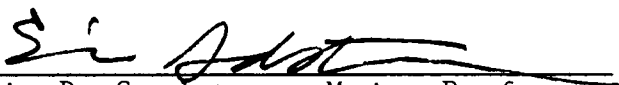
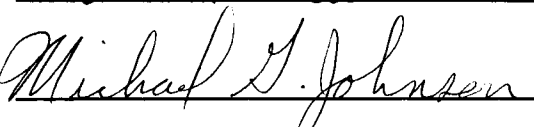


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Dorothy Cosby Doolittle entitled "Speech Style and Perceived Power, Competence, Credibility, and Uncertainty in a Simulated Job Interview." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.


Eric D. Sundstrom, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:


Accepted for the Council:


Vice Provost
and Dean of The Graduate School

SPEECH STYLE AND PERCEIVED POWER, COMPETENCE, CREDIBILITY
AND UNCERTAINTY IN A SIMULATED EMPLOYMENT INTERVIEW

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Dorothy Cosby Doolittle

March 1987

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband, Craig Doolittle, and to my mother, Louise Cosby. Their help and support made the completion of this project possible.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is grateful for the assistance and guidance of Dr. Eric Sundstrom, Dr. William Calhoun, Dr. Bethany Dumas, and Dr. Michael Johnson. Their help was invaluable in the course of the planning, the research, and the writing.

ABSTRACT

This study investigated links between powerful/powerless speech style and listeners' perceptions of a speaker's power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty. Linear scales of powerful/powerless speech style were developed, and the psychological distance between levels of powerful/powerless speech style was determined. Using previous research as a guide, five levels of speech style were defined in terms of hedges, hesitations, and questioning intonations. Tape recordings were made of a standard script of a job interview that used five combinations of hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms to be used by the job applicant. One male portrayed the interviewer on all tapes. Two sets of five tapes were made, each with a different male as the job applicant. Participants listened to six pairs of tapes and judged which of each pair sounded more powerful, more competent, more credible, and more uncertain. Each tape was paired with every other tape and each pair was rated forty-eight times. Participants' ratings were analyzed using the paired comparisons method. Four scales of powerful/powerless speech style were generated using the participants' judgments of power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty. As the number of hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms increased, scale values of powerful/powerless speech style decreased.

The interval distances between the scale values were not equal even though the number of hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms increased equally from script to script. Implications are discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study examined the relationship between speech style and perceived characteristics of an applicant in a simulated employment interview. It was hypothesized that perceptions of powerfulness, competence, credibility, and uncertainty would vary with the number of hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms in speech. The more powerful the speech style, the more the speaker would be perceived as powerful, competent, and credible. On the other hand, the more powerless the speech style, the more the speaker would be perceived as uncertain.

This chapter covers: (a) the purpose of this study; (b) the significance of this study; and (c) a review of the literature that pertains to this study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research project was three-fold:

1. to examine the relationship between speech style and perceptions of power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty;
2. to construct a linear scale of powerful/powerless speech style; and
3. to determine the psychological distance

between levels of powerful/powerless speech style. To this end, the study relates the fields of social psychology and sociolinguistics.

Background and Significance of the Study

Speech characteristics that indicate the ethnic background, nationality, or regional origin of a speaker have been extensively explored. The findings of studies researching those speech characteristics indicate that speech characteristics can and do influence listeners' perceptions.

There are aspects of speech style that have not received as much investigation, but hold promise of explaining more about a listener's reactions. One of these aspects is a phenomenon Lakoff (1975) termed "women's language." The characteristics of "women's language" include empty adjectives, question intonation in declarative contexts, hedges, use of intensives, hypercorrect grammar, and superpolite forms. Lakoff hypothesized that the characteristics of speech which women use are responsible for the views that women do not know what they are talking about, lack authority, and are humorless.

Drawing from Lakoff's work, O'Barr and his associates (Erickson, Lind, Johnson, & O'Barr, 1978; Lind & O'Barr, 1979; O'Barr, 1981; O'Barr & Atkins,

1980) noted women's language in trial courtroom testimonies. In observing court witnesses they discovered that women were not exclusively the users of women's language nor was women's language used by all women. In fact, the relationship between the speech characteristics of women's language and usage was related more to social status of the speaker than to sex of the speaker. O'Barr renamed the phenomenon powerless speech style. In studies using court transcripts, O'Barr found that witnesses using a speech style containing fewer of the powerless speech style factors were rated as being more believable, convincing, trustworthy, competent, strong, active, likeable, intelligent, and powerful (Erickson, et al., 1978; O'Barr, 1981). More recent studies using a simulated courtroom setting and job interview transcripts have supported these findings (Bradac, Hemphill, & Tardy, 1981; Bradac & Mulac, 1984; Wright and Hosman, 1983).

The present study makes a contribution to the field of social psychology for several reasons. First, the topic of this project is person-perception. Individuals' perceptions of others are influenced by factors such as speech style. This study, with its controls of sex, voice, and speech topic will increase psychologists' understanding of how a speaker's speech style influences a listener's perceptions. Second, the

nature of the present study is empirical. This study uses a large sample in a controlled setting. The collected data is subjected to statistical analysis. Work within this topic in social psychology of language and sociolinguistics has a strong basis in "armchair knowledge" and case studies. Third, this project answers the call for additional work in studying the concepts of powerful/powerless speech style in an applied setting. The topic of speech style is of interest, as evidenced by the articles being published in current journals. Fourth, this project makes a practical contribution to the field of applied social psychology. By showing that listeners can discriminate between levels of speech style, this project reveals the possibility of a powerful/powerless speech style bias by interviewers in employment interviews.

The current project contributes to the field of sociolinguistics in four ways. First, this study attempts to replicate the findings of previous researchers. It seeks to confirm that ratings of a speaker's power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty are affected by the speaker's speech style. Second, it expands the generalizability of the topic of powerful/powerless speech style by using an applied setting such as the employment interview. Third, the design of this project uses controls available in a

laboratory setting to ensure that the variable of speech style is actually being measured. Extraneous variables are controlled by using a standard script read by two male actors. Finally, the literature review draws from studies in both psychology and sociolinguistics. This review serves to compile the published research from both fields on the topic of powerful/powerless speech style.

The current study differs from previous work in that it attempts to assess whether judges can discriminate between five levels of speech style in regards to judgments of power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty. Earlier research studies have used two extremes of speech style (e.g., Bradac, Hemphill, & Tardy, 1981; Bradac & Mulac, 1984; Erickson et al., 1978; Lind, et al., 1979; O'Barr, 1981). The present study uses the two extremes on the powerful/powerless speech style continuum O'Barr (1981) used and adds three other points between the extremes. After a scale is constructed of the speech styles it will be known at what point ratings begin to decline and what the interval distance is between the levels of powerful/powerless speech style.

Previous Research

Speech style is seen as a factor affecting the impressions formed of speakers (Giles & Powesland, 1975; Lind, Erickson, Conley, & O'Barr, 1976). Early studies

have shown that the accent, dialect, or language that a speaker uses affects the impressions formed by listeners (Lind et al., 1976). Communicators are rated differently as a consequence of linguistic features in their messages (Berryman, 1978; Erickson, Lind, Johnson, & O'Barr, 1978; Kramer, 1974; Lakoff, 1975; Lind, et al., 1978).

Judgments are formed about people on the basis of superficial linguistic behavior that may have nothing to do with inner character (Lakoff, 1975). The more strongly and forcefully someone expresses opinions the more attentive listeners will be (Lakoff, 1975). Lakoff concluded that a speaker who is not forceful in stating his or her views is much less likely to be taken seriously.

Research on Gender Differences in Language

The purpose of this section is to present a short review of the findings of key articles concerning research pertaining to women's language. The studies reviewed here, often cited in the women's language literature, were included because they dealt with person perception or were early empirical investigations of women's language. Other informative and well written studies are available on the topic (e.g., Dubois & Crouch, 1976; Key, 1975; Philips, 1980; Thorne & Henley, 1975).

