Subordinates' Imperatives in a Faculty Meeting: Evidence of Social Inequality and Collegiality

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Abstract

Imperatives are ubiquitous, and may be interesting to analyze when deployed by subordinates especially in an institutional talk such as faculty meetings. This paper was built on our earlier paper, where it describes the pragmalinguistic structures of Tagalog imperatives and the local academic conditions that hastened the production of subordinate's imperatives for the chair of the meeting to do something. This paper is distinct because it reports and describes the proofs of social inequality and collegiality invoked during the meeting. Five meetings formed the corpus of this study. Drawing on the interface of Critical Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis, results show that subordinate's imperatives are evidence of social inequality because of the subordinate's higher epistemic knowledge compared to the Chair of the meeting. The Chair wrestles with the subordinates through a number of exasperated prosodic and paralinguistic elements. Meanwhile, subordinate's imperatives are evidence of collegiality with the shift to positive prosodic, paralinguistic, and embodied cues of the Chair and the subordinate. Overall, the discourse of imperatives is a depiction of the sharing of members' power, knowledge, and other socio-pragmatic local

academic conditions. There is also a push and pull of use and abuse of power and collegiality. Toward the end, we propose a longitudinal case to widen the scope and instances of imperatives.

Keywords: Collegiality, Imperatives, Faculty Meeting, Social Inequality, Socio-pragmatics.

Introduction

Imperatives are ubiquitous (Perez-Hernandez, 2021), and these speech acts are always interesting to investigate especially when they are deployed by subordinates in an institutional talk like a faculty meeting. Following this assertion, this present article has been built on our previous study, published in this journal, on the subordinate's imperatives for the chair of the meeting to do something (Munalim & Genuino, 2019a). In this previous paper, we discussed the sequential environments of subordinate's imperatives based on the linguistic properties of Tagalog imperatives and the local conditions of the subordinates that forbore the production of imperatives. The following selected Tagalog imperatives were employed by the subordinate for the Chair to do something:

(1) Bigyan mo ng deadline.

'(You) give (him/her) the deadline.'

Bigyan ninyo ng deadline. **'(You all) give (him/her) the deadline.'**

(2) Kunin mo na Ma'am.

'(You) get it now Ma'am.

Kunin na ninyo.

'(You all) get it now.

This present paper still used the sequential environments of the Subordinate's imperatives for the analysis. It specifically attempted to answer the following questions: (1) How do the samples of subordinate's imperatives show social inequality? (2) How do the samples of subordinates' imperatives show collegiality?, and (3) What do the patterns convey about the Philippine academic cultural orientation?

Background of the Local Conditions

To understand the context of Subordinate's imperatives, Table 1 shows the sociopragmatic local academic conditions that afforded the Subordinate to impose something on the Chair of the meeting. For consistency, the use of capitalized "Chair" and "Subordinate" when they refer to the specific persons under the study is purposeful.

Table 1

Social Conditions of Meeting Members

Relationships
Chair > S
Chair > S
Chair > S
Chair < Reg; Reg > S
Chair < Reg
Chair > S; Chair < Reg
Chair > S
Chair > S; Reg > S; Reg >
Chair

Note. S – (other)subordinates; > – greater/higher/older than; < – lesser/lower/younger than; Reg- the Subordinate who employs imperatives

As shown, the Chair's higher local conditions, such as power, distance, and ranking, are in the default form, being the chair/dean of the meeting. The Chair's default superstructure, however, has been modified because the Subordinate has higher/better epistemic knowledge. The Subordinate is an accreditor of an accrediting body in the Philippines. She is older, and has more teaching experiences than the Chair. Needless to say, the Chair's higher default power, distance, and ranking are subject to modification during the course of the faculty meeting. In our previous paper, we drew into a conclusion that the "local conditions are occasioned by and negotiated in turns during a talk that allows the production of the subordinate's imperatives" (Munalim & Genuino, 2019a, p. 97).

