed behaviour traditionally coded as relatively feminine (i.e. expressed gratitude in line 1, and used an indirect request formula in line 2). However, the female sender's response showed that the issue was regarded as rather contentious.

Example 51

Subject: Status Report

1. Ian, we've talked about this already.
2. As agreed prospects will be reported by sales, we will only report actual monthly
3. billings data.
4. <u>Can you check</u> <u>XXX (brand name) data</u> is matching. I want to make sure we are
5. pulling data from the correct spreadsheet.
6. Carol

In the example above the female displayed a strong orientation towards a normatively masculine style of communication, i.e. direct and combative. In line 1, the female sender used an intertextual reference[73] to effectively dismiss the male sender's request (i.e. we've talked about this already). In line 4, she then repeated her original request before closing with a bald valediction formula.

In Example 52, the male responded.

Example 52

Subject: Status Report

1. Hi Carol,
2. We agreed it would be best for all parties that actual and prospective data be
3. consolidated into <u>one monthly report</u>. That way we can plan resource effectively,
4. direct efforts etc etc.
5. Regards
6. Ian

In response, the male sender shifted to a more normatively masculine mode of communication. In line 1, he opened his email with a relatively warm opening salutation formula. However, in line 2 he made an intertextual reference that openly contradicted the account of the agreement given by his female interlocutor. It should be remembered all

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[73] It was not clear where the previous discussion had taken place.

emails used in the present thesis occurred in a group email context. In other words, the male sender publically contested the position of an equally senior colleague (i.e. indexical of assertive behaviour). From a first wave politeness perspective, this could be construed as a direct attack upon the senior female's face.

Example 53, reproduced in full, contains the senior female's response.

Example 53

Subject: Status Report

1. We have limited resources for <u>this report</u>. Consolidating <u>this amount of data</u>
2. already takes considerable time. Unless greater resource is given over to data
3. consolidation, this is a <u>pointless</u> <u>discussion</u>!
4. Can you confirm XXX (brand name) is correct for this month?

The female sender dispensed with all forms of structural politeness and launched directly into delivering a retort. Her use of short, staccato like, sentences with minimal modification were indexical of an authoritative style. In line 3, she expressed metadiscursive attitude towards the current email chain. The discursive production of the email chain as 'pointless' was an openly combative attack upon her interlocutor (Ong, 1981); he was after all the party driving the (pointless) discussion. She closed the email by once again repeating her original request.

Interestingly, the male sender discontinued the escalating aggressiveness by orienting towards a more conciliatory position (see Example 72). He continued to hold such an orientation throughout the remainder of the chain. In Example 54 the same male sender featured in Example 50 and 52 proposed two solutions (lines 2-5), delivered information and made a request. (lines 6-7)

Example 54

Subject: Status Report

1. Dear Carol,
2. When the client places orders over 10k it would be best for you to be the point of
3. contact to inform them of flexible price negotiations with sales?
4. We can maintain information in 'Column y'with monthly net price updates for orders
5. below 10k threshold.
6. Epicentre pricing is matching fine, I would ask to add it into the main sheet for Feb price
7. list.
8. How does that sound?
9. Best
10. Ian

The male sender's orientation towards a more conciliatory mode of behaviour is evident throughout the email above, e.g. formal and respectful salutation and valediction formulae (lines 1, and 9); indirect language throughout, e.g. confirmation seeking (in line 8).

In Example 55, reproduced in full, the female sender conceded a number of positions after failing to apportion responsibility to her interlocutor's team. The female used the copy and paste function to entextualise content from her interlocutor's previous email. She then added the *attitude marker* 'fine', after each entextualised point[74].

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[74] Referred to as verbal echoes in Smart (2016).

Example 55

Subject: Status Report

1. When client places orders over 10K it would be best for you to be the point of
2. contact to inform them of flexible prices negotiable with sales. Fine.

3. We can maintain information in 'column Y' with monthly net price updates for
4. orders below 10k threshold. <u>Fine.</u>

5. XXX (product name) pricing is matching, I would ask to add it into main sheet for
6. Feb price list. <u>Fine.</u>

The first *attitude marker* (i.e., fine, line 2) was not regarded as having fulfilled the
metalingual function. It was not explicitly clear that the female sender was expressing stance
in relation to an object within the (current) reflexive triangle. The marker could, however, be
considered recursive in the sense that it involved the embedding of one unit within another.
The markers in lines 4 and 6 were counted as borderline cases of metadiscourse as there is a
clear case to be made that the sender expressed affective stance towards something within the
reflexive triangle. The marker in line 4 expressed affective stance towards the future
maintenance of a specific column of the current report. The marker in line 6 expressed
affective stance towards a text-internal directive. I would argue that 'fine' was used in a
defensive sense, in as much as the sender, in concession of responsibility, reclaimed some
degree of power through the expression of stance.

In Examples 50-55, the female sender displayed a pronouncedly assertive orientation; whilst
the male sender displayed a pronouncedly affiliative orientation. This raised a number of
interesting speculative points with regards to the double bind (see Chapter 2, sub-section
2.7.5). According to the double bind, in the display of behaviour traditionally coded as
masculine (i.e. aggressive challenge) the female sender may have undermined her femininity
and popularity (Stratham, 1987; Wajcman, 1998; Jones, 2000; Holmes, 2006; Baxter, 2010).
Whilst the present study is silent on how the copied parties in the email chain perceived the

sender, a number of problematic points with regards to the general premise of the double bind can be raised. Firstly, as will be seen, purely assertive modes of communication were rare in the data, when they were present there was no obvious gender skew. This could be indicative of a lack of fear with regards to the use of such language amongst female senders. Secondly, it should not be assumed that all acts of assertion by females necessarily impact upon popularity. The senior female sender's behaviour, i.e. assertively arguing her point, may well have proven popular with her team (after all she was attempting to rebut responsibility for additional work on their behalf). Furthermore, in the absence of a genuine bias against women (i.e. if the same act is evaluated differently according to the gender of the person who commits it) it could be argued that leadership often involves unpopularity. In other words, leaders, regardless of sex, often have to do things that prove unpopular with employees.

Did the male sender undermine his masculinity? Males are supposedly caught in the double bind as much as females in that behaviour that transgresses gendered norms supposedly leads to negative evaluations (Nieva and Gutek, 1980; Stratham, 1987). Again, a number of points can be raised both in relation to the specific examples above as well as the wider data in all three communities. Firstly, both male and female senders predominantly used normatively feminine language. This could be taken as indicative of a lack of fear with regards to the use of such language amongst male senders. Secondly, whilst the male sender in the example above used normatively feminine language in a combative situation, he ultimately secured a number of concessions through the use of affiliative modes of communication. Regardless of the double bind, as will be seen, male and female senders (of all ranks) displayed a wide repertoire of gendered discourse (Case, 1988; Holmes, 2006; Ladegaard, 2011). If the double bind does exist, researchers could potentially look into whether males or females in today's workplace care about such invidious prejudice.

The next section will consider the use of *self mentions* by the respective genders in the marketing department. The markers allow senders to make themselves explicitly visible within the text.

Self mentions

As explained in Chapter 3, a broad distinction was made between two aspects of the metadiscursive self: the aspect that indexes, what I term, the authorial self (i.e. the aspect of the self which adds to the world of discourse); and the aspect of the metadiscursive self that indexes, what I term, the acquirer self (i.e. the aspect of the self which seeks to acquire knowledge or a form of textual action within the world of discourse).

Male and female employees used a similar amount of *self mentions*. Functionally, the genders displayed different behavior with regards to the aspect of the metadiscursive self they preferred to index. Females showed a roughly equal propensity to index the acquirer self, i.e. as needing help within the world of discourse (18 of the 34 *self mention*s from the female employees involved such a use); and the authorial self i.e. as a source of knowledge (16 of the 34 *self mentions* involved such use). In contrast, males most frequently indexed the authorial self (15 of the 21 examples involved such a use).

Again, in 18 of the 34 *self mentions* used by female employees indexed authorial aspect of the metadiscursive self; 11 of these expressed a position towards the text (see Example 56); 7 involved the explicit performance of a textual act (see Examples 57, 58, 59).

Five of the eleven *self mentions* used by female employees to express a position towards the text involved *(un)certainty markers*. Again, Example 55 occurred in a chain concerned with the arrangement of instore promotional activity. In Example 56 a female sender communicated to her client. She entered the text in order to express a subjective view as to who would be responsible for the organisation of a potential promotional exercise.

Example 56

Subject: XXX (retailer name)

1. They are very interested in a sales rep attending the store over the August bank
2. holiday – <u>I guess</u> this is something you would need to set up.

Asides from the use of *uncertainty markers* to express opinions, there was a noticeable tendency for female employees to index themselves as senders/constructors of the current

text (7 *self mentions* involved such use). In Example 57, reproduced in full in Example 15, the female sender walked her readers through a number of attachments.

Example 57

Subject: 2014 PRICE LISTS

1. As you will now be managing XXX (brand name) as well as XXX (brand name) I
2. have also included their Price List plus a copy of the standard International Price
3. List.

In helpfully explaining the various attachments to her interlocutors, the female sender displayed an orientation towards a facilitative style of communication (indexical of normatively feminine modes of communication). In line 1 above, the female sender explicitly indexed herself as the constructor of the current text. I would argue that in doing so she presented herself as a helpful messenger.

Example 58 occurred in a chain concerned with a customer's complaint concerning missing instructions. The chain initiator (see Example 69 below) contained a request for one set of missing instructions. It subsequently transpired that a number of the same product had been sold without instructions. In Example 58, a female sender from the customer service department requested physical delivery of a batch of missing instructions.

Example 58

Subject: Instructions AC4 2707

1. Hi Fiona,
2. Thanks -the instructions were well received. I attach three further complaints
3. we have received about missing instructions for XXX (product name). Would it
4. be possible to get a batch of instructions sent over for XXX (product name)?
5. Thanks,
6. Naomi

In a pre-request line, the female sender indexed herself as the constructor of the current email (i.e. I attach, line 2). In doing so, she essentially provided a grounder for the subsequent request in lines 3-4 (indexical of feminine modes of communication). In Example 59, the addressee of the previous example responded.

Example 59

Subject: Instructions AC4 2707

1. Hi Naomi,
2. I'm in a soaking wet XXX (British city name) all week –the joy of store visits! I'm
3. copying Sandra in the hope that she can help you get this straightened out.
4. Thanks
5. Fiona

In line 2, the female sender indexed herself as the constructor of the current message. In doing so, she copied another party (i.e. Sandra) who could provide help (again, indexical of facilitative behaviour). I do not want to pre-empt the remainder of the results in the other sections, but as will be seen, the presentation of the self as a helpful messenger (what I call the 'Hermes effect') was a consistent gender difference in the various data sets. There were no such examples in the male data. Males, of course, attached documents, copied additional parties e.t.c. but they did not make themselves explicitly visible when performing such acts.

As already stated, female employees used *self mentions* to acquire knowledge or secure textual action in 16 of the 34 examples. Such constructions often involved *directives* (8 of the 16 examples involved such a use: see Example 60) and/or *attitude markers* (as in line 9 Example 62 below). Example 60 occurred in a chain that was concerned with the compilation of international pricing documents. In Example 60 reproduced in full in Example 73 below, a female sender initiated the chain by writing to a senior male and two of his subordinates.

Example 60

Subject: International pricing

1. Can you also send <u>me</u> the raw file for your team updates? I need to input them ASAP.

In the example above, the female sender explicitly entered the text as part of a *directive* construction that requested her interlocutors send her a specific data file. In doing so, she explicitly indexed herself as entering the world of discourse in order to acquire information (i.e. the data file). Likewise, in Example 61, reproduced in full in Example 44, a female junior asked her supervisors if she should confirm her attendance for an offsite two day meeting.

Example 61

Subject: Game Runners

1. …should <u>I confirm</u> or is the London meeting for management only?

Example 60 and 61 occurred in the same chain. As explained earlier, the chain concerned the procurement of free media space. Under such an arrangement the marketing department would supply digital material that would be featured on the retail partner's website. In Example 62, the chain initiator, a female sender from the marketing department directly addressed the marketing representative of the retail partner[75].

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[75] She also copied the party (i.e. Sheila) that had given her the contact details of the marketing representative.

Example 62

Subject: Website uploads

1. Good Morning Victoria,
2. I hope you are well?
3. Following a meeting we had at our XXX head office with Sheila last week, she very
4. kindly provided me with your contact details.
5. I presented <u>the attached</u> <u>slide</u> and mentioned that we have great content to enhance
6. your user experience online for various different products.
7. <u>Are you the right person to talk to about this</u> and if so how do we go about getting
8. these uploaded on your site to benefit your consumers?
9. <u>I look forward to your feedback on this.</u>
10. Many Thanks
11. Amanda

Amongst other things, the female sender requested information as to whether the addressee was 'the right person to talk to'. In line 9, she indexed the acquisitive aspect of her metadiscursive self in order to provide encouragement to her interlocutor. Example 63, reproduced in full in Example 35, contains the external female's response.

Example 63

Subject: Website uploads

1. Thank you for contacting <u>me</u>, yes <u>i am </u>the right person, please do send any material
2. (video, additional images, content etc)
3. <u>I</u> look forward to receiving these.

The example above shows how fluidly senders can index different aspects of the discursive self. The first *self mention* (i.e. me, line 1) expressed gratitude for a textual act (i.e. contact). The second (i.e. 'i', line 1) echoed the previous question (i.e. are you the right person to talk to) and identified the sender as a discursive self within the current world of discourse. Both primarily supplied knowledge, and so were taken as having indexed the authorial aspect of

the self. The sender then directed the reader to send any relevant material. The third *self mention* (i.e. I, line 3), in the pre-closing line, echoed the request for material and so was taken as having primarily indexed the acquisitive aspect of the discursive self.

In contrast to female employees, males used a relatively greater proportion of *self mentions* in constructions that indexed the authorial aspect of the metadiscursive self (15 of the 21 male examples involved such use): 6 of these occurred in conjunction with *certainty markers* (as in Examples 38, 40, 42). In Example 64, reproduced in full in Example 42, a male sender used the personal pronoun 'I' in an *certainty marker* construction to express an opinion with regards to legal obligations.

Example 64

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. I believe it requires some formal action, like verifying copies in London Chamber of
2. Commerce, so the prices will have to be supplied to clients later.

As we have already seen, males also indexed the authorial aspect of their metadiscursive self by marking personal agency in *phoric* constructions as well as acts undertaken in the world of discourse. In Example 65, reproduced in full in Example 8, a senior male sender made a number of requests of a senior female.

Example 65

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. I have checked all the prices…
2. …Also, as the hose price for XXX (Garden supplies retailer) was missing I modified
3. the 2013 prices.

In the opening section of his email the male sender disclosed the fact that he had checked all of the prices in the document previously sent. In the closing section of his email, the male sender detailed a textual act he had executed (i.e. modified a component part of the current

text). The apparent strategy of self-promotion may have been secondary to another strategy: namely persuasion. The utterance came at the end of an email that contained two requests for action (i.e. changes to a report); the email chain contained five emails from the same sender with similar requests. In the explicit statement of acts undertaken in the world of discourse the sender may have attempted to orient towards what Leech (1983) refers to as the tact maxim. In other words, he highlighted a beneficial[76] deed he had undertaken in the world of discourse. A similar example can be found in Example 8, line 2 above.

Male employees did not enter into the text in order to acquire knowledge or secure textual action as much as their female counterparts: 6 of the 21 examples from the male senders involved such use. Example 66 occurred in a chain concerned with the validity of information contained in a business performance report. As has already been explored in Examples 50-55 the chain subsequently escalated into an argument over the inclusion of certain data. In Example 66, a male sender responded to the initiator.

Example 66

Subject: Status Report

1. Thank you, Carol, and Fifi.
2. Can I just ask what has happened to the pipeline data?
3. Best Regards
4. Ian

The male sender ignored the female's previous request to confirm that the report was pulling from the correct data source, and instead posed a new question regarding missing information. Baxter (2010) discusses the use of such a construction (i.e. can I just ask) as preparing an interlocutor for the introduction of a new topic. In this sense, the male can be taken as having helpfully signaled the diversion. In the example above, the sender entered the world of discourse in order to obtain information. In the following example, the sender entered into the world of discourse to secure textual action. In Example 67, a male sender requested another male forward an email for him.

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[76] Beneficial in the sense that his interlocutor/s did not need to make the changes.

Example 67

Subject: XXX (company name)

1. Hi Jez please can you forward this to XXX (company name) for <u>me.</u>
2. <u>Pic</u> <u>below</u> is just his email address.
3. Cheers
4. Scott

The male tendency to index the authorial self (i.e. present themselves as a source of information) might have been due to an intersectional influence of organisational position: 6 of 14 male senders were external agents i.e. paid to provide expertise and services. A further five were internal employees of the organisation but situated in the sales department (i.e. external to the marketing department). Both groups of males were frequently called upon for various requests, but did not frequently make such requests of marketing personnel as part of their job roles.

4.4.4. Summary: Gendered use of stance metadiscourse in the marketing department

The use of stance metadiscourse within the marketing department discourse community was characterised by greater difference than similarity. In terms of similarity, female and male senders used an overall amount of stance metadiscourse as well as a similar amount of *attitude markers* and *self mentions*. Functionally, they used *certainty markers* in a similar manner.

In terms of difference, females exclusively used *uncertainty markers*; males used significantly more *certainty markers*. It could be argued that in the significantly greater use of *certainty markers*, male employees portrayed a bolder persona (as found/argued in Crismore et al, 1993; Francis et al, 2001; Tse and Hyland, 2008). However, as already noted, regardless of gender, most propositions within the data were presented as categorical statements (i.e. with the highest epistemic warrant). In other words, it should not be assumed that males were more confident than females within email discourse. The most that can be concluded is that in the explicit expression of personal opinions, males oriented towards stronger opinions than their female counterparts. Functionally, males narrowly used *attitude*

markers to express conventional politeness, whereas females used the markers for a broader range of purposes including the frequent expression of evaluative feedback. The female use of *attitude markers* in the data, as argued above, constituted a subtle form of assertiveness. Furthermore, as argued above, the use of backchannels invited a degree of re-evaluation of earlier deficit accounts of such devices. Finally, males most frequently used *self mentions* in constructions that added to the world of discourse i.e. presented themselves as a source of information. This appeared to be a result of job role and the immediate communicative need as opposed to a gender based difference.

The following section will consider the use of engagement metadiscourse. The category allows for insight into the way in which email senders directly pull their readers into their texts. As discussed in Chapter 3, as used in the present thesis engagement metadiscourse contained three sub-categories: *reader mentions*; *directives*; and, *personal asides*.

4.4.5. Gendered use of engagement metadiscourse in the marketing department

Overall, the respective sexes used a similar amount of engagement metadiscourse. There were no significant differences in the frequency usage of the individual markers.

The following section will consider the use of *reader mentions* in the marketing department discourse community. As discussed in Chapter 3, in order to count as a metadiscourse an item had to refer to the reader as a participant in the world of discourse (Ä del, 2006, 2010, 2017). Again, given that first names were often used in such a manner the term *reader mentions* was preferred to the term reader pronouns in Hyland (2005).

Reader mentions

The respective sexes used a similar amount of *reader mentions*. Functionally both genders most frequently used *reader mentions* in *directive* formulations. Indeed, 19 of the 32 female examples, and 6 of the 11 male examples occurred in *directive* formulations. Female employees also frequently used first names to personalise specific aspects of their emails.

Example 68, was the chain initiator. The chain concerned the supply of missing instructions from a product sold at a garden show event. In Example 68 a senior female sender directly addressed another senior female and copied a junior female.

Example 68

Subject: Instructions AC4 2707

1. Morning Carol,
2. Please can <u>you</u> send <u>me</u> instructions of the reference 2707? It is for a customer.
3. Many thanks
4. Naomi

In the example above the sender clearly indexed her reader with the use of a second person impersonal pronoun (i.e. you). Female employees also frequently used first names as *reader mentions* (15 in total): 8 of these involved *directives*; a further 4 involved recognition of another's contribution to the unfolding text. In Example 69, a female sender responded to a senior male concerning price information.

Example 69

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. Hi Ian
2. This is all fine - we will use <u>your</u> Price Lists attached.
3. <u>Sandra</u>– please see <u>Ian's</u> earlier email -could <u>you</u> add the part numbers below in point
4. 3 to the XXX (brand name) Price list <u>attached</u> - 2674P0000 is already there - 2683P9018
5. price USD 10.07   2490P0009 price USD 93.79
6. Thanks
7. Carol

In the example above, the female sender used a number of *reader mentions* in order to index two of her readers: Ian and Sandra. Excluding opening salutation, Ian was indexed twice in the main body of the email: firstly, by the possessive pronoun in the first line which indexed him as an agent within the world of discourse (i.e. he was responsible for the attachment to which they would make amendments); secondly, by use of first name in the second section

which identified him as an author of an earlier email. Likewise, Sandra was indexed two times: by the use of her first name at the beginning of the second section which functioned to stamp a sense of personal relevancy on the whole section; and, by the use of the second person pronoun in the subsequent *directive* formulation.

In the example above (and in similar cases in the data) I would argue that the greater female propensity to use first names can be understood as primarily motivated by the need to address discrete parties and facilitate ease of comprehension. Indeed, as in the following example males also used first names to facilitate ease of comprehension. Example 70 occurred in a chain, discussed above, in which a client side female attempted to resolve a customer complaint. In doing so, she conversed with the promotions agency that had acted on behalf of the client organisation at the garden show. In Example 70 an external male sender directed one of his subordinate employees.

Example 70

Subject: Hampton court

1. Hi Alan
2. Please can <u>you</u> review and <u>get back</u> to <u>Sandra</u>– I should have spoken with you today
3.   and didn't (sorry Sandra!)
4. Jeremy

The male sender in the example directly above used a number of *reader mentions* to manage affairs within the world of discourse. In line 2, he first used an impersonal second person pronoun (i.e. you) to direct Alan within the world of discourse. He then explicitly mentioned Sandra (who was copied) as a participant within the world of discourse (for a similar case see Example 20, line 1).

The remainder of the *reader mentions* in the data from the male senders were used for miscellaneous purposes including the expression of gratitude (as in Example 2, line 2 above) above; and interpersonal rapport (as in Example 71 and 72 below). Example 71 occurred in a chain concerned with missing instructions. In Example 71 a male sender responded to a request for a form that had to be completed in order to print a batch of missing instructions.

Example 71

Subject: Re: RV: Instructions AC4 2707

1. Here <u>you</u> go, <u>Fiona</u>
2. Have a nice weekend

Interestingly, despite the fact that there was only one direct addressee the sender chose to index his reader twice (i.e. you, and Fiona). I would argue that this was driven by an orientation towards interpersonal affiliation. Likewise, in the following example the sender indexed his reader in order to demonstrate an empathetic orientation. Example 72 was the 5th email of the chain. As already discussed above, the email chain was concerned with a business performance report. During the progression of the chain, a conflagration occurred between a senior male and senior female. In Example 72, the aforementioned senior male de-escalated the argument with an open orientation towards conciliation.

Example 72

Subject: Status Report

1. Hi Carol, I (self mention) hear <u>your</u> concerns. What if we met <u>you</u> half way?
2. Ian

The sender first indexed his reader as an agent within the current world of discourse with the use of the possessive (i.e. your). Interestingly, he referred to the senior female's previous emails as 'concerns', thus showing empathy for her position. Had he wished to escalate the argument he could have referred to her previous emails in more damming terms (e.g. I hear your anger/outright hostility/impossibility). Again, this serves as a good reminder that the way in which senders refer to texts can serve deeper ideological concerns. In a relatively short email the sender was able to de-escalate a public conflagration. I would argue that this, as well as other examples, challenge the notion that email is a lean medium incapable of achieving a meaningful meeting of minds (as claimed by the likes of Daft and Lengel, 1984; Walther, 1996; Nadler and Shetowsky, 2006). The second impersonal pronoun (i.e. you)

was counted as metadiscourse on the grounds that it was taken as having referred to the reader as a participant in the current negotiations.

The next section will consider the use of *directives*. Directives are a principal means through which writers/senders express power in that they command readers to perform acts within the world of discourse, or adopt a certain perspective.

Directives

The genders used a similar amount of *directives* men per 1000 words. Functionally, the sexes displayed different usage patterns. There were three main functional uses of *directives* within the marketing department data: those which required the reader to actively do something within the world of discourse (e.g. send a file, as in Example 73 below); those which required the sender to do something in the world of discourse in a passive sense (e.g. follow a link, as in Example 74 below); and, those which anticipated the reader's response (as in Example 74 below, line 2) Women's functional usage also reflected their relatively empowered position in that they predominantly used *directive*s in order to command their readers to perform acts which required an actual reader response (16 of the 27 examples involved such use). A further seven *directives* used by female employees directed readers in a passive sense (i.e. textual consumption). It should be noted that all of the *directives* used by female senders involved either a micro politeness marker (i.e. please) or indirect language.

Examples 73 occurred in a chain concerned with the compilation of a number of international pricing documents. In Example 73, the chain initiator, a female sender wrote to a senior male and two of his subordinates.

Example 73

Subject: International Pricing

1. Hi Richard,
2. As discussed, <u>please follow</u> this link for the price lists to be loaded: XXX (<u>Hyperlink</u>).
3. There's 29 in total. <u>Please note</u> the effective date is 01/09 as opposed to 01/10. <u>If you</u>
4. <u>have any problems let me know.</u>
5. <u>Can you also send</u> me the raw file for your team updates? I need to input them ASAP.
6. Kind Regards
7. Sandra

The female sender used a number of *directives*. The first and second *directives* acted as instructions as to how consume the email. The third *directive* anticipated the reader's potential response and essentially offered help. Finally, she closed the main body of the email with a *directive* that required her interlocutor to actively deliver a document (i.e. the raw file).

The email above involved upwards communication between a junior female and a senior male (in the presence of two other copied parties). From a first wave politeness perspective (Brown and Levinson, 1987), it could be argued that the content of the email above, with its numerous requests, could have impact upon the direct addressee's negative face. However, the female sender used a number of politeness strategies: she relied on micro-politeness markers (i.e. please) in the articulation of the *directives* that related to the consumption of the text; she used an indirect request construction in the *directive* that actively required a response by the reader; and, she also relied on structural politeness markers i.e. opening salutation and closing valediction. It should be noted that it was not only subordinate female employees that attended to politeness concerns in the articulation of *directives*. Indeed, all of the *directives* used by female employees involved redressive articulations (i.e. either a politeness marker or an indirect request).

A minor use of *directives* in the data from female employees (4 of the 27 examples) involved an anticipation of the reader's potential response. In Example 74 a female sender used such a

directive. She delivered information and images that were to be used in a number of outdoor posters. She first used a *directive* in conjunction with a *phoric* in order to guide consumption of her email. In anticipation of potential audience needs, she used a *directive* in order to offer help to her readers.

Example 74

Subject: XXX (media brand name) Product Information

1. <u>Please find</u> attached product information and images for XXX listings. <u>Should you</u>
2. <u>require any help please do not hesitate to contact me</u>.

In the example above, as well as Example 73, there was an interesting shift in the use of *directives* from an addressed to an invoked reader. Ede and Lunsford (1984) highlight that an invoked audience is one that imagined by the writer; an addressed audience is one that actually exists. *Directives* which required an actual response, or guided the reader in the consumption of the text involved an addressed audience. The use of *directives* that anticipated the reader's response clearly invoked a reader.   Like other markers, the use of *directives* to anticipate the reader's response involved a degree of fictional speculation on behalf of the writer as to the reader's capabilities. Interestingly, males in the marketing department did not engage in such activity in their use of *directives*. This was surprising given that many males within the discourse community occupied agent roles and therefore should have been keen to extend help to their clients.

Male employees used a relatively equal balance of *directives*: 7 of the 12 examples involved passive direction; 5 of the 12 examples involved *directives* that required an active response (see Examples, 50, and 20 above). Male senders generally articulated *directives* with the use of conventionally polite language (10 of the 12 examples involved micro politeness markers or indirect language). I full recognise that politeness is not inherent in form (Kádár and Haugh, 2013); however, there was nothing in any of the examples that involved conventionally polite language to suggest that anything contrary may have occurred during the interaction. The two examples that did not contain conventionally polite language both involved the use of *directives* that required a passive reader response (both will be considered

below). In Example75, reproduced in full in Example 17 above, a male sender delivered previously requested information.

Example 75

Subject: 2014 PRICING

1. Hello Carol,
2. <u>Just checked</u> <u>2013 pricing</u>. <u>See</u> <u>details</u> in <u>my email</u> <u>below</u>.

Although he did not use conventionally polite language in the articulation of the *directive*, he used a friendly structural politeness form (e.g. opening salutation) and in the opening line of the email explicitly displayed compliance with the reader's previous request.

 In Example 76, a male sender (a national account manager of a media owning company) replied to a junior female.

Example 76

Subject: XXX (product name) Product Information

1. Hi,
2. These images are too small to meet XXX's (media owner name) specs. <u>See</u> the
3. <u>attached</u> for what I need.
4. [autosignature]

The lack of a micro-politeness marker echoes the generally nonchalant style of the email: the sender used a simple 'Hi' as salutation, and opened up the email with a dismissive comment with regards to the images previously sent by the junior female. The sender also dispensed with closing valediction and instead relied on the autofill signature function. Furthermore, even though the sender held a very senior position within his organisation, the female sender still represented a (paying) client organisation. From an analyst perspective, this was the only example of a *directive* that could feasibly have involved an evaluation of impoliteness.

However, with regards to the articulation of *directives*, the politic behaviour[77] was indirect and polite.

In the following section the sub-category of *personal asides* will be considered. Again *personal asides* comprise parenthetical comments that disrupt the propositional flow of the discourse so as to give the impression that the reader is being whispered additional information.

Personal Asides

There was no significant difference in the amount of *asides* used by male or female employees in the data, nor in the way in which such devices were used. Both senders used the parenthetical comments to house *phoric markers* (see Example 19, line 2; and, Example 22, line 4). There was one example in the data from the female senders in which a parenthetical comment was used to house exemplifcatory material which qualified the material as an explicit code gloss (see Example 34, line 1).

Summary: Gendered use of engagement metadiscourse in the marketing department

Overall, the use of engagement metadiscourse in the marketing department was marked by greater similarity than difference. In terms of similarity, the respective genders used a similar overall amount of engagement metadiscourse, as well as a similar amount of the three individual markers. They also used *reader mentions* and *personal asides* in a functionally similar way. It should also be noted that both genders predominantly articulated *directives* in a manner traditionally coded as feminine (i.e. indirect, mitigated, and polite). Functionally, female employees used most often used *directives* that required an actual response of their readers within the world of discourse; males most frequently used *directives* that required a passive response of their readers. Such a difference was largely linked to job roles as opposed to a gender based difference.

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[77] i.e. that which was normative within the discourse community (Watts, 2003)

4.4.6. Summary: overall use of metadiscourse

The use of metadiscourse in the marketing department discourse community is summarised in Table 17 below.

Table 17: Summary of metadiscourse use in the marketing department discourse community

Metadiscourse Category	Usage: Frequency	Usage: Underlying Purpose
Organisational Metadiscourse		
Transitions	Difference: greater male use	Similar.
Frame markers	Similar	Similar.
Phoric markers	Similar	Difference: Males: predominantly refer to the current email and display a strong propensity to mark their own contribution. Female employees: greater relative propensity to refer to earlier emails in the chain and to the contribution of offers.
Text Mentions	Similar	Similar.
Code glosses	Similar	Difference: Males: use to reformulate discourse units; Female employees: display no preference.
Total Organisational Metadiscourse	Similar	Similar.
Stance Metadiscourse		
Uncertainty Marker	Difference: exclusive female use	Difference: females use exclusively.
Certainty Marker	Difference: greater male use	Similar
Attitude markers	Similar	Difference: Male employees: use for politeness considerations.

		Female employees: use to express a wider range of emotion, and for a wider range of purposes.
Self mentions	Similar	Difference: Males: most frequent enter the text to supply of knowledge. Female employees: equally enter the text to supply and acquire knowledge. They also frequently indexed themselves as senders/constructors of the text.
Total Stance Metadiscourse	Similar	Difference.
Engagement Metadiscourse		
Reader mentions	Similar	Similar.
Directives	Similar	Difference: Females predominantly use to require an active response.
Personal asides	Similar	Similar.
Total Engagement Metadiscourse	Similar	Similar.

Note: column 2 is based on a Z-test measure as detailed in Chapter 3.

Drawing on the evidence presented, it is apparent that within the marketing department discourse community the use of metadiscourse was characterised by more by similarity than difference. Indeed, as is apparent from the table above, there were twenty points of similarity. Furthermore, there were four individual markers where frequency and functional usage were the same: *frame markers*; *text mentions*; *reader mentions*; and, *personal asides*. All other categories contained an element of difference between the genders. However, as has been highlighted many of the differences arose as a result of job role and communicative purpose rather than gender based differences.

A number of differences were not obviously explicable in terms of job role and communicative purpose. The marking of personal responsibility in *phoric* constructions by male employees was suggestive of self-promotion. Conversely, the relatively greater generosity displayed by females in *phoric* constructions accorded with gender and language literature that views women as more generous in this respect (Wolfson, 1984; Holmes, 1986;

Aries, 1987; Leet-pelligrini, 1987; Case, 1988; Berryman-Fink, 1997). The use of *(un)certainty markers* broadly conformed to previous accounts of gender and language (Lackof 1974; Baker, 1975; Herring, 1992; Crismore, 1993; Francis et al, 2001; Tse and Hyland, 2008): although, as already stated, both male and females expressed the overwhelming majority of utterances as categorical statements (i.e. with the highest epistemic warrant). Finally, the female tendency to index the sender/constructor aspect of the authorial self may be understood as a relatively novel, polite, request strategy. The same may be said of the strategy of male employees of listing acts undertaken within the world of discourse.

The next section will consider the data from the second community examined in the present study.