In English, as in other languages, one must know the social status of other participants in order to carry

on a conversation. Extralinguistic contextual factors one may take into account are social status of the participants, the type of social situation the speakers share, the real-world knowledge or beliefs a speaker holds, and the speaker's lack of desire to commit himself or herself on a position (Lakoff, 1972). Lakoff (1975) proposed the existence of a women's language in our society that takes some of these extralinguistic contextual factors into account. After examination of her own speech, that of acquaintances, and that heard on television, she concluded that women's language implicates the following generalizations. First, women use certain vocabulary items more often than men. Examples include the words magenta, shirr, and dart (in sewing). Second, women use empty adjectives such as charming, cute, and divine. Third, women often use a question intonation instead of a declarative. That is, they use a rising intonation in a statement context (What's your birthday? April 2?). Women also use tag questions (It's cold, isn't it?). Fourth, women use hedges of various kinds. Examples of hedges are "well", "I guess", "kinda", and "I think". Extensive use of hedges gives the impression that the speaker is unsure of what she is saying or that she cannot be held accountable for the accuracy of the information. Lakoff remarked that women may use a hedge for reasons other than politeness or uncertainty about

their statements. Lakoff wrote that men and women both do this when they lack self-confidence but that women do it more than do men. Lakoff believed that use of hedges and the question intonation gives the impression that the speaker does not know what she is talking about or that she lacks authority. Fifth, Lakoff listed the use of the intensive "so." She stated that it is used to show strong emotions or assertions if one felt it unseemly to show more precisely. Instead of saying "I like him very much" a woman might say "I like him so much." Men also use "so" as an intensifier, but women may use it more. Sixth, women use hypercorrect grammar. They do not "talk rough." Seventh, women use superpolite forms. Women avoid the use of off-color words, but often say "thank you" and "please." Eighth, women do not tell jokes. This is based on the observation that women use hypercorrect grammar and superpolite forms as well as the idea that women do not have a sense of humor. Ninth, women speak in italics. That is, women emphasize certain words in their speech. The emphasis, or italics, do not serve to strengthen a statement but rather give the impression that the person is trying to use double force to make sure she is understood.

Lakoff claimed that in addition to these nine forms listed there are other devices that are a part of women's language. Because women's language is a spoken

language, some of its characteristics can not be written out in examples. Studies using only written forms to attempt to prove that women's language does not exist are producing suspect results according to Lakoff (1975). Lakoff also felt that researchers could not expect to find evidence of women's language by using data collection methods that ask people to answer "yes" or "no" on questionnaires asking if they use the women's language forms.

Lakoff addressed the issue that men use the nine forms she outlined as characteristics of women's language. The decisive factor, to Lakoff, may be more power in the real world rather than gender of the speaker. Lakoff observed that women speak women's language to differing extents. However, a woman will be more likely to use the women's language forms than a man because the woman correctly perceives that she has less power.

Another point made by Lakoff (1975) was that even if no woman speaks women's language, it is still a stereotypical style that is portrayed on television. These portrayals can be an influence on women to speak women's language. Many women may find themselves in a double bind. While society mandates that women "speak like ladies," it refuses to take them seriously when they do. If women do not use women's language they are not

respected, and, if they do use women's language, they are not respected.

Lakoff noted that women in academics are least likely to speak women's language. Men in academics, on the other hand, may use most of the characteristics of women's language. Her explanation is that women in academics have more power than women with no outside roles. Lakoff clearly stated that she was speaking of general tendencies and not of one-to-one correlations.

Dubois and Crouch (1975) investigated Lakoff's assertion (1975) that women use more tag questions than do men. The researchers used tape recordings of a professional meeting of academicians as their source of data. Conversations following each formal presentation at this meeting were analyzed for frequency of tag questions. Thirty-three tag questions were used by men but none were used by women. The results supported Lakoff's contention that women in academics do not use women's language. That is, they at least do not use tag questions.

One of the earlier studies that addressed Lakoff's views is that of Crosby and Nyquist (1977). In their work women's language was renamed the "female register." The female register is used by both men and women but symbolizes the female role in our society. Crosby and Nyquist reiterated that the female register is

expressive and non-assertive, expressiveness and nonassertiveness being part of the stereotype of the female role. The authors reported three studies to test Lakoff's hypotheses.

The first study used speech samples of dyadic conversations between people of the same sex. Two other independent variables in the study were the relation of the speakers (friends or strangers) and the mode of interaction (speakers could see each other or could not see each other). The number of female register forms used by the speakers was scored from transcripts of the conversations. The person coding the transcripts did not know the sex of the speakers. Lakoff's characteristics of women's language were used as example of the female register. However, Crosby and Nyquist did include more examples of empty adjectives and hedges than Lakoff (1975) listed. Each form of the female register was scored as one point per occurrence and points were summed to get a total score for the conversation. Crosby and Nyquist's hypothesis, that females use the female register more than males use the female register, was confirmed. Females used an average of 5.16 female register characteristics in conversations with other females while males used 3.08 characteristics in conversations with other males. This difference is statistically significant at the .05 level of significance. The relationship of the speakers and the

mode of interaction did not effect the number of female register characteristics used.

As part of the second study, an observer coded inquiries made by males and females to either a male or a female information person in an information booth. The sex of the speaker and sex of the information person were the independent variables. The number of female register forms used by a speaker was the dependent variable. Speakers were given hedge scores, politeness scores, verb scores (points for "could you" or "would you"), initial contact scores (points given for saying "hi" or "excuse me" as a salutation), and directness scores (scored for the directness of the request for information). The results showed that male-male speech contained less of the female register than the male-female or female-female speech conditions.

In the third study an observer coded conversations between clients and police personnel. The independent variables included sex of police personnel, sex of client, role of speaker, and status of the police personnel. Again, the amount of female register was the dependent variable. Each time a characteristic of the female register occurred it was given one point. Characteristics included tag questions, hedges, and polite expressions. Results showed clients used the female

register more than did police personnel and females used the female register more than did males.

Two of the three studies supported the hypothesis that women use the female register more than do men. The second study, that at the information booth, did not. Crosby and Nyquist suggested that information-seeking is an established ritual and that rituals diminish sex differences. The differences between men's and women's speech may be context specific. In some contexts the differences will be greater than in others. Two other possible explanations for the discrepancy in findings between study two and the others is the brevity of the interaction and its focus on politeness. The other studies focused more on hedges.

Siegler and Siegler (1976) had subjects read statements and state how much they agreed with the statement. Subjects then guessed what sex the speaker of the statement was. A second design had subjects judge the speaker's level of intelligence rather than the sex of the speaker. Results were that statements with tag questions were attributed most often to women. Tag questions were also rated as representing the least amount of intelligence.

McMillan, Clifton, McGrath, and Gale (1977) hypothesized that women use more intensifiers, modal constructions, tag questions, and imperative constructions

in question form than do men. Other reported studies have not used modal constructions as a characteristic of study. A modal construction, as defined by the authors, is a grammatical transformation that occurs when the speaker expresses doubtfulness about an event that has taken or will take place using a word such as can, could, shall, should, will, would, may, or might. The authors stated that this construction is frequently used when a woman is asked what she said and she replies "I think I might have said..." Even though she actually remembers what she said, the women reiterates her statement with a modal construction. Imperative constructions in question form are illustrated in "Will you please open the window?" instead of "Open the window." These four characteristics of women's language connote uncertainty. A second hypothesis of the McMillan et al. study was that women use more linguistic categories that connote uncertainty when men are present than when men are absent. The same four characteristics, intensifiers, modal constructions, tag questions, and imperative constructions, were used in this hypothesis. The third hypothesis stated that men interrupt women more frequently than women interrupt men.