The use of the specific speech act of directives is precipitated by the different power positions of the speakers (Fairclough, 1989). The use of the directives, in fact, displays the unequal relationship regardless of how the extent, tact, or social practices modify the relationship (Sager, Dungworth, & McDonald, 1980). In the academic setting, the place of variation in meetings depends on some aspects to consider such as the purpose of the meeting, including the chair's authority and leadership style (Asmuß & Svennevig, 2009; Gray & Williams, 2012). Certain socio-pragmatic domains such as power, distance, and ranking interact with the linguistic constructions of the imperatives, resulting in the exploitation of power both from the superordinate and subordinate.

(Im)Politeness Principles and the Socio-Pragmatic Conditions

Culpeper (2011) maintains that (im)politeness principles fall under the domain of socio-pragmatics. Speakers normally exhaust all politeness strategies, especially when talking

to people in higher authority. The use of politeness principles reserves the positive face selfimage of both interlocutors (Brown & Levinson, 1987). On the one hand, impoliteness is also possible especially when interlocutors are familiar and intimate to one another (Kasper, 1997). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the weight and severity of a facethreatening act is dependent on social distance, power, and ranking between the addresser and the addressee. What this idea conveys is that the three crucial social variables such as power, distance and ranking enumerated by Brown and Levinson (1987) may be flouted due to the degree of familiarity between and among the interlocutors.

In a faculty meeting, the normal cause of the shift from being polite or impolite is the three-pronged social variables such as power, distance and ranking. The Chair with a higher power, distance, and ranking than his or her subordinates is a default structure. Consequently, these local academic conditions (Leech, 1983) may forebear any subordinate to be more powerful than the Chair, resulting in a change in the normative and the regulative structure of the talk (Arminen, 2000). Socio-pragmatics as a user-oriented science of language centers in the context of the language; thus, the local academic conditions are also understood based on the social, cultural, situations and the conversation context of an ongoing talk (Chen, Guleykens, & Choi, 2006; Mey 2001). In the context of the faculty meeting, the local conditions of the attendees are consequential to the success of the faculty meeting as guided by the agenda of the meeting.

An imperative is a speech act that is normally employed by any person who is higher and more powerful than the other interlocutor. At the same time, an imperative can also be employed by any subordinate person, but with higher local conditions in a given talk. This is aligned with what Vine (2009) maintains that a number of contextual factors can induce the production of imperatives. These factors include the purpose of interaction, participant's status, and social distance. Other contextual factors include roles, identities, positions, ranking and relative power; symmetrical and asymmetrical relationship; constraints, obligations, expectations, task-based factors, social distance, schema, and the prototype of talk (cf. Gibson, 2003).

The discussion of imperatives is also hastened by some cultural domains. Brown and Levinson (1987) already claimed that all languages have their distinct way of complimenting, commanding, refusing, and other social actions. In short, (im)politeness strategies, the use of power and the manifestation of social inequality and collegiality is, on the onset, culturally determined. For example, the study of Pham (2013) reports that the Vietnamese express more cases of gratitude to distant interlocutors than to their closer friends. This report supports Wolfson's (1988) assertion that politeness strategies are likely to be deployed by people from a prominent social distance, including absolute power, and relative ranking. In the Philippine setting, people are not confrontational because they would rather keep, not destroy relationships (cf. Munalim, 2017). Filipinos observe the mentality of *pakikisama* or smooth interpersonal relationship as much as they can (Andres, 1981; Ledesman, Ochave, Punzalan, & Magallanes, 1981) in order to show a sense of collegiality. Yet, even in the stance of collegiality, the use and abuse of power in any professional discourse, like a meeting, is predictable. This present paper then attempts to explicate how social inequality and collegiality are invoked in the Subordinate's imperatives.

Method

The data which formed the corpus of the study were the five faculty meetings conducted bilingually in English and Tagalog. They were produced at three different departments of a non-sectarian university in Manila, Philippines. School A had three meetings, School B with one meeting, and School C with one meeting. With the permission from the participants and the ethics board of the university, meetings were audio-video recorded by videographers who were also students from the same university. The recordings were done in June and August 2017. Each of the meetings was chaired by the department head and the dean. The meetings were attended by full-time and part-time university teachers. All of the subordinate's imperatives under analysis in this study were culled from School A because it was the only School which showed these interesting corpus-driven features. Subordinates from School B and C had not employed any imperatives for the chair/dean to do something.