4.5. Gendered use of metadiscourse in the advertising agency discourse community

The advertising agency from which the data was taken was based in London. At the time of data collection it was an independent, small to medium sized agency (80-100 members of staff in total); it has subsequently merged with a much bigger agency. It boasted a number of high profile clients including an automobile brand, and a financial brand.

In terms of the senders in the data 18 of 28 the senders were agency side workers; 6 were clients; 2 were agency suppliers. There was an equal amount of male and female senders. The data donor was female. At the time of donation, she was a senior advertising planner (i.e. occupied a mid-level position). As stated in Chapter 3, twenty three email chains were used in the analysis of the marketing department discourse community; this broke down to seventy nine individual emails.

Table 18: Results of the application of the reflexive, minimally integrationist model of metadiscourse in the advertising agency

Organisational Metadiscourse	Frequency	% Frequency
Transitions	69	37.9
Frame markers	31	17.0
Phoric markers	24	13.2
Text Mentions	41	22.5
Code gloss	17	9.3
Sub-total	**181**	**100**
Stance Metadiscourse		
Uncertainty markers	6	4.5
Certainty markers	21	15.3
Attitude markers	47	34.3
Self mentions	63	45.9
Sub-total	**137**	**100**
Engagement Metadiscourse		
Reader mentions	52	49.1
Directives	40	37.7
Personal asides	**14**	**13.2**
Sub-total	**106**	**100**
Total	**425**	**---**

As can be seen in the Table 18 above, the organisational category of metadiscourse was dominated by the use of *transitions*. Again, this was not surprising given the secondary morphosyntactic role such devices can play. Interestingly, *code glosses* were much more popular in the advertising agency data when compared to the other two discourse communities. Indeed, half of all the *code glosses* identified occurred in the advertising agency data[78]. Half of all the *(un)certainty markers* identified in the present thesis also occurred in the advertising agency data. This was largely a result of the fact that the data from the advertising agency discourse community contained many lengthy, expositions that deal with new ideas (as opposed to codified, mundane knowledge). Stance metadiscourse was dominated by the use of *self mentions* indicative of the fact that explicit visibility was important within the discourse community. Engagement metadiscourse was dominated by *reader mentions* which was not particularly surprising given that the markers are the most obvious way to make readers visible in texts.

Table 19: Advertising agency: Metadiscourse items per 1000 words by gender

Organisational Metadiscourse	Male	Female
Transitions	8.8	8.3
Frame markers	5.2	2.2
Phoric markers	2.7	3.3
Text mentions	4.1	6.4
Code gloss	2.5	1.7
Sub-total	**23.3**	**21.9**
Stance Metadiscourse		
Uncertainty markers	0.5	1.1
Certainty markers	3.6	1.4
Attitude markers	4.8	7.2
Self mentions	7.5	8.3
Sub-total	**16.4**	**18.0**
Engagement Metadiscourse		
Reader mentions	5.2	8.0
Directives	4.1	6.1
Personal asides	1.6	1.9
Sub-total	**10.9**	**16.0**
Total	**50.6**	**55.9**

[78] I know that comparison of raw frequencies can be misleading, but it should be noted in terms of raw size the advertising data was not the largest in terms of words.

As can be seen in Table 19 above, the respective sexes used an overall similar amount of metadiscourse in the advertising agency. They also used a similar amount of organisational and stance metadiscourse. This suggested that both males and females paid equal attention to the structuring of their texts, as well as providing commentary upon their texts. Females used significantly more engagement metadiscourse. This initially suggested that they paid greater attention to their readers.

The following section will consider the use of organisational metadiscourse in the advertising agency discourse community. Again, organisational metadiscourse allows for insight into the way email senders explicitly structure and bring certain aspects of their texts into focus. The category comprises: *transitions*; *frame markers*; *phoric markers*; *text mentions*; and, *code glosses*. As with the analysis of the marketing department discourse community: frequency and functional usage will be the primary focus of the analysis. Although, the interaction of the markers with the co-text in the realization of gendered discourse norms will also be considered where relevant.

4.5.1. Gendered use of organisational metadiscourse in the advertising agency

As already stated above, the respective sexes used a similar amount of organisational metadiscourse. The only significant difference was *frame markers*: advertising males used significantly more of the markers than their female counterparts. The following section will consider the use of *transitions* within the advertising agency discourse community.

Transitions

The sexes used a similar amount of *transitions* in the advertising agency discourse community. Functionally, males and females used *transitions* in a very similar manner. Nevertheless, the use of *transitions* in the advertising agency provided insight into the ways in which the markers are used in workplace email.

Table 20: Advertising agency: Functional use of transitions by gender (tokens per 100 words)

Transition	Male Frequency	Female Frequency
Consequential	4.5	3.6
Additive	1.8	3.0
Comparative	2.5	1.7

As can be seen in Table 20 above, both genders in the advertising agency used *transitions* to signal a broad range of pragmatic connections between propositions.   Both males and females most often used *transitions* for the expression of consequence. Females used slightly more additive *transitions*, whilst males used slightly more consequential *transitions*. Example 1 occurred in an email chain in which a group of senior males discussed possible strategic approaches to encourage retail banking clients to engage in share trading. Competitors had addressed the issue through the development of online demonstration videos. The client side marketing director and chief commercial officer[79], and the agency side chief operations officer had begun to reach a consensus to mimic the strategy of competitors (i.e. produce an online video). In Example 1, reproduced in full, in an internal email a male strategy director disagreed with the emergent consensus and instead advocated a number of more sophisticated digital approaches.

Example 1

Subject: Online Demo Video

1. Nathan–certainly it would be better to have a video than nothing: it's a very dry topic area
2. & competitors are out there giving new recruits more of a helping hand than we are.

3. BUT it also begs the question: *How does visual stimulus help people differently to just*
4. *the written word?*[80] If our objective is to create a tool which 'educates& trains' people to
5. successfully participate in share trading, then a video covering the same ground as what

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[79] i.e. both highly senior positions within the client organisation.
[80] Entextualised echo

6. others already have on their website may be a competitive lost opportunity.

7. For instance, scientific research shows:

8. People learn more effectively by actually doing than by listening: <u>so</u> could we create
9. something of an ongoing *interactive* two-way technological element?

10. People complete tasks more when they 'chunk' them into small pieces. Perhaps the
11. inclusion of a visual device could help reinforce the user's sense of reward and
12. motivation at each point in the learning journey?

13. People are more likely to undertake difficult tasks, like share trading, if they do it with
14. someone else (we saw how strong this desire was at the Seminar). <u>So</u> we could introduce
15. a strong 'social' element to this learning experience that connects people?

16. People are more likely to succeed if they can compare their progress with others: <u>so</u>
17. what can we do which adds an element of competitive determination and a social
18. dimension?

19. People like to do what others like to do: <u>so</u> perhaps seeing what others did in the same
20. situation, and connecting with them one-to-one to answer questions could help (we've
21. just done this successfully on the XXX (government department[81]) via a live Q&A
22. Facebook)

23. I think the opportunity is bigger than 'doing a video' (like competitors). The opportunity
24. is to define the content strategy around our the brand that best fulfills consumers needs
25. –both for first timers and for more experienced 'Students' of share trading – as we saw
26. at the debrief, this is a learning experience that never stops. Traders are always learning.

27. Developing & sharing these kinds of unique added-value tools and content is what will

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[81] The advertising agency had a government department as a client.

28. gain XXX (client organisation name) a competitive advantage –I'd like to reiterate there

29. are many exciting things we could do beyond a TV spot type video.

30. Mike – any thoughts?

31. Phil

In a metadiscursively rich email[82], the male sender used a number of *transitions* to signpost relationships between propositions within his discourse flow. The opening paragraph expressed agreement with the agency side chief operating officer (lines 1-2). In line 2 the sender chose to use an ampersand sign in order to add a further argument to the previous two propositions.   However, the sender then opened the second paragraph with a capitalised *transition* (i.e. BUT, line 3) which anaphorically signaled a contrary position was to be expressed. In lines 8-9, the sender cited a behavioural insight: he then used a consequential *transition* to anaphorically link the assertion with his subsequent tentative suggestion (notice the use of the question mark at the end of the utterance in line 9). The same mechanic, i.e. the presentation of a possible strategy as a consequence of a previous evidentially based insight was used in lines 14, 16, and 19.   In other words, the *transitions* referred backwards to the source of the evidence for the subsequent proposition (Chafe, 1985).

I would argue that the sender in the example above registered his disagreement with an interesting use of gendered discourse norms. The sender used a number of discourse norms traditionally coded as masculine. He dispensed with structural politeness (i.e. opening salutation) and badly addressed his senior (he also dispensed with closing valediction). Indeed, the email had little to no explicit interpersonal content (e.g. small talk). Furthermore, even though the opening paragraph expressed a degree of agreement, it also contained frank judgements (i.e. better to have a video than nothing; and, it's a very dry topic area). It could also be argued that in lines 23, and 29 he used a *certainty marker* and *frame marker* to strongly identify with his personal position (although did not quite make a categorical statement). The sender also used a number of discourse norms traditionally coded as feminine. In the first paragraph he pandered to the idea of agreement, thus giving recognition to the merits of the arguments of others (indicative of an orientation towards

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[82] The metadiscursive elements are underlined.

conciliation). His suggestions were also made in a tentative manner (note the use of question marks in lines 9, 12, and 15) the *use of* the sentence adverbial *perhaps* in lines 10 and 19.

Similar examples were found in the data from the female senders. Example 2 occurred in a chain initiated by account manager requesting information on methodologies used by a research conglomerate. A female strategy director had recommended a document to the account manager (see Example 36). In Example 2, the female head of department sender in order to comment on the report.

Example 2

Subject: Bluffers guide to XXX (research conglomerate brand name) methodologies

1. Hello all
2. Having quickly re-read it, I'd just add that while it's a
3. pretty good explanation, we do have some fundamental concerns with XXX
4. (Research conglomerate brand name**)** which haven't changed.

5. See the XXX [FMCG brand name] IPA paper (attached) which shows the effects of
6. emotional advertising versus rational based material. We discovered that XXX
7. (global research network) scores only have a 60% correlation with sales results (<u>so</u> 40%
8. aren't correlated.....[83]leaving quite a lot of room for error).

9. <u>And</u> the reason is that these kind of tests are not very good at picking up our
10. emotional automatic responses (which account for as much as 95% of cognitive
11. activity). Even though the questionnaires do try to ask questions about the emotions
12. the whole framework and approach gets one into a very rational mindset -<u>also</u> see
13. Tisha C's recent marketing excellence paper (<u>also</u> attached).
14. Mx

After stating a degree of agreement in the first paragraph (i.e. it's a pretty good explanation), the sender signaled disagreement. In the second paragraph the sender explained her position

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[83] Sender's ellipsis.

(note her use of a consequential *transition* embedded in an *asides* in line 7). She then opened the third paragraph with an additive *transition* (i.e. 'And', line 9) thus indicating that the utterance should be understood as an additional argument in relation to the previous paragraph. She closed the second paragraph with the use of two more additive *transitions* the first of which signaled additional evidential material (i.e. Tisha C's marketing excellence paper); the second of which detailed provided spatial direction (i.e. also attached). The potential face threat that arose from contradicting another sender was ameliorated with the use of conventionally polite language in the opening section (further analysed in Examples 9 and 45 below), as well as the provision of arguments and evidence that needed to be taken into account in dealing with the problem. Such behaviour, i.e. tending to the face needs of subordinates whilst giving criticism, has been observed as a normatively feminine practice (Tracy and Eisenber, 1991).

Both examples above, as well as many others considered in the present chapter, again challenge the notion that email is a lean medium (Daft and Lengel, 1984). In both examples 1 and 2, the senders expressed highly nuanced and technical points of view, neither of which seemed to generate a need for further clarification (i.e. there were no subsequent requests for clarification).

Like senders in the marketing department, male and female senders in the advertising agency also used consequential *transitions* to provide grounders for requests (Vine 2004; Blum-Kulka, 1989; Ho, 2014). Example 3 occurred in a chain concerned with the arrangement of an informal research event in which a number of client-side brand managers would spend a day meeting their target audience. The chain progressed through a number of phases (from the initial request for interest) through to the actual planning of the event. In Example 3 a junior male sender directly addressed a senior client to request information about what the client would like to discuss with the participants.

Example 3

Subject: XXX (brand name) - face-to-face session in XXX (British city name)

1. Hi Mark,
2. <u>I think</u> it would be best if <u>you</u> <u>send me</u> a list of things that you would
3. like to explore with the participants <u>so</u> I can then write a discussion guide that will
4. facilitate a conversation between the participants and the marketing managers.
5. I am on a training course tomorrow <u>so</u> the sooner you can get back to me
6. the better.
7. Best
8. Tito

The sender used two *transitions* both of which provided reasons for requests. The first request (lines 2-3) was articulated in a relatively indirect manner (note the use of the *certainty marker*, the modal 'would', and the appreciation upgrade). However, the sender also chose to provide a reason for his request (i.e. to enable the production of a discussion guide). The consequential *transition* in line 3 linked the request with the reason for the request. Similarly, the second transition in line 5 (i.e. so) linked a contextual piece of information (i.e. that the sender was to attend a training course) with a subsequent time stipulation. The time stipulation could have been taken as rather bold especially in a situation that involved upwards communication across a corporate boundary (i.e. junior agent to senior client). However, the provision of the contextual piece of information may well have helped admonish any such face threat. The following example contains a similar case from the female data. In Example 4, reproduced in full, a female strategy director sent an all agency email[84] in order to both distribute a number of articles she had written for a trade journal and request potential source material for future articles.

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[84] i.e. a email addressed to the whole agency.

Example 4

Subject: our monthly rants

1. Was talking about our monthly Mythbuster Admap rants to Henry <u>and</u> thought I'd
2. send them round in case you're interested- I know no-one ever reads Admap!
3. These are the first 4– the message and promotion myths are next
4. We're doing 2 years worth of these, <u>so</u> please next time you have a Grrr moment in a
5. client meeting- send it to us.

In the opening section of the email (further analysed in Example 42 below) the female sender conversationally laboured in order to justify the all agency email. In line 4 the female sender used a *transition* in order to express a consequential relationship between two juxtaposed propositions. Similar to Example 2 above, the *transition* (i.e. so) linked the reason for the request, with the actual request.

Comparative *transitions* were most frequently used to signal the expression of contrary points of view (as in Example 1 line 2 above, list others). Two examples involved the use of comparative expressions for the provision of choice architecture. Example 5 occurred in a chain concerned with the production of research stimulus for focus groups. In Example 5 a male account manager in the advertising agency wrote to a mid-level client in regards to a preliminary advertisement layout.

Example 5

Subject: Advertising Research - Stimulus

1. Hi Dan,
2. Attached is the scamp with the logo left aligned. <u>Alternatively</u>, if you prefer it right
3. aligned, let me know.
4. Jon, nowt for us to do at this stage– except wait for Ollie to get back to us on the
5. XXX (advertising execution) image we sent.
6. Thanks,
7. Will.

He used the *transition* 'Alternatively' to indicate the supra-sentential relationship between the two propositions i.e. alternative options. In doing so, he offered his reader a degree of optionality (Lakoff, 1973).   He also engaged in a form of knowledge production that afforded his reader an ease of comprehension as did the female sender in the following example. Example 6, reproduced in full in Example 66 below, occurred in the same chain as Example 3 above. Again, the chain was concerned with the arrangement of an informal research exercise in which a number of clients would meet a representative sample of their customers. In Example 6 a female sender wrote to her client in order to begin the initial planning phase of the project.

Example 6

Subject: XXX (brand name) - face-to-face session in XXX (British city name)

1. …would you be able to give me a call on XXX (telephone number), <u>or</u> send me an
2. email with a sense of an objective or a rough terrority. <u>On the other hand</u> we could
3. set up a meeting and chat through it like normal people LOL…

In the example above the female sender presented three discrete options in regards to establishing communication with her interlocutor. She presented the first option (i.e. telephone conversation), and then used a *transition* (i.e. or) to present an alternative option (i.e. communication via email). Notice that the second occurrence of 'or', in the second proposition (i.e. 'sense of an objective or a rough territory') was not counted as metadiscourse as it concerned object language, and did not connect propositions.   Finally, in use of the adverbial phrase 'on the other hand', the female sender provided a third option (i.e. a face-to-face meeting). The provision of choice architecture and the use of *transitions* to increase the ease of reader comprehension can both be taken as particularly facilitative forms of behaviour. Interestingly, both examples involved external communication (i.e. involved communication between an agent and client).

Again, in all of the examples above the readers could most probably have discerned the relationships between the propositions without the presence of the *transitional* markers (Sloan, 1984; Blass, 1993). The senders can therefore be taken as having helpfully entered

their discourse flows so as to make comprehension for their readers easier (Sloan, 1984; Aguilar, 2008).

The next section will consider the use of *frame markers* in the advertising agency discourse community. As already stated in Chapter 3, the category was taken from Hyland (2005) and was felt to subsume the following categories within Ä del (2006): *Saying, introducing the topic, focusing, adding*, and c*oncluding*.

Frame markers

Males in the advertising agency data used a significantly greater amount of *frame markers* than their female counterparts. Functionally, males used *frame markers* for all of the four main functional purposes (announce discourse goals; labels stages; sequence arguments; and, to shift topics) although displayed a clear preference to use the devices in order to label stages of a discourse flow. As can be seen in Table 21 females used *frame markers* for two purposes: announcement of discourse goals and the sequencing of content.

Table 21: Advertising agency: Functional use of frame markers by gender (tokens per 1000 words)

Function	Male	Female
Announce goal	1.6	1.4
Label stage	2.9	---
Sequence content	0.6	1.1
Shift topic	0.2	---

The majority of announce goal *frame markers* involved conventionally polite language (as in Examples 7 and 8 below). In other words, the unmarked normative use involved discourse norms traditionally coded as feminine (9 of the 12 *frame markers* in the advertising agency data involved such use). In Example 7 a male junior planner wrote to his pitch team (all senior in rank to the sender) concerning an interview he had conducted with an economics professor. He also attached his notes and provided a summary in the main body of the email.

Example 7

Subject: Feedback on today

1. Hi All
2. <u>Just to let you know</u> the interview was ok today, he kept going off on tangents which
3. wasn't too helpful. There is definitely some interesting stuff in there although not as much
4. depth as the Laura interview. He was also adamant that speculation (especially Share
5. trading) was a form of gambling. <u>He talked interestingly on</u>:
6. *the typologies of speculation and the psychology at play
7. *speculation as a universal human activity
8. *the work and the psychology behind it (he spoke very positively about the work)
9. *inner central locus
10. He also felt that mental challenge was only tangenital to share trading and that financial
11. gain was the most motivating factor.
12. <u>Perhaps</u>, the mental challenge angle is not a persuasive hook.
13. Best
14. Tito

In line 2 the junior male sender used an announce goal *frame marker* to explicitly state his discourse goal. The use of the minimiser 'just' reduced the significance of the communicative action, and the imposition on the addressees. A similar example can be found in Example 8 below, both *frame markers* could be taken as indexical of a feminine style of communication (i.e. tentative).

Example 8 occurred in a chain concerned with preparation for an important client meeting. The agency was due to present a completely new campaign. Earlier in the chain, a strategy director had requested the whereabouts of certain ads from the previous campaign. In Example 8 a male account manager replied to the strategy director.

Example 8

Subject: XXX meeting thursday - stimulus

1. <u>Just to let you know</u> we pushed the changes to the main jobs earlier today.
2. I'm sure the mountain is found here:
3. <u>XXX (Hyperlink)</u>
4. Thanks,

5. Bill.

In the first line of his email the male sender used an announce goal *frame marker* to explicitly announce his discourse goal. Interestingly, the senior male had not requested this information in the previous email. In a sense, the articulation of the *frame marker* (i.e. just) reduced the significance of the communicative act by indicating it was just that i.e. a communicative act that did not require anything of the addressees. There was just one announce goal *frame marker* that did not involve the use of conventionally polite language in the data from the male senders (see Example 39, line 1)[85].

Similar to male senders, females also articulated announce goal *frame markers* with the use of conventionally polite language. In Example 9, reproduced in full in Example 2 above, a female sender used a *frame marker* to explicitly announce her intention to contribute to the emergent consensus in the email chain. Again, the previous email in the chain recommended a certain document. The email in Example 9 expressed slight criticism of the previously recommended document.

Example 9

Subject: Bluffer's Guide to XXX (global research agency name) methodologies

1. Having quickly re-read it, <u>I'd just like to add</u> that while it's a pretty good explanation we
2. do have some fundamental concerns with XXX [name of research agency] which
3. haven't changed.

Discursively adding information can imply the recognition of insufficiency. In the example above, such recognition could have impacted negatively upon the previous sender's face by publically implying her recommendation was unworthy. The relatively indirect articulation of the *frame marker* (i.e. I'd just like to add) may have helped to lower the imposition of the linguistic act. For instance, the sender could have expressed the act of addition in much stronger terms e.g. it must be noted that X. It could also be argued that in making the act of addition explicit the sender also tended to the face of the previous sender: after all, 'adding' implies a degree of synergy between the material added and the target text. Finally, it should

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[85] Given that the example involved the delivery of a previously requested opinion, it was hard to see how any potential face threat could have arisen from such an articulation.

be noted that the sender qualified the statement by explicitly marking the evidential source (i.e. having quickly re-read it). She therefore further expressed a degree of tentativeness.

There was one announce goal *frame marker* used by a female sender that was particularly direct. In Example 10 a senior female in the advertising agency forwarded an email to a subordinate junior male in order to inform him that he would be responsible for a certain project. She used the abbreviation FYI (i.e. for your information) to announce her discourse goal for which there was no immediate action.

Example 10

Subject: Carnival Priority Brief

1. <u>FYI</u> - I've told Howie you are the planning lead on this so he'll contact you directly in the
2. future.

Whilst the email sender dispensed with conventional politeness markers such an act did not suggest impoliteness for a number of reasons. Firstly, the sender (in this case, the head of the planning department) was clearly entitled to express such knowledge to the junior and his immediate supervisor. Secondly, direct communication from the head of department, and the opportunity to be planning lead could actually be construed as face enhancing for the junior male. The matter of fact, direct style, may have even functioned as an in-group signal or mark of respect for planners of a certain caliber (i.e. no-nonsense talk).

As already stated, males displayed a preference to use *frame markers* in order to label discrete stages of their emails. There was a clear stylistic tendency amongst males in the advertising community to label stages of their discourse with the use of an underlined textual heading followed by a colon (see the following two examples). Example 11 occurred in concerned with digital response. In Example 11 a junior male agency-side worker responded to a senior female's request for opinion (see Example 67 for the request). Example 11 contains part of a response to a female client who sought guidance on digital strategy. The male planner used a number of *frame markers* in order to clearly label the stages of his lengthy discourse flow.

Example 11

Subject: more info and links

1. <u>Insight:</u> Appointment to view is something that feels very alien within the digital
2. environment; this is probably because of the catch-up/stacking nature of the environment
3. that digital control affords the online viewer.
4. <u>Ramification:</u> Can we really expect this type of behaviour in the online environment? If
5. not, then what do we want to achieve?

6. <u>Insight</u>: Online content suffers from a real perception barrier; it is seen as either not good
7. enough for TV or as a testbed for TV.
8. <u>Ramification</u>: online content needs to be EVEN better than TV content.

The *frame markers* in the example above functioned at both the micro and macro-level. At the micro-level (or sentential level) the *frame markers* scoped over the immediate sentential content, and reflexively guided the subsequent interpretation process by the reader. At the macro-level, the labels can be likened to the "legend of an atlas, naming and describing the type of phenomena that appear in the map. When writers insert a 'legend item' in their texts, they help their readers interpret their various moves in the 'textual landscape'" (Ä del: 2006: 115).

Example 12 occurred earlier in the same chain as Example 11. In Example 12, a client side male sent an internal email, to a senior female client, outlining his feedback in regards to a number of creative executions.

Example 12

Subject: more info and links

1. Here are some more links and info on what we talked about today.
2. As I said this morning, I believe Dogs will achieve the cut-through we
3. need especially given the cut in media spend (and its ready to go). Asides from Dogs my
4. thoughts are:

5. Front runners:

6. *Jupiter*

7. *Athens*

8. *Record Boy TV*

9. Reject:

10. *Joe Molocco*

11. *Hoorah Henry*

12. Martin

The male sender grouped a number of creative executions according to their acceptability, and used *frame markers* to indicate to which category each execution belonged. At the micro-level the labels invested the listed items with an epistemic status (i.e. located them between yes and no). At the macro-level the labels functioned so as to signpost discrete sections, and clearly contributed to the textuality of the email (Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981). The labels helped constitute the target material as belonging to a text rather than a random collection of lexical items.

In terms of sequencing content, both males and females used enumerators to structure their discourse as in Example 13 below (sent by a male but typical of usage by both genders). Example 13, the chain initiator, occurred in a chain concerned with the discussion of a research debrief. In Example 13 a senior strategy director wrote to a client with a number of outstanding points.

Example 13

Subject: Investment trends - further strategic thoughts

1. Hi Simon,
2. Following on from Friday's note[86], there's a number of things in I'd still really like to get
3. from the report if possible:
4. Firstly potential 'churners' ('somewhat likely to change provider in next 12 months')

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[86] Friday's note appears to have occurred in a different email chain: this reference was therefore taken as intertextual.

5. in each of these markets, but who are NOT already with XXX (client company name)?

6. <u>Secondly</u> who are new prospects in each of these markets who say they will convert?

7. [sender goes on to discuss the implications of the second point raised above]

8. <u>Separately,</u> it was interesting to see the difference as to what each of the clients thought

9. was the 'main attraction' for opening an account.

10. Let me know what you think.

11. Best regards,

12. Phil

In lines, 4, 6 the sender used *frame marking* enumerators. The *frame markers* disclosed the writer persona as an active coach, of the reader, through the disclose flow (i.e. a particularly facilitative mode of communication). In line 7, the sender used a *frame marker* to shift the topic (this was the only example of such a *frame marker* in the advertising agency data). The male sender used the sentence adverbial 'separately' in order to introduce a different topic from the majority of the email (although still related to the overall subject of the email i.e. the research report). Again, taken together the *frame markers* in the two examples above worked together at the macro-level to reflexively indicate how the discourse flow worked as a whole.

The next section will consider the use of *phoric markers* by male and female senders in the advertising agency discourse community. Both Hyland (2005) and Ä del (2006) contain *phoric markers* as a category, although in Hyland (2005) they are referred to as *endophorics*.

Phoric markers

The usage gap of *phoric markers* between the genders was negligible in the advertising agency discourse community. In terms of underlying functional usage, there were subtle differences between the respective genders: females displayed a greater tendency to refer to earlier parts of the chain (males did not do so); females also frequently marked the contribution of others during *phoric* constructions.

Table 22: Advertising agency: Referential direction of phoric markers per 1000 words

Part of chain	Male senders	Female senders
Current email	2.7	2.5
Earlier email	---	0.8

As can be seen in Table 22 above, male senders exclusively referred to the current email. They also displayed a strong tendency to mark their own contribution (6 of the 12 *phorics* included an explicit marking of one's own contribution). Example 14, reproduced in part in Example 11, occurred in a chain concerned with a discussion of digital strategy. In Example 14, a junior male advertising planner delivered an opinion to a senior client.

Example 14

Subject: more info and links

1. Hey Vic,
2. <u>Below</u> is a download of <u>my</u> thoughts.
3. Best
4. Tito

The remainder of the email contained a lengthy exposition (876 words long) on digital strategy (part of which is produced in Example 11 above). In the excerpt above, the sender essentially wrote a short cover letter. He used a *phoric marker* to spatially refer his readers to the remainder of his email. He also used a possessive pronoun to signify ownership of the content of the email. Interestingly, the sender referred to his text in cognitive terms –a consistent pattern throughout the data considered in the present thesis. The fact that senders consistently referred to their texts in cognitive terms gives further credence to the argument that mental state predicates should be regarded as metalingual.

It should be noted, that there was no propensity of one status group of males to engage in self-promotion. The following example was sent by a senior male. Example 15 occurred in a chain concerned with the development of a client brief. In Example 15, reproduced in full

in Example 58 below, a male sender shared a creative brief with a number of individuals due to attend an internal brainstorm session.

Example 15

Subject: Carnival Brief

1. Hi all
2. Looking forward to seeing you all next week for our brainstorm session.
3. <u>Here's</u> <u>my</u> brief –currently in with the creative department

In line 3, the male sender once again chose to mark his own personal agency (similar examples can be found in Example 12, line 1, above). The propensity to mark one's own contribution may have arisen out of a greater comfort with self-promotion involved in assertive forms of communication (Kuhn, 1992). There was just one example in the advertising data where a male used a *phoric* to refer to the contribution of another. In Example 16 a senior male account director shared work of a rival agency creative for the car brand Mercedes.

Example 16

Subject: Getting social with TV

1. Interesting approach from Mercedes from XXX (Rival creative agency name). See
2. link <u>below</u>:
3. <u>XXX (Hyperlink)</u>
4. [autosignature]

He used a *phoric marker* to direct his readers to a website. Interestingly, the male gave recognition to a rival agency, not a fellow colleague.

In their use of *phorics*, male senders in the advertising agency discourse community displayed the same usage patterns as males in the marketing department.

Whilst females in the advertising agency also predominantly used *phoric markers* to refer to the current email, and frequently marked their own contribution (6 of the total 12 female *phorics* involved such recognition), there were subtle differences. Indeed, there was a

noticeable tendency for females in the advertising agency to use *phorics* to refer to collaborative efforts as opposed to solo efforts.

In Example 17, reproduced above in Example 2, the sender entered an email chain in order to express a degree of disagreement in relation to a previous sender's recommendation.

Example 17

Subject: Bluffer's Guide to XXX (global research agency name) methodologies – updates

1. See the XXX [FMCG brand name] IPA paper (<u>attached</u>) which shows the effects of
2. emotional advertising versus rational based material…

3. …also see <u>Tisha C's</u> recent marketing excellence paper (also <u>attached)</u>

The female sender used two *phoric* markers in her email. In the first (i.e. attached, line 1 above) the sender spatially directed her reader to an attached paper. In doing so, she downplayed her own personal agency (indicative of feminine modes of communication: Kuhn, 1992). The female sender used the indirect determiner 'the' (as opposed to the possessive pronoun 'my') in order to refer to an authoritative advertising effectiveness paper that she had actually authored. The sender used a second *phoric* later in the same email in order to refer her readers to the attached work of a colleague. In doing so, she explicitly gave recognition to another member of the discourse community (see Example 19 for a similar example). Women were generally more generous than men in giving recognition to the contribution of others within the world of discourse (see discussion on *reader mentions* below). This synced with numerous findings that have found women to be more generous conversational partners (Wolfson, 1984; Holmes, 1986; Aries, 1987; Leet-pelligrini, 1987; Case, 1988; Berryman-Fink, 1997).

Finally, there were three examples (versus zero in the male data) of female senders referring to earlier parts of the chain. In Example 18, reproduced in full, a female sender used a *phoric* marker to refer her readers to a forwarded email.

Example 18

Subject: Cardiff working team, Thur 29th July (RX4)

1. Please see details <u>below</u>.
2. Fortunately there are two teams in the Cardiff office who can help external consultants.

Again, the tendency of women to recognise the contribution of others can also be seen in the following example. Example 19 occurred in an email chain in which a male account manager sent an all agency email asking advice on how to compile a 'request for information'[87]. In Example 17, reproduced in full, a female sender responded.

Example 19

Subject: Request for Information Template

1. Please see <u>below</u> for an example myself and Eugene put together for XXX creds
2. meeting last year.

In response, the female sender forwarded an email her pitch team had worked on as a part of a credentials meeting with a potential client in finance. She used a *phoric marker* to refer him to an earlier email in the forwarded chain. In doing so, she chose to explicitly mark the work as a collaborative effort (i.e. myself and Eugene) before the whole agency.

In their use of *phorics*, female senders in the advertising agency discourse community displayed similar usage patterns to female senders in the marketing department.

The next section will consider the use of *text mentions* in the advertising agency discourse community. Again, *text mentions* was the only novel sub-category of metadiscourse included in the reflexive, minimally integrationist model. This was due to the fact that the taxonomy in Hyland (2005) does not adequately capture references to the text above the level of the code. As stated in Chapter 3, a distinction was made between the various levels of reference of a given *text mention*. A macro-level *text mention* referred to the whole message or above;

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[87] a formal document submitted to potential clients asking questions regarding their business e.g. budget.

a micro-level *text mention* referred to a constituent part of an email (e.g. an attachment); a nano-level *text mention* referred to a part of a constituent part (e.g. a specific page in an attached document).

Text mentions

Female and male senders used a similar amount of *text mentions* in the advertising agency. Functionally, the respective genders used *text mentions* in a similar manner. Female senders most often used *text mentions* to refer to constituent parts of their emails (13 of the 23 *text mentions* in the data from the female senders involved such use). They also frequently used the markers to make macro-level references to entire email messages (9 of the 23 *text mentions* involved such use). Male senders also most frequently used micro-level *text mentions* (13 of the 18 examples from the male senders involved such a use); the remaining examples from the male senders were micro-level *text mentions*.

In terms of macro-level references, five of the *text mentions* used by female senders backchannelled positive sentiment (as in Example 20); 3 occurred in *phoric* constructions (as in Example 18 above); 1 provided context (as in Example 21).

Example 20 occurred in a chain in which one female apologised on group email to another female (see Example 55 below). The apology was given due to the fact that the sender in Example 20 had not been invited to an event. In Example 20, the female sender replied to the previous female's apology.

Example 20

Subject: An apology

1. What a <u>lovely</u> <u>email</u> to open first thing, someone has stolen my fan (not a great start to
2. the day) which makes it even <u>more of a welcome</u> <u>email</u>!