To test their hypothesis, McMillan et al. used a content analysis of a videotape of a small group involved in a problem-solving situation. The independent variables were sex of the subjects and sex composition of the groups

(same or mixed sex). The dependent variable was the frequency of occurrence of intensifiers, modal constructions, tag questions, and imperative constructions in question form. There were no significant differences in means for amount of talking time, where the number of sentences emitted was the measure. However, the researchers found that women used intensifiers six times more often, modal constructions about twice as often, tag questions twice as often, and imperative constructions in question form about three times more often than men used these forms. These differences were statistically significant. Hypothesis two, that women use more linguistic features that connote uncertainty when men are present, was not confirmed. Hypothesis three, that men interrupt women more frequently than women interrupt men was confirmed. McMillan et al. noted Lakoff's suggestion (1975) that sex differences in language, especially uncertainty on the part of women, are part of the power differential between men and women.

Newcombe and Arnkoff (1979) included three of the characteristics of women's language, tag questions on declarative statements, hedges or qualifiers, and compound requests rather than simple requests, in speech segments one to three sentences long. Subjects rated the recordings of two male and two female speakers on the speakers' assertiveness, politeness, and warmth. After

listening to the tapes subjects judged whether the three forms were used more by women, by men, or equally by both. The data showed that the use of tag questions, qualifiers, and compound requests all decreased the perceived assertiveness of speech. The tags and qualifiers did not increase perceptions of politeness. However, higher ratings for warmth were given when qualifiers were used. About half of the subjects thought female speakers used more tag questions, about one-third thought female speakers used more qualifiers, and one-fourth thought they used more compound requests. Actually, all speakers used the same amount of these forms.

Bradley (1981) hypothesized that speakers using well supported arguments would be more influential and positively perceived by group members than those whose arguments were not supported, regardless of the sex of the speaker. A second hypothesis was that speakers who use tag questions and qualifying phrases (hedges) would be less influential and less positively perceived by other group members. Bradley thought the effect of using tag questions and qualifying phrases would be greater for females. Confederates, trained in the use of tag questions and qualifying phrases, met with a group as one of the group members. All group members were pretested to determine their attitude on a social issue. The confederate in the group argued for a position opposite

that of the groups' opinion. Bradley's research design used 24 groups, varying male and female confederates, use or nonuse of tag questions and qualifiers, and use or nonuse of supportive arguments about the social issue discussed in the groups. The results of her study showed that the use of qualifying phrases and tag questions did lower other participants' positive reactions to female confederates in small group settings. This effect was not evident for male confederates. Confederates using well supported arguments were more influential and more positively perceived by group members than confederates using unsupported arguments.

To conclude, Lakoff (1975) can be credited with enumerating the characteristics of women's language. Crosby et al. (1977) were among the first to subject Lakoff's concepts to empirical investigation. Other researchers showed that users of tag questions were rated as less intelligent than nonusers and, with sex of the speaker unknown, tag questions would be attributed to females (Siegler et al., 1976). McMillan et al. (1977) found that women do use more intensifiers, more tag questions, more modal constructions, and more imperative constructions than do men. Newcombe et al. (1979) concluded that the speaker's perceived assertiveness of speech decreased with the use of tag questions, qualifiers, and compound requests. However, qualifiers

increased ratings of warmth. Females were judged to have used more tag questions, qualifiers, and compound requests even though these forms were equally used by females and males on tapes used in the experiment. Bradley (1981) also concluded that tag questions and disclaimers lowered positive reactions toward the speaker. Certain linguistic forms do affect judgments of people. Whether or not these forms are more used by men or women is still debatable.

Hesitation Forms

In 1964 Mahl and Schulze stated that there was a need for studies in extralinguistic phenomena that took the listener into account. In their survey of the literature they noted an absence of any systematic study of how extralinguistic phenomena affect a listener's spontaneous communicative behavior or his underlying psychological states and processes. Mahl and Schulze felt there was a general neglect of the social interpersonal aspects of extralinguistic variables. Included as extralinguistic phenomena were silent pauses, nonfluencies such as "ah", sentence correction, sentence incompleteness, repetition, stutter, intruding incoherent sounds, tongue slips, and omissions. Following is a summary of the research that has addressed this issue.

Miller and Hewgill (1964) tested the following hypotheses:

1. as the number of nonfluencies presented by a

speaker increases, audience ratings of the speaker's credibility will decrease;

2. the hypothesized effect will be greater for a nonfluency-typed repetition than for a nonfluency-typed vocalized pause.

Miller et al. tape recorded nine versions of a message. The nine ranged from no nonfluencies to different amounts and types of nonfluencies being systematically varied. Four messages contained vocalized pauses and four contained repetitions. Vocalized pauses were defined as the utterance of the "uh" sound between two words of the message. A repetition was the utterance of the first syllable of a word, followed by the utterance of the short "uh" sound, followed by the utterance of the complete word. After listening to one of the messages the subjects completed a measure concerning the perceived credibility of the speaker presenting the message. From their results, it can be concluded that as the quantity of nonfluency presented by the speaker increases, audience ratings of perceived source credibility decreases. Miller and Hewgill reported that this affect is somewhat more pronounced when repetitions rather than vocalized pauses are used. Studies by McCroskey and Mehrley (1969) and Sereno and Hawkins (1967) also showed that relatively nonfluent speech, such as pauses and repetitions, decrease the ratings of competence, dominance, and dynamism.

A theme running through some of the clinical psychology literature was that the use of "ah" or other hesitations was related to anxiety (Mahl, 1956). However, the general consensus was that "ahs" and hesitations were more related to uncertainty or phenomena other than anxiety (Cook, 1969; Kasl & Mahl, 1965; Krause & Pilisuk, 1961; Maclay & Osgood, 1959).

In Scherer's study (1979) of voice and speech correlates of perceived social influence in simulated juries, participants discussed a case while being audio and video recorded. The mock jurors completed personality tests and ratings scales before the start of the discussion. At the close, all participants rated all other participants of the group on the Personality Adjective Form.

Scherer reported that, for American participants, perceived influence correlated negatively with the number of silent pauses and positively with the number of speech disturbances. A speech disturbance ratio was developed by summing the occurrences of tongue slips, omissions, sentence-incompletions, word repetitions, and repetitions of sentences or parts of sentences and then dividing by the total number of words. Analysis of the speech disturbance ratio showed that only repetition correlated positively with perceived influence. The other factors did not correlate at all or correlated negatively (but not

significantly) with perceived influence. It was suggested that the repetitions were used to emphasize points during the discussion. A replication of this study done with German participants revealed that the participants perceived as more influential spoke with fewer filled pauses.

Powerful and Powerless Speech Styles

Erickson, Lind, Johnson, and O'Barr (1978) examined the effects of style variation on perceptions of communicator attractiveness, credibility and acceptance of the speaker's communication by listeners. The researchers analyzed more than 150 hours of speech in a trial courtroom. They observed a cluster of linguistic features which seemed to vary with the status and social power of the speakers. Frequent use was made of intensifiers, hedges, especially formal grammar, hesitation forms, gestures, questioning forms, and polite forms by persons with low status in the court setting. Individuals with relatively high social power in court, such as parole officers or physicians, used these features infrequently. Their more straightforward speech style was labeled the "powerful" style. The features noted above tended to co-occur in the speech of low-power witnesses. Frequent use of these features was labeled "powerless" style.

Erickson et al. argued that the use of the "powerful" or "powerless" style might affect the

perceptions of the speaker and the influence of his or her communications. The "powerful" style might reflect high status for listeners and they may in turn think favorably of the individual. Because it is succinct and lacks the hedging feature, the "powerful" style may indicate that the speaker is sure of his stated positions. And, in turn, perceptions of the "powerful" speaker's credibility may be increased. On the other hand, the "powerless" style may decrease attraction to the speaker because it is harder to attend to his or her communication due to its complex and potentially confusing features. The authors further argued that the acceptance of a communication is affected by the attractiveness and the credibility of the speaker (Hovland, Janis, & Kelley, 1953) and that speech style should also affect participants beliefs about the issues addressed in the communication.