School B had the longest meeting duration that lasted for two hours. The other two meetings only lasted between 45 minutes to one hour. Overall, the total running hours for five meetings lasted for five hours and 50 minutes. Furthermore, it should be noted that the purpose of the meetings was not uniform. While School A and C discussed the School's accreditation, School B concentrated on matters regarding the commencement of the academic year, and related topics. The primary author of this study sat in School B because he was one of the faculty members, but he begged off from interacting. He maintained the role of a secretary who wrote the minutes of the meeting. His presence was believed to have not influenced the linguistic behavior of his colleagues because they had known the author for five years. For School A and C, he did not sit at the meeting, and just allowed the student-videographers to do the recording.

Selected imperatives from the data were transcribed following the transcription conventions by Jefferson (2004), with a little modification. English glosses were provided in the snippets of conversation to assist non-Tagalog speakers to help them understand the context better. Pseudonyms were used to conceal the real identity of the Subordinate who asked the Chair to do something. Meanwhile, the qualitative analysis was based on an emic perspective used to identify and describe the discourse of imperatives using CA as an analytic approach to understanding the sequential environments of the imperatives (Clifton, 2006; Gardner, 2004; Tanaka, 2000; Psathas & Anderson, 1990; Raymond, 2003; Schegloff, 2009; Wooffitt, 2005). Limited Critical Discourse Analysis was also employed in order to shed light on social inequality and collegiality that are inherent in the imperatives. Social inequality and collegiality are seen to be the byproducts of socio-pragmatic local conditions of the Subordinate and the Chair. Although "assessing the meaning and function of utterances is inevitably an act of interpretation on the part of the analyst" (Christie, 2000, p. 71); nevertheless, the interpretation would bear semblance of social realities, especially as the primary author is an insider who is familiar with the exogenous factors of the Subordinates and the Chair, having worked with them for five years. This may mean that the analyst's perspective is a privileged one for the analysis.

Analysis and Discussion

The ensuing section has been outlined into two major sub-sections such as the discussions on the evidence of social inequality and collegiality.

Evidence of Social Inequality

Extract 7 shows the first set of imperatives tossed by Reg, a Subordinate who happens to be higher in terms of epistemic knowledge as compared to the Chair of the meeting. At first, the Chair does not take the imperatives positively. Some utterances show that the Chair displays a kind of resistance to Reg's imperatives. The resistance attempts to sustain that an image of authority has to be respected and not challenged.

Lines 150 and 152 can attest to the Chair's annoyance when she shifts her voice, modifies her facial expressions, and utters a language, that is "=*Ayokong maging impatient*" ((I don't want to be impatient about it.)). Reg asks why, and the Chair immediately reiterates and emphasizes the lexical item "*impatient*" at line 152, "I don't have to be impatient about that". In addition, the Chair readily reacts to these two strong consecutive basic imperatives in Tagalog (at line 145), "*Bigyan mo na ng deadline para*="; ((Give her/him deadline)) and at line 148, "*Kunin mo na Ma'am para*..." ((smiling))) ((Get it so that...)) by maintaining a

direct eye contact with Reg with an accompanying sarcastic and raw smile. As an emicanalyst who has worked with the Chair for five years, these two seemingly irritated gestures are pronounced indications of sarcasm. In short, she is exasperated for having been asked to do something.