3. No problem re: invite. I'm actually working out of XXX (brand name) XXX (British city
4. name) office for the next couple of months, so wouldn't have been able to make it. I'm
5. really glad that it went well. Look forward to seeing the fruits.
6. Best
7. Lisa

In lines 1 and 2, the female sender twice mentioned the previous email which contained very flattering comments. She then went on in the second paragraph to allay the concerns expressed in previous email (i.e. she wouldn't have been able to attend even if invited). Throughout the email the female sender showed an overt orientation towards conciliation (i.e. a communicative behaviour traditionally coded as feminine).

As already stated above, three of the remaining macro-level *text mentions* used by female senders involved *phoric* constructions as in Example 18 above. There was one example of a macro-level *text mention* being used to provide context. Example 21 occurred in the same chain as Examples 2 and 6 above. Again, the chain concerned the planning of an informal research event. In Example 21, a female sender wrote to a client to inform him that she would not be able to moderate the event due to illness.

Example 21

Subject: XXX (brand name) - face-to-face session in XXX (British city name)

1. Hi Mike
2. Just got <u>this</u>. I've been absent hence radio silence. My colleague Tito is looking after
3. this session for you on Friday, as I am unwell.
4. He will be in touch very shortly.
5. Many thanks - and enjoy!
6. Ally

In line 1, the female sender used a contractive (i.e. 'this') to refer to a request for information email sent three days earlier by a client. Agents must respond to paying clients in a timely manner (Freeman; 2009). Clearly the female agent, in the example above, felt that she needed to explain her late response by disclosing the fact that she had been absent due to illness. The contractive plus the explanatory sentence effectively amounted to a de facto apology for a break in communication.

In terms of reference to constituent parts of the current email (i.e. micro-level *text mentions*), females often used *text mentions* in conjunctions with *phoric markers*. Example 22 occurred two weeks earlier in the chain than the email in Example 21. In Example 22, a female planner proposed bespoke research in which client-side brand managers would spend a day meeting various groups from their target audience.

Example 22

Subject: XXX (brand name) - face-to-face session in XXX (British city name)

1. Hello all
2. Thank you for expressing an interest in this consumer research sessions on Friday 16
3. July with a group of 16-24 year olds.

4. These workshops will be run as bespoke sessions for specific teams, so do require
5. some commitment on your part. I've attached our 'rules of engagement' so you know
6. what you're committing to. You'll see that we ask that at least four team members join us,
7. so that you can get the most of meeting and talking with the young people. This project
8. is all about the XXX (client organisation name) having an ongoing conversation with this
9. audience, so relies on you to make the sessions work!
10. [sender goes on to detail various time slots available and requests people express a preference]
11. I'm on leave for the next two weeks, so if you could please reply to my colleague Jackie
12. K that would be great. It would also be great to get a response by Friday 25 June.
13. Many thanks
14. Ally

In line 5, the female sender mentioned a constituent part of the text by name i.e. rules of engagement. Issuing such a document could theoretically have constituted a potential negative face threat. Rather than simply imposing the rules of engagement, the female sender also explicitly stated the reason for inclusion of the document (expressed in terms of benefit to the reader). In doing so, she can be taken to have minimised the potential face threat. Indeed, throughout the email the sender conversationally laboured so as to reduce potential face threats. For instance, note the use of the micro politeness marker in the *directive* in line 10, and the appreciation upgrade in the time stipulation in line 11.

The *text mention* in Example 23 was interesting in that it provided an element of ideological guidance. Example 23 occurred in the same chain as Examples 10 and 15 above. In

Example 23, a female client sent a propose email containing a number of creative territories her team had identified in a brainstorming session.

Example 23

Subject: Carnival Brief

1. Hi Alison,
2. I just left you a message, as you've probably left, I'll try you again when I get in
3. tomorrow. As I said, we basically just thought we could give
4. you guys a steer on creative territories we're interested in. You can see our <u>starters</u>
5. <u>for ten</u> attached.
6. Thanks again
7. Jeanie

At this point, the commercial context of the email above should be noted. Advertising agencies provide creative ideas and strategies; this function essentially distinguishes them from mere production houses (i.e. those who simply physically manufacture advertisements e.g. printing posters). As a result, agencies often jealously guard creative interference from clients, and often regard such actions as somewhat hostile acts.   In a sense, the act of the client in the example above could be construed as a face threat to the agency (if not a commercial threat in that it undermined the integrity of the agency/client relationship).

In lines 4-5 the female client referred to her attached document as a 'starters for ten'. I would argue that the British idiom 'starters for ten' functioned so as to minimize the supposed sense of importance attached to the substantive content of the attachment. Such discursive production reduced potential resistance to such content by clothing it with a degree of triviality. However, this may well have been a convenient fiction as I do not think the client truly intended the document to be treated trivially. In this sense the *text mention* was used in a classically ideological way (i.e. to essentially promote a false sense of consciousness). The female sender made a representation about her text which she knew to be false, and expected her readers to acquiesce in such falsity whilst inevitably having to negotiate a different reality.

The rather simple point is that the way senders name their texts can be just as important as the act of reference. Take the following example. In Example 24, a mid-level female client acted on the advice of a senior client and requested a meeting with an agency planner.

Example 24

Subject: Meeting

1. Hi Alison,
2. I'm currently working on developing a new initiative for XXX targeting at-home-
3. mums and Helen B suggested I should set up a meeting with you in London to
4. discuss audience research with you.
5. Can you let me know if you're available on Friday 2nd July for an hour or so of
6. your time.
7. Working brief attached.
8. Kind regards
9. Davina

As is apparent from the email above, the female client was in the development stage of a project. As part of her request for a meeting, the sender shared her brief. In doing so, she referred to it as a 'Working brief' (see line 7). Again, such a reference provided a degree of speaker commentary upon the nature of the document i.e. it is working not final document, and presumably open to change/suggestion. It could also be argued that she provided herself with a degree of face protection in that any mistakes or shortcomings contained within the document were not fully committed to as in a final brief.

Males also expressed attitude towards textual objects (see Example 50, line 1; Example 51, line 2, 3, 4 and 6), however, there was one case of 'ideological naming' in the data taken from male senders. Example 25, reproduced in full in Example 51 below, occurred in a chain in which a female planner from the advertising agency acted on behalf of her client to instruct a research agency. In the example previous to that in Example 25, the female planner invited a specific agency to submit a research proposal. In doing so, she attached a

research brief (and referred to it in such terms). Example 25 contains the response of a male sender from the research agency.

Example 25

Subject: Research Brief

1. Thanks for your <u>message</u>. Inevitably I got swamped last week and apologies for not getting our <u>proposal</u> to you sooner, but we have put together <u>a plan </u>that I really hope you like for this <u>brilliant piece of work</u>

After an expression of opening salutation, the male sender used a macro-level *text mention* to express gratitude for the female sender's previous message. In his response the male sender attached a research proposal (referred to twice in the excerpt above i.e. proposal, line 1; and, plan line 2). I took the reference in line 2-3 (i.e. brilliant piece of work) to refer to the female recipient's previous brief which detailed the project (i.e. as a macro-level, *text mention*). In referring to the research brief as a 'brilliant piece of work' the male sender clearly engaged in a degree of flattery, and in the process displayed himself as highly appreciative of the project. It could also be argued that he transformed the research brief from a relatively abstract notion to a more tangible project (presumably to be realised by his company).

Males like females also used micro-level *text mentions* to refer to constituent parts of the text in a semi-formulaic way i.e. in conjunction with *directives* and *phorics*. In Example 26, in a deliver information email, a junior male communicated to a number of senior managers.

Example 26

Subject: Verbatim Analysis: XXX (Brand name)

1. Hello,
2. Please find <u>verbatim analysis</u> below.   Perhaps some bespoke research, the kind done
3. by the likes of XXX (research agency name) could be done on this idea in order to
4. understand more fully how the ad is working with consumers/lapsed/rejecters.

5. Warmest Regards
6. Tito

[email contained an embedded document]

The sender in the example above used a *text mention* to explicitly mention a constituent part of his email (i.e. the verbatim analysis).

In the next section *code glosses* will be considered as the final sub-category of metadiscourse. Like *phorics*, both Hyland (2005) and Ä del (2006) contain *code glosses* as a category of metadiscourse.

Code Glosses

The difference in the use of *code glosses* was negligible between the genders in the advertising agency. Closer inspection of the data revealed that the females and males predominantly used *code glosses* to exemplify (8 of the 11 male *code glosses*, and 5 of the 6 female *code glosses* involved exemplification). There were no other noticeable differences in the use of *code glosses* used by the respective genders. Typical constructions comprised 'an exemplification marker + a group of appositive nouns/noun phrases': all four of the female exemplification *code glosses* took such a form; 6 of the 8 male examples did so. Example 27 occurred in the same chain as Examples 11, 12, and 14 above. Again, the chain concerned a discussion of digital strategy. In Example 27, reproduced in full in Example 67, a female client requested the opinion of a male planner in the advertising agency.

Example 27

Subject: more info and links

1. What creatively does the internet offer us in terms of building compelling and quality
2. web offerings? Is it
3. New forms of playout - <u>e.g.</u> in Real time, content can be quickly produced to react to
4. audiences' reactions
5. New forms of execution - <u>e.g.</u> mashup, cartoon, graphic novel…

6. New subject areas - <u>e.g</u>. more niche subjects <u>e.g</u>. conspiracy theories which traditional
7. TV could not go into so much detail over

In the excerpt above, the female sender asked a question and posed a number of answers. In lines 3 and 5 the sender used exemplificatory *code glosses* to elaborate on the meaning of the previous noun phrases. In line 6 the female used a *code gloss* to explain a *code gloss*. The female sender in the example above clearly laboured to make her intended meaning clear with the use of the various *code glosses* and arguably oriented towards a facilitative mode of communication. Interestingly, Hyland (2005) conceives of *code glosses* as very much reflective of the writer's predictions about the level of knowledge held by the reader. Even within the context of an email chain that was concerned with digital strategy, the target structure (i.e. 'New forms of execution') could be construed as ambiguous. For instance, without the *code gloss* it was not necessarily clear as to whether 'New forms of execution' included offline digital executions e.g. digital installation panels in public transport stations. In providing specific instances the writer clearly imparted her interpretation of the general concept (i.e. executions that were available online).

The following example was interesting in that a list of first names was used as appositive material. In Example 28, the female head of planning sent an email to the account management and account planning departments in relation to resource issues. She requested suggestions for possible freelance workers.

Example 28

Subject: good freelance

1. Hello all
2. We have a resource crunch and a new biz creds next week.
3. I've tried about 10 freelances so far but no one who isn't already booked up.
4. So, worth a try– anyone know a good freelance who could help out doing some desk research and some groups before next Monday?
5. I've contacted most of the obvious classics <u>like</u> -Tom, Hannah, Nisha, Rob, Carl.
6. Any other thoughts anyone?
7. Thanks
8. M
9. Will also try to get an open planning session in tomorrow to pick your brains about
10. the XXX (supermarket brand)
11. M

In line 5, the female sender used a *code gloss* to give examples of the people she had contacted, as well as the caliber of worker she required. An interesting point of enquiry concerns what exactly is the target structure in the example above. If the target structure was simply 'obvious classics' then there appears to be an element of contradiction: if the 'classics' were 'obvious' surely this would preclude the need for a *code gloss*[88]? Perhaps, the female sender intended to express her personal view as to whom she regarded as 'the obvious classics'. Alternatively, perhaps the target structure comprised the *already contacted* 'obvious classics'. In other words, the listed examples consisted of those she had already contacted. Either way, the female sender judged her reader's as needing help in the recovery of her intended meaning.

As already stated, male senders used exemplificatory *code glosses* in a similar manner to female senders. Example 29 occurred in chain in which a junior male planner sent preliminary analysis of an audience feedback survey to a number of senior agency and client-side staff.

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[88] Although as Van Dijk (2014) argues 'obviously' rarely means 'obviously': it often means quite the opposite.

Example 29

Subject: Consumer survey verbatim feedback

1. Perhaps some bespoke research, the kind done by the <u>likes of</u> XXX (research agency
2. name) could be done on this idea in order to understand more fully how the ad is
3. working with consumers/lapsed/rejecters.

In the excerpt above, the male sender tentatively suggested that further research be conducted to validate his findings. In doing so, he used a *code gloss* to suggest the kind of agency that could conduct the research. The junior male's use of the *code gloss* could have increased the persuasiveness of his suggestion by providing his reader's with a concrete possibility to consider as opposed to an abstract statement. However, it was not only junior senders that used the devices to increase the persuasiveness of their arguments as is apparent in the following example. Example 30, reproduced in full in Example 1, occurred in a chain concerned with the discussion of digital strategy. Again, the male strategy director contributed to a group discussion in order to contradict the emergent consensus to develop an online demonstration video.

Example 30

Subject: Online Demo Video

1. People are more likely to undertake difficult tasks, <u>like</u> share trading, if they do it with
2. someone else (we saw how strong this desire was at the Seminar). So we could
3. introduce a strong 'social' element to this learning experience that connects people?

In line 1 of the excerpt above, the male sender used a *code gloss* (i.e. like share trading) to instantiate the target structure of i.e. difficult tasks. In doing so, he persuasively demonstrated the relevance of his current point to the subject matter (i.e. share trading). In line 2, he subsequently used a *personal aside* to add further evidential material to support his argument.

Both genders also used reformulation *code glosses* in a similar manner, although we should note that there was only one example in the data from the female senders. Example 31 occurred in the same chain as Examples 3, 6, 21, and 22. Example 31 initiated the chain. As already stated the chain concerned the arrangement of an informal client research exercise. In Example 31, a female planner initiated the chain by writing to a number of clients informing them of the planned research exercise.

Example 31

Subject: XXX (brand name) - face-to-face session in XXX (British city name)

1. Hello all
2. [sender opens with lengthy paragraph detailing the plans]
3. Could you let me know if you and your teams would be interested in and available for
4. this?

5. At this stage, there is no guarantee that each team will be able to have time with the
6. young people, so we need to know whether you think this is appropriate (ie, you are
7. specifically working on XXX (Sub brand name) or youth-facing content/ideas at the
8. moment), and that you have a particular theme, question or idea that you'd like to try to
9. crack with them.

10. As I said, absolutely no promises at this stage, I just need to weigh up the demand across
11. the business and prioritise how we spend our day on 16th July.
12. Please contact me if you have any questions - it would be great to hear back from you by
13. Wednesday this week if at all possible, even if with just initial thoughts.
14. Many thanks,
15. Alison

The female sender used an interesting mix gendered discourse norms. Her *directive* in line 2 was articulated with indirect language (i.e. could you…); furthermore, her facilitative offer of help in line 9 (please contact me…) were indexical of feminine modes of communication. However, her bold statements in line 3 (i.e. there is no guarantee…) and line 7 (i.e.

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absolutely no promises…) were rather direct and assertive (i.e. indexical of a masculine style). The use of the reformulation *code gloss* to define the target structure 'appropriate' also occurred in a passage that was transactional in its focus. This can be contrasted with the following example in which a male sender displayed a much more feminine style of communication. In Example 32 a male senior planner wrote to an external marketing consultant with regards to specific marketing strategies that could drive a temporary lift in sales. He also copied his account team (i.e. three other males: two account managers; and, one junior planner).

Example 32

Subject: LIFT! Session

1. Hi Scott
2. Hope you had a fab weekend
3. As discussed at last week's session– i'd really love to find a way of driving a lift for an
4. extended period (<u>i.e. </u>a week).
5. What's the simplest/fastest way of achieving that?
6. Thanks
7. Andrew

The sender opened his line with a relationally focused expression of interpersonal sentiment. In lines 2-3 the sender conversationally laboured to help aid his reader's comprehension: he used a evidential to remind the reader of the previous conversation (i.e. as discussed at last week's session); he also used a *code gloss* to define the target structure 'extended period' (both indexical of facilitative communication).. As with the *code glosses* in Examples 27, and 28 such clarification provided the sender's question with greater clarity, and thus helped the reader recover the intended meaning.

4.5.2. Summary: Gendered use of organisational metadiscourse in the advertising agency

Overall, the use of organisational metadiscourse was characterised by similarity in the advertising agency discourse community. In terms of frequency, the only significant difference between the genders concerned the use of *frame markers*: male senders used more. Excluding *frame markers,* both genders essentially exercised a similar level of effort in aiding readers in the recovery of their intended meaning. In this sense, both genders framed themselves as active managers of their texts. However, the data revealed that males were more self-focused than females. In relation to their own content, males uniquely used *frame markers* to clearly label sections of their discourse. They also solely used *phorics* to refer to the present email contributions, and often marked their own contribution. Such use of the two organisational resources disclosed a male tendency within the advertising agency to give prominence to their individual work. In their use of organisational markers, females arguably displayed greater affiliative concerns. For instance, in their use of *phorics*, females more frequently referred to both collaborative work (to which they had contributed), as well as the work of other members of the discourse community. Furthermore, in their use of *text mentions*, females showed particular concern for the reception of their texts by their readers.

The next section will consider the use of stance metadiscourse within the advertising agency discourse community. Stance metadiscourse as used in my model comprised four markers: *uncertainty markers*; *certainty markers*; *attitude markers*; and, *self mentions*. As has been stated throughout the present thesis, Ä del (2006) excludes stance from the remit of metadiscourse. The approach taken in the present thesis sought to include a restrictive class of stance markers which include the metalingual function.

4.5.3. Gendered use of stance metadiscourse in the advertising agency

Overall, male and female senders used a similar amount of stance metadiscourse. Both genders used a similar amount of *uncertainty markers* and *self mentions.* Males used significantly more *certainty markers*.

The next two sections will consider the use of *(un)certainty markers* within the advertising agency discourse community. As stated in Chapter 3, the restrictive class of *(un)certainty*

markers included in the present model were regarded as involving an evidential qualification which stamped a sense of writer ownership on an utterance. They were also regarded existing on a cline with acts of saying in Ä del (2006). As a result, they were felt to be inherent discursive and thus satisfied the metalingual function.

Uncertainty markers

Overall, both genders used a similar amount of *uncertainty markers*. Both genders also used the devices in a functionally similar way.

Example 33 occurred in an email chain concerned with a discussion of pricing strategy. In the previous email an agency side worker requested confirmation on the expected timeframe for a response. In Example 33 a senior client responded.

Example 33

Subject: Pricing

1. Hi Phil - end of today would be ideal if possible as <u>I suspect</u> this <u>may</u> come up in
2. Dave's Monday am directors meeting.
3. S

Certain aspects of the sender's email above were indexical of a communication style traditionally coded as feminine. The sender first expressed his preference for a same day response with a contingent appreciation upgrade (i.e. would be ideal if possible). He then used a mental state predicate (i.e. I suspect) to tentatively express a grounder for his previously stated preference. The role of the embedded object modal (i.e. may) invites a degree of speculation as to its impact upon the meaning of the sentence. The inclusion of the embedded modal meant that both the subjective and objective component of the utterance was qualified: the sender can be taken as having said 'in my opinion it is an objective possibility'. In other words, the sender expressed a personal opinion that there was a possibility of the item occurring the meeting. An alternative, although non-critical, interpretation is one in which the embedded modal is treated as deontic.

The other example of an *uncertainty marker* from a male sender was sent by the chief operations officer of the advertising agency. Example 34, reproduced in full, occurred in the same chain as Example 1. Again, the chain was concerned with the development of an online demonstration video aimed at potential share traders. In Example 34, the chief operations officer in the advertising agency forwarded a conversation in which he had received from two senior clients (see Example 71 for one of the emails). He subsequently requested his account team hold a brainstorming session.

Example 34

Subject: Online Demo Video

1. <u>I suppose</u> anything that helps explain is good and this is the right channel to
2. do it in.
3. I'm meeting with Dave next week, can we bang heads together to find a response to the
4. issue.
5. N

In line 1, ahead of a subsequent request, the male sender expressed tentative agreement with regards to the production of an online video. Interestingly, the response from the account strategy director contained a degree of challenge (see Example 1). Perhaps, the fact that the male sender indicated his position as a relatively weak opinion gave licence for such a challenge.

As already stated above female senders used *uncertainty markers* in a similar manner to their male colleagues. Example 35 occurred in an email chain in which an account manager sent a request for information (concerned with the issue of brand trust) to the entire planning department. In Example 35, reproduced in full, a female planner responded.

Example 35

Subject: Brand Trust

1. I've been working on trust in terms of credit purchase arrangements for XXX. <u>I</u>
2. <u>attach</u> <u>the deck of a presentation</u> I recently gave to the planning department. This<u> is</u>
3. <u>just my view of things</u> based on the feedback we've had in groups.

In lines 2-3, the sender used a viewpoint subjunct (i.e. my view of things) to reflexively refer to an attached document (i.e. the *uncertainty marker* scoped over the entire attachment). It should be noted that the sender was a senior planner[89] actively engaged in relevant consumer research. The fact that she had reached senior planner status, and was conducting relevant research would suggest a level of competence so as to rule out credibility issues. Given that the content of the email was based on research that the sender had conducted, 'just my view' seemed somewhat belittling of her contribution; taken out of context, it could be deemed as relatively diminutive (Vine, 2004). However, there may be a more nuanced way of understanding the *uncertainty marker*.   In recognition of potential limits of her work, the *uncertainty marker* may also have allowed the sender to construct a humble persona. This in turn may have provided a more persuasive way for the female sender to present her information (Clemen, 1983. Silver, 2003).

Example 36 occurred in the same chain as Example 2. Again the chain was concerned with a request for information as how to best understand the methodologies used by a certain research conglomerate. In Example 36 a female strategy director responded to the initial request.

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[89] A mid-level position of reasonable distinction (as explained in Appendix 1)

Example 36

Subject: Bluffers guide to XXX (research conglomerate brand name) methodologies

1. Cathy R. wrote a good one which hasn't changed. It's in the planning dept. folder, it's
2. probably in presentations but <u>I am not sure</u>. Get your planner to have a look as you
3. don't have access to the folder
4. S

The example above is rather interesting from an epistemic perspective. The sender began with a bald statement: 'It is in the planning dept. folder' i.e. she expressed the proposition as categorical certainty. She then qualified a second proposition with the use of an objective modal (i.e. 'probably'). She finally subjectively qualified the second utterance by further indicating her personal uncertainty. The whole utterance invites a number of interesting points. The first point concerns whether or not the sender contradicted herself in the expression of various propositions with different epistemic values? Such a conclusion is not warranted. Consideration of the various propositions that comprise the utterance reveal that the propositions expressed different incidentals. In the first proposition, the sender was categorically certain that the file was in the planning folder. In the second proposition she first claimed that there was an objective probability that the file was in the presentations folder; finally, she subjectively qualified the second proposition and so reflexively marked the content of the previous proposition as her belief. The second point concerns the metadiscursive status of the various epistemic devices. The first hedge 'probably' was not regarded as metadiscursive given that it was embedded in a proposition, and concerned with the object world. Furthermore, 'probably' only scoped over the predicate of the proposition in which it occurred. This can be contrasted to the reflexive comment 'I'm not sure' which scoped over the whole of previous proposition, and was concerned with what had just been expressed.

The next section will consider the use of *certainty markers* in the advertising agency discourse community.

Certainty markers

Males in the advertising agency used significantly more *certainty markers* per 1000 words than females. In terms of functional usage, again both genders used *certainty markers* in a similar manner i.e. to express relatively bold object propositions. Given that there were no major differences between the sexes in the use of *certainty markers*, the following examples were selected for the richness of insights they provide into the nature of the markers as opposed to typicality of gendered use.

Example 37, like certain examples considered in the marketing department data, challenges the notion that stance always relates to the outside world. In Example 37, reproduced in full in Example 3, a male sender wrote to a client concerning the arrangement of an informal focus group.

Example 37

Subject: XXX (brand name) - face-to-face session in XXX (British city name)

1. Hi Mark,
2. <u>I think</u> it would be best if you send me a list of things that you would
3. like to explore with the participants…

The sender's use of the *certainty marker* in line 1 arguably expressed an opinion towards a state of affairs within the world of discourse (i.e. send me). However, as has already been stated numerous times, an explicit metalingual reference was not required of *(un)certainty markers* as they were seen as sufficiently reflexive in their own right (i.e. emanated from the writer/speaker/sender persona). Although the sender expressed a strong opinion it still afforded the receiver a degree of manoeuvre. Nuyts notes: 'while one is thinking the reasoning process is open' (2001: 115). For instance, the direct addressee in the example above could have proposed a phone call as alternative means of communication.

The following two examples contained interesting co-occurrences with announce goal *frame markers*. In Example 38, reproduced in full in Example 1 above, a senior male strategy director delivered an opinion which challenged the emergent consensus within the chain (concerned with the production of an online video).

Example 38

Subject: Online Demo Video

1. <u>I think</u> the opportunity is bigger than 'doing a video' (like competitors). The opportunity
2. is to define the content strategy around our the brand that best fulfills consumers needs
3. –both for first timers and for more experienced 'Students'of share trading – as we saw
4. at the debrief, this is a learning experience that never stops. Traders are always learning.

5. Developing & sharing these kinds of unique added-value tools and content is what will
6. gain XXX (Client organisation name) a competitive advantage –<u>I'd like to reiterate</u> there
7. are many exciting things we could do beyond a TV spot type video.
8. Mike – any thoughts?
9. Phil

In the second from last paragraph, the sender used a *certainty marker* to state his personal opinion regarding the production of an online demonstration video. The *certainty marker* allowed the sender to redressively escape committing a face threat to those that had endorsed the idea of a demonstration video by marking the object proposition as a personal opinion (albeit a strong one). Nuyts (2001) notes that mental state predicates often appear in contexts where there is a degree of antagonism between the speaker and hearer. Indeed, the personalisation of the object proposition may well have been the primary motivation for the use of the marker as opposed to the marking of uncertainty (however slight). According to Nuyts:

> 'it is usually quite obvious that speakers are absolutely certain about or convinced of what they are saying, but by using the mental state predicated they suggest that they are voicing a tentative and personal opinion which may be wrong, thus "'officially'" leaving room for another opinion or for a reaction on the part of the hearer' (2001: 391).

The second noteworthy point of the example above concerned the use of the *frame marker* in line 6 (i.e. I'd like to reiterate). The *frame marker* was a performative act of saying; the object proposition of which essentially repeated the sentiment of the *certainty marker*

construction in line 1. The close juxtaposition of the two as well as the fact that they both functioned to allow the writer persona to own a position within the world of discourse further demonstrates that the boundary between acts of saying and mental states predicates can be relaxed (in as much as both can be treated as metalingual). Observations in the present thesis would suggest that the expressive function is slightly more important in the use of mental state predicates; in acts of saying the textual function is slightly more important.

In the following example, a *frame marker* (i.e. act of saying) and a *certainty marker* were juxtaposed directly next to one another. Example 39, reproduced in part in part in Examples 11 and 14 above, occurred in a chain concerned with the discussion of digital strategy.   In Example 39, a male sender answered a request for an opinion concerning digital strategy.

Example 39

Subject: More info and links

 1.   <u>I can't stress enough my belief</u> in the co-branding power of TV products

In line 1 the sender used a *frame marker* (i.e. I can't stress enough) in conjunction with a *certainty marker* (i.e. my belief) to boldly stress his belief in the branding power of television. As has been seen, announce goal *frame markers* (as acts of saying) generally perform an 'ownership' role in the world of discourse[90] in as much as they identify the speaker with a certain textual act/position. It could be argued that the *frame marker* in the construction above performed an epistemic role by intensifying the co-text; whilst the *certainty marker* performed more of an ownership role.

The previous two examples involved the expression of rather confident opinions. Women were equally self-confident in the expression of certainty as can be seen in the following two examples. Example 40, reproduced in full in Example 46 below occurred in a chain in which a female sender shared the work of two colleagues.

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[90] Although they also perform a less pronounced qualification role.

Example 40

Subject: Pack Shots

1. And it's good news - the majority claim it either makes no difference or that it makes
2. them less likely to watch! It's only a handful of slides so worth a read and <u>I think</u> it's
3. certainly one to reference in those difficult conversations

In the last paragraph of her email, the female sender expressed praise for the attached document. In line 2, she used a *self mention* with a *certainty marker* (i.e. think) followed by the propositional intensifier 'certainly' to enhance the strength of her recommendation for colleagues to read the document she had distributed. This finding is similar to that of Herbert (1990); Johnson and Roen (1992); and, Tse and Hyland (2008) all of whom observe the use of boosters by females in the expression of praise.

Example 41 occurred in the same chain as Examples 12, 14, and 39. Again the chain concerned discussion of digital strategy. In Example 41, reproduced in full in Example 67, a senior female client wrote to a male planner in the advertising agency in order to request an opinion.

Example 41

Subject: More info and links

1. To date we've launched XXX (name of online campaign) XXX (IBID)
2. XXX (IBID), XXX (IBID) and XXX (IBID) amongst other web or originals: <u>I don't</u>
3. <u>think</u> these can be considered as game changers.
4. Martin likes Dogs, <u>I just don't think </u>it will do the expected business.
5. As ever, really appreciate your thoughts
6. V

In the excerpt above the female client expressed criticism with regards to a number of online executions the client organisation had been responsible for in the past. In line 2, she expressed a mental state predicate (i.e. I don't think) to express a negative opinion with regards to past projects. It should be noted that the advertising agency was not responsible for such projects so no face threat was involved in the expression of such an opinion. In line

4, the female sender once again expressed a personal opinion: one which contradicted that of her colleague (i.e. Martin -who was not copied). The expression of such frank judgements on group email (remember two other parties were copied) could be regarded as indexical of a masculine mode of communication. Finally, it should be noted that both *certainty makers* involved an interesting turn of phrase (i.e. a negation of think). The sender did not negate her thinking, the negation was simply transferred from the object proposition to the metacognitive component (see Halliday: 1994).

I would argue that the use of the following *certainty marker* was more indexical of a style of communication traditionally coded as feminine. In Example 42, reproduced in full in Example 4, a female strategy director in the advertising discourse community shared a series of articles she had published in a trade magazine by sending an all agency email. The articles basically comprised a series of 'how to' guides on dealing with difficult client issues.

Example 42

Subject: our monthly rants

1. Was talking about our monthly Admap Client Horror rants to Henry and thought I'd
2. send them round in case you're interested - <u>I know </u>no-one ever reads Admap!

In the opening section of the email the sender discursively laboured in order to justify the all agency email. She opened the email with an intertextual reference to a conversation that had previously occurred between herself and the head of account management (i.e. Henry). The conversation with Henry (perhaps his interest) appears to have triggered a tentative recognition of the potential relevance of her work to the wider agency. She then provided a further reason for sending the email i.e. no one reads the trade publication so would not have seen the articles. In doing so she used a *certainty marker* (i.e. I know) in order to mark her proposition with a sense of certainty just short of a categorical statement.

Taken out of context the construction containing the *certainty marker* could be taken as a positive face threat. The sender could be taken as having made the implication that her readers did not exercise professional diligence (i.e. reading trade publications). However, in making such a claim the sender can be taken as having actually oriented towards humorous

self-denigration (i.e. the modesty maxim) by alluding to the fact that the publication has a small readership[91].

A legitimate question can be asked as to whether the clausal expression 'I know' constituted a qualification of certainty. There is opinion that would suggest it did not: in saying one knows something, one affirms the factive status of the proposition (Kiparsky and Kiparsky, 1970; Lyons, 1977). According to such thinking the example above should therefore be regarded as having the same force as a categorical statement. Alternatively, Van Dijk (2014)[92] suggests that any personalisation involves uncertainty:

> 'Instead of asserting *I know that p*, language users simply assert *p…*the explicit use of *I know that* often indexes doubt about such knowledge…politicians who state *We all know that* usually express a belief that is not usually known at all as was the case with Tony Blair and his knowledge about WMDs in Iraq*' (2014: 31)

I agree with Van Dijk's position, especially in relation to the example above. As argued throughout the present thesis, whenever the subjective dimension (i.e. I-say-so) is qualified the subsequent proposition is dependent on personal evaluation. This involves, however slight, a degree of uncertainty.   In the example above, it is highly unlikely that the sender categorically knew that none of her readers read the trade magazine. Instead she should be taken as having expressed a personal opinion and presented herself as almost certain as to its validity.

The next section will consider the use of *attitude markers* by sender in the advertising agency discourse community. Again, in order to count as metadiscourse under the current model of metadiscourse *attitude markers* had to involve the metalingual function.

Attitude Markers

In terms of frequency, males and females used a similar amount of *attitude markers*. Functionally, the respective sexes used the markers differently. Females most often used the devices as micro-politeness markers i.e. please (14 of the 26 female *attitude markers*

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[91] Whilst it has a small readership it could be argued that it is actually regarded as a prestigious title amongst advertising practitioners.
[92] A similar position can be found in Hazlett (2009)

involved such a use, versus just 3 of the 20 examples in the male data). Given its semi-formulaic propensity to co-occur with *directives* the micro-politeness marker 'please' will be considered under engagement (below). Females also frequently used *attitude markers* at the macro-level to express anticipation and evaluate textual items (12 of the 26 female *attitude markers* involved such a use). Males most often used the devices at the macro-level to backchannel gratitude and express anticipation (11 of the 20 male *attitude markers* involved such a use).

As already stated, female senders used macro-level *attitude markers* to express positive anticipation of their interlocutors' communicative efforts. Example 43, reproduced in full in Example 67 below, a senior female client requested an opinion from a male advertising planner. The excerpt in Example 43 below occurred as a pre-closing line.

Example 43

Subject: More info and links

 1. <u>As ever, really appreciate</u> your thoughts

The female sender used an *attitude marker* in a pre-closing line to express appreciation in advance of her interlocutor's response. Again, it is possible to note the metacognitive reference (i.e. your thoughts) frequently found in the data. This was typical of such pre-closing lines.

Females also expressed attitude at the macro-level in order to evaluate textual items. Example 44 occurred in the same chain as Example 24 above. The chain was concerned with the arrangement of a meeting between a mid-level client and the account team. In the initial request email (see Example 24), the client sent her working brief. In Example 44, a female planner responded to the client's request.