The purpose of the study by Erickson et al. was to determine whether the style variable affects impression formation. To obtain information about the specific manner in which speech style affects person perception the authors measured the participants' perceptions of the speaker's attractiveness and credibility and the participants' acceptance of the communication. This study used speech style (powerful vs. powerless), mode of presentation (written vs. oral), sex of witness, and sex of participant as independent variables.

Actors reproduced the original testimony of a female witness who had given her testimony in a court trial using the style characterized by frequent use of powerless forms. Using the same actors, a female powerful-style tape was made in which most of the powerless features were omitted. The substance of the testimony remained unchanged. Two other tapes were made in which the testimony was given by a male witness with either relatively frequent or infrequent use of the powerless features. The materials for the written presentations conditions were transcriptions of the oral forms. Some of the hesitation forms ("uh," "um," and "eh") and some of the false starts of sentences were omitted in the written presentations. Question intonation was omitted or represented with a question mark in the transcripts.

Participants heard one tape or read one transcript of the exchange between a lawyer and the witness. The dependent variables of the study were the participants' impressions of the witness. Participants rated the witness on a series of 11-point semantic differential-type rating scales with the endpoints: powerful-powerless; competent-incompetent; masculine-feminine; trustworthy-not trustworthy; likeable-unlikeable; strong-weak; intelligent-not intelligent; and, active-passive. The participants also rated on an

11-point scale how much they believed the witness, how convincing the witness was, how sympathetic they felt toward the witness, how similar the witness was to themselves, and how qualified they felt the witness was to testify. Other questions asked how responsible and how negligent the defendants were for the victim's death and how much the defendants should pay the plaintiffs in damages.

In analyzing the data three factors were identified. The first factor appeared, to the authors, to reflect participants' specific perceptions of the witness' credibility in court. How much the participant believed the witness and judgments of the witness as convincing, trustworthy and competent were included in the credibility factor. Factor two appeared to reflect the participants' perceptions of the witness' attractiveness. The scales in this factor included judgments of the witness as strong, active, likeable, intelligent, and powerful. The third factor was a masculine-feminine scale item.

Analysis of credibility scores yielded a significant main effect for speech style and an interaction effect for speech style, sex of witness, and sex of participant. Powerful speakers were perceived as more credible than powerless speakers. This difference was greater when the participant and witness were of the

same sex than when they were of the opposite sex. For attractiveness, powerful speakers were judged more attractive than were powerless speakers. The female witness was perceived as significantly more attractive than the male witness when the testimony was taped. Only a significant main effect for sex of the witness was found for the masculinity-femininity factor, with the male witness rated as more masculine than the female. When the testimony was taped, participants recommended higher damage awards if the witness' speech was "powerful" regardless of the sex of the witness.

Erickson et al. concluded that the powerful-powerless speech style manipulation affected participants' perceptions of the speaker's credibility, attractiveness, and their acceptance of the information contained in the speaker's testimony.

O'Barr and Atkins (1980) described how women and men talk in court. The authors noted that what is normally called women's language is actually a language of powerlessness. This means that the features usually described as comprising women's language are not the sole domain of women. The characteristics of women's language actually have a close association with persons having low social power and relatively little experience in the courtroom setting.

Following the suggestions of Lakoff (1975), the

features of O'Barr and Atkins included in their study were hedges, superpolite forms, tag questions, speaking in italics, empty adjectives, hypercorrect grammar and pronunciation, lack of a sense of humor, direct quotations, special lexicon, and question intonation in declarative contexts. After reviewing the tapes it was determined that women's language was not characteristic of all women nor limited to women. However, O'Barr and Atkins found that more women than men in their sample used women's language. It was noted that women who used fewer of the features had an unusually high social status. Men who used more of the characteristics of women's language held subordinate, lower-status jobs or were unemployed.

In Lind and O'Barr's experiment (1979), actors played the parts of a male lawyer and a female witness. The female actor recorded her testimony (based upon actual court testimony) once in powerless speech style and once in a powerful speech style. Two more tapes were made using a male actor as a witness and varying the powerless speech. Subjects heard one of the four tapes and then answered a number of rating scale questions about their reactions to the witness, the testimony, and those individuals involved in the case. The social evaluation dimensions measured have been found in earlier studies to influence the acceptance of a communication. Male and female witnesses using the powerful speech style were

rated as more competent, more socially attractive, more trustworthy, more socially dynamic, and more convincing than those using the powerless speech. This study demonstrated that the use of powerful or powerless speech does effect social evaluations. Lind and O'Barr concluded that the variable of speech has its strongest effects on the social evaluation of the witness rather than on the perception of the information the witness gives in his or testimony. The authors speculated that the subjects have learned from past experience with people using powerful powerless speech to associate the powerful speech with high social power and the powerless speech with low social power speakers. Lind and O'Barr concluded that using powerful or powerless speech may give cues the listener interprets as identifying the speaker as a particular type of individual. Personal qualities or attributes may be predicted on the basis of this identification.

Powerless speech is a set of features that tend to covary (O'Barr, 1981). A particular person may use only a few of the features with others not occurring at all. The usual case, however, is that a high frequency on one or more of the characteristics is accompanied by a high frequency on the others (O'Barr, 1981). O'Barr recorded testimonies over an extended period of time in a trial courtroom. The observations indicated that the phenomenon known as women's language was not restricted to

women. Its use seemed to be more related to social powerlessness than to gender. O'Barr concluded that because women occupy relatively powerless social positions they use powerless language more often than do men. Conversely, men occupy relatively more powerful social positions and they use more powerful language.

The study by Bradac, Hemphill, and Tardy (1981) focused on the effects of intensifiers, hedges, polite forms, hesitation forms, and deictic phrases on attribution of fault in a hypothetical courtroom context. A second focus of their study was to examine the effect of these forms on subjects' perceptions of the extent to which the plaintiff and defendant were influenced by external or internal factors. A third focus of their study was the participants' judgments of the seriousness of the alleged act of assault. Bradac et al. hypothesized that a plaintiff who exhibited a powerful speech style would be judged as more at fault for the violence than a plaintiff who exhibited a powerless style. The authors cited earlier research to support the contention that powerful persons who are victimized are judged more blameworthy than are their powerless counterparts. The powerful victims may be seen as having provoked the act to some extent. Bradac, Hemphill, and Tardy also stressed that perceived attractiveness has been shown to function as a mitigating variable. For example, an assailant may

be judged as less at fault if he is relatively powerful. This presented conflicting predictions.

Subjects read one of two versions of testimony, a low-power or a high-power one. The low-power version contained intensifiers, hedges, polite forms, hesitation forms, and deictic phrases. After reading the testimony of a man (either as plaintiff or defendant) subjects completed nine-point scales assessing their perceptions of his fault or responsibility for the act, the extent to which alcohol influenced his behavior, the extent to which he would engage in violent behavior in the future, the extent to which his behavior prior to the act was influenced by the other man's behavior, and the extent to which he is generally internally or externally oriented. Participants were also asked to choose a dollar amount to represent an award for damages.

The results of the study showed that testimonies containing hedges, intensifiers, polite forms, hesitation forms, and deictic phrases were judged low in power by the participants. Subjects judged the man with the high-power style as being more competent and as more attractive. There was no significant difference for the judgment of masculine-feminine. Bradac et al. did not find support for the "just world" and "balance" hypotheses. Subjects rated the man as highly internally oriented. Bradac et al. stated that this may be a result of reading the

testimony with the other man's testimony being absent. Exposure to the testimony may also have influenced the subjects to judge the man as less at fault and lower in predisposition toward violence.

In a second study both men involved in the case testified in high- and low-power styles. This allowed subjects to compare the styles of the two men. The men always differed in both role and style. After reading the testimony the subjects responded to the same scales used in the first study.

The man in the plaintiff role was judged as less blameworthy than the defendant. Both men were perceived as being higher in internality when they used the high-power style. The second man in the case was judged to be more under the influence of alcohol when he used the high-power style and to be more affected by alcohol when he was in the role of the plaintiff. Female subjects were more likely to judge the man as having been influenced by the other man when he was in the defendant role. Males did not differ in their judgments of him as a function of role. The second man was also rated as higher in predispositional violence when he was cast as the defendant. The man in the original study provided no significant effects for influence of alcohol, influence of the other's behavior, or predispositional behavior.