Corpus 2, Extract 7: School of Education English Gloss TIMESTAMP <07:38-08:06> 142 Chair Hindi naman naka Eden si Dr. Not really, Dilao is with Eden. Dilao eh. 143 Reg 'Yong 'yong mga, 'yong parang *The one, like for example...* halimba[wa'y 144 Chair [At tsaka distributed na 'yong And the self-survey has been distributed. self survey eh= 145 Reg =Bigyan mo na ng deadline *Give her the deadline so that* -> para= * =Ma'am nagbigay na ako ng 146 Chair *Ma'am, I already gave the* deadline deadline. 147 Matagal na 'yon Ma'am, naka Long before has it been out out na. already. Kunin mo na Ma'am Get it Ma'am so... 148 Reg -> para((smiling)) 149 Kasi type kong gagawin= Because I feel like doing it. * 150 Chair =Ayoko kong maging *I* don't want to be impatient about impatient.((laughing))= it. =Huh? 151 Reg

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- 152 Chair * I don't have to be impatient about that.
- 153 Reg
 Kasi ikaw din ang:: maiipit.
 Because you will be having

 difficulty with it...

Extract 59 at line 963 also shows a rather exasperated gesture when the Chair defends that she always does when she can. This aggravated response after the behest of a Subordinate is seen to have not been taken seriously by Reg when Reg continues to order at line 964 with the repetitive word, "*No no no basta maglagay ka lang*" ((No, no, no, just put there.)). Due to insistence, the Chair concedes at line 965 with her short submissive answer, *Oo, Ma'am ((Yes, Ma'am))*. This act of yielding has further ensued other sets of utterance at lines 967 and 968. These lines are ingrained with a forceful modal such as *must* at lines 965 and 967. The modal *must* expresses a strong obligation on the hearer (Brown & Brown, 2010), the "only modal used commonly for both logical necessity and personal obligation; and in conversation, *must* is used most of the time to mark logical necessity" (Biber, Conrad, & Leech, 2002, p. 494).

Corpus 2, Extract 59, School of Education

English Gloss

TIMESTAMP <<43:43-44:01>>

963	Chair		Kung may magagawa ko ginagawa ko	If I am able, I do it
			Ma'am	Ma'am.
964	Reg	->	No no no basta maglagay ka lang,	NO no no just put
				there
965			[because] they must be a blueprint.	
966	Chair		[Oo Ma'am]	

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967	Reg	and our consultation hour it must be		
		posted at the bulletin board.		
968		So effective First Tri, dapat mayroon	So effective first trim,	
		na tayong Consultation Hour	there should be	
		[at least one hour]	consultation hour, at	
			least one hour	

969 Chair [((inaudible overlapping))]

The last proof of Chair's vexed attitude and resistance to Subordinate's imperatives is with the use of latching. Figure 1 shows that the Chair latches after predicting the turn relevant place (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) that is marked with the Tagalog conjunction "para" (to). Latching in this case may have been treated as an interruption if an overlap is recorded, and if Reg does not stop taking her turn.

Figure 1

Latching of Reg's and Chair's Utterances



=Bigyan mo na ng deadline para=

=Ma'am nagbigay na ako ng deadline

(Give him/her now the deadline so that=

=Ma'am, I have already given the deadline.)

Some prosodic and paralinguistic elements (Fox, 2001) have been hemmed in many of Reg's imperatives. Reg employs the use of hand gestures such as pointing while reading some of the policies in the accreditation handbook. Eye contact directed to the Chair is also employed accordingly. In response, the Chair reciprocates Subordinate's gestures also by pointing her closed fingers, with strong intonational staircase, emotional coloring of the voice, concomitant pauses, prosodic contours, and relevant interactive gestural displays (Bavelas, Coates, & Johnson, 2002). All these visible physical resources are manifestations of the coordination of body movements (Goffman, 1983), thereby proving the resistance of Chair's default power.

At line 968, the Tagalog modal of necessity *dapat ((should))* is used. Otanes and Schachter (1972) include *dapat* in the list of "pseudo-verb plus linker, etc. plus clause," including *kailangan, maari*, and *puwede*, which are considered marginal auxiliary verbs in English modality (Biber, Conrad, & Leech, 2002). Accordingly, *dapat* is literally translated into "it is fitting (for)". They also point out that *kailangan* and *dapat* are more freely translatable by an auxiliary verb such as 'ought to', 'must', and 'should.' In short, the utterance of Reg at line 968 still exemplifies under the directive group (Austin, 1962; Leech, 1983; Searle, 1969).