Example 44

Subject: Meeting

1. Hello Davina
2. *LOVE* this but unfortunately I can't print it off as currently on train using wifi.
3. However, let me introduce you to our new team member, Tito W, who'll be in touch
4. shortly about meeting up.
5. Thanks, Alison

In line 2, the female sender used an *attitude marker* to express an evaluation of her client's document (signaled by the contractor 'this') which was attached in the previous email. This reference satisfied the requirement of a reference to the metalingual function. Similarly, In Example 45, in a deliver opinion email already discussed above in Example 6, a female strategy director used an *attitude marker*. The marker was used in order to express evaluation of a document the account manager had found (and shared) on the recommendation of another planner.

Example 45

Subject: Bluffers guide to XXX (research conglomerate brand name) methodologies

1. …I'd just add that while it's a pretty good explanation, we do have some fundamental
2. concerns with XXX (research conglomerate brand name) which haven't changed.

The previous two examples discussed involved the expression of a relatively positive attitude on behalf of the sender. A more ambiguous use of an *attitude marker* can be found in Example 49 below. Examples 46, 47, 48, and 49 represent a complete chain of emails. In Example 46, the chain initiator, a mid-level female account manager distributed the findings of a research project to the account management, and the account planning department. The particular project involved an ad hoc collaboration between an account director and a junior planner.

Example 46

Subject: Pack Shots

1. Hi All
2. How many times have you had a conversation with a client about whether or not to
3. include that killer clip in a spot because it takes time from the pack shot? Well Stuart
4. M has worked with Tito in planning to pull together consumer viewpoints on pack
5. shots (ppt attached).
6. <u>And it's good news</u> - the majority claim it either makes no difference or that it makes
7. them less likely to watch! It's only a handful of slides <u>so worth a read</u> and I think it's
8. certainly one to reference in those difficult conversations.
9. B

In the second paragraph, the sender provided what Sehgal (2016) refers to as a BLUF[93] (i.e. bottom line up front) in relation to the content of the attached presentation. She began the BLUF with an *attitude marker* that proclaimed the contents of the presentation as 'good news'. In line 7, she claimed the brevity of the document made it 'worth a read'. Both *attitude markers* were concerned with the content of a constituent part of the current text (i.e. an attachment) and so involved the metalingual function. In Example 47, reproduced in full, a senior female account director responded and praised the producers of the research.

Example 47

Subject: Pack Shots

1. Brilliant, Thanks Stu + Tito!

In Example 48, reproduced in full, another senior female account director echoed the praise of the previous email.

Example 48

Subject: Pack Shots

1. Ditto, nice work Stu and T!

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[93] i.e. a short passage in which the conclusion or summary is prevented upfront.

In Example 49, reproduced in full, another mid-level female account manager interrupted the emerging consensus of praise in order to distribute findings from a similar project she had worked on two years earlier.

Example 49

Subject: Pack Shots

1. Hayley and I did a similar piece on Idents last year and <u>(fortunately!)</u> came to the
2. same conclusion. See attached deck- Those who love it seek it out and love it, and
3. those who don't love it, know how to avoid them.
4. Rx

One could question as to whether the expression of the parenthetical *attitude marker* (i.e. fortunately!) tied the sender to the world of discourse (i.e. involved the metalingual function). I would argue that in its reference to the similar conclusions of the two reports (both component aspects of the current text) it did indeed tie the sender to the world of discourse.

A number of interesting points can be raised in relation to the use of the *attitude marker* above. Firstly, the interjection alone could be construed as rather self-promotional. Second, the use of the parenthetical *attitude marker* 'fortunately' is most interesting when considered as a possible passive-aggressive threat. In a sense, the sender can be taken as having implied that the latter research should agree with the previous research (presumably she would regard disagreement between the projects as unfortunate). In doing so, she could be accused as clothing herself with a certain level of authority. She was after all an only a mid-level account manager (i.e. not a specialist in research). Such interpretations could of course invite accusations of pessimism on my behalf. Perhaps, the female sender was simply expressing the supposed female preference for consensus. Even so, as was mentioned in Chapter 2, the supposed female preference for consensus can function in a rather totalitarian manner in that it can stifle dissent (Tannen, 1993). Regardless of the sender's true intent, I hold the view that her actions at best could be construed as a form of passive aggressiveness, and at worst a form of consensual tyranny.

As stated above, males predominantly used backchannels to express gratitude for acts already completed. Example 50 occurred in the same chain as Example 13 above. The chain was

concerned with the discussion of the findings from a research debrief. In Example 50 a senior male sender used an *attitude marker* to express gratitude for a senior planner's previous email.

Example 50

Subject: Investment trends - further strategic thoughts

1. Hi Phil
2. <u>Thanks </u>for these comments– I think it would be good to spend some decent time
3. working them through further. Could you and I get some time next week to discuss at
4. some length these and other opportunities from the Inv Trends analysis?
5. Simon.

Similar to females, males also used *attitude markers* to express anticipation of their interlocutor's acts within the world of discourse. The context of Example 51 was one in which the advertising agency was charged by a client with the management of a research tender exercise. In Example 51, discussed above in Example 25, an external male sender responded to the invitation.

Example 51

Subject: Research Brief

1. Hi Emma,
2. <u>Thanks</u> for your message. Hope you're well and had a lovely bank holiday weekend.
3. Inevitably I got swamped last week and <u>apologies</u> for not getting our proposal to you
4. sooner, but we have put together a plan that <u>I really hope you</u> like for this <u>brilliant</u>
5. piece of work. As you'll see as we haven't worked with you before I've put in a 10% discount on our usual rates but it still comes at just above the 20K mark.
6. Anyway do get back to me if you want to discuss and <u>really looking forward</u> to
7. hearing from you.
8. All the best,
9. Nigel

The sender expressed metadiscursive attitude at a number of points in the email above. In line 2, he expressed gratitude for his interlocutor's previous email. In line 3 he expressed an apology for a delayed response (this was taken as relating to both the world of discourse and the current text thus metalingual). In line 4 he expressed a degree of interpersonal sentiment with regards to the direct addressee's appreciation of the text (which he also called 'brilliant'). Finally, in line 6 the sender used an *attitude marker* at the end of his email to express eagerness with regards to his interlocutor's response. As already discussed above, in relation to Example 25, the male sender displayed a particularly feminine style of communication. This may well have been beneficial for the sender in the acquisition of a substantial research contract.

There were three examples[94] in which male senders used *attitude markers* at the sentential level (there were none in the data from the female senders). Example 52 occurred in a chain in which a senior male strategy director sent an all agency email requesting market intelligence on the Asia pacific region. In Example 52, a new member of staff responded detailing help he could potentially supply.

Example 52

Subject: APAC intelligence

1. Hi Dom
2. I worked in XXX (Advertising agency name) Singapore Office
3. If you ever need any kind of quick & dirty opinion on anything to do with the APAC
4. market, for your pitch I'd be happy to rustle around my Singapore material.
5. I can ask my old colleagues if out of my comfort zone
6. S

As is apparent in the example above, the male sender was particularly helpful in his response. In Example 53, a senior male strategy director responded. The italics are mine; in the actual Example the sender used a green coloured font.

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[94] Although three occurred in one email (see Example 53).

Example 53

Subject: APAC intelligence

1. I worked in XXX (Advertising agency name) Singapore Office
2. *Thanks for letting me know*
3. If you ever need any kind of quick & dirty opinion on anything to do with the APAC
4. market, for your pitch I'd be happy to rustle around my Singapore material[95].
5. *Excellent*
6. I can ask my old colleagues if out of my comfort zone[96]
7. *That sounds great.*

In lines 1, 3-4 and 6 the sender reproduced aspects of the previous response. In lines 2, and 7 he reflexively interjected in order to express metadiscursive attitude. In lines 2 and 7, the sender explicitly treated the entextualised material as communication. No explicit tie to the world of discourse can be found in either the entextualised material in lines 3-4, or the marker in line 5.   The sender's public expression of attitude (both metadiscursive and non-metadiscursive) was particularly encouraging and warm towards the recipient (thus indexical of a feminine style of communication).

There was one example in the data from the male senders in which an *attitude marker* was used to express affective sentiment towards the immediate proposition. In Example 54, a senior male client wrote to a subordinate worker in order to request information.

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[95] Entextualised echo
[96] Entextualised echo

Example 54

Subject: Pricing

1. Simon
2. Going to be presenting on long term impact on a category of a significant price cut. <u>I</u>
3. want to highlight, that yes, you get an immediate short term benefit of
4. volume but in the mid to longer term the market stabilises at this new lower price level.

5. Do you or XXX (name of advertising agency) have any examples to support this?
6. <u>My best one</u> (attitude marker: micro: adverb) was 330ml nrb premium lager market
7. which had a clusterpack £4.99 category pricing level - promos started at £3.99 and this
8. did drive vols. 12 months later £3.99 became the norm price point and vols returned to
9. pretty much to £4.99 levels except everyone had lost £1 of margin
10. M

In the example above, the male sender used a mix of gendered discourse norms. In lines 2-4 he provided context for his subsequent request in line 5. In line 6, the male sender provided an example of the kind of material he wanted; and helpfully used an *attitude marker* (i.e. my best one) to indicate the finest example he had managed to produce. Such behaviour could be taken as indexical of a feminine style of discourse. The direct construction of pre-request in line 3 (i.e. I want to highlight) echoed the direct nature of the salutation and valediction formulae. Perhaps, this was a result of the fact that he communicated downwards (i.e. superior to subordinate), although we should note this was not typical of male behaviour in such circumstances.

Having considered the use of *uncertainty markers*, and *attitude markers*, the next section will consider the final marker under stance metadiscourse: *self mentions*.

Self Mentions

The genders used a similar amount of *self mentions* in the advertising agency discourse community.   Functionally, the respective sexes used *self mentions* in a similar manner. The

one notable difference concerned the propensity of female senders to index the sender/constructor aspect of the authorial self: males did not engage in such behaviour.

Both male and female sender most frequently indexed themselves in constructions which supplied knowledge: 19 of the 30 examples in the data from the female senders involved such use. Eleven of these occurred with *(un)certainty markers* (see Examples 35, 36, 40, 41 and 42 above); five more occurred in *frame marker* constructions.

In Example 55, the direct addressee had facilitated a meeting between an agency supplier (in this case a training company) and her old employer (a Public Relations firm). The supplier had subsequently attended an ideas evening at the firm, but forgot to invite the agency worker. In a greet[97] email, the supplier apologized to the female agency side worker (in front of the latter's boss).

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[97] Remember 'greet' has a non-literal meaning and includes behabitive categories such as apologies and congratulations (see section 3.5.)

Example 55

Subject: An apology

1. Dear Lisa
2. I hope all is good with you. Lisa <u>I have a massive apology to make to</u>
3. <u>you</u>. You'll remember that you put Alex and I in touch with Sarah – we met, thrashed a
4. few ideas around and organized a knowledge-sharing-over-a-drink evening, all thanks to
5. you. My regret is that it was last night and I completely forgot to invite you.
6. Lisa I am hugely sorry, and have no excuses. I thought the evening had
7. kicked off rather well until Sarah said 'where's Lisa?' and then looked utterly stricken.
8. <u>I'd like you (reader pronoun) to know</u> how much you were missed. Sarah was quick to
9. remind everyone about the wonderful Lisa F who had started this and we all raised a
10. glass in your honour. Later on I had a chat with Peter, mostly about you and how
11. disappointing that you weren't there. Other than the lack of your presence, last night was
12. great, and we have plans to do more. Lisa I can promise you'll be the first person we
13. invite.
14. With many thanks for starting this, and even more apologies,
15. Linda

In two *frame maker* constructions, the sender indexed herself as the authorial persona and used a *reader mention* to address the agency side female (i.e. you). In the first *frame marker* construction, the female sender indexed the remainder of the email as a personal apology. In the second *frame marker* construction she later expressed further interpersonal affection.

Females in the advertising agency, like females in the marketing agency, also indexed the sender/constructor aspect of their authorial self (4 of the 30 examples involved such use). Example 56 occurred in a chain in which a female from a training agency contacted a number of people from the advertising agency in order to request feedback on a training day.

Example 56

Subject: no subject line

1. Hi all,
2. It was an absolute pleasure to work with you last week –the success of the day is entirely
3. dependent on who's in the group - and you were fab! So thank you.
4. If you want any further input please get in touch - it would be great to hear from you. We
5. also ask that you complete the feedback survey so that we know what worked and what
6. didn't. Here's the link: XXX (Hyperlink)
7. Christine and Lisa - you very generously offered to help us to make contact with PR
8. agencies who we might be able to share creative processes with, can you send me their
9. contact details?
10. Best wishes
11. Sarah
12. An electronic copy of the materials used on Tuesday's session is attached. <u>I'm sending</u>
13. these on two emails as the files are weighty - here's the first batch:

In a post-scriptum entry (line 12), the female sender indexed herself as the sender of the email (i.e. I'm sending) in order to give reasons for her choice of action within the current world of discourse (i.e. the files were too big). Given the previous requests in the email (see line 4-5, and line 7), the fact that the sender indexed herself as a sender fits the previous 'Hermes effect' identified in the marketing department data. Similar examples can be found in Example 4, line 1-1 (i.e. thought I'd send them round), and Example 22, line 5 (i.e. I've attached our 'rules of engagement'). There was one example in which the sender indexed the sender/constructor aspect of her authorial self without an obvious need. Example 57 occurred in a chain in which the account team acted on behalf of a client in the instruction of a research agency.   In Example 57 a junior female invited a research agency to bid for the research contract.

Example 57

Subject: Research brief

1. Hi Nigel,
2. I got your email address from Anna K who I have been working with recently on
3. some research into digital presence on XXX (FMCG[98] brand name). We are hoping to
4. commission some qualitative research to help the XXX (FMCG brand name) and the
5. account team build up a
6. clearer strategy.

7. [sender goes on to discuss a number of procurement issues]

8. If it is ok for us to commission research from you, would you be interested in sending us
9. a proposal for our docs research? I have attached my draft brief . We're looking at a
10. budget of about £20k but we may be able to get a bit more than this for something that
11. we think will really help.
12. We would be hoping to have the research turned around in the next couple of months.
13. Please get in touch if you would like any other information.
14. I look forward to hearing back from you.
15. Thanks
16. Emma

In the short utterance in line 9 the female sender indexed two different aspects of her writer persona. She first indexed herself as constructor of the current text (i.e. I have attached). She then indexed herself as an exclusive authorial self (i.e. my draft brief). Interestingly, the utterance occurred after a request that was highly beneficial to the recipient (i.e. the possibility of acquiring a lucrative research project). In this sense, one could argue that there was no need to index herself as a helpful messenger (i.e. orient towards the tact maxim, Leech, 1983). Nevertheless, the sender did display particularly facilitative behaviour (note open offer of help in line 10). Perhaps, the fact that the sender was a junior member of staff

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influenced her tentative and facilitative behaviour in a communicative situation in which she effectively held great power.

Like female senders, male senders most often used *self mentions* in constructions that supplied knowledge within the world of discourse (24 of the 33 male examples involved such use).   In terms of the *self mentions* that indexed the authorial self, thirteen occurred with *certainty markers* (see Examples 30 and 31 above); five occurred in possessive *phoric* constructions; three occurred in *frame marker* constructions. Apart from the female propensity to index the sender/constructor aspect of the authorial self, there were no other notable differences in the male use of *self mentions*. In Example 58 a male strategy director shared a creative brief with a number of individuals due to attend an internal brainstorm session.

Example 58

Subject: Carnival Brief

1. Hi all
2. Looking forward to seeing you all next week for our brainstorm session.
3. <u>Here's my brief</u> –currently in with the creative department. Lots of details are still
4. being worked out but already pretty exciting.
5. [sender goes on to give a lengthy explanation of the creative territory the brief is trying to capture]
6. A lot has still to be agreed with the campaign so any good ideas could go far! <u>The</u>
7. <u>only other thing I would like to add</u> to this doc is the idea is that the idea needs to
8. link to the sponsorship activity.
9. @June and @Georgie can you send any useful consumer data that might inform our
10. discussion.
11. See you on Tuesday
12. Thanks
13. Howie

He twice indexed himself as the writer persona. In the first paragraph of the email, the sender used a possessive marker (i.e. *my*) in order to mark his authorial ownership of the brief (the *phoric* here referred to the attached document). The remainder of the paragraph essentially discussed certain aspects of the brief. At the end of the second paragraph, he indexed himself (as the writer persona) in a *frame marker* construction. The two *self mentions* worked harmoniously across the email. The first indexed the sender as author which essentially allowed for credible explanation of the aims of the project. The second *self mention* allowed him to provide additional key information that was absent in the original brief. This allowed the sender to inject the email with additional relevance in that it ceased to merely be a summary of the brief, but contained new (and important) information for the interpretation of the document.

As already stated, senders in the advertising agency indexed the acquisitive aspect of the self in a minority of cases (7 of the 30 examples in the data from the females senders involved such use; 9 of the 33 examples in the data involved such a use). Functionally, both male and female senders used such markers in *directive* constructions. Example 48 was taken from Example 31 above. In Example 59, a female planner wrote to a number of clients concerning an informal research event.

Example 59

Subject: XXX (brand name) - face-to-face session in XXX (British city name)

1. <u>Could you let me know</u> if you and your teams would be interested in and available for
2. this?

In the excerpt above, the female sender used a *self mention* in conjunction with a *reader mention* in order to elicit information from her interlocutors. In doing so she indexed herself as an individual within the world of discourse looking to acquire certain information. Similar examples from the female data can be found Example 6, line 1; Example 24, line 5; Example 56, line 8. Like females, males predominantly used such constructions to further communication within the current world of discourse. The excerpt in Example 60 was taken from Example 13. Again, the email concerned the discussion of a research debrief. In

Example 60, at the end of a lengthy deliver opinion email, a male strategy director indexed himself and his readers in a pre-closing line in order to elicit a response.

Example 60

Subject: Investment trends **-**further strategic thoughts

1. <u>Let me know what you</u> think.

In the example above, a metacognitive reference (i.e. think) was once again used to elicit a communicative response.

In summary, both genders indexed the authorial versus acquisitional discursive self in a similar manner. The notable difference concerned the propensity of females to index themselves as senders/constructors within the current world of discourse. Nevertheless, the functional usage of *self mentions* can be understood as characterised by greater similarity than difference.

The next section will summarise the findings from the enquiry into the way stance metadiscourse was used in the advertising agency discourse community.

4.5.4. Summary: Gendered use of stance metadiscourse

The use of stance metadiscourse in the advertising agency was as much characterised by a greater degree of similarity than difference. In terms of similarity, the genders used a similar amount of *uncertainty markers, attitude markers,* and *self mentions*. Functionally, they used *uncertainty markers, certainty markers* and *self mentions* in a broadly similar way. In terms of difference, male senders used significantly more *certainty markers*. Functionally, women used *attitude markers* for a broader range of purposes than males. Although a minor difference, it should also be noted that in the use of *self mentions* females once again exclusively indexed themselves as sender/constructor aspect of their metadiscursive self.

The final section will consider the use of engagement metadiscourse in the advertising agency discourse community. Engagement metadiscourse allows for insight into the ways

and reasons why senders pull their readers into the current world of discourse. The category comprises three sub-categories: *reader mentions*; *directives*; and, *personal asides*.

4.5.5. Gendered use of engagement metadiscourse in the advertising agency

Overall, female sender used a significantly greater amount of engagement metadiscourse in the advertising agency. This result was a cumulative effect of using marginally more of all the individual markers.

The following section will consider the use of *reader mentions* in the advertising agency. As stated in Chapter 3, the term *reader mentions* was preferred to the term *reader pronouns* (in Hyland 2005) for the fact that first names were often used in the email data. The sub-category subsumed the following sub-categories in Ä del (2006): a*nticipating the reader's response*; *hypothesising about the reader*; and *appealing to the reader*.

Reader mentions

In terms of frequency, female and male senders used a similar amount of *reader mentions*. Functionally, the respective genders most often used *reader mentions* in a similar manner i.e. in conjunction with *directives*. Indeed, 13 of the 23 *reader mentions* in the data from the male senders, and 18 of the 29 examples in the data from the female senders occurred within *directive* formulations (see discussion of *directives* below).

First name *reader mentions* also frequently occurred in both the male and female data. Females used first name *reader mentions* 8 times; 4 gave incidental recognition to a contribution within the world of discourse (as in Example 61); 3 personalised *directives* (as in Example 62); 1 expressed thanks (see Example 63).

Example 61 terminated the chain in which it occurred. Again, the chain was concerned with the arrangement of informal focus groups in which a group of brand managers were to meet a section of their target audience. In Example 61, a female account manager from the advertising agency wrote to a number of participants in order to share the final schedule.

Example 61

Subject: face-to-face session in XXX (British city name)

1. Hello everyone,
2. We're looking forward to seeing you in XXX (British city). Please see <u>Alison's</u>
3. timetable for the day's groups.
4. 11am - 12 noon : (Emma & Jo)
5. 12 noon - 1pm : (Ed & Alan)
6. Lunch
7. 2.00-3.00pm : (Mike)
8. 4.00-5.00pm : (Anna & Craig)
9. Please do give us a shout if <u>you </u>can to confirm any changes to the schedule.
10. Jackie

In line 2, the female sender recognised a copied colleague as a responsible agent within the world of discourse (i.e. author of the timetable detailed in the email). The copied colleague (i.e. Alison) had originally proposed the focus groups, and had been responsible for making most of the arrangements. However, late in the chain it transpired that she would not be able to attend the day due to illness. Keeping her copied in to the emails, and explicitly recognising her as responsible for the arrangements may have provided the sender (i.e. Jackie) with a degree of face protection should anyone challenge the proposed state of affairs. Nevertheless, I would argue that she still gave indirect recognition to Ally's previous efforts. Similar examples occurred in Example 19, line 1; and Example 49, line 1. Furthermore, women often gave recognition to the contribution of others without copying such parties into the emails (hence such instances were not counted as metadiscourse (see Example 2, line 13; and, Example 35, line 1)

As already stated, one of the first name *reader mentions* concerned the expression of gratitude. In Example 62, reproduce in full, a senior female client wrote to a junior male advertising planner in order to thank him for a lengthy email he had previously sent.

Example 62

 Subject: More info and Links

1. <u>Thanks</u> for this <u>Tito</u>
2. Will digest and come back to <u>you</u>

The sender twice indexed the reader in her short email. In line 1 she used his first name (i.e. Tito). Given that Tito's boss was the only other party copied in the email chain, and the fact that his boss did not contribute, meant there was no practical need to signal the personal relevance of the gratitude (i.e. Tito was the only party to whom it could have applied). Perhaps, the use of the first name was intended more as an interpersonal expression of warmth. It should also be noted that the sender use a second *reader mention* in line 2 in order to express a commitment within the world of discourse.

In contrast to the use of the first name in Example 62, the first names in the following example were intended to personalise a specific part of an email with multiple readers. The excerpt in Example 63 is taken from Example 56.   Again, in the email a female contacted a number of people from the advertising agency in order to follow up on a number of ad hoc issues.

Example 63

 Subject: no subject line

1. <u>Christine</u> and <u>Lisa</u>- you very generously offered to help us to make contact with PR
2. agencies who we might be able to share creative processes with, can you send me their
3. contact details?

In line 1 the female sender indexed two of her readers through the use of their first names. The use of the *reader mentions* allowed the sender to signal personal relevance of the pre-request-and subsequent request construction. Notice, how the sender used a face enhancing strategy in the pre-request line (i.e. you very generously offered), and softened the imposition of the request through the articulation of an indirect request (i.e. can you send me). Such

behavior can be taken as indexical of feminine styles of communication. However, it should be noted that male senders also oriented towards such behavior.

In Example 64, reproduced in full in Example 58, a male strategy director contacted a number of people ahead of a brainstorming session.

Example 64

Subject: Carnival Brief

1. *@June* and *@Georgie* can you send any useful consumer data that might inform our
2. discussion.

In line 1 of the excerpt above, the male sender used the first names of two subordinate female workers in order to personalise a request for information. Like the female sender in the previous example, the male sender used indirect language (e.g. can you send) in the articulation of the *directive*. This was true of the other 3 personalised *directives* in the data from the male senders. The following example was interesting in terms of gendered discourse norms. Example 65, reproduced in full in Example 5 above, occurred in a chain concerned with the preparation of research stimulus. In the excerpt below, an account manager directly addressed a project manager (of equal seniority) in order to inform him of the lasts information.

Example 65

Subject: Advertising Research - Stimulus

1. Jon, nowt for us to do at this stage– except wait for Ollie to get back to us on the
2. XXX (advertising execution) image we sent.

Although the example above was functionally similar to the previous two examples (i.e. the sender used a first name to personalise an aspect of the text), it should be noted that the example above was not counted as metadiscourse. This was decided on the grounds that the metalingual reference was not satisfied: whilst the propositions contained *directives*, neither could be given a text internal reading. The first proposition (i.e. nowt for us to do…) related

to the individuals in the real world. Furthermore, whilst it was possible to construe the second (i.e. wait for Ollie to get back to us) as pertaining to the world of discourse, it did not relate to the current chain (i.e. Ollie had apparently been sent the image in another email chain, or by another means). Unlike previous examples it was not possible to assume that the sender meant Ollie would reply within the current text (Ollie was not copied).

The reader may wonder what was the point of showing the example above? The point of showing the example concerned the interesting appropriation of the Northern English word 'nowt' to soften the articulation of the *directive*. Furthermore, I would argue that the use of the term invoked a particularly earthy, brotherly, kind of masculine discourse. The reader may further ask why was this important? In the marketing department data, females used social deictics (e.g. you're an angel) and kisses to enact a hyper feminine form of discourse. In the advertising agency data, females used kisses (see Example 2, line 14, and Example 49, line 4) and exaggerated superlatives (see Example 44, line 2) to enact such a discourse. The use of such meaning making devices can have a powerful rhetorical effect. Due to political and legal fissures inserted into the modern workplace the use of such discourse (i.e. hyper feminine) by males could involve the risk of serious recrimination (e.g. sexual harassment). Although the example above was not counted as metadiscourse, consideration was still justified. The example above potentially provides a window into a (mock?) masculine form of discourse that can be utilised by males to achieve the same effect as the hyper-feminine discourse used by female senders. For this reason it was deemed worthy of consideration.

The next section will consider the use of *directives* in the advertising agency discourse community. The sub-category subsumed the functions of *aligning perspectives* and *imagining scenarios* found in Ä del (2006).

Directives

The respective genders used a similar amount of *directives*. Again, three basic types of *directives* were identified in the data: those which required an actual reader response (e.g. send a file); those which passively required the sender to do something in the world of discourse (e.g. consume an aspect of the text); and, those which anticipated the reader's response to the text. Females most frequently used *directives* that required an active reader

response (11 of the 22 examples in the data from the female senders involved such a use); males most frequently used *directives* that required a passive reader response (9 of 18 examples in the data from the male senders involved such a use).

Example 66, typical of most *directives* in the data from the female senders, occurred in the same chain as Examples such as 3, 21, 22, and 31. As stated previously, the chain involved the organisation of an event in which marketing staff from a client organisation were to meet a representative sample of their customer base. In Example 66, the female sender wrote to a number of clients interested in the project in order to obtain further information.

Example 66

Subject: XXX (brand name) - face-to-face session in XXX (British city name)

1. Hi Guys
2. Great to hear that you are interested in taking up this opportunity.
3. The next step is to discuss how you would like to use the hour's bespoke session for
4. XXX
5. (Financial brand name).
6. <u>Would you be able to give me a call on XXX, or send me an email</u> with a sense of an
7. objective or a territory. On the other hand we could set up a meeting and chat
8. through it like normal people LOL –would probably make process a lot easier. I'm in
9. XXX (British city name) next week if that helps?
10. The other crucial thing (as explained below) is that we get a healthy number of
11. Clients from each team along to the session, to gain the maximum benefit from
12. having the young people with us. We aim for 6-8 clients with this number of young
13. people.
14. <u>Can you confirm</u> that there will be a wider team attending, and what numbers that
15. would be?
16. Many thanks, Alison

In the example above, the sender communicated across a corporate boundary (i.e. to her clients). Such a hierarchical relationship may well have triggered the various redressive strategies used in the articulation of the *directives*. In the first *directive* (line 5), the sender

used an indirect articulation (i.e. would you be able to), so as to minimise the directness of the request. She also offered multiple options for response. In the second *directive* (line 13) the sender devoted the previous paragraph to the provision of a grounder explanation (i.e. I'm on leave for the next two weeks); she also used indirect language (i.e. can you confirm). Females in the advertising agency generally used conventionally polite constructions in the expression of *directives* (numerous examples can be found above: e.g. Example 4, line 1; Example 18, line 1, Example 22, line 10, Example 56, line 4; Example 61, line 9). Indeed just 5 of the 22 female examples lacked conventional politeness such as indirect language, grounders, or micro politeness markers. Four of these directed readers in the consumption of the text. Furthermore, three *directives* involved delivery of information beneficial to the recipients (e.g. see Example 23, line 4; or, Example 49, line 2). At the local level (i.e. sentential level) the following example appeared rather bold; however, a different picture emerged upon consideration of the wider text, and contextual consideration. In Example 67 a senior female client requested an opinion from a junior planner.

Example 67

Subject: more info and links

1. Hi Tito,
2. <u>Wanted you to see</u> the below which Martin sent through post our meeting last week
3. <u>Between you and me</u>, my main concern is how do we avoid web Original offerings
4. being a bit crap and random?
5. What creatively does the internet offer us in terms of building compelling and quality
6. web offerings? Is it
7. New forms of playout - e.g. in Real time, content can be quickly produced to react to
8. audiences' reactions
9. New forms of execution - e.g. mashup, cartoon, graphic novel
10. New talent platform - build on fan culture
11. New subject areas - e.g. more niche subjects e.g. conspiracy theories which traditional
12. TV could not go into so much detail over
13. To date we've launched XXX, XXX, XXX, XXX and XXX amongst other web or
14. originals: I don't think these can be considered as game changers.
15. Martin likes Dogs, I just don't think it will do the expected business.
16. As ever, <u>really appreciate your thoughts</u>
17. V

The sender opened the main body of the email with a bald command (i.e. wanted you to see the below, line 2). If considered in isolation such an articulation could be taken as impolite. However, wider consideration of the co-text as well as the commercial context refutes such an interpretation. Firstly, the sender used structural politeness (i.e. a warm opening salutation, and a personalized salutation) to directly address the junior male (she also copied his boss). She indexed the reader to create a sense of interpersonal confidence (i.e. Between you and me, line 3). Secondly, she clearly invested a great of trust in the junior planner: in line 15, she expressed disagreement with the position of one of her co-workers (i.e. Martin likes Dogs, I just don't think it will do the expected business, line 15); and, throughout the email she solicited the junior planner's creative opinion. Thirdly, in the pre-closing line she

clearly imparted her appreciation of his ability to answer the various questions raised (again, in front of his boss).

The final relatively bold directive in the data from the female senders involved a *directive* that anticipated the reader's response. In Example 68, reproduced in full in Example 22, a female planner proposed a research project in which a group of client-side brand managers would spend a day meeting various groups from their target audience.

Example 68

Subject: XXX (brand name) - face-to-face session in XXX (British city name)

1. I've attached our 'rules of engagement' so you know what you're committing to. <u>You'll</u>
2. <u>see</u> that we ask that at least four team members join us, so that you can get the most of
3.   meeting and talking with the young people.

In the example above, the sender attributed a textual discovery to her readers. In doing so, it could be argued that she committed a violation of their negative face (i.e. people should be left to read documents freely). However, in reality it may well be the case that her anticipation actually served as a helpful guide as to what was most important in the document. It may have even saved the addressees the trouble of having to read the document (and may well have been perceived as such). Whilst the articulation of the *directive* was relatively bald, it occurred in an email that was relatively polite (e.g. structural politeness, grounders, indirect language).

As already stated only two *directives* in the data from the male employees contained the micro politeness marker 'please'. Both were sent by the same sender (a junior male: see Example 26 and Example 69 directly below); both involved upwards communication (i.e. subordinate to a senior). Example 69 occurred in the same chain as Examples 24 and 44. Again, the chain concerned the organisation of a meeting between a client and two planners. In Example 69, a junior male wrote to the client in order to determine a time to meet on a specific date.

Example 69

Subject: Meeting

1. Hi Davina,
2. <u>Please let me know</u> what time you would like to meet on the 2nd of July and I will put in
3.   a formal meeting.
4. I'd suggest we put in a five or ten minute call before then just to touch base.
5. Warmest Regards
6. Tito

In line 2, the sender used the micro-politeness marker *please* to soften his *directive* (indexical of feminine behaviour). In line 4, he further displayed particularly facilitative behaviour in the suggestion of a pre-meeting telephone call (again indexical of behaviour traditionally coded feminine). Although, the micro-politeness marker 'please' was not frequently used by males in the advertising agency discourse community, *directives* that required a reader response were either articulated with indirect language or with grounders (see Example 5, line 2; Example 51, line 6).

 As already stated above, males displayed a preference for *directives* that guided readers in the consumption of the text. The excerpt in Example 70 was taken from the same email featured in Example 39. In Example 70 a junior male wrote to a senior client and his boss. The email contained a lengthy opinion on an appropriate digital strategy.

Example 70

Subject: more info and links

1. …so when would this type of mechanic be appropriate? <u>Think </u>Got to dance, <u>Think</u>
2.   <u>Strictly Come dancing, <u>Think</u> Dancing on ice

In the excerpt above the male planner used 'Think' as a cognitive verb to direct the reader to consider situations (here television shows) where a certain type of proposed digital mechanic could be appropriate. With the use of the three *directives*, the sender took his readers into a rhetorical sojourn in which he provided cognitive prompts to his earlier question. Although

the *directive* appeared rather direct at the local level, the whole email was a detailed, carefully crafted exposition on the issue of digital strategy. Furthermore, the email contained other redressive markers (e.g. opening salutation and closing valediction), and was requested by the client. There was just one example in the male data which could have been construed as particularly direct. Example 71 occurred in the same chain as Examples 1, and 34. Example 71, reproduced in full, initiated the chain. It was sent by the chief commercial officer of the client organisation. He sent a link email to a number of senior agency staff that contained an example of an online video produced by a competitor.