The researchers concluded that power of speech

style is directly related to judgments of competence and communicator attractiveness. They felt the lack of a relationship between style and judgments of masculinity-femininity suggested that the powerless style is not necessarily associated with feminine roles and personality traits.

Bradac et al. discussed powerful speech style as a construct. Polite forms and hedges may vary as a direct consequence of social status or power. However, hesitation forms, intensifiers, and deictic phrases may vary as a consequence of speaker anxiety. These forms may be confounded naturally or they may work independently. For example, a person low in social power may use the polite forms and hedges. In court, because of anxiety, the person may also use the hesitation forms, intensifiers and deictic phrases (thus confounding the two subtypes). The authors suggested more research to explore the relationships between the forms and their consequences for a speaker.

Wright and Hosman (1983) investigated two subcomponents of the powerful speech construct. They stated that intensifiers and hedges may be capable of independent and unique contributions to powerful/powerless speech style. The authors questioned whether the contributions of intensifiers and hedges made relatively equal, complementary, or contradictory contributions to

impression formation. They also argued that a witness's sex may play a part in the contribution of hedges and intensifiers to impression formation. They further argued that Erickson et al. (1978) may have confounded two forms of powerless speech, hedges and hesitations. It was stressed that both indicate uncertainty. Erickson et al. had tapes that had a greater proportion of uncertainty forms than certainty forms. Wright and Hosman's study focused on only one of these uncertainty forms.

Wright and Hosman's research question was:

Do hedges and intensifiers, sex of the subject, and sex of the witness affect or interact to affect the impressions of a speaker's attractiveness, credibility, and responsibility for the incident under litigation? Half of the participants read testimonies of a male witness and half read those of a female witness. The four speech versions were: low intensifiers/low hedges; low intensifiers/high hedges; high intensifiers/low hedges; and, high intensifiers/high hedges. A low level of the variable meant that it did not occur. A high value meant there were twelve to fifteen occurrences of the variable. After reading the testimony the subjects completed a short questionnaire and responded to Likert-type scales that measured the dependent variables.

The reported results were that persons using

fewer hedges were perceived as significantly more attractive. Male and female witnesses were not perceived as significantly different in attractiveness when their testimony contained a low number of intensifiers. When her testimony had a high number of intensifiers, a female witness was perceived as significantly more attractive than a male witness who's testimony had a high number of intensifiers. In regards to credibility, male and female witnesses showed no significant differences when their testimony showed a low number of hedges. However, when a high number of hedges was used, male witnesses were perceived as significantly more credible than female witnesses. An analysis of variance of the data showed no significant main effects or interactive effects for the blameworthiness factor. In their discussion, the authors stated that the use of intensifiers increased the force of a woman's statement and thus resulted in her being perceived as more attractive than a man who used the intensifiers. Too, a subject's sex made no difference in any of the three areas of impression formation (attractiveness, credibility, or blameworthiness). It was noted by the authors that when women used hedges or intensifiers they gained credibility but lost attractiveness. This may be significant in the courtroom. Wright and Hosman cited research that suggested attractiveness may be a significant determinant

of jurors' decisions, with less attractive defendants receiving harsher sentences. They concluded that intensifiers and hedges do not contribute equally to impression formation. The authors argued that these results demonstrated the need for continued analysis of sex and language-related variables in the courtroom.

A unique research study examined Bem's Gender Schema Theory as it relates to communicator style (Warfel, 1983). Subjects read transcriptions of interpersonal exchanges in which one speaker's speech style was manipulated to appear powerful or powerless. The subjects' impressions of the speakers were recorded on interpersonal attribution items. After recording their impressions, subjects completed the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. Warfel's conclusions were that speakers using powerless speech forms were perceived to be less dominant than powerful speakers. Subjects who adhered to a traditional sex schema associated powerful speech with masculinity and powerless speech with femininity. Subjects who did not adhere to a traditional sex schema did not make these associations. Powerful speech in women was not viewed more negatively by either group of subjects.

Bradac and Mulac (1984) investigated the effects of hedges, intensifiers, hesitations, deictic phrases, tag questions, polite forms and powerful forms. The relative

impact of each upon ratings of communicator power and effectiveness was examined. In a second study, the perceived likelihood that a speaker would fulfill his or her intention (to be sociable or to appear authoritative) through use of the powerful and powerless forms was examined. Four sets of messages containing seven message types were prepared. The seven message types included hedges, tags, intensifiers, polite forms, deictic phrases, hesitations, and powerful forms. Eight versions of each of the seven message types were used. Each set had the seven message types and each version of each message type contained three sentences. There were two examples of each type in each set. The dependent measure was a seven-point interval scale with the ratings "seems powerful/seems powerless" and "seems effective/seems ineffective." Subjects were told they would read short segments from the responses of interviewees in hypothetical job interviews. Subjects made judgments of power and effectiveness after each segment.

Powerful and polite forms yielded the highest values. That is, they were perceived as being relatively powerful and effective. These were followed by intensifiers. The deictic phrases fell near the mid-point of the seven-point scale for power and effectiveness. Hedges and question tags did not differ from one another, both being judged as relatively powerless and ineffective

when compared to the forms listed above. The form judged least powerful and least effective was the hesitation. The results of the second study revealed hedges, tags, and hesitations to be less likely to create the desired impression of appearing authoritative. The powerful message type was less likely to create the desired impression of being sociable. The polite form was most likely to create that impression.

Bradac and Mulac suggested that earlier studies have confounded polite linguistic forms with the more powerless forms of tags and hesitations. This makes the results of the earlier studies suspect. Bradac and Mulac suggested that their empirically derived hierarchy of powerful forms should be used in future research.

Conclusions. The articles reported in this literature review are briefly summarized below regarding significant findings and methodology.

1. In two of the three studies reported by Crosby and Nyquist (1977) women used the female register significantly more than men used the female register.

2. Users of tag questions were rated as less intelligent than those who did not use them. Tag questions were attributed to females if the sex of the speaker was unknown (Siegler et al., 1976).

3. McMillan et al. (1977) hypothesized that

women use more intensifiers, modal constructions, tag questions, and imperative constructions in question form than do men, that women use more linguistic categories that connote uncertainty when men are present than when men are absent, and that men interrupt women more than women interrupt men. They did not show that women use more linguistic categories that connote uncertainty when men are present than when men are absent.

4. Tag questions, qualifiers, and compound questions decreased subjects' perceptions of the speaker's assertiveness. Qualifiers increased perceptions of warmth. Females were credited with using these forms more often (Newcombe et al., 1979).

5. Miller and Hewgill (1964) showed that use of vocalized pauses (hesitations) and repetitions lowered the perceived credibility of the source.

6. Scherer (1979) concluded that for Americans acting as jurors, perceived influence was negatively correlated with pauses (hesitations).

7. The popular studies of O'Barr and his associates showed that powerful and powerless speech style variables affected impression formation. Using a court setting and manipulating the testimony of witnesses, they showed that judgments of attractiveness, credibility, acceptance of the communication, competence, trustworthiness, social dynamism and convincingness were

influenced by powerful/powerless speech style (Erickson et al., 1978; Lind et al., 1979; O'Barr, 1981; O'Barr et al., 1980).

8. Bradac et al. (1981) concluded that a powerless speech style produced judgments of low power, low competence, and low attractiveness. Bradac et al. (1984) found hesitations, hedges, and question tags to be judged as powerless and ineffective by participants.

9. Manipulation of hedges and intensifiers in Wright and Hosman's (1983) study produced a differential effect for the two. Female witnesses were seen as more attractive if their speech contained many intensifiers but male witnesses were not. Speakers using a low number of hedges were judged as more attractive than speakers using a high number of hedges. Male witnesses were judged more credible than female witnesses when both used a high number of hedges.