Corpus 2, Extract 59, School of Education English Gloss

TIMESTAMP <<<43:43-44:01>>

963	Chair		Kung may magagawa ko ginagawa ko	If I am able, I do it
			Ma'am	Ma'am.
964	Reg	->	No no no basta maglagay ka lang,	NO no no just put
				there
965			[because] they must be a blueprint.	

966	Chair	[Oo Ma'am]	
967	Reg	and our consultation hour it must be	
		posted at the bulletin board.	
968		So effective First Tri, dapat mayroon	So effective first trim,
		na tayong Consultation Hour	there should be
		[at least one hour]	consultation hour, at
			least one hour

969 Chair [((inaudible overlapping))]

Line 546 from Extract 34 demonstrates that Reg cuts the Chair, with her prefatory line: *"Eh di ganito ang gagawin mo sa susunod..."* ((This is what you will do next time)). This turn-grabbing mechanism is too assertive for a member to interrupt the chair. Lakoff (1973) enumerates at least three pragmatic rules in the Rules of Rapport such as: Don't impose; give options; and be friendly. Reg, in this case, violates the first two, but follows the third. Although Reg is friendly with her emotional and paralinguistic cues, she has at least violated the "You don't demand your boss" rule. It is clear that Reg re-aligns herself as someone in authority as an accreditor, leaving the Chair to listen to her litanies of imperatives.

Corpus 2, Extract 34, School of Education

English Gloss

TIMESTAMP <<26:37-27:18>>

545	Chair	->	Sige Ma'am tuloy po tayo.	Sure Ma'am, we will
				continue
546	Reg	*	Eh di ganito ang gagawin mo sa	This is what you will do
			susunod:	next time

547		ipa-Xerox mo lahat ng document na	Xerox all the documents
		isa-submit ngayon	that we will this time
548		lagi kang may file.	You must have always
			the file
549		So that sa sunod dagdag ka na	So that next time, you
		[lang nang dagdag]	will just add and add the
			documents
550	Chair	[Kay nga Ma'am eh] oh, I don't	I see it Ma'am,
		know,	
551		ang dami tinago [ko] personal=	I keep a lot of personal
			documents

Moreover, the air and stance of authority is felt and stretched beyond the word-level. The combined Extracts 21 and 22 at lines 330 show how Reg displays an image of authority that repositions the Chair into a ratified audience (Goffman, 1981) or hearer. The phrase *"Kasi ganito 'yan Ma'am*" ((Because it is what it is Ma'am)) conditions the Chair to shift and re-foot her stance to a much humbler persona. The Chair then eventually re-foots and realigns herself to a subordinate role. The Chair must be thinking that: "Okay, this member knows better than I do because she is an accreditor." Although this exchange of adjustment is all in the mind, the result of internal and mutual coordination and understanding is readily manifested in the way they behave linguistically and paralinguistically.

Corpus 2, Extract 21 and 22: School of EducationEnglish GlossTIMESTAMP <<16:13-16:33>><<16:33-16:53>>

326 Reg Three: Community Service.

327	Reg	Fourth: Linkages and Consortia	
328	Chair	Kay Dr. Wee Ma'am, mayroon kami	With Dr. Wee Ma'am,
		mahina sa linkages.	we have but weak at
			linkages
329		Kahapon birought out ko sa meeting.	I brought it out
			yesterday during the
			meeting.
330	Reg ->	Ah ee-itanong mo kasi ganito yan	Ah, you will have to ask
		Ma'am.	because it is what it is
			Ma'am
331	Chair	Ma'am wala akong makita.	Ma'am, I didn't see
			anything
332		Ang linkages lang na natin ang	I am only be able to
		mamapo-produce with EDSES.	produce the linkages we
			have with EDSES.
333	Reg	'Di, natatandaan mo yung report ni	Didn't you remember
		Dr. Ahmed noon na nakita ng XOXO	Dr. Ahmed's report that
		((accrediting body))?	was looked into by
			XOXO ((accrediting
			body))?
334		Maybe we can focus on that at	
335		sasabihin lang natin na (.) 'because of	We will say
		your, you are a <u>new</u> ah Dean	
336		hindi mo na (.) sundan.	You were not able to
			follow the document