Example 71

Subject: Online Demo Video

1. Have a look.
2. I'd like something like this in XXX (financial brand name) style.

He dispensed with structural forms of politeness and instead opened his email with a bald *directive*. His subsequent statement in line 2 suggested that he had the power to command such a desire (which due to his seniority he basically did). The fact that the sender in the example above was an executive board member (i.e. very senior within his organisation) may have led to an entitlement to dispense with traditional politeness markers. Nevertheless, it should be noted that most *directives* were articulated with some form of redressive action. The idea that men and women issue *directives* in a different way (West, 1984) was not really reflective of the advertising data.

The final section will consider the use of *personal asides* in the advertising agency discourse community.

Personal Asides

The genders used a similar amount of *personal asides*. Whilst both genders used *asides* in relation to an aspect of the text (e.g. provide commentary or direction), females used the markers to convey humour: there were no such examples in the male data. Indeed, three of the seven examples in the data from the female senders involved such a use. Example 60 occurred in a chain in which the female head of the planning department sent an email to

inform a group of planners that a client would be shadowing their work for a week. Such an activity would allow the client to gain an understanding the job function of the planners. In Example 72, reproduced in full, a female planner responded to such news.

Example 72

Subject: We've got a Client Shadowing us next week…

1. Perfecto - meetings aplenty next week, so works well for me! Do you think
2. she'll be able to fetch me a cuppa every now and again too?

In her response, the female planner expressed positive sentiment towards the prospect of being shadowed. She also made a joke concerning the potential to exploit the guest in terms of tea duty. In Example 73, reproduced in full, the head of planning responded.

Example 73

Subject: We've got a Client Shadowing us next week…

1. Yes that's what I thought.
2. Collaboration is the order of the day what with the fact we are likely to be more closely
3. aligned on projects in the future with her team....so let's impress her with our planning
4. prowess so she goes back singing our praises to the marketing director ☺ (Georgie, sadly
5. that might mean giving her tea duty is out and you might want to hold off on the
6. photocopying too....)

The sender in the example above closed the second section of her email with a parenthetical comment that both echoed and built upon the previous joke (note the humorous addition of photocopying). Despite the fact that the joke contained a mock-retort, it can be seen as part of a wider episode of conjoint humor (Holmes, 2006; 2007). Interestingly, the propositional content of the joke i.e. forcing an outsider to engage in menial tasks did not seem particularly affiliative, although perhaps it would be better to treat the subversive nature of the joke as actually endorsing affiliative norms (i.e. one should not treat guests in a subservient manner).

In Example 74, reproduced in full, a female planner responded to a request for information addressed to the planning department.

Example 74

Subject: Brand Trust

1. Generally the planning drive is a good port of call for this kind of material but also
2. attach a presentation I gave at the marketing society on the lack of trust in the financial
3. sector (you'll <u>probably find it totally useless but sending all the same LOL</u>) also check
4. the *XXX* [FMCG Cereal brand] pitch folder as we looked at mum's concerns over
5. additives in kids cereal as an issue of trust (<u>albeit a year out of date now –positively</u>
6. <u>ancient I hear you say LOL</u>)
7. Enjoy!

She used two *personal asides* to interrupt her discourse flow with statements that displayed (mock) cognitive awareness (Kádár and Haugh, 2015). In other words, she adopted the perspective others could take towards her contribution. The two parenthetical comments seemed to belittle the sender's contribution. The female can actually be taken as having played out Anglo-English cultural norms of modesty and humour (Fox, 2004; Goddard and Mean, 2009). Again, the context was one in which a business director was asking for help from planners not employed on his account i.e. gratis. In such a situation any help from a planner would be most thankfully received. In humorously downplaying her contribution (*you'll probably find it totally useless* and *positively ancient!*), the female sender actually constructed the persona of a humble person who does not take things too seriously. This kind of a persona could theoretically cultivate likeability and popularity within an organisation. The use of humour allowed her to display intellectual prowess (to her departmental colleagues who were copied in the response) without appearing as arrogant or self-promotional. Worthy of note, is the fact that the use of humorous *personal asides* only occurred amongst agency-side workers (i.e. internal chains). Labelling material 'positively ancient' could have obvious negative repercussions if said in front of a paying client.

Male senders did not use *asides* to convey humour. Indeed, their use of the markers was relatively sombre. In Example 75, reproduced in full in Example 7, a male sender delivered information to his pitch team concerning an interview he had conducted.

Example 75

Subject: Feedback on today

1. He talked interestingly on:
2. *the typologies of speculation and the psychology at play
3. *speculation as a universal human activity
4. *the work and the psychology behind it (<u>he spoke very positively about</u>
5. <u>the work</u>)*inner central locus

In lines 6-7, the sender used an *aside* in order to comment on a listed item. The listed items themselves referred to an interview the sender had conducted. Whilst this alone would only satisfy the world of discourse requirement, the currency requirement was taken as satisfied by the fact that the sender attached his notes from the interview. The content of the main body of the email therefore functioned as a summary of the attached document. The use was also typical of the non-humorous examples in the data from the female senders.

4.5.6. Summary: Gendered use of engagement metadiscourse in the advertising agency

Like stance, the use of engagement metadiscourse was as much characterised by similarity. Overall, female senders used a significantly greater amount of engagement metadiscourse: this was the result of using marginally more *reader pronouns* and *directives*. Functionally, the respective genders used *reader mentions* and *directives* in a similar manner. In terms of difference, females uniquely used parenthetical comments as a site of humour.

4.5.7. Summary: Overall use of metadiscourse in the advertising agency

The use of metadiscourse in the marketing department discourse community is summarized in Table 23 below.

Table 23: Summary of the gendered use of metadiscourse in the advertising agency

Note: column 2 indicates which gender used more of the given item.

Metadiscourse Category	Usage: Frequency	Usage: Functional
Organisational Metadiscourse		
Transitions	Similar	Similar
Frame markers	Difference: greater male use	Difference: Male: predominantly label stages Female: only use to announce goals and sequence stages
Phoric markers	Similar	Difference: Male: predominantly refer to own contribution Female: displayed greater tendency to refer to earlier emails, and to refer to the contribution of others
Text mentions	Similar	Similar
Code gloss	Similar	Similar
Total Organisatioal Metadiscourse	Similar	Similar
Stance Metadiscourse		
Uncertainty markers	Similar	Similar
Certainty markers	Difference: greater male use	Similar
Attitude markers	Similar	Difference: Female: evaluate textual items at the macro-level; Males: seldom use micro politeness marker 'please'.
Self mentions	Similar	Similar
Total Stance Metadiscourse	Similar	Similar
Engagement Metadiscourse		

Reader mentions	Similar	Similar
Directives	Similar	Similar
Personal asides	Similar	Difference: Female: used to convey humour and modesty
Total Engagement Metadiscourse	Difference; greater female use	Similar

Drawing on the evidence presented, the use of metadiscourse within the advertising agency was characterised more by similarity than difference. Indeed, as can be seen in Table 23 above, there were twenty one points of similarity. Furthermore, in seven cases both frequency and functional usage were the same.

As in the marketing department discourse community, a number of differences were not obviously explicable in terms of job role or communicative purpose. There was no obvious explanation for the difference in the use of *frame marking* labels. As will be recalled both male agents and male clients used the devices to break apart lengthy expositions. Female senders did not use the devices. Whilst the stylistic tendency was true of the advertising agency discourse community, as will be seen it was not a consistent gender finding across the three communities. As in the marketing department, the marking of personal responsibility in *phoric* constructions by male employees was suggestive of self-promotion. The relatively greater orientation towards the recognition of the efforts of others (in *phoric* constructions as well as with the use of *reader mentions*) by female senders synced with the notion of women as more generous (Wolfson, 1984; Holmes, 1986; Aries, 1987; Leet-pelligrini, 1987; Case, 1988; Berryman-Fink, 1997). Finally, female senders exclusively indexed the sender/constructor aspect of the authorial self. Again, this appeared to be part of a politeness strategy.

The next section will consider the use of metadiscourse in the research agency discourse community.

4.6. Gendered use of metadiscourse in the research agency discourse community

The research agency from which data was collected is based in London. At the time of data collection it was an independent, small sized agency (20-25 research analysts in total). The agency specialised in both qualitative and quantitative research. It boasted a number of high profile clients (including an airline, health provider, and a financial brand). The agency also sub-contracted research for a number of the bigger research conglomerates.

In terms of senders, the majority were agency side workers (14 of the 25 senders); 4 were clients; 7 were suppliers. As noted in the introduction, due to the nature of commercial research client/agent roles are much more fluid. In one instance an agent may interact and take orders from a client. In the next instance, that very same agent (acting in capacity as client) may subcontract a certain aspect of the research project out to a supplier agency (e.g. an agency that specialises in telephone interviews). As already stated in Chapter 3, the research agency data contained 18 group email chains, which broke down into 118 individual emails.

Table 24: Results of the application of the reflexive, minimally integrationist model of metadiscourse in the research agency discourse community

Organisational Metadiscourse	Frequency	% Frequency
Transitions	82	32.0
Frame markers	31	12.1
Phoric markers	41	16.1
Text Mention	93	3.5
Code gloss	8	36.3
Sub-total	**247**	**100**
Stance Metadiscourse		
Uncertainty markers	4	2.4
Certainty markers	8	4.7
Attitude markers	91	53.5
Self mentions	67	39.4
Sub-total	**168**	**100**
Engagement Metadiscourse		
Reader mentions	83	50.0
Directives	73	43.7
Asides	10	6.0
Sub-total	**162**	**100**
Total	**581**	**---**

Overall, senders in the research agency used a balanced portfolio of organisational metadiscourse. In terms of stance, email senders in the research agency used a relatively skewed portfolio: relying heavily on *attitude markers* and *self mentions*.

Table 25: Research agency: Metadiscourse items per 1000 words by gender

Organisational Metadiscourse	Male	Female
Transitions	8.2	7.8
Frame markers	2.1	3.7
Phoric markers	3.4	4.5
Text Mentions	7.8	10.2
Code gloss	0.4	1.1
Sub-total	**21.9**	**27.3**
Stance Metadiscourse		
Uncertainty markers	0.4	0.5
Certainty markers	0.8	0.7
Attitude markers	8.8	8.9
Self mentions	6.1	6.8
Sub-total	**16.1**	**16.9**
Engagement Metadiscourse		
Reader mentions	8.6	7.1
Directives	7.8	6.5
Asides	1.0	0.7
Sub-total	**17.4**	**14.3**
Total	**55.4**	**58.5**

Overall, the respective senders used a similar amount of metadiscourse in the research agency discourse community. In terms of frequency, the only significant difference concerned the use of organisational metadiscourse: female senders used significantly more.

4.6.1. Gendered use of organisational metadiscourse in the research agency discourse community

Females in the research agency used significantly more organisational metadiscourse than their male counterparts. This was the result of using slightly more *frame markers* and *text mentions* although neither of these differences were significant in themselves. The following section will consider the use of *transitions* within the advertising agency discourse community. Again, *transitions* were understood to have three principal discourse functions (Martin and Rose, 2003; Hyland 2005): consequential; additive; and comparative. In terms of metadiscourse consequential *transitions* signal conclusions (e.g. *therefore*); additive *transitions* add propositions (e.g. *also*); comparative *transitions* compare and contrast propositions (e.g. *however*).

Transitions

As stated above, the sexes used a similar amount of *transitions* in the research agency discourse community. This was driven by a slighter greater epistemological orientation amongst male senders towards the expression of consequence. This trend was observed in the other two communities.

Table 26: Research agency: functional use of transitions by gender (tokens per 100 words)

Transition	Male tokens (tokens per 1000 words)	Female total (tokens per 1000 words)
Consequential	2.7	1.6
Additive	3.9	4.3
Comparative	1.7	1.9

Although male sender's used slightly more consequential *transitions*, both male and female senders most frequently used the markers in grounder expressions (i.e. to give contextual reasons for requests). Example 1 occurred in an email chain concerned with the agreement of the date for a research debrief. In Example 1, a male sender informed a client about opening arrangements for the Christmas period.

Example 1

Subject: XXX Brand Pulse - deliverables

1. Hi Claire
2. Our office will be closed for two weeks from December 22nd and will not re-open until
3. Monday January 7th. <u>Hence</u> it would be great to start fieldwork sooner <u>otherwise</u>
4. delivery of the December data will be in February.
5. Cheers
6. Rob

In the example above, the sender began the second sentence with the *transitional marker* (i.e. 'hence', line3) in order to indicate the suprasentential relations between the sentences (i.e. signalled a consequence). He then placed an adverb (i.e. 'otherwise') before the next proposition to clearly indicate the consequence that would arise from late fieldwork. Cumulatively, the male sender's reflexive interjections worked so as to deliver a persuasive argument in favour of early fieldwork by effectively expounding a number of cause and effect relationships. Again, females predominantly used consequential *transitions* in a similar way to males (i.e. to provide grounder explanations: see Example 4, line 1). A different use occurred in the following example. Example 2 occurred in a short chain in which a client queried certain figures in a report. In Example 2 a female sender responded.

Example 2

Subject: XXX update

1. Hi Maureen,
2. In the monthly report, as I mentioned, we take the vertical percentage and multiply by
3. population, <u>so</u> the figures in thousands are correct for the <u>partial data</u>. The same applies
4. to specific issue data, where we show the 12 month average.
5. Thanks
6. Maz

In the first part of the utterance, the female sender explicitly stated the mechanics of the methodology. She then used a *transition* to express her retort (i.e. the figures were valid) as a consequential relation of the previous proposition.

As can be seen in Table 26 above, the dominant use of *transitions* by both genders was additive. Additive *transitions* were used for a number of purposes such as adding *directives* (See Example 3, line 6 and Example 5, line 3); adding information (see Example 3, lines 2 and 3, Example 5, line 2); and occasionally as part of *phoric* constructions (see Example 14, line 5).   There was a noticeable formal tendency in both the data from the male and female senders for additive *transitions* to be placed at the start of an utterance (12 of the 26 additive *transitions* in the data from the female senders displayed this pattern; 8 of the 19 *transitions* in the data from the male senders displayed this pattern). Example 3 occurred in a chain concerned with the finalization a presentation to be given at a research debrief. In Example 3, a female client wrote to an agency side worker in order to express concern with regards to a number of figures in the draft presentation.

Example 3

Subject: Additional request

1. Thanks Rob.
2. I've had a look at the charts you sent across <u>and</u> I have some concerns.
3. The figures for XXX (Commercial bank name) look high across the board <u>and</u>
4. also don't align with the XXX (Commercial bank name) figures in the monthly
5. Pulse Checks.
6. <u>Also</u> some of the figures in the additional chart pack look odd -can you
7. please double check all figures.
8. Thanks,
9. Claire

In the example above, the female sender used three additive *transitions*. The first two disclosed her concerns with incorrect figures (underlined in line 2, and line 3). In line 6, the sender used a third additive *transition* (i.e.) to begin a closing sentence (note her use of the

frank judgement in line 6 i.e. look odd) and add a *directive* to which the preceding email had been building up.   The additive *transitions*, in the example above, obviously performed the syntactic role of connecting the various propositions, but they also served a powerful discourse role. At the macro-level the markers functioned to create a textual rhythm that compounded negative information[99] (notice that each additive *transition* is followed by a proposition with a negative prosodic value). The female client delivered her criticism in a relatively bald fashion i.e. indexical of behaviour traditionally coded as masculine.

A more typical example of the use of additive *transitions* can be found in the following example. Example 4 occurred in an email chain concerned with a data security issues. It had been discovered that clients were been granted access to information from a media ratings company for which they had not paid. In Example 4, a male sender wrote to a number of internal staff to propose part of a solution.

Example 4

Subject: XXX clients and Access to XXX fused data via XXX

1. Thanks Andrew.
2. Maz can you pls run these past your contact at XXX (Media ratings company) today
3. over the phone pls don't email the list to them.
4. <u>Also</u>, can you send me the details of the details of the last one on the list "Brand XXX".
5. Simon

After thanking one of his interlocutors for the compilation of a list of those who were unfairly receiving data, the male sender directed a subordinate female to check the list. In line 4 the male sender used a *transition* to add a further *directive*. As was the general community norm, the male sender used conventionally polite language in the articulation of *directives.*

As already mentioned senders in the research agency discourse community also frequently used additive *transitions* to add grounder information. In Example 5, a senior female

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[99] Whilst this use was not the norm within the discourse community, nor in the data from the female senders, see Example 11, line 3 for a similar use of an additive *transition*.

requested an equally senior peer proof read a lengthy questionnaire. She also copied two members of his team. The excerpt in Example 4 shows the final paragraph of a lengthy email (568 words in total plus a sizeable attachment).

Example 5

Subject: New Questionnaires

1. It needs to go to programming from next week <u>so</u> we would appreciate if you could give
2. us your feedback by Wednesday. <u>Also</u>, we are waiting for David to give us an estimate
3. on the impact these changes will have on the questionnaire length and abandonment
4. rates after we receive that we will decide on the priorities.

In the excerpt above, the sender first used a consequential *transition* to link two propositions in the same sentence (i.e. so). She then began the subsequent sentence with a *transition* (i.e. Also) in order to indicate an additive relation. The female sender can be taken to have used the *transitions* to provide information, she regarded as contextually relevant, in the justification of imposing a time requirement on her interlocutors. In the first utterance, she highlighted an internal deadline and expressed (as a consequence) her need for a timely response. In the second utterance, she further highlighted the time pressures under which the she herself had to operate (i.e. waiting for a response from David). The female sender can be taken as having given recognition to a moral order in which peers are generally not entitled to make bald requests of other peers. In other words, in the provision of reasons for her request the female sender politely displayed a lack of entitlement.

Male and female senders also used comparative *transitions* in a similar manner. Example 6 occurred in a chain concerned with the determination of research stimulus. In Example 6, a male research director wrote to a client in order to clarify which stimulus was to be used.

Example 6

Subject: Ads for April

1. Hi Cara,
2. Thanks for the print ad it was received fine.
3. Just wanted to check a few things with you:
4. Is the press ad fully as it appears in the press and should we include it as a retail ad?
5. You mentioned previously that we have two TVCs and one print ad this month.
6. <u>However</u> you sent us three TVCs (XXX, XXX and XXX)– which ones should we
7. include?
8. Cheers,
9. Rob

In the example above, the male sender used a *transition* to express a contrastive relationship between two propositions. In doing so, he contrasted the sender's previous statement with the factual reality. Similarly, the female sender in the following example used a contrastive *transition*.

Example 7 occurred in a chain concerned with a potential project mistake. A question had been deleted from a questionnaire without evidence of client approval for such action. In Example 7 a female research manager wrote to her boss in order to try to determine who requested the deletion.

Example 7

Subject: CONFIRMATION OF QUESTION DELETION - XXX QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Hi Rob,

2. Sorry to interrupt you during your holidays!

3. We've received a request from David L to update some of the Brand Connection slides

4. for Q4.

5. <u>However</u>, the question F4 – (As *far as you know, which of the following health*

6. *insurance companies are part of XXX?)* has been deleted from the questionnaire in

7. November (exactly 18/11/2013).

8. Can you send me any correspondence you have regarding deletion of this question with

9. someone from XXX? We would like to use it as a reference in case they've got some

10. questions.

11. Thanks again!

12. Enjoy the rest of your holidays!

13. Take care,

14. Maz

In line 5 the female sender used the *transition* (i.e. however) to signal the contrastive nature of the two propositions. At the local level the *transition* indicated a disjuncture from the previous proposition. I would argue that at the global level the marker performed a signposting role in that it clearly signaled an important point was being made. I would further argue that such a use was particularly facilitative in that it clearly aided reader comprehension. Although as has previously been argued, the use of *transitions* (regardless of sentential placement) is regarded as facilitative in that the use of such markers makes for a reader easy text (Sloan, 1984; Blass, 1993; Aguilar, 2008).

The next section will consider the use of *frame markers* within the research agency discourse community. Again, as in Hyland (2005), *frame markers* were understood to serve four primary discourse functions: the announcement of goals; the labelling of stages; the sequencing of content; and, the shifting of topics.

Frame Markers

In terms of frequency, the difference between the sexes in the use of *frame markers* was negligible. In terms of underling function, both genders displayed a broad use of *frame markers*. As will be seen, this was driven by a greater female concern for due process e.g. obtaining agreement from another authorizing party. Functionally, although male senders did not sequence content they used *frame markers* in an otherwise similar manner to their female counterparts.

Table 27: Research agency: Functional use of frame marker by gender (tokens per 1000 words)

Function	Male	Female
Announce goal	1.1	1.6
Label stage	0.4	1.1
Sequence content	---	0.5
Shift topic	0.4	0.5

Example 8 and 9 occurred in the same chain. The chain was concerned with the negotiation of the specifics of a research prospective research project (i.e. budget and scope). In Example 4, the chain initiator, a senior female client directly addressed two senior males in the research agency to chase information regarding the project.

Example 8

Subject: Proposed Costs for Brand Tracking Q1 2014

1. Hi Rob, Frank,
2. <u>Just following up</u>[100] on the proposed costs for the reduced Brand
3. Tracking program for Q1 2014 – when can we expect to receive this?
4. Cheers,
5. Claire

---

[100] It was not clear what exactly she was following up on e.g. a phone call or a face to face conversation.

In line 2, the female sender used a *frame marker* to explicitly announce her request information discourse goal. She did so in a manner that could be construed as polite (i.e. the use of a minimiser and the suppression of her own agency). Likewise, in Example 9, later in the same chain, a female project manager reminded a senior manager, in front of several others, that he needed to supply certain documentation.

Example 9

Subject: Proposed costs for Brand Tracking Q1 2014

1. Hi Rob,
2. <u>I'm just following up</u> on my request for client approval of the specifications of the
3. reduced Brand Tracking Q1 2014 proposal. Claire has left me a
4. message pushing for delivery from our side.
5. Thanks,
6. Edwina

In line 2, the female sender announced her goal with the construction 'I'm just following up on my request', which again made an intertextual reference to an apparent previous request (i.e. her request was not part of the present the chain). This serves as a reminder that email is indeed embedded in a wider web of communication systems (Forey 2004; Evans 2010) often beyond access to analysts. The use of the redressive minimiser 'just' further reduced the imposition of the request. Note that the female sender also provided a grounder for her request (i.e. client pressure).

In both previous examples, the emails involved female senders chasing information. A slightly different use of a *frame marker* occurred in the following example where the female sender pre-emptively provided information. It should be noted that Example 10 was taken from a different, but thematically related, chain to that in the previous two examples. In Example 10, in a deliver information email, a female client wrote to two subordinate level agency workers to inform them of developments likely to impact their work.

Example 10

Subject: Brand Tracking Q1 2014

1. Hi Monica, Olivier,
2. <u>Just giving you a heads-up</u> re the email below that we've sent to Frank and Rob.
3. Cheers,
4. Claire

In line 2 the sender used a *frame marker* to announce her discourse goal of informing. The very act of making subordinate level agency side workers privy to communication to which they were previously unaware could itself be regarded as an inclusive act of authority (Baxter 2010). The senior client can be taken as having showed concern for agency side workers, as well as the appropriate flow of information. As will be seen, concern for the timely flow of information was a consistent theme throughout the data from the research agency. A similar example can be found in Example 12 below.

In the three previous examples, the sender chose to articulate the *frame marker* in an indirect manner; suggestive of an orientation towards politeness considerations and indexical of a normatively feminine style of communication. Seven of the announce goal *frame markers* were expressed with such indirect constructions. There was just one *frame marker* in the data from the female senders which involved the use of a particularly direct announce goal *frame marker*. Example 11 occurred in a chain concerned with the development of an online questionnaire. In Example 11, a female client wrote to a number of agency-side workers in order to raise issues with certain questions.

Example 11

Subject: New questionnaires + Test links

1. Hi Guys,
2. While it is not a new question –XXX (brand name) is spelt incorrectly.
3. Also, <u>I have a question</u> as a respondent am I supposed to be answering how much I spent
4. on shoes & clothing at specific stores or how much I spent last time I bought something.
5. It isn't that clear. So with this question are we talking about in any store or just the
6. stores on the list, the last time you spent money in a shop rather than online?

After using an opening salutation formula that addressed all those copied (6 agency workers), in line 2 she pointed out a mistake contained in the question (the question had previously been used in a survey i.e. it was not a new question). Such a statement could have been taken to have implied carelessness on the part of those who had previously produced the question. In line 3, the sender used an additive *transition* (i.e. Also), and a *frame marker* to announce her discourse goal of asking a question (about a question). The *frame marker* was noticeably more direct than those previously discussed. The client dispensed with the need for redressive devices within the email and appeared to orient towards the expression of annoyance (e.g. whilst this is not a new question).

All five announce goal *frame markers* in the male data involved the use of conventionally polite language. Example 12 occurred in the same chain as Example 11. In Example 12 a male sender in the research agency wrote to a number of clients and internal members of staff in order to inform them that the survey had gone live.

Example 12

Subject: New questionnaires + Test links

1. <u>Just letting you know</u> that the changes to the main surveys went live earlier today. We
2. don't however expect anyone to start completing the survey until after 4:30pm when the
3. recruitment shift starts.
4. We will be checking the data tomorrow or the next day to ensure there are no unforeseen
5. issues.
6. Please let me know if there are any questions or issues
7. Thanks
8. David

The use of the minimiser in line 1 (i.e. just) worked with other aspects of the email so as to index a polite style of communication. Note the use of the micro-politeness marker in line 6, as well as the open offer of help. Furthermore, the act of keeping people in the loop could in itself be seen as an orientation towards the tact maxim (Leech, 1983). Rosener (1990) claims that information sharing is a trait indexical of female styles of management and communication.

Females in the research agency also frequently used *frame markers* to label discrete part of their emails (6 of the 21 *frame markers* from the female data involved such use). All six label *frame markers* preceded a list. Example 13 occurred in chain concerned with the development of a survey instrument. In Example 13 a female sender delivered information to her supervisor.

Example 13

Subject: Model summary Reg+Com

1. Hi Andrew,
2. Please find the calculation files and the new XXX standard Tables attached. I think it
3. looks good now just confirm if you want to remove the ones I've identified or add
4. more/different ones.
5. <u>Here is the list</u>
6. [list of codes]
7. Cheers,
8. Maz

In line 5, she used a *frame marker* to label a list of codes she had been remedied within the draft survey instrument.

Both label *frame markers* in the data from the male sender*s* introduced listed material. Example 14 occurred in chain concerned with the development of an online survey. In Example 14, a male technician sent an internal email to an agency account team in order to inform them of changes made to an online survey due to go live.

Example 14

Subject: New questionnaires + Test links

1. Hi All,
2. All the changes for October 2014 fieldwork have now been programmed and tested.
3. Please find attached links to new versions of both Main and Second survey that we
4. changed. If you want to test them please use the link assigned to your name which you
5. can find in the attached spreadsheet. Also attached are final versions of all the
6. questionnaires with all of my changes highlighted in green. We noticed some additional
7. minor errors.
8. <u>Questions with errors</u>:
9. Q.12 –XXX (FMCG brand) is spelt incorrectly
10. Q.17 – XXX (FMCG brand) is spelt incorrectly
11. Q.18 – it should be XXX (FMCG brand) not XXX (FMCG brand)

12. The new questionnaires have been extensively tested by our teams. Numerous
13. corrections and tweaks have been implemented already so we don't expect any new
14. issues to arise, but if you do find any please let us know by tomorrow morning.
15. Best regards
16. Mario

In line 8 the sender used the reflexive label 'questions with errors' in conjunction with a colon. He then listed out question numbers that contained spelling errors (i.e. brand names). At the local-level, the reflexive label, in the example above, functioned as a clear signpost in relation to other parts of the text. At the local-level, the reflexive relationship between the label and the co-text can be clearly seen (i.e. as an act of text internal self reference). Given the clear enunciation of the various mistakes in the listed items, it could be argued that the reflexive label, at the local-level, functioned so as to make the sender's point more tenacious through a repetitive headline (to use a colloquial term, he in effect 'doubled down' on his assertions with the use of the label plus explicit enunciation of the mistakes).

There was nothing particularly striking about the use of shift topic or sequence content *frame markers* from that already seen in previous sections. Therefore, no further time shall be given to them here.

The next section will consider the use of *phoric* markers within the research agency discourse community. As in the marketing department and advertising agency discourse communities tow particular points of enquiry were of note: where did senders refer their readers (i.e. the present email versus an earlier message); and, whether senders marked personal agency in their *phoric* constructions.

Phoric markers

Female and male senders used a similar amount of *phoric markers* in the research agency discourse community. As can be seen in Table 28, in terms of spatial direction both genders in the research agency used *phoric markers* in a similar manner: i.e. to predominantly refer to the current email. In terms of marking personal agency, most of the *phoric*s in the data from the female employees occurred in constructions which did not recognise a responsible agent (14 of the 25 female examples did not mark contribution). The data from the male senders contained an equal amount of marked and unmarked constructions (8 contained a reference to a responsible agent; 8 did not).

Table 28: Research agency: Referential direction of phoric markers per 1000 words

Part of chain	Male senders	Female senders
Current email	2.9	4.0
Earlier email	0.4	0.5

As already stated eleven of the *phoric* constructions in the data from the female senders gave recognition to a responsible agent; eight of these involved self recognition. However as in the previously discourse communities; there was a notable tendency for female senders to mark collaborative efforts. Take the following example. In Example 16, in Example 9, reproduced in part in Example 5, a female sender requested a male proof read a set of new

questionnaires. The excerpt in Example 15 contains a *phoric* she used to spatially direct her readers to a specific aspect of her lengthy email (568 words in total).

Example 15

Subject: New Questionnaires

1. Please see <u>attached</u> for the changes we made to the new questionnaires.

In the use of the personal pronoun 'we' the female sender suggested that a collective effort (i.e. changes we made) lay behind the attachment. Again, this could be taken as chiming with studies that have suggested females are particularly generous with regards to recognising the contributions of others (Wolfson, 1984; Holmes, 1986; Aries, 1987; Leet-pelligrini, 1987; Case, 1988; Berryman-Fink, 1997).   It could also be argued that the recognition of a collective effort may also have served as a face protection strategy. Whilst the sender shared recognition of effort; she also shared any criticism of the changes.   A similar example can be found in Example 16. In Example 16 a female sender responded to an internal request for certain files from a head of another team.

Example 16

Subject: XXX (Financial brand) Remodelling

1. Hi Andrew,
2. Please find <u>attached</u> two files <u>we created</u> to model the response/registration data.
3. Cheers
4. Elaine

The female sender in the example above first used an attachment to spatially direct her client to the requested files. She also chose to mark the creative effort behind the files as a collaborative effort**.** The creation of the files most probably was a collaborative effort, however it was the sender's choice to explicitly mark it as such.

All eight of the *phoric* constructions in the data from the male senders involved self recognition: just two involved recognition of a collaborative effort (see Examples 19 and 20 below). Example 17 occurred in a chain in which a client made a number of requests for

changes to a presentation document. In Example 17, a research director wrote to two clients in order to deliver a document that contained previously requested changes.

Example 17

Subject: Additional request

1. Hi Claire and David,
2. Please find <u>attached</u> revised additional report for which <u>I have changed the bases</u>.
3. Cheers,
4. Rob

In line 2 the male sender used a *phoric marker* in order to spatially direct his reader to an attachment. At the end of the construction, the male sender chose to explicitly describe acts he had committed in the world of discourse. This behavior was also observed in the data from the male senders in the other two discourse communities. Again, such behaviour could be taken as having involved an orientation towards self-promotion. In the following example, the male sender used an interesting (arguably hyperbolic) statement in the expression of self-recognition. He also recognised both a collaborative and a singular effort.

Example 18, reproduced in full in Example 14, occurred in a chain concerned with the development of an online survey. In Example 18 an agency side male sender wrote an internal email to a number of agency staff in order inform them of changes made to a test survey instrument. The excerpt in Example 18 contains part of the first paragraph.

Example 18

Subject: New questionnaires + Test Links

1. Please find <u>attached</u> links to new versions of both Main and Second survey that <u>we</u>
2. <u>changed</u>. If you want to test them please use the link assigned to your name which you
3. can find in the attached spreadsheet. Also <u>attached</u> are final versions of all the
4. questionnaires with <u>all of my changes</u> highlighted in green.

In line 1, the sender used a *phoric* to spatially direct his readers to two surveys. Later in the same sentence he recognised the collaborative effort behind the surveys (i.e. we changed). In line 3 the sender used a second phoric to spatially refer his readers to a number of other questionnaires. He finished the sentence with what could be taken as a rather grandiose statement (i.e. with all my changes). I would argue that the quantifier *all* carried the meaning of lots. The grandiose statement (i.e. all my changes) in the previous example makes for an interesting comparison to that in the following example.

In Example 19, a male client sender wrote to a number of agency staff in order to request they proof read changes made to draft survey instrument. The changes were made as a result of budget constraints.

Example 19

Subject: Brand Tracking Q1 2014

1. Hi Frank,
2. We would like to proceed with the £30k proposal for the Q1 2014 Brand Tracking.
3. <u>Attached</u> is the new questionnaire which <u>we have shortened considerably</u>. It would be
4. great if you could review the new question flow and approve or advise us of any
5. concerns which you may have. The target launch date for this new questionnaire was
6. for 15thJan, can you advise if it is still feasible to go live on this date.
7. Let me know if you have any questions,
8. Regards,
9. David

In line 3, the client used a *phoric* to spatially direct his readers to an attachment. He finished the construction by recognising a collaborative editorial process. Assuming that considerable effort went into the considerable shortening of the survey, the client above can be taken to have boosted both praise of both himself and that of his team through such recognition. If such a reading is lent to the construction then this could be seen as a strategy of mutual empowerment discussed by Baxter (2010). Obviously, if the shortening process was arbitrarily executed than such an interpretation might not work. However, even if this was the case then the sender's recognition of a collective effort would serve as a face saving

strategy (i.e. the collective would be responsible for mistakes just as much as praise). Again it should be noted males infrequently recognised collaborative efforts in *phoric* constructions.