The results of the reported studies can be briefly summarized. First, it was determined that women may use women's language more often than men, but it is not used only by women or by all women. Further, judgments of competency, attractiveness, power, effectiveness, credibility, blameworthiness, and trustworthiness are negatively affected by the use of the powerless style.

Experimental Methods. Many different approaches have been used to study the powerful and powerless speech styles. Lakoff used introspection and observation to formulate what she believed to be the components of women's language. Crosby et al. (1977) used observations of naturally occurring behavior in two of their studies.

McMillan et al. (1977), Crosby et al. (1977) and Bradley (1981) gathered data from content analyses of tapes of small group interactions. Erickson et al. (1978), Lind et al. (1979), O'Barr (1981), and O'Barr et al. (1980) recorded actual trial testimony and then based their experimental tapes on these recordings. Miller et al. (1964) also had subjects listen to tapes. Scherer (1979) had participants rate themselves on personality measures and then interact as a jury hearing a case. At the conclusion of the case he had them rate each other. He correlated these results with a content analysis of the jury sessions. Newcombe et al. had male and female speakers record short speech samples.

Another popular method of presentation was written transcripts. Wright et al. (1983), Bradac et al. (1981, 1984), Siegler et al. (1976), Erickson et al. (1978), Lind et al. (1979), O'Barr et al. (1980), and O'Barr (1981) had participants read transcripts and make their judgments from these.

All in all, the variables of powerful and

powerless speech style have been explored in a variety of research methods. Some methods, such as written transcripts, have allowed more control over the variables. Others, such as observations in natural settings, have allowed greater generalizability.

Employment Interviews

The topic of employment interviews has been widely researched. Reviewers of the literature find that the employment interview has many shortcomings and is subject to many influences that make it invalid and unreliable (Arvey & Campion, 1982; Mayfield, 1964; Schmitt, 1976; Ulrich & Trumbo, 1965; Wagner, 1949; Wright, 1969).

Mayfield (1964) suggested that researchers concentrate on the decision-making process as it operates in the interview and that the interview be divided into small parts and controlled studies be done on these parts. He recommended a microanalytic approach focusing on one or two factors at a time.

In his review of the literature, Wright (1969) concluded that more than half the articles and most of the books currently published were dogmatic. He differed with Mayfield on the better method of research approaches to use in the study of interviews by proposing a macroanalytic approach to be best suited to study the validity of the structured interview.

According to Arvey and Campion (1982), the research dealing with interviewing is progressing. They saw an increase in research that studied possible bias in the interview. They found more variables associated with the interview being investigated. Among these were nonverbal behavior, interviewee's perceptions of interviewers, interviewee's self-perceptions, and interviewee training. A third conclusion was that researchers are getting more sophisticated in their research methodologies and strategies. Arvey and Campion believed researchers have, however, neglected related research in the person-perception areas. The areas that may yield more information include attribution models, impression formation and management, and implicit personality theory.

In summary, only Arvey and Campion were optimistic about the reliability and validity of the interview. In their review they found that attitudes, stereotypes, and characteristics did influence the evaluation of the applicant. Decisions were often made in the first few minutes of the interview. Too, an applicant's appearance, sex, verbal and nonverbal behaviors as well as qualifications might influence the outcome.

Speech Style and Employment Interviews. The employment interview has been the setting for several studies of the effects of speech characteristics on employment decisions. Many studies have used race, whether or not standard English was used, and the presence of a foreign accent as independent variables. Others have examined nonverbal behaviors and such items as interviewing skills. The findings, with the exception of Baird (1969), have been consistent. Employment interviewers and other participants in the studies often relied on impressionistic rather than factual information.

Baird (1969) analyzed listener reactions to certain features of the speech used by Negro, lower economic, speakers of English in Austin, Texas. Of interest to Baird was speech used by females in job interviews. Baird collected field interview tapes, isolated certain linguistic variables, constructed a semantic differential evaluation scale, and produced dialect tapes to be evaluated. He had white first-year psychology students rate the tapes containing three different dialect features on a semantic differential evaluation. The students did not rate any of the three dialect features as socially significant when used by a Negro speaker.

Shuy (1973) reported a study wherein a tape recording of sixteen samples of Washington, D.C. Negro

male adults and teenagers from a complete range of socioeconomic status groups in the city was played to sixteen individuals who actually hired for area employers. The tape included two adult and two teen-age speakers from each of four social classes represented. Nine of the sixteen judges considered all sixteen employable. The participant who hired for a department store rated two of the four lower-working class samples as unemployable and stated two would be hired for jobs that had no contact with the public. When asked how much they were influenced by the speech of the would-be employee, most stated that speech did not influence them.

Shuy, in a follow-up study, divided jobs into seven categories with the highest being represented by a doctor or professor and the lowest being a janitor or bus boy. Males in the speech samples actually were employed in these positions. The same employers were asked to rank each speaker on the same tape by the job categories. Professional, well-educated speakers from the highest category were ranked in the fourth and fifth categories (salesmen, policemen, mechanics). It seemed to Shuy, that there was an unwillingness to believe that such individuals could be in as prestigious jobs as they were. The employers would not admit that speech was important to their judgments but consistently assigned jobs on the

basis of linguistic cues. Better jobs went to speakers of standard English.

Hopper and Williams' (1973) study focused on the relationship between employers' attitudes toward speech samples and their hiring decisions with regard to the speaker. In this study four 90-second taped speech samples of standard English, Black English, Spanish-influenced English and Southern White English were used in evaluations by 23 employers. Ratings were made on semantic differential scales. The employers were to judge whether they would hire the person for one of seven job categories that ranged from "executive" to "manual laborer." Indications of the preliminary study were that employers seemed to make judgments about intelligence and competence of interviewees to do a job. Self-assurance, agreeability, and ethnicity seemed to be less important. In the second part of the study Hopper and Williams found that the employers speech attitude judgments were stable. Speech seemed most important in leadership positions such as executive or foreman and least important as a predictor of job success in interviews for manual labor positions.

Hopper (1977) used four linguistic-ethnic combinations to measure the effects of particular kinds of speech characteristics in interaction with specific qualifications to do a particular job. Tapes of hypothetical job applicants, either black or white,

speaking standard English or a nonstandard dialect were paired with descriptive data about the applicants' qualifications. Two categories of qualifications were used, extremely qualified or average qualifications. Three job categories, supervision, sales or technical, were used. Participants rated how the applicant sounded and the probability the applicant had of employment. Two factors emerged in the data analysis as significant predictors, competence and likeability. Hopper stated that this study presented further evidence that language attitudes, as measured by semantic differential scales, do influence simulated hiring decisions. Hopper found no salient differences relative to qualifications. Main effects were due to race and dialect. The interaction of race and dialect was significant. The nonstandard dialect fared equally badly in all three job categories. Earlier Hopper, Hewett, Smith, and Watkins (1972) found that judgments of ethnicity revealed significant differences only for an executive job category.

Hollandsworth, Kazelskis, Stevens, and Dressel (1979) studied the relationship between seven verbal, articulative, and nonverbal dimensions and favorable employment decisions. Using recruiter ratings of 338 on-campus interviews, Hollandsworth et al. found appropriateness of content, fluency of speech, and composure to be of greatest importance in employment

decisions. The other four factors used were eye contact, loudness of voice, body posture, and personal appearance.

Kalin and Rayko (1980) tried to determine the relationship between judgments of suitability and the ethnicity of speakers as well as to determine the relationship between listener attitudes and the evaluation of accented speech. The subjects were to assume they worked as personnel consultants for a large manufacturing company. The company was hiring for a wide range of jobs. Subjects predicted how well ten job applicants would do in each of four jobs. Subjects were presented with brief biographical dossiers and thirty-second recordings of the applicant. Five of the applicants spoke with a foreign accent and five with an English Canadian accent. The results of the study showed discriminations in judgments against the foreign-accented applicants and for the English Canadian accented applicants. Foreign accented applicants were judged more suitable for lower-status jobs and less suitable for higher status jobs. Again, speech characteristics affected employment decisions.