through

337		Something 1	ike that.		
338	Chair	Oo Ma'am,	Oo Ma'am, nakaipon siya		
		[Ma'am] (0.	2)yung (.)kay		
			[Dr. Ahmeda.		
339	Reg	[Oo]	[ah you were not		
		able to make	e a follow up because		

Reg does not employ the collective nature of "we" pronoun, thereby intentionally singling out the Chair to do something. At line 145, the Reg uses Tagalog basic imperative, which emphasizes the second person pronoun "mo" (you) when Reg asks the Chair to give someone the deadline. All use of pronouns indexes responsibility, alignment of roles, and the image of power relations. For instance, Samra-Fredericks (2005) maintains that the pronoun "we" invokes a joint responsibility. They further argue that "persona pronouns pragmatically enabled these strategists to accomplish the following: align and position each other favorably (or not) against issues and even objects..." (p. 825).

No.	Extract	Giver	Receiver	Utterances	English Gloss
145	7	Reg	Chair	=Bigyan mo na ng	(You) Give him deadline
				deadline para=	already so
148	7	Reg	Chair	Kunin mo na Ma'am	Get it Ma'am so that
				para((smiling))	
330	21	Reg	Chair	Ah ee-itanong mo	Ah you will have to ask
				kasi ganito yan	because this is what is
				Ma'am.	Ma'am

Evidence of Collegiality

Collegiality is felt in the spate of talks during the meeting amid the use of Subordinate's imperatives. First, we will look into the Subordinate's orientations to the imperatives she tosses to the Chair. Looking into some bodily orientations may iron out the possible disregard of both real speaker-based sincerity condition and hearer-based preparatory conditions, which was what Schiffrin (2000) has referred to. According to Bögels and Torreira (2015), intonational phrasing as prosodic, linguistic, and communicative phenomena have something to do with our intentions to the uttered speech acts.

Extract 7 of Corpus 2 shows that Reg smiles (at line 148). Other paralinguistic cues which signal this sincerity and the orientation of giving imperatives with good intentions include humor, laughter (Provine, 1993), and other emotional colorings to mellow down and mitigate the strong linguistic structures of imperatives, coupled with a strong preference of bald-on record strategy.

Corpus 2, Extract 7: School of Education

English Gloss

TIMESTAMP <07:38-08:06>

142	Chair		Hindi naman naka Eden si Dr. Dilao	Not really, Dilao is with
			eh.	Eden.
143	Reg		'Yong 'yong mga, 'yong parang	The one, like for example
			halimba[wa'y	
144	Chair		[At tsaka distributed na 'yong	And the self-survey has
			self-survey eh=	been distributed
145	Reg	->	=Bigyan mo na ng deadline para=	Give her the deadline so
				that
146	Chair	*	=Ma'am nagbigay na ako ng	Ma'am, I already gave the

			deadline	deadline.
147			Matagal na 'yon Ma'am, naka out	Long before has it been out
			na.	already.
148	Reg	->	Kunin mo na Ma'am para((smiling))	Get it Ma'am so
149			Kasi type kong gagawin=	Because I feel like doing it
150	Chair	*	=Ayoko kong maging	I don't want to be impatient
			impatient.((laughing sarcastically))=	about it.
151	Reg		=Huh?	
152	Chair	*	I don't have to be impatient about	
			that.	
153	Reg		Kasi ikaw din ang:: maiipit.	Because you will be having
				difficulty with it

After being ordered for many times, the Chair gets the hang of Reg's imperatives. In Extract 24 at lines 360 and 362, the Chair displays a beaming smile after being ordered to get the documents in the planning process. Consequently, she appears to be nonchalant when she proceeds to line 362, telling the members about the experiences that transpired during a meeting with the senior vice president for academic affairs. The succeeding narrative is captured with her smile and perky recount of the events. The atmosphere of her face does not mark any annoyance brought about by Reg's directives. A narrative may be used as a support mechanism from the previous talk that allows the expansion of Reg's directives. From the vantage emic analytical perspective, and having known the Chair for five years, her smile has become sincere, not a manifestation of exasperation. In short, Reg's imperatives are positively well taken this time.