Interestingly, males in the research community displayed the highest interest in earlier parts of the email chain (although we should note this amounted to just 2 references, versus 1 in the marketing department data). In Example 20, reproduced in full, a senior male sender responded to a junior females request for information.

Example 20

Subject: New questionnaires + Test links

1. The below has not been changed. Please remove the codes.

In his response he essentially rebuffed the junior females request for information. The *phoric marker* construction essentially highlighted the fact that the direct addressee already had the necessary information at her disposable. The email could be construed as indexical of a masculine form of communication: highly transactional and authoritative (i.e. to-the-point). Example 20 is interesting in terms of the close boundary between *phoric markers* and *text mentions*. The reference to 'the below' in one sense could be classified as a *text mention*, in that it mentions a constituent part of the text. However, as already stated, those items whose primary function was regarded as spatial direction or avoidance of repetition were classified as *phorics*. In this case both functions were present: the sender was both spatially directing the reader, as well as avoiding repetition of the earlier email's content. As noted by abdi et al (2010) sometimes *phorics* can be used to signal repetition (rather than avoid it). Take following example.

Example 21, reproduced in full in Example 30 below, occurred in a chain concerned with a potential research project in Asia. In the excerpt in Example 21 a female supplier referred to her colleague's earlier response.

Example 21

Subject: Panellists in Asian Region

1. <u>As Lee mentioned</u>, we don't have panels in all countries mentioned, but once I have a
2. bit more information on the project I can source feasibility from some of our partners.

In the example above the female sender did not simply refer her readers to the earlier message, but actually summarised the basic sentiment. The partial repetition could actually be taken as rather facilitative in that it saved the readers the burden of having to go back to the earlier message.

In sum, as we have seen in previous communities, when female senders did mark contribution they gave greater recognition to the efforts of others. In contrast, male senders tended towards self-promotional, self-recognition.

The next section will examine the use of *text mentions* in the research agency discourse community. Again, *text mentions* were seen as having three possible levels of reference: macro; micro; and, nano. Macro-level *text mentions* referred to the chain, or an entire individual message; micro-level *text mentions* referred to constituent parts of the current email (e.g. attachments or specific sections); nano-level *text mentions* referred to a part of a constituent part (e.g. a specific price entry in a price sheet). *Text mentions* involved references to the text, not references to the code (e.g. *verba dicendi*) as these were adequately accounted for under other categories (e.g. *frame markers*).

Text mentions

In terms of frequency, male and female senders used a similar amount of *text mentions* in the research agency discourse community. Functionally, the sexes used *text mentions* in a similar manner. At the macro-level senders used *text mentions* to backchannel attitude (see Examples 22, and 23). As in the two following examples. The previous email to that in Example 22 a junior female wrote to a number of her superiors in order to request that they check the content of an email she intended to send to a client. In Example 22 a mid-level female responded.

Example 22

Subject: SIR update

1. Hi Silvy,
2. <u>This</u> is all fine. I would just add: the specific issue report is now showing correct 12
3. months average for the titles with partial data. Since only these were wrong.
4. Thanks,
5. Maz

In line 2 the sender used a contractive (i.e. this) to refer to the junior female's previous email. She subsequently suggested the addition of a minor point. The fact that she foregrounded the positive news could suggest itself as supportive feedback (i.e. indexical of behaviour traditionally coded as feminine, Holmes 2006). Example 23 was the response to Example 24. In the email previous to that in Example 23 a female client sent additional research stimulus to be included in an ongoing research project (see Example 24). In Example 23 the male agency worker responded.

Example 23

Subject: Ads for April + Consumer Survey for "No. 1 claim"

1. Thanks for <u>this</u> Lauren, we will get the ad up and running asap.
2. Are there any other ads you want included in fieldwork this month?
3. Cheers,
4. Rob

In line 1 the sender used the contractive (i.e. this) in order to express gratitude for his interlocutor's acts within the world of discourse.

Both genders predominantly used *text mentions* to refer to constituent parts of their emails (34 out of the 57 female *text mentions*, and 21 out of the 36 male instances, involved reference to a constituent part of an email). This very much reflected the use of email in the department. Most emails in the research agency data either contained email chains concerned with the development of research instruments, or the discussion of research plans.

The communication involved in such tasks involved a high degree of textual awareness as senders worked so as to make their readers aware of various aspects of the material under discussion. In Example 24, a female client directly addressed a senior research director (and copied in the remaining account team) in order to supply research stimulus. Example 24 was reflected the majority of micro-level *text mentions* by both male and female senders.

Example 24

Subject: Ads for April + Consumer Survey for "No. 1 claim"

1. Hi Rob
2. Our latest TVC has been de-branded and is attached. Can you please include in this
3. month's fieldwork.
4. Thanks
5. Lauren

In line 2, the female sender helpfully signposted the content of the attachment. There was nothing remarkable about the majority of such micro-level *text mentions* in the research agency (i.e. such use was similar to that previously observed in the other two communities). Again, the use of *text mentions* as in the example above was seen as indexical of facilitative behavior in that it saved the reader the trouble of having to open the attachment in order to discern what had been sent (compared to say a bald 'please see attachment' type construction).

Perhaps the most noteworthy point in the use of *text mentions* in the research agency concerned the use of nano-level *text mentions* (i.e. references to parts of constituent parts). Both male and female senders frequently displayed such a level of textual awareness. Take the following example. Example 25 occurred in the same chain as Examples 3 and 17. Again, the chain concerned the finalization of a research debrief document. In Example 25 a female wrote to a senior male in the research agency in order to make a format request.

Example 25

Subject: Additional request

1. Thanks Rob
2. For consistency, can you please include figures at the end of each trend line (<u>as slide 11</u>)
3. for the <u>charts on slides 7, 8, 12, 16, 20 </u>as well?
4. Thanks
5. Claire

In lines 2 and 3 the female sender used nano-level *text mentions* to refer to parts (i.e. the slides) of a previously attached draft presentation. In doing so she essentially provided very clear instructions. This could be taken as both authoritative (in that they were direct and to the point) and facilitative (i.e. they were clear and unambiguous).

Example 26, reproduced in full in Example 14 above, occurred in a chain concerned with the development of an online survey. In the excerpt in Example 26 a male sender wrote to a number of agency staff in order to explain how to use the test survey.

Example 26

Subject: New questionnaires + Test Links

1. If you want to test them please use the <u>link </u>assigned to your name which you can find in
2. the attached <u>spreadsheet</u>.

In the excerpt above, the male sender used two micro-level *text mentions* a part (i.e. the personalized links) of a constituent part (i.e. the attached spreadsheet). Again, such behavior could be taken as particularly facilitative in that it helpfully walked the sender through the process of using the test survey.

The greater use of nano-level *text mentions* in the research agency revealed the nature of email in the discourse community i.e. it was relied on for the communication of important instructions. From a community of practice perspective (Lave and Wenger, 1991) a member of the research agency discourse community would have to acquire an ability to follow and

execute instructions textually expressed. As well as the ability to deal with detailed, technical information expressed on email.

The next section will consider the use of *code glosses* in the research agency.

Code glosses

The sexes used a similar amount of *code glosses* in the research agency discourse community. Females displayed a strong tendency to reformulate (4 of the 6 *code glosses* in the data from the female senders involved reformulation). Males displayed an equal preference for exemplification and reformulation (although it should be noted that there were just two *code glosses* in the male data in total).

Women used reformulation *code glosses* in order to provide exhaustive definitions of target structures. Example 27 occurred in an email chain concerned with planning the festive season research schedule. A male in the research agency has previously suggested that the agency conduct work earlier than planned so as to give the agency sufficient time to analyse the results for a January delivery. In Example 27, a female client wrote to a research director in order to raise a query concerning research timings.

Example 27

Subject: Brand Pulse - deliverables

1. Hi Rob,
2. If we were to keep to our usual schedule, <u>i.e.</u> not start fieldwork earlier, when would you
3. be able to deliver the December Pulse check?
4. In a timing schedule that I received from you earlier this year, the Dec pulse was slated
5. for Mon 24 Dec.
6. Cheers,
7. Claire

In line 2, the female sender used a reformulation *code gloss* in order to clarify the meaning of her previous utterance. Interestingly, the target structure (i.e. keep our usual schedule) was not particularly ambiguous. The reference to usuality (i.e. our usual) showed that the writer

regarded it as part of the shared knowledge of the communicative situation. Furthermore, her direct addressee was a senior member of the research agency, and in his previous email had explicitly discussed the usual versus suggested research schedule. This indicates that the sender did not impute her interlocutor with a lack of knowledge. Perhaps, the *code gloss* was intended as repetition or 'doubling down' of her point. This could be construed as authoritative locking down of meaning.

Example 28 occurred in a chain concerned with the preparation of research stimulus. In Example 28 an agency side worker acting in capacity as client wrote to a supplier in order to request a number of advertisements go through a certain coding process. In Example 28, a female sender used a *code gloss* in order to specify the meaning of the previous utterance.

Example 28

Subject: XXX (FMCG brand name) and XXX (competitor brand name) coding

1. Hi Simon,
2. Please find the new XXX (FMCG brand name) files attached.
3. We have 4 new ads for coding i.e. 3 for XXX (FMCG brand) and one for XXX
4. (competitor's ad XXX).
5. The XXX (FMCG brand name) ones are more urgent. Would be great if we could
6. receive them back in 3 weeks time. The XXX (Competitor brand name) one is less
7. urgent.
8. Thanks for your help.
9. If you have any questions, don't hesitate to contact me.
10. Cheers,
11. Maz

Again, the *code gloss* in the example above exhaustively defined the target structure in the sense that there was no scope for reader interpretation. This can be contrasted with the following example. Example 29 occurred in an email chain in which a new client-side member of staff requested information to aid his understanding of a number of reports.

Example 29

Subject: XXX (FMCG brand mascot name) or not

1. Hello all, Olivier, Maz and Vicki
2. Can you tell me how I can interpret this data in order to understand the risk, or lack of
3. risk in, <u>for example</u> putting up billboards without using brand logo (headline only)?
4. Or if not possible to extract from this, but with your knowledge of our brand – what
5. would be your point of view?
6. Thanks
7. Nathan

In line 3, the male sender used an exemplification *code gloss* in order to elaborate the meaning of the target structure (i.e. the risk or lack of risk). The writer in the example above elaborated the meaning of target structure (i.e. risk) by providing a particular instance (i.e. billboards without a brand logo) to represent the phenomenon on which he wanted to gain insight. Unlike the previous two examples, the *code gloss* in the example above was indicative and gave greater room for interpretation by the reader. In terms of gendered discourse norms, the male sender in the example above displayed a willingness to ask for help and thus be framed in the inferior position (contrary to the preferred position of males according to Tannen, 1990, 1995).

The two exemplification *code glosses* in the data from the female senders were used in a similar manner to the previous example. Example 30 occurred in a chain concerned with a potential research project in Asia. In Example 30 a female supplier responded to an initial request for information from agency side workers (acting in capacity of client). In doing so, she asked for clarification of a number of issues.

Example 30

Subject: Panellists in Asian Region

1. Hi Maz,
2. I hope that you're well.
3. Before we discuss any specific numbers, it would be great if you could provide with me a
4. little bit more detail on the project, <u>such as</u> your target audience and any quota
5. requirements you may have in mind. The length of survey and any media downloads
6. required and longer videos would also be great to know.
7. The reason that I ask this, is because our panels have different response and completion
8. rates, so the maximum number of completes which we can deliver is probably a better
9. indicator for you than our overall panel size.
10. As Lee mentioned, we don't have panels in all countries mentioned, but once I have a
11. bit more information on the project I can source feasibility from some of our partners.
12. Cheers,
13. Bec

In line 4 the female sender used an exemplification *code gloss* to expand upon the target structure 'little bit more detail on the project'. Whilst the appositive material contained very specific requirements, the use of the exemplification marker 'such as' would suggest that the *code gloss* was intended to guide the reader's interpretation in an expansive sense. Expansive in the sense that the *code gloss* allowed room for the reader to supply any additional information she deemed relevant. The *code gloss* worked with other elements of the email to concert a communicative behavior traditionally coded as feminine. Note the expression of interpersonal affection in line 2; the appreciation upgrade in line 3 (i.e. it would be great); the grounder construction in line 7-8; and, the use of friendly informal opening salutation and closing valediction.

4.6.2. Summary: Gendered use of organisational metadiscourse in the research agency

The use of organisational metadiscourse in the research agency was characterised by more similarity than difference. In terms of similarity, males and females used a similar amount of all the individual markers. Functionally, the respective genders used *transitions*, *frame markers* and *text mentions* in a similar manner. All three could be seen to involve gendered discourse norms traditionally coded feminine. *Transitions* were used to helpful signpost relations amongst arguments; particularly noteworthy was the use of the markers to signpost grounder explanations as well as the provision of choice architecture. Such a use could be construed as facilitative communicative behavior (i.e. traditionally coded as feminine). *Frame markers* were often articulated with the use of conventionally polite language, and were often tied to the circulation of information. *Text mentions* were used to provide clear and concise instructions with regards to the development of survey instruments and project plans. In terms of the latter markers (i.e. *text mentions*) the research agency as a discourse community used significantly more than the other communities. This was driven by the fact that emails in the research agency were heavily transactional and loaded with instructional details.

In terms of frequency difference, female senders used a significantly overall greater amount of organisational metadiscourse: this was the cumulative result of using slightly more individual markers. Functionally, female senders displayed a propensity to mark collaborative efforts. Male senders displayed an orientation towards self-promotion. These propensities presented themselves as consistent differences across all three communities. Finally, female senders displayed a strong propensity to use reformulation *code glosses*; male senders displayed an equal propensity to exemplify and reformulate. Whilst the sexes did display a difference in regards to exemplification and reformulation, it should be noted that both displayed an equal propensity to exhaustively or expansively define target structures.

The following section will consider the use of stance metadiscourse in the research agency. Again, stance metadiscourse comprised four sub-categories: *uncertainty markers*; *certainty markers*; *attitude markers*; and, *self mentions*. The category allows for insight into the ways in which writers comment upon their texts as well as how they make themselves visible (as writers/communicators).

4.6.3. Gendered use of stance metadiscourse in the research agency

The respective genders used a similar amount of stance metadiscourse. Both genders used a similar overall amount of stance metadiscourse. The next two sections will consider the use of *(un)certainty markers* in the research agency discourse community. It should be noted that *(un)certainty markers* were not particular popular discourse community: there were just 6 in the data from the male senders; and 7 in the data from the female senders. Indeed, as an overall percentage of stance metadiscourse senders in the research agency used the least amount of *(un)certainty markers*. This may well have been due to the nature of the medium as used in the research agency. Unlike, the advertising agency discourse community, email discourse in the research agency did not focus a great deal on the discussion of unfamiliar or novel issues. Many of the chains were concerned with the revision of old surveys, or the planning of prospective projects. Such discussions did not involve a great deal of exposition.

Uncertainty markers

The difference between the sexes in the use of *uncertainty markers* was negligible. Functionally, both genders used *uncertainty markers* in a classical sense i.e. to express a weak opinion. In Example 31, a female client wrote to an account team in order to highlight errors in a draft questionnaire.

Example 31

Subject: New questionnaires + Test links

1. Hi Guys
2. Yet another old question with errors, XXX (retail brand) is a global retailer not British, <u>I</u>
3. <u>suspect</u> XXX (retail brand) is not global either.
4. Heather

In line 2, the sender opened the utterance with two categorical statements[101] The sender was therefore categorically committed to the first two propositions. At the start of the third proposition (line 2-3), the sender entered into the text in order to express a degree of reserve (i.e. I suspect). As has already been well rehearsed, the use of the *uncertainty marker*

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[101] Both the neustic (I say so), and tropic (it is so) components were unqualified (Lyons, 1977).

evidentially marked the utterance as emanating from the writer persona; epistemically, it indicated the possibility that she could be wrong and thus provided a degree of face protection. I would not support the view that the face-protection extended to the readers since such an interpretation would seem to contradict the annoyance expressed in line 2 (i.e. Yet another old question with errors).

The other *uncertainty marker* in the data from the female senders was expressed with the clausal verb 'I guess'. Example 32 occurred in a chain in which a client asked why a certain question had been deleted from a questionnaire (which had subsequently gone live). In the email sent previous to that in Example 32 a senior male in the advertising agency said that he had the necessary proof on his laptop. In other words, the research agency was not at fault. In Example 32 the female research manager responded.

Example 32

Subject: CONFIRMATION OF QUESTION DELETION - XXX QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Hi Rob,
2. <u>I guess</u> it should be ok then.
3. We have a meeting with David tomorrow in regards to Q4 presentation, so
4. he will tell us then.
5. Thanks again!
6. Maz

In line 2, the female sender used an *uncertainty marker* to express a tentative estimate based on the sender's previous email. In essence she can be taken as having said 'I consider it probable that the issue will be okay' of course she could never have known this for sure. In this sense the *uncertainty marker* may have provided a degree of cautious face-protection should anything have subsequently transpired to the contrary.

There was one extremely interesting *uncertainty marker* in the male data which also involved the clausal verb 'I guess'. Example 33, 34, and 35 occurred in an email chain in which costs for a prospective brand tracking exercise were discussed. The chain was initiated by a senior male who delivered details of a proposed plan. In response, reproduced in full directly below,

a client side female requested further information concerning the breakdown of the sample in terms of different consumers, and the minimum recommended sample.

Example 33

Subject: Proposed costs for Brand Tracking Q1 2014

1. Thanks Rob for this.
2. In terms of the recommended sample size for £42,500, can you please provide a detailed
3. breakdown of XXX (Insurance brand) holders & Considerers by region by month?
4. Also, can you please provide a lower cost option with the minimum recommended
5. sample requirements?
6. Thanks,
7. Claire

In Example 34 a male sender responded to the client's request for information.

Example 34

Subject: Proposed costs for Brand Tracking Q1 2014

1. Hi Claire,
2. A sample of 10,000 interviews per year would be 875 per month, <u>I guess!</u>
3. If you reduce the sample any lower you will significantly increase variability in the
4. results particularly on a regional basis. Are you able to give us any guidelines on sample
5. sizes or budget for Q1 2014?
6. Many thanks,
7. Rob

At the end of his opening sentence (line 2), the male sender used a clausal verb to mark uncertainty (i.e. I guess!).   As with all mental state predicates considered in the present thesis, the *certainty marker* evidentially marked the utterance as emanating from the writer persona. But what commentary did it provide? Initially, I thought the marker functioned in a classical sense i.e. marked a degree of uncertainty such that the utterance was transformed into a weak opinion. After all the answer supplied was a rough approximation (the exact

answer would be closer to 833[102] interviews per month). However, on closer inspection of the chain, I would argue that a different order of uncertainty was marked. The uncertainty marked in the example above did not relate to the truth conditions of the target proposition; it related to the *appropriateness* of the proposition in satisfying the receiver's request for information. In other words, the male sender was not expressing uncertainty in regards to the extent to which he believed the propositional content was true or false, but whether it answered the receiver's question. In Example 35, the female client responded.

Example 35

Subject: Proposed costs for Brand Tracking Q1 2014

1. Hi Rob,
2. <u>I can work out that 10,000 interviews per annum is roughly 875 a month</u>– what I would
3. like more information on is the breakdown of that 875 interviews per month by region
4. and by XXX (insurance brand) vs Considerers.
5. Also, can you please advise what sample sizes can be achieved for a budget of £30k for
6. Q1 2014?
7. Thanks,
8. Claire

In line 1, the client commented on the absurdity of the previous response by highlighting the obviousness of the answer supplied. She further clarified her request for information (line 2-6). The example above was taken as further clarification that there was indeed confusion within the chain as to what information was requested. It should be noted that this was the only example of such use of an *uncertainty marker* in the data used in the present thesis. The next section will consider the use of *certainty markers*.

Certainty markers

The difference between the sexes in the use of *certainty markers* was negligible. Functionally, certainty *markers* were used by both genders in a similar sense i.e. in situations where potential disagreement was anticipated (7 of the 8 examples involved such a use). In

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[102] Although he may well have allowed for mishaps such as spoiled interviews.

Example 36 a female client responded to request for information regarding the order that audio-visual material should be shown during consumer interviews. She used a *certainty marker* in order to express a contingent answer.

Example 36

Subject: Scorecard for February

1. Thanks for this Rob.
2. I am just waiting for Ian to get back to me. <u>I think</u> the best solution would be to alternate
3. Media and Safety each month as this study is the only read we have on
4. media/pr/sponsorship.
5. Cara
6. [embedded Table with details of research plan]

In the example above, the *certainty marker* (i.e. I think) had a strong anaphoric relationship with the previous utterance which essentially disclosed the reason for the use of the marker. In other words, the sender held back from the expression of a categorical statement because she was waiting for confirmation from Ian. This provided her with a degree of refutation should Ian (i.e. her supervisor) express a contrary position. Likewise in Example 37.

Example 37, reproduced in full in Example 13 above. Example 37 occurred in a chain concerned with the development of a survey instrument. In Example 37 a female sender delivered a draft survey to her supervisor. Her supervisor had previously requested a number of changes.

Example 37

Subject: Model summary Reg+Com

1. Hi Andrew,
2. Please find the calculation files and the new XXX standard Tables attached. <u>I think</u> it
3. looks good now <u>just confirm if you want to remove the ones I've identified or add</u>
4. <u>more/different ones</u>.

In line 2 the female sender used a *certainty marker* in order to express a strong opinion with regards to the state of the questionnaire. Even so the *certainty marker* allowed for intervention by the direct addressee, indeed the sender even went on to anticipate possible reactions by the reader in line 3-4 (i.e. just confirm…). The construction can be taken as indexical of communicative behaviour traditionally coded as feminine: the sender was both tentative (i.e. with the use of the *certainty marker*); and facilitative (i.e. in the provision of choice architecture).

Example 38 occurred in a chain concerned with a tender process. The research agency had been invited to respond to an RFP (i.e. request for proposal) from a new prospective client. In Example 38 a senior male in the research agency wrote to a senior male in the client organisation.

Example 38

Subject: Two questions regarding your RFP

1. Hi Damien,
2. We are currently working on the response to your RFP for the four research projects and
3. have a couple of questions:
4. Could you please confirm the number of interviews obtained for each of the projects
5. currently? There are some numbers provided for the Member survey but <u>I believe</u> these
6. to be email invitations only, not completed interviews.
7. Would you be able to provide us with an example of outputs/reports for each of the
8. projects?
9. Best regards,
10. Rob

In the email above the male sender raised two questions with regards to information that had been supplied in the initial RFP. In line 4, the sender raised a question regarding a figure in the information pack. In line 5, the male sender entered the text in order to express a mental state predicate (i.e. I believe) with regards to his interpretation of the figures supplied. As

with the previous three examples, the marker expressed certainty but anticipated the possibility of disagreement. Again, this provided the sender with a degree of face protection.

There was one example which was slightly different to the others found in the data from the research agency. Example 38 occurred in a chain concerned with the development of a number of new questionnaires. In Example 39, a male used a *certainty marker* in order to express a strong opinion regarding the state of a survey instrument (i.e. it was in good shape).

Example 39

Subject: New Questionnaires

1. Hi Julia & Maz
2. Another big job, but well done.
3. <u>I think</u> the questionnaires are in good shape already. I'd just make two more suggested
4. changes attached for the first 2 questionnaires. Will look at the other two tomorrow, I'm
5. a little questionnaire out now.
6. Happy to discuss but please note I am not around Wednesday till later in the day.
7. Regards
8. Sol

In line 3 the sender used a *certainty marker* to qualify a target proposition. The reason for the expression of reservation (however slight) was seemingly expressed in the subsequent utterance (line 3-4). In other words, the reason why the sender did not express a categorical statement regarding the shape of the questionnaires was due to the fact that two additional changes needed to be made to the documents. Interestingly, the fact that changes needed to be made may have actually provided the genesis for the expression of the evaluative opinion (i.e. the questionnaires are in good shape). In the expression of the evaluative opinion, the sender can be taken as having made an appeal to the readers' positive face (Brown and Levinson, 1987), as well as orienting towards Leech's approbation maxim (i.e. expressing a belief which maximized approval of another). Unlike the previous examples, the sender did not appear to provide himself with a degree of face protection. Given that he was the supervisor of both direct addressees, disagreement was unlikely.

The following section will consider the use of *attitude markers* in the research agency discourse community. Again, *attitude markers* were not regarded as inherently reflexive therefore a metalingual reference was required to justify consideration as metadiscourse.

Attitude markers

In terms of frequency, both sexes used a relatively equal amount of *attitude markers*. Both males and females most frequently used *attitude markers* to express micro-politeness i.e. 'please' and appreciation upgrades (26 of the 49 female examples; and 27 of the 42 male examples involved such a use). Again, such use occurred with *directives* so will be considered under engagement below. Both sexes also frequently used *attitude markers* to backchannel affective sentiment (23 of the 49 female examples, and 13 of the 42 male examples involved such a use).

Males most frequently backchannelled gratitude (8 of the 13 examples involved such a use). Examples 40 and 41 occurred in a chain in which a male supplier requested a data file earlier than had previously been agreed. The data file apparently took significant preparation on behalf of the agency. In Example 40, a female agency side work (essentially acting in capacity as client) delivered the required information and requested sufficient time be allowed in the future (it could also be argued that she indirectly chastised the male).

Example 40

Subject: REQUEST: Coded responses for unprompted awareness

1. Hi David,
2. <u>Please</u> <u>find</u> <u>the coded unprompted awareness data file</u> <u>attached</u>.
3. In the future, in case you need anymore data could you let us know in advance giving us
4. a decent time allowance. This would be appreciated.
5. Thanks,
6. Maz

In Example 41, the male supplier responded.

Example 41

Subject: REQUEST: Coded responses for unprompted awareness

1. Thanks Maz.
2. <u>Appreciate</u> the quick response. Will ensure there is plenty of time next time data is
3. required.
4. Have a great long weekend.
5. Cheers,
6. David

In line 2, the male sender expressed appreciation for the female's quick response. This was counted as metadiscursive as it explicitly indexed an act within the current world of discourse. He subsequently committed to the female's request for action (i.e. allowing sufficient time). Through the use of object and reflexive aspects of communication, the male concerted an affiliative form of communication. He clearly attempted to redress any annoyance and inconvenience caused to his female client through his onerous request.

As in the previous and following example, male backchannels were generally positive (11 of the 13 involved positive backchannelling). Example 42 occurred in a chain concerned with the discussion of project practicalities. Previous to Example 42, a client had sent around a tentative project timetable (see Example 36). In Example 42, the male agent responded to her email.

Example 42

Subject: Scorecard for February

1. Hi Cara,
2. Yes, your timetable looks <u>very good and efficient</u>!
3. We will wait to hear back from you after your chat with Liam before proceeding.
4. Have a great weekend!
5. Rob

The male sender responded rather enthusiastically with his evaluative judgement (i.e. good and efficient).   I do not think the agent engaged in flattery for its own sake. Earlier in the chain, the male sender had expressed a preference of commencing research as soon as possible (see Example 51, line 4). Cara factored such a concern into her draft timetable which was subject to endorsement by her boss (i.e. Liam). The male sender's sycophantic praise of Cara's draft timetable therefore may well have been an attempt to influence Liam's[103] decision to endorse the project plan.

There was an interesting borderline case of an *attitude marker* been used to backchannel ambiguous feedback. Examples 43 and 44 occurred in the same chain. The chain concerned the development and testing of an online survey. In Example 42 a male client informed a number of agency side workers that he had identified a malfunction in the format of a test survey instrument. He attached a screenshot of the mistake.

Example 43

Subject: New questionnaires + Test links

1. Hi Mark,
2. Looking at the topline and in the new sports questions, cycling came up twice…why is
3. this so?
4. See attached.
5. Brendan

In Example 44, reproduced in full, a senior male research director sent an internal email (i.e. removing the client from the addressees) in order to essentially scold his team for failing to detect the mistake.

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[103] Ian was a copied party

Example 44

Subject: New questionnaires + Test links

1. See Brendan's question below. Do you have the original questionnaire? Interesting that
2. none of us picked up on that!

The example above raised as interesting question in regards to the metalingual function i.e. was it present in the *attitude marker* construction? In other words, did the *attitude marker* refer to an aspect of the reflexive triangle? I would argue that it did.   The sender can be taken as having commented on the fact that his team had made a mistake within a component part of the current text (i.e. it could have just as easily read: 'interesting that none of us picked up on the mistake within the questionnaire'). A second question can be raised in regards to the expression of affective attitude: did the sender express genuine interest? I would argue that he did not. In Gricean terms, 'interesting' flouted the maxim of quality in that it was actually an expression of mirativity (Delancey, 2005).   Rather than interest, the sender expressed a degree of annoyed surprise.

Females used macro-level *attitude markers* to express evaluative feedback (10 of the 23 examples involved such use); to express gratitude (8 of the 23 examples involved such use); and to apologise (5 of the 23 examples involved such use). In the use of macro-level *attitude markers* there was a noticeable thematic tendency for women to focus on time (11 of 23 examples referred to an aspect of time). Example 45 occurred in a chain in which an agency-side female asked a supplier a number of questions regarding their ability to provide research respondents in Asia. The female supplier responded 42 minutes later with a detailed response. In Example 45, the female agency side worker responded.

Example 45

Subject: Panellists in Asian Region

1. Hi Rebecca,
2. <u>Thanks</u> for your <u>prompt response</u>.
3. We are still working on this project, hence we don't have particulars specs yet.
4. We would be interested only in more general/rough figures.
5. Thanks again for your help.
6. Regards,
7. Maz

In line 2 the female agency side worker expressed gratitude to the supplier for her relatively quick response. As with the expression of gratitude, women also frequently focused on time when expressing regret. Example 46 occurred in a chain in which an agency side female committed to providing information regarding a project timeline. After 3 days a supplier reminded the agent that his team was waiting for the timeline. In Example 46, the female agency worker apologised for her delayed response.

Example 46

Subject: Brand Tracking Q1 2014

1. Hi David,
2. <u>Sorry</u> for the late response. The launch date is according to the schedule (<u>attached</u>) –
3. tomorrow 15th of October.
4. Thanks,
5. Maz

Hyland and Jiang (2016) claim that the expression of stance reveals how writers 'understand their communities through the assumptions their stances encode' (2016:255). As already alluded to above, the frequent reference to time would suggest that both male and female senders in the research agency valued timely responses within the world of discourse. Another point worthy of note here is the fact that the apology appeared to be a genuine

apology. Apologies function so as to provide support to the hearer who is actually or potentially offended by some form of a violation (Olshtain, 1989) thus restoring balance between parties (Leech, 1983). In the example above, the female apologised for the delayed response. The ritual/phatic use of 'sorry' by women within the workplace observed by Tannen (1995) was not found in any of the communities examined in the present thesis. All apologies by male and female senders appeared to address a genuine issue (as in Example 49 below).

Whilst female senders were not adverse to the expression of negative sentiment (e.g. see Example 3 lines, 2 and 6; or Example 31, line 1), 6 of the 10 *attitude markers* that expressed evaluative feedback expressed positive sentiment. There was one interesting ambiguous example worthy of further discussion. Example 47 occurred in a chain concerned with the resolution of a data breach issue. Previously in the chain, a male sender in the research agency had attempted to shirk responsibility for checking if certain clients had the necessary data privileges. He subsequently relented and agreed to take responsibility for ensuring new clients had the necessary access rights. In Example 47 a female sender from the media ratings agency (i.e. the organisation adversely impacted by the data breach) responded.

Example 47

Subject: XXX clients and Access to XXX fused data via XXX

1. Hi Simon,
2. Sorry I missed your call – thank you for the message.
3. Good to hear that you are ok to confirm with us whether a new client can get access to
4. XXX (proprietary database name).
5. Monique

In line 3 the female sender backchannelled positive sentiment (i.e. good to hear) with regards to the direct addressee's compliance. She also attributed affective sentiment to her interlocutor (i.e. you are ok). Both expressions of affective sentiment indexed the world of discourse: the first (i.e. good) related to the content of the previous message (i.e. the current text); the second (i.e. you are ok) related to future acts within the world of discourse

(although did not necessarily relate to the current text). In part, the sender's affective sentiment was expressed in relation to the perceived positive affective sentiment of the agent. In other words, the sender can be taken as having said: I am happy that you are happy[104]. Display of such concern would suggest itself as affiliative communication, however I do not think it should be assumed that such concern was born of an enlightened interest in the well-being of the receiver. Indeed, it could be argued that the expression of positive sentiment masked a deeper coercive dynamic. The agreement of the agent to undertake responsibility for confirmation was actually a concession from an earlier refusal. Indeed, at one point in the email chain the senior female openly challenged the agent's refusal. The female sender's expression of positive sentiment in Example 25 can therefore be taken as less an expression of affective concern for the client, and more of a celebration that the client had coalesced in her proposed solution.

It should be noted that there was one example of the use of an *attitude marker* at the sentential level. Example 48 occurred later in the same chain as Examples 43 and 44. Again, the chain was concerned with the development and testing of an online survey. In Example 48 a senior male sender entextualised part of an attached draft of the questionnaire.

Example 48

Subject: New questionnaires + Test links

1. Hi All
2. *'In the last 4 weeks – that is, from yesterday, have you personally looked up a website*
3. *after seeing or hearing the subject mentioned on, or in, each of the following? Please*
4. *select all that apply.*' - really clunky!
5. Adam

In line 4 the male sender reflexively expressed a negative attitude towards the wording of the question i.e. 'really clunky!'[105]. The bald expression of the frank judgement was indexical of a masculine style of communication. Indeed, rather than mitigation the *attitude marker* in

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[104] Or OK.

[105] The OED defines 'clunky' as 'awkward, clumsy, ungainly, esp. in design or function'. The sender's attitude towards the content therefore be taken as having reflected the idea that research questions should be straight forward and clear.

line 4 actually contained an intensifier (i.e. really). Furthermore, in the delivery of criticism the male did not engage in the normatively female practice of tending to the face needs of his interlocutuors (Tracy and Eisenber, 1991).