Parsons and Liden (1984) collected ratings by interviewers of 517 applicants for seasonal employment at an amusement park. Ratings were of personal style variables, body movement, speech characteristics, and a final judgment of overall qualifications. An analysis of nonverbal cues showed the relative importance of speech

characteristics such as articulation and proper pauses. Variables concerning personal appearance were relatively unimportant.

Kinicki and Lockwood (1985) concluded from their study of 24 recruiters who conducted interviews with senior undergraduate business majors that interviewers rely on impressionistic rather than concrete information. The predictors used were an attraction scale, an index of gender similarity, and applicant sex. Interviewing skills and suitability for hire were assessed by the recruiters. Both were predicted by interview impression and attraction.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this short review of speech style and the employment interview is that speech characteristics can influence the outcome of the interview. The social cues from speech were used to rate individual's suitability for hire and for what level job a person was best suited. Attendance to speech cues in interviews is a factor in evaluation.

College Students As Interviewers. A methodological issue raised in employment interview studies is the use of college students as interviewers. In fact, a majority of the published research used samples of college students as interviewers (Bernstein, Hakel, & Harlan, 1975). A question of generalizability to other populations, specifically, actual employment interviewers,

is raised. The threat may not be as serious as first thought.

Bernstein, Hakel, and Harlan (1975) found no significant differences between college students and interviewers with respect to intercorrelations, variances, interrater agreement, and main effects due to independent variables. They did state that college students tend to be more lenient in rating applicants. Dipboye, Fromkin, and Wiback (1975) reported similar findings. In their study of sex bias in employment interviews they found no difference between college students and professional interviewers. Schmitt (1975) also addressed the threat to generalizability of using college students as interviewees. His conclusion was that the threat may be exaggerated. College students have been found to be as sensitive to behavior such as eye contact, voice tone and body movements in making interview decisions as professional interviewers.

The Present Study

The relationship between powerful/powerless speech style and ratings of certain traits of the speaker is well documented. Unfortunately, some of these studies may have confounded polite forms of speech style with the more powerless forms of question intonation forms, hesitations, and hedges (Bradac et al., 1984). In an

attempt to avoid confounding forms of powerful/powerless speech styles, the present study was limited to three forms: hedges, hesitations and question intonation forms. Bradac et al. (1984) found these forms to be judged least effective and least powerful by subjects. Their findings support the decision to use hedges, hesitations and question intonation forms in a study of the effects of powerless language style. Other studies that have used one or more of these forms include Miller et al. (1964), Sereno and Hawkins (1967), McCroskey et al. (1969), Lakoff (1975), Crosby et al. (1977), Scherer (1979), O'Barr et al. (1980), Bradac et al. (1981), Wright et al. (1983) and Bradac et al. (1984). All of the cited studies produced significant results showing that speakers who used these forms were rated differently than those who did not use these forms.

Written transcripts, tape recordings, and observations of actual speech behavior have been used in studying powerful/powerless speech style. Observations, of course, give the most accurate picture of what people actually say or do. Unfortunately, as a nonexperimental method, observation does not allow one to test cause and effect relationships. Tape recordings can be used in experimental settings and simulate actual speech behaviors. Researchers in the field have stressed that written transcripts have produced results similar to those

using tape recordings. However, tape recordings seem more valid in a study of speech and may generalize more to real-world settings. Tape recordings are used in this study.

This study used tape recordings of simulated employment interviews. Powerful/powerless speech style has been carefully and thoroughly studied in the applied setting of the courtroom and has been found to influence perceptions of the witnesses by jurors. Another setting that depends upon speech to convey information is the employment interview. Earlier research has shown the interviewer to be influenced by many variables other than just an applicant's qualifications (e.g., Arvey et al., 1982). Speech style is a variable that should be studied in employment interviews. It may be a factor that an interviewer consciously or unconsciously takes into account. Bradac and Mulac (1984) used the employment interview setting in a limited way. Subjects were told they were reading short segment from hypothetical job interviews. The subjects then rated this segment using the measures "seems powerful/seems powerless" and "seems effective/ seems ineffective." The present study used a short but complete simulated tape recorded employment interview. To control for levels of qualifications of the applicant, actors used the same script on each tape. Only the number of hedges,

hesitations, and question intonation forms were varied from tape to tape. Examples of hesitations, hedges, and question intonation forms used in this study are listed in Appendix A. Scripts used in the tape recordings are reproduced in Appendix B.

In this study sex of the speaker was held constant. Only males were heard on the tapes to avoid sex differences such as those found by Wright et al. (1983). To hold constant the voice quality of interviewers, one male played the part of the interviewer on all tapes. Two versions of each script were recorded, each with a different male interviewee. Half of the participants heard interviews of one interviewee and half heard interviews of the second interviewee.

The variables chosen for the dependent measures were power, competency, credibility, and uncertainty of the speaker. These, with the exception of uncertainty, have been used in earlier studies of speech style.

A paired comparisons method was used to produce scales of powerful/powerless speech style in this study. Guilford (1954) stated that the paired comparison method could be used whenever stimuli could be presented in pairs. The paired comparison method has its roots in psychophysical methods. In this study, however, the method is used to produce values on a psychological scale rather than a physical scale. Thurstone's law of

comparative judgment provides a rationale for ordering stimuli on a psychological continuum when there is no known physical continuum which to relate the values of the stimuli on the psychological continuum (Edwards, 1957). The law of comparative judgment makes it possible to quantify subjective experience (Edwards, 1957).

Typically, using the method of paired comparisons, all possible pairs of tape recordings would be presented to each judge and each judge would decide which recording sounded more powerful, more credible, more competent, and more uncertain. In this study reduced numbers of pairings were used rather than a complete pairing of all tapes for all participants. Complete pairings of the tapes required one and three-fourths to two hours to play for the participants. A pilot study showed participants to lose interest in the tapes after an hour. Using a reduced number of pairings the experiment was completed within an hour. McCormick and Bachus (1952) and McCormick and Roberts (1952) concluded that partial pairings resulted in fairly high correlations with ratings based on complete pairings. In this study, each possible pair was presented three times. Each pair was presented once in the first, second and third position of each set of pairs. Of three presentations the order of a particular pair is reversed at least once. Overall, each

tape is presented first six times and second six times. Each pair was compared forty-eight times.

Researchers have used observations of actual behavior to produce transcripts of powerless speech (speech using a large number of the powerless forms) or powerful speech (speech using few of the powerless forms) (Erickson et al., 1978). It has not been determined if the points between the endpoints of the continuum of powerful/powerless speech style are rated differently from one another. This study produces a scale of the powerful/powerless speech style based on five levels of powerful/powerless speech style.

It is hypothesized that there is a linear relationship between the number of powerless speech forms present in the speech of a job applicant and the ratings of the applicant's power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty. Specifically, tape recordings of the applicant using fewer hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms will be rated as sounding more powerful, more competent, and more credible. However, an increase in powerless speech forms will result in the applicant being rated as sounding more uncertain.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

Research Design

The first step of the research was to develop a set of taped interviews which could be scaled on the dimension of powerfulness of speech style. Five tapes were prepared with systematic variation in the number of hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms used by the persons speaking on the tapes.

Judgments along four dimensions were obtained from participants. The dimensions were powerfulness, competence, credibility, and uncertainty. A pair of tapes was presented to each judge, and a judgment of more/less powerful, more/less competent, more/less credible, and more/less uncertain was solicited by the researcher.

Data so obtained satisfied the statistical model for a paired comparison analysis (Guilford, 1954).

Participants

Participants were 40 male and 40 female undergraduate students at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, enrolled in psychology courses. Potential participants were told the study involved listening to tapes of simulated job interviews and rating the job

applicant. Participants received bonus credits in their psychology courses for participating in the experiment.