Corpus 2, Extract 24 School of Education

English Gloss

TIMESTAMP <<17:36-17:55>>

356	Reg		All right, and then			
357			The last one is The Planning			
			Process=			
358	Chair		=Kay Dr. Woo	With Dr. Woo, the planning		
			['yon plann[ing=]			
359	Reg	->	[So [but]then hi[ngin mo din]	So but then get it too		
360	Chair		[smiling]			
361	Reg		kung ano 'yong mga naandoon at-=	Whatever they are in there		
				and		
362	Chair	*	=Kahapon Ma'am ((smiling)) with	Yesterday Ma'am, with all		
			all the presence of all the Chairs and	the presence of all the		
			Deans sabi ko kay, brought out ko	chairs and deans, I brought		
			Dr. Woo ah	it out with Dr. Woo		

Furthermore, during most of Reg's imperatives, the Chair concedes to Reg by reverting to short submissive responses such as short backchannels and short overlaps which are considered uncompetitive (Fujimoto, 2007) such as continuers (Schegloff, 1982) to assist Reg's imperatives. These are noted to be orientations of a submissive Chair at the persuasive and cogent behests from a Subordinate. The following extracts have been summarized in Table 2 for practical (space) reasons:

Table 2

Lines	Receiver	Positive Responses	English Gloss
804	Chair	[Yes] Ma'am 'yon ang	Yes, Ma'am, that was
		[ginawa]ko-	what I did.
818	Chair	Sige Ma'am.	Okay, Ma'am.
966	Chair	[Oo Ma'am]	Yes Ma'am.
1038	Chair	Oo, may pag-asa=	Yes, there's hope.
1040	Chair	[Yes] Ma'am.	
1155	Chair	Sige Ma'am	Sure, Ma'am.
1156	Chair	mamaya na po,	Later, I will
1157	Chair	[makakaraos 'yan] (0.3)	We can get through it.
1149	Chair	At least makukuba na ako	At least I'll become a
1147		((laughing))=	hunchback.

Chair's Positive Orientations

The Chair gets the hang of being directed to do something. One proof that shows the Chair's positive reception of Reg's imperatives can be traced in Extract 42 at lines 677, 678, and 679. Thanking Reg for Reg's *wisdom* is an insight of collegiality and acceptance to Reg's imperatives. Her thanks are also coupled with an amiable smile. This dramatization and emotional coloring are strategic in nature. This intentional use of *wisdom* to laud one member in a meeting essentially provides us the impression of the positive inferences from the Chair.

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Corpus 2, Extract 42	English Gloss						
TIMESTAMP <<31:25-31:51>>							
676 Reg [Anyway, anyway]							
677 Chair	Okay, so thank you Dr. Cruz						
->	maganda po 'yong wisdom niyo	Your wisdom is good,					
078	Ma'am,	Ma'am.					
679	Oh we will implement that.						

Line 1145 from Extract 73 establishes a direct command with the use of the adverb *very* to provide a degree of *importance* of the document. This is well taken at line 1149 when the Chair receives this with a casual Filipino joke. It is coupled with a resounding laughter that creates a sense of cohesiveness (Palmer & Kawakami, 2014). Jokes and humors (Maemura & Horita, 2012) can "trigger positive socioemotional communication, procedural structure, and new solutions" (Lehmann-Willenbrock & Allen, 2014, p. 1278) to an ongoing negotiation.