 It may be legitimately questioned as to whether the metalingual function was present in the example above. Again, the approach taken in the present thesis was one in which the simple entextualisation of previous material was not enough to automatically qualify as metadiscourse. In previous examples an explicit link (either in the expression of attitude or the entextualised material) to the some aspect of the current world of discourse was required in order to satisfy the reflexive requirement. In the example above, this was not obviously present. However, consideration of the wider chain revealed that the sender was answering an explicit request to check the wording of a number of questions in a draft survey instrument. In other words, the wider co-text clearly revealed that the sender was treating the entextualised material as language. The attitude marker was therefore treated as clearly having a linguistic referent (i.e. a text internal item).

The next section will consider the use of *self mentions* in the research agency. *Self mentions* are the means through which senders make themselves visible as writers. Again, a broad distinction was made between two aspects of the metadiscursive self: the authorial self (i.e. the aspect of the self which adds to the world of discourse); and the acquirer self (i.e. the aspect of the self which seeks to acquire knowledge or a form of textual action within the world of discourse).

Self mentions

The difference in the frequency usage of *self mentions* was negligible between the genders in the research community. Functionally, both sexes most frequently indexed the authorial aspect of the metadiscursive self. Males most frequently used *self mentions* to index the authorial aspect of the discursive self (16 of the 29 examples involved such use: see Example 50, below); 8 of these occurred in *phoric* constructions (see Example 17, line 2; Example 18, line 4; and, Example 51, line 2); 6 of these occurred with *(un)certainty markers* (see Examples 34, 38, and 39). The remainder of the *self mentions* in the data from the male

senders indexed the knowledge acquirer aspect (13 of the 29 involved such use: see Example 51, below).

As already stated, most of the *self mentions* that indexed the authorial self in the data from the male employees occurred with *(un)certainty markers* and *phorics*. There was one example in which a male sender indexed the sender/constructor aspect of the authorial self. In Example 49, reproduced in full, a senior male sender publically apologised to a number of copied parties for accidentally failing to attach a document.

Example 49

Subject: Additional request

1. Apologies <u>I</u> clicked on "send" instead of "attach file"
2. Here is the additional request from Miles.
3. Cheers,
4. Rob

In the example above, the *self mention* indexed the sender aspect of the sender's discursive self. As already stated, this was just 1 of 4 such *self mentions* in the male data. It should be noted that most *self mentions* identified in the present study allowed male and female writers to positively take credit for a position or action in the world of discourse. The example above was unusual in the sense that the sender aligned himself with a mistake (however minor it may have been).

As we have seen in previous examples senders often index different aspects of the authorial self in the same email. Example 51 occurred in the same chain as Examples 36 and 42 above. Again, the chain concerned the discussion of project practicalities. In Example 51, a male sender distributed a report and asked a copied client a specific question.

Example 50

Subject: Scorecard for February

1. Hi Cara and Brendan,
2. Please find attached the scorecard for February 2014 containing <u>my</u> commentary.
3. Cara: please let <u>me</u> know media/PR/Sponsorship section can be replaced with the safety
4. video section for March fieldwork – quite keen to start as soon as possible.
5. Many thanks,
6. Rob

The sender used two *self mentions* in the email above. In line 2, he indexed his authorial self as a responsible agent within the world of discourse. In line 3, the sender then used a *self mention* to index himself as a discursive self with specific knowledge needs. Although the first mention could be taken as self-promotional (i.e. assertive), overall the male oriented towards discourse norms traditional coded as feminine. Note his use double use of the micro politeness marker 'please' (line 2 and line 3); the tentative expression of preference in line 4 (i.e. quite keen to start as soon as possible); and the use of structural politeness (i.e. opening salutation and closing valediction).

In terms of the knowledge acquirer aspect of the metadiscursive self, 4 of the 13 examples involved semi-formulaic open offers of help (as in Example 12, line 6; Example 19, line 7); 9 of the 13 examples involved the expression of specific questions or requests (as in the following example). Example 51, reproduced in full in Example 59 below, occurred in a chain concerned the agreement of the date for a research debrief. In the excerpt in Example 51, a male agent wrote to his client in order to make a request concerning the project schedule.

Example 51

Subject: XXX Brand Pulse - deliverables

1. This worked well last year as December 1st was on a Thursday and we were able to send
2. you the monthly pulse check prior to Christmas. However this year December 1stis later
3. in the week, on a Saturday. Therefore <u>we</u> would like to request starting fieldwork a day
4. or so earlier so that we can meet the deadline of delivering the December pulse check on
5. December 21st.

In line 3, the male sender used an inclusive *self mention* (i.e. we) in order to explicitly make a request concerning the timings of the project. It could be argued that the sender hid behind the use of the use of the institutional 'we'. However, such a choice may have actually bolstered his request by putting collective strength behind it (i.e. we all want such an arrangement). Whilst the sender in the example above was clearly making a request in the example above, this was not always immediately apparent. Take the following example. Example 52 occurred in an email chain in which a serious data breach was identified. In the second from last email in the chain a senior male in the research agency sent an internal email concerning a solution.

Example 52

Subject: XXX clients and Access to XXX fused data via

1. Hi All,
2. The data feed needs to be turned off for the attached list of companies.
3. Also <u>please let me point</u> out a need for the account teams to have a place to store and
4. track this kind of information.
5. Best regards,
6. Andrew

In line 3 the sender entered the text in order to essentially highlight the importance of the proposition through the use of a *directive* construction. At first blush, the sender appeared to index himself as a writer verbally expressing something within the world of discourse (and

thus added to world of discourse). However, if one considers the data closer it becomes apparent that the sender actually made a number of indirect requests: (1) the data feeds needed to be turned off (2) the account teams needed to become responsible for tracking data breaches. Therefore, the sender was taken as having entered the world of discourse to secure action.

Again, females also most frequently used *self mentions* to index the authorial aspect of their discursive self: 6 of these occurred with *(un)certainty marke*rs (see Examples 32 and 36); 11 indexed the sender/constructor aspect of the discursive self (see Example 32); the remainder comprised miscellaneous entries into the text for expressive purposes (as in Example 53). In Example 53, a female client delivered previously requested information.

Example 53

Subject: XXX (commercial bank name) Bank Pilot Research Study - Additional Information

1. Hi Edwina,
2. Attached is a table that was put together to explain which letters should be sent to which
3. customers. I hope this is helpful.
4. Regards,
5. Alison

In line 5 above, the sender used a first person pronoun to index her authorial self. It was not clear as to whether she was the author of the document (i.e. the table). Nevertheless, she indexed her authorial self when she entered the text in order to express affective attitude towards the anticipated usefulness of the text

As already stated, females used a greater relative amount of *self mentions* that indexed the sender/constructor component of the discursive self: 6 of these concerned commitment to future acts. In Example 54 a female client responded to an agent's request concerned with research stimulus.

Example 54

Subject: Ads for April + Consumer Survey for "No. 1 claim"

1. Hi Rob,
2. We would also like to include a XXX TVC in the next round. I'll send you the de-
3. branded version tomorrow.
4. Thanks,
5. Lauren.

The sender first opened her email by informing the agent that the client organisation wished to include an additional television commercial in the next round of research (this would involve extra work for the agency). In line 2 the female client then explicitly indexed the sender aspect of her metadiscursive self (note the shift from the institutional 'we" to the individual 'I') in order to commit herself to a future act within the world of discourse. In doing so, she arguably displayed a cost to self. Likewise in the following example. In Example 55 a female client initiated the chain with a request for the inclusion of additional information in a research project.

Example 55

Subject: XXX (Retail bank name) Bank Pilot Research Study - Additional Information

1. Hi Tim,
2. Following our discussion[106], attached are the additional coded fields for inclusion. I also
3. attach the target groups and the draft letters to be sent.
4. Thanks,
5. Rebecca

In line 2 the female client indexed the sender/constructor aspect of her metadiscursive self. Again, in doing so she arguably displayed a cost to self. Even though she was entitled as a paying client to make requests, her construction redressed the balance (i.e. I'm asking you to do this for me; I've done this for you).

---

[106] Intertextual reference

The knowledge acquirer aspect of the discursive self accounted for 13 of the 38 *self mentions* in the data from the female senders. Just 2 of the 13 *self mentions* that indexed the knowledge acquirer involved a semi-formulaic open offer of help (see Example 28, line 7). The majority occurred with specific questions. In Example 55, reproduced in full in Example 30 above, a female supplier responded to an agency side female's request information.

Example 56

Subject: Panellists in Asian Region

1. The reason that <u>I ask this</u> is because our panels have different response and completion
2. rates, so the maximum number of completes which we can deliver is probably a better
3. indicator for you than overall panel size.

Instead of directly answering the agency female client's initial questions, the female supplier requested more information (see Example 28). In the excerpt above, the female supplier essentially justified the reason for such behaviour (i.e. The reason that I ask…). In doing so, she indexed the knowledge acquirer aspect of her discursive self. The following example contains a less convivial case of self indexation. Example 57 occurred in a chain in which a serious data breach was identified. Previous to the email in Example 57, a senior male in the research agency attempted to shirk responsibility for ensuring such a leak would not occur in the future. In Example 57 a female sender from the company adversely impacted by the leak (i.e. a media ratings agency) responded.

Example 57

Subject: XXX clients and Access to XXX fused data via XXX

1. Simon,
2. Subsequent to this email exchange I received emails from Silvy checking whether XXX
3. (FMCG brand), or XXX (FMCG brand) were XXX (media ratings agency) –we assumed
4. this meant our proposed solution was in place.
5. I have deep concerns about continuing to release XXX (media ratings agency) data for
6. fusion in XXX (proprietary system name) without knowing that those subsequently
7. receiving the data are entitled to it.
8. Can you explain to me why it is not feasible to check with us before releasing our online
9. ratings data to clients?
10. Monique

In line 8 the female sender challenged the male sender's previous claim that the research agency would not be able to ensure data security. Although the *directive* contained conventionally polite language (i.e. indirect), the sender still openly challenged her male interlocutor's position. I would argue that the self indexed in line 8 was a combative self. Indeed, the whole email was rather direct and combative: note her use of direct, bald salutation and valediction formulae; as well the presentation of evidence (lines 2-4) which contradicted the male's previous position. Interestingly, the interlocutors were not in a direct commercial relationship, so were on a relatively equal footing. This may in part have explained the assertiveness.

4.6.4. Summary: Gendered use of stance metadiscourse in the research agency

The use of stance metadiscourse was characterised more by similarity than difference. In terms of similarity, the respective genders used an overall similar amount of *(un)certainty markers*, *attitude markers*, and *self mentions*. They also used a similar overall amount of stance metadiscourse. Functionally, they used *uncertainty markers*, and *certainty markers* in a similar manner. There was noticeable tendency amongst both male and female senders to use the markers in situations where a degree of disagreement was seemingly anticipated (Nuyts, 2001).

In terms of difference, functionally, excluding the expression of micro-politeness, female senders used *attitude markers* for a wider range of purposes than their male counterparts (again a trend observed across the three communities). Both males and females used *attitude markers* to express gratitude for acts committed within the world of discourse (this could be taken as indexical of affiliative behaviour). Female senders also frequently expressed apology for delayed responses. In the very least this displayed an orientation towards a moral order in which information flowed in a timely manner (it could be taken as an expression of a preference for facilitative norms of communication, i.e. feminine). They also used *attitude markers* to frequently evaluate textual components. As has been argued throughout the present thesis such behaviour was regarded as assertive in nature (i.e. masculine). In their use of *self mentions*, female senders frequently indexed the sender/constructor aspect of their metadiscursive selves. Again, such behaviour when used by females can be taken as part of a request strategy (i.e. presentation of self as a helpful messenger as well as the presentation of costs incurred). There was just one example in the data from the male senders in which the sender/constructor self was presented. However, this occurred as part of an apology not a request strategy.

The following section will consider the use of engagement metadiscourse in the research agency discourse community. Again, engagement metadiscourse comprises *reader mentions*, *directives*, and *personal asides*. The category allows for insight into the way in which writers pull readers into their texts.

4.6.5. Gendered use of engagement metadiscourse in the research agency

Overall, the sexes used a similar amount of engagement metadiscourse in the research agency.

The following section will consider the use of *reader mentions* by the respective sexes in the research agency. As already stated in Chapter 3, the term *reader mentions* was preferred over the term *reader pronouns* in Hyland (2005) due to the fact that first names were often used in the data. It should also be remembered that the approach in the present thesis did not include *reader mentions* that occurred in opening salutation formulae as this would have unnecessarily inflated the sub-category.

Reader mentions

The sexes used a similar amount of *reader mentions*. Functionally, both used the markers in a broadly similar manner. As in the previous communities, *reader mentions* were used most frequently in conjunction with *directives* (29 of the 41 female examples included such a use; 25 of the 42 male examples involved such a use). The use of *directives* will be well considered in the following section, for this reason I will focus on the use of first names (which is rather novel to the genre of email versus that of say academic writing where it is seldom possible to call upon the reader by their first name). There were 6 first name *reader mentions* in the female date: 2 backchannels (see Example 36, line 1); 4 incidental mentions (see Example 57 below). Example 57 occurred in the same chain as Examples 5 and 15 above. The chain was concerned like others with the development of questionnaires. In Example 57 a senior female in the research agency wrote a lengthy email to a client in order to give her a status update on the project.

Example 57

Subject: New Questionnaires

1. I'm copying <u>Maz</u>, who's the newest member of our technical team and who put all
2. these changes together. She will incorporate your edits in the final version so keep her
3. copied.

In the excerpt above the female sender in communication with her client explicitly copied a colleague into the email chain. The *reader mention* functioned to both digitally introduce the individual concerned (i.e. Maz) and the client, as well as to designate Maz as a responsible agent within the current world of discourse. As with most examples in the present thesis, the *reader mention* in the example above referred to a specific, actual reader, not an evoked, imaginary reader as in genres traditionally examined under the ambit of metadiscourse (e.g. argumentative essays). Likewise, in the following example. In Example 58, a senior female client wrote to a senior male in the research agency regarding a number of project practicalities.

Example 58

Subject: Proposed costs for Brand Tracking Q1 2014

1. Thanks Rob for the revised costs. Either Kerrie or I will
2. be in touch re which of the two options will be undertaken for Q1 2014.
3. Can you please advise dates in which A&B will be closed, as well as the dates that you
4. & Frank will be on annual leave? Can you please let me know the best person to contact
5. in either of your absences?
6. Cheers,
7. Claire

In the email above the female client used a number of *reader mentions* to manage communication in the world of discourse. In line 1 she used the first name of her direct addressee (i.e. Rob) to backchannel gratitude. She then used the first name of a copied colleague (i.e. Kerry) to commit to further action in the world of discourse (i.e. indexical of facilitative behavior). In lines 3 and 4, she used two impersonal pronouns as part of two *directive* constructions (both of which were articulated with the use of indirect language – again indexical of a style of communication traditionally coded as feminine). The impersonal pronoun at the end of line 3 (i.e. you) and the first name (i.e. Frank) in line 4 were not regarded as metadiscourse since they alluded to individuals within the world that is spoken about (i.e. a world in which one is physically absent from work) rather than the world

of discourse. In other words, they were not regarded as indexing readers (Frank was not copied). This can be contrasted with the following example taken from the male data.

In Example 59 a male sender in the research agency wrote to a client in order to inform her of his upcoming leave.

Example 59

Subject: De-branded XXX (FMCG brand name) & XXX (FMCG brand name)

1. Hi Lauren,
2. Thanks for this.
3. Please note that our office will be closed
4. from 5pm Friday 21 December until 9am Monday 7 October.
5. I will also be on annual leave until Tuesday 29 October – <u>you</u> can forward
6. any questions while I am away to <u>Olivier, Vicki and Maz</u> (cc'd above).
7. Have a lovely weekend!
8. Rob

In line 5, the sender first used an impersonal pronoun (i.e. you) in order to index his direct addressee. In line 6, the sender then used a number of first name *reader mentions* to index various copied parties in order to designate them as points of contact. The copying in of the parties is what converted the first names from simple mentions to *reader mentions*. Unlike *Frank,* in Example 58 line 4, *Olivier*, *Vicki*, and *Maz* were actual readers of the current discussion and hence active participants within the world of discourse.

Males also used frequently first names *reader mentions* for the personalization of *directives* (as in Example 60). Example 60 occurred in the same chain as Examples 1 and 51. Again the chain concerned the discussion of fieldwork dates and the prospective date for a research debrief. In Example 60 a senior male in the research agency wrote to a number of clients in order to propose a schedule.

Example 60

Subject: XXX Brand Pulse - deliverables

1. Hi Steve,
2. The intention is to provide the November brand pulse by COB December 7th.
3. However <u>you</u> have highlighted a key issue which is the delivery date for the December
4. brand pulse. Usually we conduct fieldwork for 3 weeks in December (including over 3
5. full weekends – which is peak time for respondents to complete surveys) and try to
6. complete all interviews by December 16 or 17.
7. This worked well last year as December 1st was on a Thursday and we were able to send
8. you the monthly pulse check prior to Christmas. However this year December 1stis later
9. in the week, on a Saturday. Therefore we would like to request starting fieldwork a day
10. or so earlier so that we can meet the deadline of delivering the December pulse check on
11. December 21st.
12. <u>Claire</u> please let us know if <u>you</u> are ok with the following fieldwork
13. launch dates:
14. [sender lists a number of dates]
15. Many thanks,
16. Rob

In line 8 the sender used an impersonal pronoun (i.e. you) to refer to the direct addressee (i.e. Steve). This referred back to a point Steve had made in his previous email regarding the issue of dates. In line 17, the male sender used a client's first name (i.e. Claire) in order to personalise a request for information. Interestingly, Claire was not the direct addressee. The first name *reader mention* may therefore have also functioned as a secondary salutation. A similar example can be found in Example 50, line 4. Whilst there were no examples of such a use of *reader mentions* in the data from the female senders, this was not a consistent difference across the communities. As such a use was observed in both the marketing and advertising discourse communities.

The next section will consider the use of *directives* in the research agency discourse community.

Directives

The sexes used a similar amount of *directives*. Functionally, the respective genders displayed similar patterns of behaviour: both predominantly used the markers to request an active reader response (24 of the 37 male *directives*; and, 25 of the 36 female examples involved such a use). 16 of the 24 *directives* in the male data that required an active response from the sender involved conventionally polite language: 12 of these involved the micro-politeness marker 'please' (as in Example 61); 3 involved indirect constructions (as in Example 62); 1 involved an appreciation upgrade (as in Example 63) In Example 62, reproduced in Example 12 above, a male sender in the research agency wrote to a number of clients and internal members of staff in order to inform them that the survey had gone live.

Example 61

Subject: Proposed costs for Brand Tracking Q1 2014

1. Please <u>let me know</u> if there are any questions or issues

In a pre-closing line the male sender in the excerpt above used the micro-politeness marker 'please' in order to articulate an open offer of help to his interlocutors. The articulation, as well as the communicative behavior displayed a facilitative orientation (i.e. indexical of styles of communication traditionally coded as feminine).

As already stated male sender also frequently articulated *directives* with the use of indirect language. Example 62 occurred in a chain in which the research agency were in communication with a new potential client. In Example 63, a male sender in the research community asked a potential client to provide examples of the kinds of work previous agencies had produced.

Example 62

Subject: Two questions regarding your request for RFP[107]

1. Hi Damien,

2. We are currently working on the response to your RFP for the four research projects

3. and have a couple of questions.

4. <u>Could you please confirm</u> the number of interviews obtained for each of the projects

5. currently? There are some numbers provided for the Member survey but I believe these

6. to be email invitations only, not completed interviews.

7. <u>Would you be able to provide us</u> with an example of outputs/reports for each of the

8. projects?

9. Best regards,

10. Rob

In lines 5 and 8 the male sender chose to indirectly articulate his request. Curl and Drew (2008) claim that modal verbs (e.g. could you, would you) treat the necessary conditions for granting such requests as already satisfied i.e. not particularly cumbersome. The modals also allow the sender to display caution with regards to entitlement (Kádár and Haugh, 2015). So, in the example above, and similar examples in the data, the sender can be taken as having 1) indicated that the request was not particularly onerous, and 2) irrespective of (1) displayed recognition that he was not entitled to gratification of the request. The third strategy favoured by male (and female) senders comprised the use of appreciation upgrades, as in the following example.

In Example 63, reproduced in full in Example 19, a male client sender wrote to a number of agency staff in order to request they proof read changes made to draft survey instrument.

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[107] Request For Proposal

Example 63

Subject:: Brand Tracking Q1 2014

1. It would be great if you could review the new question flow and approve or advise us
2. of any concerns which you may have.

In the excerpt above, the male sender used an appreciation upgrade to signal a lack of entitlement with regards to the satisfaction of the request. He also used indirect language in the articulation of the directive (i.e. if you could). Again, as was generally the case in the discourse community, the articulation of the *directive* was indexical of communicative behavior traditionally coded as feminine (Holmes: 2006). Indeed, none of the examples that lacked conventionally polite language appeared to involve impoliteness (from an analyst perspective). Closer examination of the wider emails disclosed other factors that may have either served politeness concerns, or ruled out evaluations of impoliteness (as in Example 64 below).

In Example 64, reproduced in full, a male sender requested a client to supply information regarding a survey instrument.

Example 64

Subject: New questionnaires + Test links

1. <u>Let us know </u>what you want us to do and with this and we can make the changes
2. See you next week!
3. Dave

At the local level, the utterance lacked conventionally polite devices (e.g. micro-politeness markers). However, the sender appeared to invoke the generosity principle in that the sender explicitly stated the benefit to the client (i.e. satisfaction of his changes). In the pre-closing line, the sender also can be taken to have expressed a degree of interpersonal affiliation.

The remaining 13 *directives* in the male data concerned the consumption of the text (i.e. required a passive reader response): 11 of these involved conventional politeness markers (as in Example 17, line 1 above). The remaining 2 involved the articulation of a direct, non-polite style; both involved a bald command, i.e. See X (contained in Examples 43, line 4 and 44, line 1 above).

As in the male data, the most frequent use of *directives* in the female data required an active reader response. Indeed, 25 of the 36 *directives* involved such a use: 22 of the 25 examples involved conventionally polite language: 18 involved the micro-politeness marker 'please' (as in Example 65); 4 involved indirect language (as in Example 66). Example 65 occurred in an email in which confusion arose as to whether a client had requested a specific question be deleted from a survey instrument. In Example 65, reproduced in full, a female sender contacted her supervisor in order to request email evidence of such a request.

Example 65

Subject: CONFIRMATION OF QUESTION DELETION - XXX QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Hi Rob,
2. Thanks for the info!
3. <u>Could you please forward</u> that e-mail form [sic] Claire with the request.
4. She doesn't remember it.
5. Thanks again,
6. Maz

The sender first expressed gratitude to her supervisor for previously supplying confirmation that there was indeed an email trail. She then articulated her request with the use of a modal verb (i.e. could you) plus a micro politeness marker (i.e. please). Such an articulation allowed the sender to display a lack of entitlement. She also provided a subsequent grounder for the request i.e. the client did not remember making the request (again, indicative of politeness considerations). Rather than using a politeness marker, the sender in the following example relied on the use of indirect language to soften the articulation of her *directive*.

In Example 66, a female agency worker contacted a supplier organisation in order to request information about their potential reach within Asia.

Example 66

Subject: Panellists in Asian Region

1. Hi Lee,
2. We are likely to soon launch a project across the Asian region.
3. <u>We were wondering</u> whether you could send us rough numbers of panellist you have in
4. Asian countries.
5. We are interested in China, Thailand, Malaysia, Vietnam, Indonesia, Singapore and
6. Philippines in particular.
7. Best Regards,
8. Maz

Given that the sender was acting in capacity of client, the power differential was in her favour (i.e. she ultimately decided whether to award the contract). First wave politeness theory (Brown and Levinson, 1987) would suggest that she did not need to tend to politeness considerations. Nevertheless, the sender chose to use a face-enhancing discursive resource (i.e. we were wondering) in order to articulate her *directive*. In doing so, she oriented towards (perhaps fallacious) contingencies that may have made the satisfaction of such a request difficult (Thornborrow, 2002).

As already alluded to above, 3 of the 25 *directives* that required an active reader response did not contain conventionally polite language: 2 involved an open offer of help (as in Example 67); 1 involved a relatively bald *frame marker (*see Example 68*).* In Example 67, reproduced in Example 70 below, a female client supplied information to an agency side project manager.

Example 67

Subject: XXX (Retail bank name) Bank Pilot Research Study - Additional Information

1. <u>Let me know</u> if you require any further information.

In a pre-closing line the female sender made an open offer of help. Whilst the wording of the *directive* could be construed as rather direct, it was innately beneficial to the recipient.

In Example 68, a female sender wrote to her supervisor.

Example 68

Subject: New questionnaires + Test links

1. It seems you're editing the spreadsheet at the moment. Regarding the location codes for
2. XXX (brand name) field work, <u>I need confirmation</u> on the following:
3. [sender lists a number of codes]

In line 2, the sender used a relatively bald need statement in a *frame marker* construction (i.e. I need confirmation). I would argue, from an analyst perspective, that the construction did not warrant an evaluation of impoliteness. Commercial necessity meant that the female sender needed confirmation as soon as possible in order to resolve a client issue. In such situations email senders have been shown to dispense with politeness (Evans, 2012).

Overall, males and females used *directives* in a similar manner i.e. with the use of conventionally polite language. The exercise of power within the world of discourse (as evidenced by the use of *directives*) was relatively mild in the research agency.

Finally, the next section will consider the use of *personal asides* in the research agency.

Personal Asides

The sexes used a similar amount of *personal asides*. They also used the devices in a functionally similar way i.e. house phoric markers (see Example 46, line 2, and Example 59, line 6).

The following section will summarise the findings and discussion on the use of engagement metadiscourse in the research agency discourse community. This will be followed by an overall summary.

4.6.6. Summary: Gendered use of engagement metadiscourse

Engagement metadiscourse was characterised more by similarity than difference. In terms of similarity, males and females used *reader mentions*, *directives*, and *personal asides* in a *similar manner*. Both male and female senders used *reader mentions* to manage multiple parties in the world of discourse. As in the other two communities the articulation of directives was pronouncedly feminine. As with organisational metadiscourse the real difference concerned the frequency of use.

4.6.7. Summary: overall use of metadiscourse

Table 29 contains a summary of the results in terms of frequency and functional use by the respective genders in the research agency discourse community.

Table 29: Summary of the gendered use of metadiscourse in the research agency

Note: column 2 indicates which gender used more of the given item.

Metadiscourse Category	Usage: Frequency	Usage: Functional
Organisational Metadiscourse		
Transitions	Similar	Similar
Frame markers	Similar	Similar
Phoric markers	Similar	Difference: Female senders mark the contribution of others. Male senders tend toward self recognition.
Text Mentions	Similar	Similar
Code gloss	Similar	Difference: women show strong propensity to reformulate.
Total Organisational Metadiscourse	Difference: greater female use	Similar

Stance Metadiscourse		
Uncertainty markers	Similar	Similar
Certainty markers	Similar	Similar
Attitude markers	Similar	Difference: Female: use for a wider range of purposes.
Self mentions	Similar	Difference: females indexed the sender/constructor aspect of the discursive self more than males.
Total Stance Metadiscourse	Similar	Similar
Engagement Metadiscourse		
Reader mentions	Similar	Similar
Directives	Similar	Similar
Personal asides	Similar	Similar
Total Engagement Metadiscourse	Similar	Similar

Drawing on the evidence presented, the use of metadiscourse in the research agency was overwhelmingly characterised by similarity. Indeed, as can be seen in Table 29, there were 26 points of similarity. Furthermore, there were thirteen points where frequency and functional usage were similar. As already discussed above, the usage of metadiscourse often involved communicative behaviours that have been traditionally been coded as feminine. *transitions* were used to helpful signpost relations amongst arguments; particularly noteworthy was the use of the markers to signpost grounder explanations as well as the provision of choice architecture; *frame markers* were often articulated with the use of conventionally polite language, and to helpfully break apart complex emails; *text mentions* were used to provide clear instructions with regards to the development of survey instruments and project plans. Both males and females used *attitude markers* to thank interlocutors for acts committed within the world of discourse (which could be taken as

affiliative). Finally, *directives* were predominantly articulated with the use of conventionally polite language.

A number of differences were present within the data. Female senders displayed a strong propensity to use *code glosses* for the purpose of reformulation. Females used *attitude markers* for a broader range of purposes than their male counterparts. Their use of *attitude markers* to express apology for delays in communication could be taken as indexical of feminine communicative behaviour in that it gave recognition the need to be facilitative. As argued in discussion of the other communities, the use of *attitude markers* to express evaluative feedback could be taken as a subtle form of assertion (Holmes, 2006); the individual that expresses judgment also displays the power to express such judgement. The generosity displayed by females in *phoric* constructions accorded with gender and language literature that views women as more generous in this respect (Wolfson, 1984; Holmes, 1986; Aries, 1987; Leet-pelligrini, 1987; Case, 1988; Berryman-Fink, 1997). Finally, the female tendency to index the sender/constructor aspect of the authorial may be understood as a relatively novel, polite, request strategy. The marking personal responsibility in *phoric* constructions by male employees was suggestive of self-promotion.

4.7. Consistent similarities and differences across the three communities

The analysis revealed a number of consistent similarities and differences across the three communities.

In terms of consistent frequency similarity, male and female senders in all three communities used a similar overall amount of metadiscourse (as has been found elsewhere, Crismore et al. 1993; Tse and Hyland, 2008). The respective sexual dyads also used an overall similar amount of metadiscourse in all three communities. The sexual dyads in all three communities also used a similar amount of the following individual markers: *phoric markers*, *code glosses*, *uncertainty markers*, *self mentions*, *reader mentions*, *directives*, and asides.

There were no frequency differences that consistently proved to be significant across the three communities. The significance test showed that male senders used significantly more *certainty markers* when the total results were combined (see appendix 2). Males used significantly more *certainty markers* in the marketing department and advertising agency (as has been found elsewhere, Crismore et al. 1993; Francis et al., 2001; Tse and Hyland, 2008). However, in the research agency discourse community the greater male use of *certainty markers* was just below the significance threshold.

In terms of functional similarity, across all three communities male and female senders broadly used organisational and engagement metadiscourse in a similar manner. In terms of individual markers, they also used *transitions*, *(un)certainty markers*, and *reader mentions* in a similar functional manner. Male and female senders, across all three communities, used *transitions* in the realisation of polite grounder constructions; global comprehension; and to provide choice architecture. Male and female sender also most frequently used *(un)certainty markers* to soften requests and tentatively mark different opinions. Finally, senders in all three communities frequently used *reader mentions* in politely articulated *directives*. They also used first names in the main body of their emails as personalisation devices.

In terms of functional difference, three individual markers were found to have consistent patterns of difference: *phoric markers*; *attitude markers*; and *self mentions*. In their use of *phorics*, females, across all three communities, displayed a greater tendency to mark the contributions of others. The generosity displayed by females in *phoric* constructions chimed

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with the gender and language literature that views women (and those who communicate in normatively feminine ways) as more generous conversational partners (Wolfson, 1984; Holmes, 1986; Aries, 1987; Leet-pelligrini, 1987; Case, 1988; Berryman-Fink, 1997). Males frequently marked their own contribution in *phoric* constructions. This could be taken to align with the view that views normatively masculine modes of communication as involving greater comfort with self-promotion (Kuhn, 1992). In their use of *attitude markers,* female senders backchannelled a wider range of affective sentiment and evaluative feedback. This could be taken as a subtle form of assertion (Holmes, 2006);   Male senders, across all three communities, predominantly backchannelled gratitutde. In their use of *self mentions* female senders in all three communities displayed a propensity to index the sender/constructor aspect of their writer self.

Chapter 4 discussed the findings from the application of the reflexive, minimally integrationist model of metadiscourse used in the present thesis. Chapter 5 will summarise the theoretical and empirical contribution of the present study. It will also discuss the limitations of the present study as well as the implications for further research.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

The following chapter will draw together the major conclusions of the present thesis. It will begin with a discussion of the theoretical contribution. It will then move on to discuss the empirical contribution and the practical contribution. Finally, it will discuss limitations of the present study as well as future directions for research.

5.2. Theoretical contribution of the current study

The major theoretical contribution of the present study is the proposal of a reflexive, minimally integrationist model of metadiscourse. The current model is conceptually formed through the combination of the taxonomy in Hyland (2005) with the theoretical precepts in Ädel (2006). Asides from the proposal of a novel model, the theoretical contribution of the reflexive, minimally integrationist model to the discipline of metadiscourse can be understood in three main ways. Firstly, it contributes to the understanding of metadiscourse within interactional situations, i.e. when writer and reader are in actual, rather than imagined, contact. Secondly, in accordance with wider trends in linguistics (van Dijk, 2011; Kádár and Haugh, 2015) it allows for a shift in analysis from the sentential level to the macro/global level. Thirdly, the current model offers a reflexive account of stance. The view offered is more nuanced than exclusion or (over) inclusion and offers analysts a less polemic position.

I will present the specific avenues of research arising out of the present study below (see section 5.7.), however, at this stage, I would like to highlight potential value the present study has elsewhere. Whilst analysts will inevitably have to engage in genre/medium specific development, the reflexive, minimally integrationist model has the potential to form the basis of studies in the wider field of socio-interactional linguistics. There are many obvious and less obvious areas where the model could be of use: one of each will be provided here. An

obvious extension of the model could involve its application to other interactive (both textual and spoken) sites of professional communication. Specific applications could include traditional face-to-face meetings, telephone calls, video conferences, instant messenger e.t.c. A less obvious extension of the model could involve its application to legal discourse. Specifically, the current model could enrich the discourse analytic study of common law judgements. The common law is essentially a 900-year old written interaction. The use of the current model could allow for great insight to be gained in regards to many facets of the law. For instance, the application of the model to controversial decisions could allow for great insight into the way judges interact with previous judgements, subjectively qualify statements as mere opinions, and attempt to clarify certain concepts.

The following sections will outline the model developed in the present thesis.

5.3. The reflexive minimally integrationist model

On the difficulty of defining science fiction as a literary genre, author Damon Knight famously stated:

'…science fiction is what we point to when we say it'[108]

Ädel identifies a worrying trend in which 'researchers into metadiscourse generally do not specify criteria for identifying metadiscourse' (2006: 27). If researchers continue to fail to discuss identification criteria, then metadiscourse will risk the same fate as science fiction, i.e. simply be that which we point to when we use the term. In others words, there is a need for the annunciation of clear identification principles: acutely so in the proposal of a novel model. The following section will, therefore, provide details as to the theoretical and definitional positions taken in the application of the reflexive, minimally integrationist model. In sum, the current model uses three key identification principles:

(1) metadiscourse is explicit;
(2) metadiscourse is based on reflexivity;
(3) metadiscourse relates to the current text, writer, and reader (i.e. the reflexive triangle).

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[108] Scott-Card (2001)

The three defining principles will be discussed, in detail below, as well as the major theoretical departures.

Metadiscourse is explicit

According to both Hyland (2005) and Ä del (2006), metadiscursive devices must be explicit. Such forms can range from single words to whole clauses, to continuous strings of sentences. Historically, the notion of 'explicitness' has not excluded non-verbal, paralinguistic, and prosodic features of communication, such as tone of voice, stress, and volume in spoken language (Argyle, 1972). Aspects of punctuation and typological marks, such as bold font, font size, and underlining devices, in written communication have also been counted as metadiscourse (Kumpf, 2000; Crismore et al., 1993; Lucy, 1993). Ä del excludes paralinguistic features and advocates an explicitness of words, i.e. things that are done in words. I chose to follow Ä del, in as much as design factors such as coloured fonts, emoticons, and punctuation features were not regarded as explicitly metadiscursive within the present study, but as belonging to the neighbouring category of propositional/object level stance. The reason for such a choice lay in the fact that such features do not explicitly involve the metalingual function.

Metadiscourse is based on reflexivity

As mentioned earlier, Ädel's conception of reflexivity comprises references to any aspect of the reflexive communicative triangle (i.e. text, writer, or reader). Such a definition has been observed in the present thesis. A number of reasons informed such a choice. Firstly, Ädel's definition of reflexivity is clear and reflects common sense intuitive notions of language use unlike the approach of logicians or a strict application of grammatical reflexivity as argued by Champlin (1988) and Krippendorf (1989). Ädel's notion of the concept is also more inclusive than the notion of text-reflexivity as proposed in Mauranen (1993). The wider scope of the concept in Ä del (2006) allows for consideration of references to the writer and the reader.

In Ä del (2006) text-internality, the world of discourse, and currency (of text) are three closely related concepts of identification. In the current model they are simply encapsulated into the following principle.

Metadiscourse relates to the current text, writer, and reader (i.e. the reflexive triangle)

A given individual text will generally contain references to the object world (i.e. things that exist in primary object reality) and the world of discourse (here defined as any reference to any aspect of communication). The study of metadiscourse takes as its focus a specific set of references to the world of discourse, i.e. references to the the current text, current writer, or current reader (i.e. the reflexive triangle). Whilst this position is reconcilable with that in Ä del (2006), email data is very different to argumentative writing. As a result, a number of novel positions were adopted.

Regarding the current text, two related issues needed to be addressed: what was regarded as the textual boundary; and what was regarded as part of the text. As already stated, Ä del (2006) and Hyland (2005) agree on the issue of text internality (Halliday and Hasan, 1976). Again, the principle of text internality requires a given item to refer to the current text as opposed to another text, or something in the external world. It is well established that an item can express a text-internal relation that stretches far beyond the immediate propositional utterance in which it occurs (e.g. *phoric markers* can refer to distant chapters or supplementary material like appendices)[109]. However, a text-internal item cannot point to another text as this constitutes an intertextual reference. Email posed a particular problem in this respect. Should an item in one email which refers to another email in the same chain be regarded as a text-internal or an intertextual relation? I decided in favour of the former for the following reason: an email chain is the most meaningful unit of email data (Androutsopoulos, 2006). Atomisation of email (i.e. isolation of an email from its original chain) treats the data in a way that is unnatural in terms of the medium (crucially, the interactional nature of the data is lost with such an approach). Thus, it was decided that the boundary of a text internal relation should rightly be extended to include any email within the given chain. In other words, textual boundaries comprised all emails within a given chain. This shift allows for greater consideration of the 'socially situated discourses in which…features are embedded' (Androutsopoulos, 2006:420). It also moves beyond static, descriptive accounts.

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[109] Adel (2010) even recognises a text internal boundary as stretching across spatial-temporal time (i.e. she regarded a series of weekly lectures as consisting of one text).

A second related issue concerned what exactly was to be regarded as part of the text. Texts such as argumentative essays, student textbooks, or journal articles are made up of written prose. Whilst the main body of an email also often consists of written prose, messages also frequently contain attachments and links. Such textual entities are integral to the medium and often essential for an understanding of the individual message. For this reason, references to attachments and links were regarded as referring to an aspect of the current text. In other words, any reference to such items was taken as a text-internal reference (Halliday and Hasan, 1976), and therefore as metadiscourse.

Regarding the current writer, and reader persona, Ädel's principles of *writer qua writer* and *reader qua reader* stipulate the idea that references to the current writer/reader must be in his or her capacity as a writer/reader; and not as an experiential being in object reality. Likewise, to qualify as metadiscourse, references to the writer/reader in the present thesis had to be in his or her capacity as writer/reader. However, as has been seen, and is also recognised by Ä del (2017), the categories are more fluid in interactive situations. Through successive email turns (i.e. the response mechanism), readers often become writers and are addressed as such (i.e. as both reader and potential writer/responder). In the present study, the guiding principles of *reader qua reader* and *writer qua writer* were therefore combined to form a more flexible principle of *communicator qua communicator*. This wider principle encompassed references to the writing, reading, sending, and receiving processes.

Major theoretical departures from Hyland and Ä del

The reflexive, minimally integrationist approach model adopted in the present thesis involved a number of major theoretical departures from Hyland (2005) and one from Ä del (2006). These will be discussed below.

Metadiscourse is distinct from propositional content

The present study adopted the recommendations of Mao (1993) and Ä del (2006) in that it abandoned the propositional/metadiscursive distinction as the base defining feature of metadiscourse, and relied instead on the communicative reflexivity of an item. Ä del (2005, 2006) claims the tradition of treating metadiscursive material as separate from propositional

material arose out of two historical trends within the approach: the attempt to prove that texts communicate more than propositional material (Brown and Yule, 1983); and the influence of formal semantics on earlier researchers. Ä del (2006) concludes that it is no longer tenable to claim that metadiscourse can be defined as non-propositional material:

> 'it is more feasible to relax the criterion and say that metadiscourse is most often distinct from the subject matter…instead of defining metadiscourse in terms of truth-conditional semantics, we can find a more useful definition by focusing on its linguistic functions' (2006: 212).

Furthermore, she makes the bold admission that 'material that functions as metadiscourse can take a wide range of linguistic forms, including 'propositional' ones' (Ädel, 2006: 212). Crismore (1989) also claims that metadiscourse can be propositional when it concerns 'how to understand the primary message regarding its content and structure of the author's purpose and goals' (1989:193). I fully concur with these positions. It should be noted that whilst Ä del abandons the idea that metadiscursive material should be definitionally separated from propositional material, she still conceives of metadiscourse in an object sense, i.e. separate from object language. Indeed, the metadiscursive/propositional dichotomy provides a convenient conceptual means of analysing the interplay of metadiscursive items with surrounding text. However, as used here, it was not used as the basis of identification.

Abandoning the principle as a basis of identification involved a number of concomitant departures from Hyland (2005). This comprised the use of reflexivity as the basis of identification; which itself involved the exclusion of many markers present in Hyland (2005) e.g. evidentials and many stance markers; in relation to stance markers those included as metadiscourse under the present model were not treated in a uniform manner as in Hyland (2005).

Metadiscourse does not include stance

I concur with Ä del in relation to the vast majority of stance markers, particularly individual lexis and various types of embedded modals. However, I question the extent to which her claims are true of all lexical markers that convey stance. The position, advocated under the current approach, towards the category of stance was one of pronounced restriction (i.e.

minimally integrationist). Indeed, I essentially began from a place of exclusion and laboured under the presumption that stance was not admissible. This presumption was rebutted under the following circumstances: the stance marker was an epistemic device that involved a subjective qualification so as to comprise authorial self-commentary (principally manifested in mental state predicates); or, the attitudinal stance marker explicitly involved the metalingual function.

As already stated, Ä del prohibits the inclusion of stance because it 'is not self-reflexive language; it does not involve the metalinguistic function' (2006:40). I would argue that the restricted class of stance markers that I have advocated for inclusion as metadiscourse can be seen to express a text internal function. She further states, that in the use of stance markers it is, 'attitudes to phenomena in the "real world" that are displayed, not strategies undertaken in the world of discourse'. Mental state predicates are a relatively ubiquitous phenomenon (Langford, 1986; Rosenthal, 2005) but infrequently subject to explicit expression (particularly in written language: Nuyts, 2001).   On the rare occasions that writers do overtly express mental state predicates, I argue that they function as powerful discourse strategies. Furthermore, the expression of affective sentiment towards an aspect of the reflexive triangle by definition does not involve a reflection on phenomena in the real world. Finally, Ädel claims 'markers of stance do not leave it to the reader to make appropriate inferences, but explicitly signal to the reader what the writer's opinion is' (2006: 39). I would argue that this argument does not necessarily support the exclusion of stance, especially when one considers the overall function of meta-language as an attempt by a producer to 'dominate the signifying effects of the text' (Žižek, 2008: 171).

In sum, the reflexive, minimal integrationist model concerns explicit language, i.e. things done in words, not visual language such as emoticons (Baron, 2006), or paralinguistic factors. It uses the same conception of reflexivity proposed in Adel (2006), i.e. metalingual references to the current writer, reader, or text. It involves a number of major differences from Hyland's model including the abandonment of the propositional/metadiscursive identification principle in favour of reflexivity; the exclusion of all intertextual references; and the exclusion of the vast majority of stance markers included in Hyland (2005). The

major difference from Adel's model concerns the inclusion of a restrictive class of (reflexive) stance markers.

The following section will discuss the empirical contribution of the present study.

5.4. Empirical contribution of the current study

The empirical contribution arises from the application of the reflexive, minimally integrationist model to the data in this thesis. The findings contribute to the fields of metadiscourse; gender and language; and, workplace email.

Research aim

As stated at the outset, the primary research question was:

How do male and female senders use metadiscourse in workplace group email?

The concept of use was conceptualised as involving two measures: frequency usage; and, functional usage. This meant that the guiding research question could be broken down into four further questions.

1. What are the frequency similarities (if any) in the way the respective genders use metadiscourse in workplace group email?
2. What are the frequency differences (if any) in the way the respective genders use metadiscourse in workplace group email?
3. What are the functional similarities (if any) in the way the respective genders use metadiscourse in workplace group email?
4. What are the functional differences (if any) in the way the respective genders use metadiscourse in workplace group email?

As highlighted in Chapter 3, and reflected in the questions above, the approach in the present thesis celebrated similarity as much as difference. Unlike many gender and language studies, it did not solely focus on difference. Furthermore, throughout the analysis, I was acutely aware of resisting the temptation to stress superficial distinctions into fundamental differences.

Before moving on to consider the gender similarities and differences in the use of metadiscourse, I would like to make a number of general points concerning discourse norms in the data examined. The first point concerns the nature of the medium. The findings suggest that claims with regards to the lean nature of the medium (Daft and Lengel, 1984) can be revisited. Some emails in the data were relatively bare in that they lacked interpersonal content and simply focused on transactional aspects of communication. However, many emails contained a rich mix of both interpersonal and often highly nuanced transactional information. In other words, email should not be classified as either lean or rich, as the data suggests it can depend on a vast diversity of contextual settings and purposes for which it is used (Androutsopoulos, 2006).

The second point concerns gendered discourse norms in object level email discourse. In all three communities, email discourse was decidedly feminine. Feminine in the sense that many of the linguistic and discursive strategies used reflected behaviours traditionally associated with affiliative modes of communication. Purely assertive emails were rare and by no means the chicane of male senders. In other words, neat patterns of gender based language use (as have been found in other areas of CMC: e.g. Herring, 1994) were not found within group email. Interestingly, a number of studies have also confirmed little difference in the use of assertion between the sexes in written arguments (Lynch and Strauss, 1987; Rubin and Greene, 1992; Francis et al., 2001). The idea that males and females must learn to become more fluid communicators seems somewhat redundant, at least in relation to the data examined in the present thesis. Males and females fluidly shifted between affiliative and assertive modes of communication presumably of their own accord (i.e. without interventions like training schemes or 'linguistic champions' as advocated by Baxter, 2010: 155). Such fluidity has been observed in a number of studies concerned with leadership (Case, 1988; Holmes, 2006; Ladegaard, 2011). It should be noted that mid-level and junior members of staff in all three communities were just as fluid in their use of affiliative and assertive communication. In other words, the findings would indicate that email senders, in general, are able to use a mix of normatively gendered styles of discourse (although, again the preferred mode was normatively feminine).

The third point concerns the use of metadiscourse in email. The use of metadiscourse, for the most part, represented a shift towards more affiliative (traditionally coded as feminine) modes communication in that it often involved an attempt by the writer to help the reader in the comprehension of the text. Certain uses were associated with more masculine modes of communication (e.g. the expression of evaluative feedback), but for the most part, the use of metadiscourse was coded as feminine.

As was well discussed in Chapter 4, the genders used a similar overall amount of metadiscourse in all three communities. This is consistent with similar findings in Crismore et al. (1993); and Tse and Hyland (2008). In the majority of cases, the respective genders used a similar amount of the three categories of metadiscourse (i.e. organisational; stance; and, engagement). This was also true regarding the individual markers (e.g. *transitions*). Indeed, the frequency usage between the various sexual dyads examined in the present thesis was overwhelmingly similar.

In terms of frequency difference, in the advertising agency discourse community female senders used significantly more engagement metadiscourse. This was driven by a slightly greater use of all three engagement markers. In the research agency discourse community, female senders used significantly more organisational metadiscourse. This was driven by a slightly greater use of *frame markers* and *text mentions*.

In terms of individual markers, male senders in the marketing department discourse community used significantly more *transitions* than their female counterparts. They also used significantly more *certainty markers*. The male senders in the advertising agency discourse community also used more *certainty markers*. This finding accords with similar findings from other studies (Crismore, 1993; Francis et al., 2001; Tse and Hyland, 2008). However, as in other studies, the markers were not regarded as a proxy measure for confidence/tentativeness (as in Hyland, 2005). Again, all *(un)certainty markers* were regarded as involving the expression of a compromised position in the present thesis; the vast majority of propositions were expressed as categorical statements. Therefore, it seems rather strange to claim the fact that male senders used more *certainty markers* than female senders was indicative of greater confidence. Finally, male senders in the advertising agency also used significantly more *frame markers*. This was driven by a strong propensity to use *frame*

marking labels to break apart their expositions.   There were no significant differences in the use of individual markers in the research agency discourse community.

There was greater difference regarding the functional usage of metadiscourse (also consistent with Crismore et al. 1993, and Tse and Hyland, 2008). Differences at the community level have been well discussed in Chapter 4, for that reason I will focus on the functional similarities and differences that were consistent across the three discourse communities.

In terms of similarity, *transitions*, *(un)certainty markers*, and *reader mentions* were all used in a functionally similar manner by female and male senders across the three communities. Furthermore, *frame markers* and *directives* were consistently articulated in a similar manner. *Transitions* were used by both male and female senders to concert communicative behaviours that could be coded as traditionally feminine. Consequential *transitions* were frequently used in the realisation of grounder explanations (a politeness discourse strategy which could be taken as indexical of behaviour traditionally coded as feminine). Additive *transitions of*ten took on a global role which helped reader comprehension (Blass, 1993; Aguilar, 2008). Such use could be taken as facilitative and thus indexical of a feminine style of communication. There was a noticeable tendency for agents (male and female) to use the devices to list good news. There were also examples of clients using the devices to list complaints (although these were the exception, not the norm). Comparative *transitions*: were often used in the creation of choice architecture which is again indexical of normatively feminine language (Lakoff, 1973).

Although there were frequency differences in the use of *(un)certainty markers,* the devices were predominantly used in a functionally similar manner by the respective genders.   As already discussed, it is well recognised that mental state predicates often serve more than just a qualification role, and often enact important discourse strategies, e.g. politeness (Coates, 1987; Nuyts, 2001; Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer, 2007; Cornillie and Pietrandrea, 2012). Both male and female senders frequently used the devices to soften requests, and tentatively mark disagreement.

Reader mentions were also used in a consistent similar manner. The most frequent *reader mention* found in the data was the second person pronoun 'you'. This was most frequently

used in politely articulated *directives,* again indexical of feminine communication (Holmes, 2006; Baxter, 2010). First name *reader mentions* also frequently appeared in the data. First name *reader mentions* most frequently occurred as incidental mentions, i.e. a copied reader was recognised as being responsible for something within the world of discourse. They also occurred as facilitative devices which personalised portions of email messages for certain readers. Both uses could be seen as indexical of feminine communication.

Although the sexes did not display consistent similarity in regards to the use of *frame markers* and *directives*, they did predominantly articulate the markers with the use of tentative, mitigated, conventionally polite language. Both *directives* that required an actual response from the reader and those that were concerned with the consumption of the text were articulated in a manner that was indexical of a feminine style of communication (Gleason, 1982; West, 1995; Hanak, 1998; Holmes, 2006). The same was true of announce goal *frame markers*. It should be noted that at both the reflexive and object level conventionally polite language was frequently used. This suggests politeness does serve an important role within email, e.g. cementing solidarity (Herring, 1994; Mulholland, 1999; Duthler, 2006; Kong, 2006; Murphy and Levy, 2006). Furthermore, the current findings do not support the claim that email is a depersonalised medium that lacks many conventional politeness markers (Lui, 2002).

A number of consistent differences in the functional use of metadiscourse occurred across the three communities. The respective gender dyads displayed consistent differences in the use of *phoric markers*; *attitude markers*; and *self mentions*. Each will be considered below.

Even though *phorics* by definition involve the enactment of more facilitative communication (i.e. providing spatial direction to readers), I would argue the use of *phorics* involved a mix of strategies in the data from the male senders and decidedly more feminine strategies in the data from the female senders. Female senders consistently displayed a greater tendency to mark the contribution of others in *phoric* constructions. This could be taken as reconcilable with the literature that suggests normatively female modes of communication involve the recognition of the efforts of others (Wolfson, 1984; Holmes, 1986; Aries, 1987; Leet-pelligrini, 1987; Case, 1988; Berryman-Fink, 1997). Conversely, male senders displayed a

stronger propensity to mark their contribution in *phoric* constructions. Such behaviour could be seen as an assertive form of self-promotion (Kuhn, 1992).

Male senders predominantly used *attitude markers* to backchannel gratitude. Whilst female sender also frequently backchannelled gratitude, they used *attitude markers* to backchannel a wider range of affective sentiment than their male counterparts. This often involved the expression of evaluative feedback. As argued throughout, the expression of positive evaluative feedback was regarded as indexical of a masculine feedback (Holmes, 2006). The individual that expresses judgement in the first instance assumes the right to do so. In other words, female senders frequently used *attitude markers* for the purposes of assertive communication.

Across the three communities, female senders displayed a propensity to index the sender/constructor aspect of their metadiscursive self. Such references often occurred in request emails. Indeed, I would argue that they often served as request strategies which I termed the 'Hermes' effect, i.e. presentation of self as a helpful messenger. In other words, in such constructions, female senders displayed a cost to self and benefit to other (Leech, 1983).

5.5. Practical contribution of the present study

The analysis suggests a number of practical considerations that teachers, and designers of training materials (e.g. email user guides) and proofreading software (e.g. Grammarly) may find helpful[110]. These suggestions can be grouped into the relatively easy versus the more difficult. I shall deal with the former category first. Although not metadiscursive, the constant use of *transitions* in grounder constructions highlighted the importance of such politeness devices in email discourse. This is not a particularly taxing ability to acquire for email users (new and seasoned), i.e. consider giving reasons for requests. When articulating requests, the analysis would suggest that the use of direct language is not the norm. Indeed, irrespective of status and gender, senders generally used indirect, conventionally polite language. Again this is not a particularly taxing behaviour to teach or acquire. Teachers and

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[110] Of course, these are just suggestions and such designers may wish to consider email usage in other industries. Nevertheless, the suggestions at least provide a benchmark to agree or disagree with accordingly.

training manuals could give greater consideration to the role of mental state predicates in the achievement of a number of discourse strategies such as softening opinions, signalling disagreement, or personalising propositional content. Likewise, training manuals could also place greater emphasis on the role of conversational mechanics such as backchannels (both metadiscursive and non-metadiscursive) that communicate gratitude and evaluative feedback. Again, these skills do not require significant investment and represent relatively easy gains for trainers and students alike.

Where email is used for the collaborative creation and editing of texts (as was the case in the marketing department and the research agency) training manuals and courses could consider exercises which help in the cultivation of associated skills. Such skills principally comprise an ability to deal with a great amount of textual detail, and an ability to communicate such detail (particularly the articulation of textual instructions) in a clear manner. The analysis revealed that metadiscursive items such as *frame markers*, *phorics*, *text-mentions, code-glosses,* and *directives* were all utilised by senders to manage such collaborative exercises. Although such skills are often acquired on the job, trainers and software designers could draw greater attention to the role such markers play in helping readers through dense emails (many of which also contain complicated constituent parts such as attachments). Finally, although it may be very much the result of idiolect, the analysis pointed to the naming of texts as an important discourse strategy. As was seen, in certain communicative situations the way senders named their texts helped dissipate complicated face issues, e.g. referring to a contentious document as a 'starters for ten'.

5.6 Limitations of the current study

The findings of the present study cannot claim to be generalisable. Indeed, no such objective was ever conceived. Furthermore, it should be noted that even if I had access to greater amounts of group email data, I would not have had time to analyse such material in the same detail as that to be found in Chapter 4. The use of greater amounts of data with the use of corpus techniques was not feasible as I wanted to examine the emails as situated interaction, i.e. take account of what occurred before and after in the immediate communicative context. Automated techniques cut across contiguous interaction and so were not applicable.

The second major limitation was the relatively small role played by the etic (insider) perspective. Whilst key demographic information was collected on all participants in the data, and informal conversations were conducted regarding the analysis; greater ethnographic research would have been ideal (e.g. participant observation). However, due to feasibility constraints as well as practical constraints, a greater role for the etic perspective was not a possibility.

Whilst we can safely assume that gender did not affect the use of metadiscourse in group email, recognition should be given to the influence the choice of the present model may have had in overlooking gender specific behaviour. Observations made during the analysis would suggest that women have access to a form of hyper-feminine discourse that males do not. In all three discourse communities, female senders used kisses (i.e. X's) in their emails. Due to the explicitness criterion kisses were excluded from consideration as metadiscourse. Female senders in the marketing department and research agency also used social endearments such as 'angel', 'hun', and 'sweetie'. Due to the reader qua communicator requirement such devices were excluded from consideration as metadiscourse. Use of the interpersonal model would have allowed for consideration of both kisses and social endearments.

The final section will discuss some of the more interesting directions for future research.

5.7. Future research

A number of fruitful avenues of research arise out of this study. In terms of gendered discourse norms, there is a role for a study that tracks individuals across different workplace mediums. As has already been stated, male and female senders both displayed a general orientation towards more affiliative modes of communication when communicating on group email. Holmes (2006) tracks individuals across different meetings; it would be interesting to see if individuals display the same general communicative orientations across various sites of workplace interaction (e.g. emails, face-to-face meetings, conference calls, e.t.c.). This would involve considerable time and resource, but it could be highly insightful and potentially rewarding.

In terms of email and the use of metadiscourse, extensions of the present study could examine other modes of communication, e.g. the use of metadiscourse in 1-to-1 emails, or

adopt a more genre-sensitive approach, e.g. the use of metadiscourse in request emails. Studies could also exclusively focus on other contrastive social variables such as institutional status (e.g. senior versus junior); organisational status (e.g. agent versus client); or age. Although I did not observe such patterns in my data, with the use of a bigger data set, studies could also further isolate gender as a variable in email e.g. does metadiscourse vary dependent on the recipient's sex. Such studies would not be too difficult to conduct as long as researchers have access to email data. More difficult studies to conduct are those like Jensen (2009) who conducted a diachronic study of the use of interactional metadiscourse in email negotiation phases. I was particularly struck by the use of metadiscourse in email chains that involved a degree of friction (or much rarer a bald disagreement). A study into the use of metadiscourse in email fueds would be fascinating; however collecting a sufficient amount of data could prove difficult.

In terms of metadiscourse, further study into the use of the phenomena within interactive mediums would be most welcome. An enduring trend within the field of linguistics is the need to deal with larger texts (Kádár and Haugh, 2015). I would therefore also welcome future studies which attempt to examine the use of metadiscourse across larger sections of text (i.e. move beyond the sentential level of analysis). This could involve the lumping together of markers that frequently collocate together (e.g. Adel, 2010). Alternatively, it could involve the approach taken in the present thesis which considered the interplay of individual markers with wider stretches of text. As stated in the introduction, I think metadiscourse discloses the creative consciousness that sits behind a given text. Examination of larger sections of text thus allows for insight into the numerous choices writers make in the revelation of such consciousness. In terms of individual markers, there is a role for more qualitative research to be conducted into claimed motivation for use, and reception of the various markers (e.g. why do writers use *certainty markers*; how do readers interpret such markers). Greater research could also be conducted into the relationship between acts of saying and *(un)certainty markers*. Finally, both experimental and qualitative research could examine the extent to which metadiscourse markers are consciously (versus unconsciously) used as it is well recognised that not all language choices are made with equal levels of consciousness (Verschueren, 1999).

Appendix 1

A definition of key marketing terms used in the present thesis

Abandonment rate: a research concept, usually expressed as a percentage of consumers who abandon a questionnaire before completion.

Account director: a mid-level position within account management. An account director is typically responsible for the management of an account team.

Account executive: an entry level position within account management.

Account manager: an account manager is responsible for the day-to-day activities of a piece of business within an agency structure, and acts as the agency point of contact for external clients.

Account team: a group of individuals that permanently work on a piece of agency business. This will usually contain a number of account managers with one or two account planners.

Advertising account: a commercial relationship in which a client organisation pays an advertising agency to provide advertising materials.

Advertising agency: a commercial enterprise that produces promotional content for commissioning organisations.

Advertising planner: an advertising planner is responsible for the communications strategy behind advertising campaigns. They typically draw on consumer research, creative insight, and business acumen in order to devise sound communication strategy.

APAC: an accounting term used to describe the Asia and Pacific market.

Appointment to view: the behavioural habit of viewing television at a specific time.

Brand tracking: a research process in which a brand's development is measured diachronically according to a set of variables (e.g. sales data, perception metrics, consumer purchase intent).

Business director: a senior position within account management. A business director is typically responsible for the financial health of a set of accounts as well as new business

Client-side marketing department: an internal section of an organisation responsible for the marketing function of the organisation. The marketing department is usually responsible for the marketing budget and agency relationships.

Commercial research agency: a commercial enterprise principally responsible for conducting consumer research on behalf of commissioning organisations.

Creative team: a professional partnership that comprises a copywriter and an art director responsible for advertising executions such as press, radio, and television advertisements.

Creds meeting: a meeting in which agencies present credentials (e.g. past work, expertise, current clients) to potential clients.

Fast moving consumer good (FMCG): products that are sold relatively quickly, usually at a low price e.g. staple food products such as bread, cereals, and fruit.

Marketing executive: an entry level position within a marketing department.

Marketing manager: a mid-level client-side position. Marketing managers usually oversee all aspects of the marketing process (e.g. budgetary, strategic, creative, research), and crucially manager agency relationships.

Marketing director: a senior position within an organisation (usually board level). The marketing director is ultimately responsible for the marketing operations of an entire organisation.

Research manager: a mid-level position within a research agency. Research managers are responsible for the generation of consumer insight for clients. This may involve the research manager actually conducting primary research (e.g. focus groups) or supervising large scale projects like quantitative surveys conducted by suppliers.

Research director: a senior position within a research agency similar to the business director function within an advertising agency.

Senior planner: a mid-level position within account planning. Senior planners are usually responsible for the strategy on an advertising account, as well as the management and development of a junior planner.

Strategy director: a senior position within account planning. Strategy directors are usually responsible for communications strategy on a number of accounts or a financially significant piece of business.

TVC: Television commercial.

TV Spot: Television commercial.

Appendix 2

Results of the Z-test significance test

The tables below contain the results from the Z-test. The tests were run against the overall

results, the marketing department results, the advertising agency results, and the research agency

results. The null hypothesis was that there is no difference between male and female senders.

The p-value represented the probability of an event happening by chance: lower a lower p-value

indicates a lower likelihood that a difference occurred by chance. The results are simply

reproduced here as extensive analysis has already been conducted on the relevance of the results.

Table 30: Z-test combined results male and female use of metadiscourse

Organisational Metadiscourse	Actual Male Frequency	Actual Female Frequency	p-value	Significance Level
Transitions	94	90	0.17	
Frame markers	38	36	0.36	
Phoric markers	39	55	0.37	
Text mentions	68	106	0.06	*
Code gloss	17	14	0.33	
Sub-total	**256**	**301**	**0.96**	
Stance Metadiscourse				
Uncertainty markers	4	10	0.27	
Certainty markers	27	11	<0.01	***
Attitude markers	74	112	0.08	*
Self mentions	83	102	0.74	
Sub-total	**188**	**234**	**0.53**	
Engagement Metadiscourse				
Reader mentions	75	103	0.29	
Directives	67	85	0.62	
Asides	12	13	0.85	
Sub-total	**154**	**201**	**0.33**	
Total	**598**	**736**	**0.35**	
Total words	**11, 312**	**13,240**	**---**	**---**

*value below 0.01

The results in the Table 30 above show that female senders used more *text mentions* than male

senders, at a 90% confidence level. Male senders used more *certainty markers* at confidence

level of 99%. The p-value for this result was below 0.01. Finally female senders used more

attitude markers at a confidence level of 90%.

Table 31 displays the results from the application of the Z-test to the marketing department data.

Table 31: Z-test use of metadiscourse by male and female senders in the marketing department

Organisational Metadiscourse	Actual Male Frequency	Actual Female Frequency	p-value	Significance Level
Transitions	16	17	0.08	*
Frame markers	5	7	0.58	
Phoric markers	11	18	0.66	
Text mentions	13	27	0.22	
Code gloss	3	2	0.83	
Sub-total	**48**	**71**	**0.14**	
Stance Metadiscourse				
Uncertainty markers	0	3	0.21	
Certainty markers	7	2	<0.01	***
Attitude markers	11	37	0.10	
Self mentions	21	34	0.52	
Sub-total	**39**	**76**	**0.97**	
Engagement Metadiscourse				
Reader mentions	11	32	0.24	
Directives	12	27	0.66	
Asides	1	2	0.98	
Sub-total	**24**	**61**	**0.25**	
Total	**111**	**208**	**0.78**	
Total words	**2,124**	**4,112**	**---**	**---**

The results in the Table 31 above show that male senders used more *transitions* than their female counterparts at a confidence level of 90%. Males also used more *certainty markers* at a confidence level of 99%.

Table 32 shows the results of the Z-test to the advertising agency data.

Table 32: Z-test use of metadiscourse by male and female senders in the advertising agency

Organisational Metadiscourse	Actual Male Frequency	Actual Female Frequency	p-value	Significance Level
Transitions	39	30	0.80	
Frame markers	23	8	0.03	**
Phoric markers	12	12	0.62	
Text mentions	18	23	0.42	
Code gloss	11	6	0.15	
Sub-total	**103**	**79**	**0.67**	
Stance Metadiscourse				
Uncertainty markers	2	4	0.29	
Certainty markers	16	5	0.05	*
Attitude markers	21	26	0.15	
Self mentions	33	30	0.67	
Sub-total	**72**	**65**	**0.56**	
Engagement Metadiscourse				
Reader mentions	23	29	0.12	
Directives	18	22	0.20	
Asides	7	7	0.71	
Sub-total	**48**	**58**	**0.04**	**
Total	**223**	**202**	**0.28**	
Total words	**4,426**	**3,619**	**---**	**---**

The results in Table 32 show that male senders used more *frame markers* than their female counterparts at a confidence level of 95%. They also used more *certainty markers* at a confidence level of 90%. Females used more engagement metadiscourse at a confidence level of 95%.

Table 33, below, displays the results for the research agency.

Table 33: Z-test use of metadiscourse by male and female senders in the research agency

Organisational Metadiscourse	Actual Male Frequency	Actual Female Frequency	p-value	Significance Level
Transitions	39	43	0.83	
Frame markers	10	21	0.11	
Phoric markers	16	25	0.35	
Text mentions	37	56	0.43	
Code gloss	3	6	0.20	
Sub-total	**105**	**151**	**0.08**	*
Stance Metadiscourse				
Uncertainty markers	2	2	0.88	
Certainty markers	4	4	0.84	
Attitude markers	42	49	0.97	
Self mentions	29	38	0.61	
Sub-total	**77**	**93**	**0.78**	
Engagement Metadiscourse				
Reader mentions	41	42	0.58	
Directives	37	36	0.46	
Asides	4	4	0.84	
Sub-total	**83**	**82**	**0.31**	
Total	**264**	**326**	**0.42**	
Total words	**4,762**	**5,509**	**---**	**---**

The results in Table 33 show that females used more organisational metadiscourse than their male counterparts at a confidence level of 90%.

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