Corpus 2, Extract 73, School of Education

English Gloss

TIMESTAMP <<51:47-52:02>>

1144	Reg		And then the: you remember Dr.
			Palisoc,
1145		->	tell her to document her participation
			in the two seminars as a Resource
			Speaker.
1146			that one is very important too.
1147			involvement of faculty as-

 1149 Chair
 -> At least makukuba na ako
 At least I'll become a

 ((laughing))=
 hunchback with this.

The laughter may serve its dual purpose: firstly, it is to console the Chair's burden of complying with all the directives from a subordinate who happens to be much more experienced than she is. Secondly, it is to signal that Reg's directives are taken positively on the Chair's end. In the first place, she is the dean of the department and the overall chairman for the accreditation process. Overall, the cases of laughter, jokes, and humor during the meeting are instrumental to the alleviation of the tension of the imperatives.

Overall Discussion

By now, one question is important: "[h]as Reg, the Subordinate, abused her higher epistemic authority and knowledge as an accreditor, given that she knows the Chair is less experienced than she is?" The answer to this question would be a neutral one. The use and abuse of the power of ranking and knowledge attached to Reg's epistemic authority has been neutralized with the unstable, inconsistent stance, including the positive paralinguistic cues that attempt to mitigate her directives. Looking at the other sets of corpus, Reg attempts not to give directives. It was only in Corpus 2 when she bombards the Chair with many directives, perhaps because of the lists of agenda under discussion.

For the Chair, the way she wrestles with, cedes and orients herself to the framing of directives is acceptable. It is predictable for the Chair to feel "threatened" with a subordinate who happens to be higher in terms of some socio-pragmatic local academic conditions during the meeting talk. The imperatives are precipitated because the Chair commits to a lack of knowledge (a non-knowing or K- position (Heritage, 2005). Interestingly, the Chair does not attempt to impose repercussion on the seemingly out-of-place speech act, although imposing

sanctions and penalty can be a very deviant case in an academic meeting (Arminen, 2000) as compared to legal and court proceedings.

The case of too many directives may not be construed as a breakdown of communication. This should not be treated as a shortcoming or flaw of their professional taste and right conduct. Their actuations do not, in a way, carry a high risk of grave labelling as unprofessional speakers. This orientation conveys that the Chair does not take all directives as a personal blow; the directives are not aimed at making her do something per se, but are meant to realize the goals they all need to achieve for the accreditation. Overall, Reg's display of condescending linguistic power of imperatives, and the Chair's submissive persona may support what Holmes, Stubbe, and Vine (1999) aver that neutrality in terms of power in workplace interaction is seldom observed.

Conclusion

This study is an attempt to describe the proofs of social inequality and collegiality in the use of imperatives deployed by a subordinate in a faculty meeting. From the parameters of social inequality, it is clear that any members of an institutional talk like a faculty meeting can make use of their personal academic conditions to over-dominate the Chair of the meeting. However, granting and tolerating subordinates' imperatives may not be immediately accepted. This type of speech act can be questioned first, wrestled with, and inferred positively before it is accepted with the positive pragmatic roles in the meeting. Eventually, as all members take ownership in the decision-making during the meeting, and break the normative social inequality to being collegial, laughter, jokes, beaming smiles, noncompetitive overlaps, back-channelling and short submissive responses can mitigate social inequality, thus can hasten an air of collegiality. In fact, this paper shows that there is a push and pull of use and abuse of power of social inequality, and a spirit of collegiality which structures a healthy discourse of imperatives. When employed judiciously, the overall discourse of imperatives is a depiction of the sharing of power, knowledge, and other sociopragmatic local academic conditions during the faculty meeting.

We acknowledged that the number of corpus may be limited (cf. Munalim & Genuino, 2019b) although it is acceptable within the methodological orientation of CA. Longitudinal cases and more corpus are warranted in order to widen the scope and instances of sequential environments of imperatives within the scope of social inequality and collegiality. Doing so will also expand our generalization of imperatives beyond the scope of a faculty meeting, but also in other professional discourses. Meanwhile, such results impinge on some pedagogical implications, especially in business courses of which the learners should be cognizant.

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