Procedure

Five tapes were recorded with five levels of the speech style characteristics of interest, hedges, question intonation forms, and hesitations. The number of characteristics in each tape are listed in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. The number of speech characteristics in the five tape recordings.

	Tape				
	A	B	C	D	E
Hedges	1	5	10	15	20
Question					
Intonations	2	3	4	5	6
Hesitations	15	25	35	45	55

In terms of speech style, Tape A is the most powerful and Tape E is the least powerful. The scripts for the tapes are included in Appendix B.

Two males recorded each of the five variations for a total of ten tapes. The script for each tape

conveyed the same information about the job applicant. On each tape the same interviewer asked the same questions from a structured interview form. The tapes were from 3.25 minutes to 4.22 minutes long.

To produce an interval level scale of powerful/powerless style a paired comparison was used. This method shows which tapes are perceived as most powerful by participants and indicates the psychological distance between the five samples of speech style.

Each tape was paired with every other tape for a total of ten combinations. The combinations were:

AB AC AD AE BC BD BE CD CE DE

The ten pairs were arranged in groups of three. Each pair appeared in three groups or sets. This arrangement allowed ten sets of three pairs. Each tape was heard twelve times and each pair was heard three times. The arrangement of the sets for the first male voice is presented in Table 3.2. The order within the pairs was reversed for the second male voice. Each participant heard two sets of tapes, that is, six pairs. Sets were of the same voice. Sets were randomly assigned to be played at the sessions.

Participants signed an attendance sheet as they arrived. The researcher's assistant handed out the job description, rating forms and pencils. She explained that after the participants read the job description they would

Table 3.2. Arrangements of sets for presentation of the first male voice.

Set	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	AB	BD	AE	AC	CE	AD	CB	EB	ED	CD
	CA	AB	EB	DA	EA	DE	DC	BC	DB	EC
	BC	DA	BA	CD	AC	EA	BD	CE	BE	DE

hear pairs of speech samples of a simulated job interview. The participants were instructed that after hearing each pair they should judge whether sample one or sample two was more powerful, more competent, more credible, and more uncertain. The job description is presented in Appendix C and the rating form is presented in Appendix D.

The participants were given about one minute to make their decisions before the next pair was played. After three pairs were played the participants were given a three minute break. After listening to the second set of tapes and completing the form the participants were thanked and given credit forms for participating.

Measures

Four measures were used in this study: power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty. These were

measured by having the participant state which of two tape recordings sounded more powerful, more competent, more credible, and more uncertain. Participants were not given definitions of the terms.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

This chapter includes the results of the data collection and analysis accompanied by tables and figures. The strategy of analysis is discussed first. This is followed by an analysis of the data for each of the variables, power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the scale values.

Strategy of Analysis

A paired comparisons method was used to develop psychological scales of powerful/powerless speech style based upon the ratings of the applicant's power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty. Psychological scaling helps determine whether the stimuli of interest can be ordered on a psychological continuum with respect to the amount of the attribute each possesses (Edwards, 1957). A scale was produced for power, credibility, competence, and uncertainty.

The procedure for scaling using the paired comparisons method was as follows:

1. A frequency matrix for each variable was derived. This entailed counting how many times a tape

was chosen as having more of the attribute in question than each of the other tapes.

2. A proportion matrix was produced from the the frequency matrix. This entailed dividing the number of times a tape was chosen over another tape by 48, the number of times each tape was compared to another tape.

3. A Z matrix was generated using the proportion matrix and the normal curve tables. A number within the matrix represented the distance between the tapes listed on a particular row and column for the attribute in question.

4. The columns in the Z matrix were summed and the mean for each column was calculated. These means could serve as scale values. In this study, the value 0 was given to the lowest rated tape in the list and the absolute value of this tape was added to all other tape means. Adding a constant to the deviation scale values does not change the distance between any of the scale values nor does it change the relative location of the values on the psychological continuum (Edwards, 1957).

5. As the final step, a chi-square was done as a test of internal consistency. This test of internal consistency involved an attempt to reproduce the original proportion matrix from the scale values obtained for the tapes. A chi-square determines how well the empirically derived proportions agree with those proportions expected

in terms of the derived values on the scale. A matrix containing the expected scale separations was produced using the obtained scale positions of the tapes. The expected scale separations and the normal curve tables. Each proportion was then transformed to a statistic theta whose sampling distribution is normal. This was necessary because many of the proportions were close to 1 and were in a region of sampling distributions which are not normal. Two matrices were generated, one from actual proportions and one from expected proportions. The chi-square formula applied is

$$\chi^2 = \frac{N}{821} \sum (\theta - \theta')^2$$

and the degrees of freedom formula is

$$df = \frac{(n - 1)(n - 2)}{2}$$

All scaling was done under the assumptions of Thurstone's Case V. Case V assumes that the discriminial dispersions are all equal. If the chi-square, the final step in the procedure, is not significant the application of Case V assumptions is acceptable. For the attributes of powerfulness, competency, credibility, and uncertainty Case V assumptions were acceptable.

Power

The proportion matrix for the power variable was derived from the frequency of times each tape was chosen over every other tape as sounding more powerful. The proportion matrix for power is shown in Table 4.1. Because one cell was 1.0 and one was 0.0 it was necessary to use the method of scaling incomplete data as detailed by Edwards (1957). A Z matrix, derived from the proportion matrix and normal curve tables is shown in Table 4.2. From the Z matrix a matrix of successive differences of the column entries of the Z matrix was produced. This matrix is presented in Table 4.3. The mean of the column values was used to derive the scale values.

Table 4.1. The proportion matrix of the power ratings.

Tape	A	B	C	D	E
A	-	.208	.104	.021	.021
B	.792	-	.188	.104	0.000
C	.896	.813	-	.250	.208
D	.979	.896	.750	-	.333
E	.979	1.000	.792	.667	-

Table 4.2. The Z matrix for the power ratings.

Tape	A	B	C	D	E
A	0.000	- .813	-1.259	-2.034	-2.034
B	.813	0.000	- .885	-1.259	-
C	1.259	.889	0.000	- .674	- .813
D	2.034	1.259	.674	0.000	- .432
E	2.034	-	.813	.432	0.000

Table 4.3. The matrix of successive differences of the column entries of the Z matrix.

Tape		D - E	C - D	B - C	A - B
A	-	0.000	.775	.446	.813
B	-	-	.374	.885	.813
C	-	.139	.674	.885	.374
D	-	.432	.674	.585	.775
E	-	.432	.381	-	-
Sum	-	1.003	2.878	2.801	2.775
n	-	4	5	4	4
Mean	-	.251	.576	.700	.694
Scale Values	0	.25	.82	1.52	2.21

It happened that the ordering of the amount of powerless speech forms was in accord with the ordering of the tapes based upon the column sums of the proportion matrix. No rearrangement of the rows and columns was necessary. Tape A contained the fewest hedges, hesitation forms, and question intonation forms and was rated most powerful. Ratings of B, C, D, and E followed in that order.

Using the method for incomplete data resulted in the same relative scale values as the method used for credibility, competence, and uncertainty. For the method of incomplete data the scale separations of adjacent tapes were computed. For complete data the scale values are stated in terms of their deviations from the mean of all scale values (Edwards, 1957).

Competency

The proportion matrix for competency was derived from the frequency of times each tape was chosen over every other tape as sounding more competent. This matrix is shown in Table 4.4. A Z matrix derived from the proportion matrix and normal curve tables is shown in Table 4.5. The scale values for competence were developed from this matrix. A chi-square calculated to check for internal consistency was not significant. Therefore, the data fits the Case V assumptions.

Table 4.4. The proportion matrix of the competence ratings.

Tape	A	B	C	D	E
A	-	.188	.104	.083	.063
B	.813	-	.188	.167	.021
C	.896	.813	-	.229	.188
D	.917	.833	.771	-	.396
E	.938	.979	.813	.604	-

Table 4.5. The Z matrix used to derive the scale values for the competence variable.

Tape	A	B	C	D	E
A	-	- .885	-1.259	-1.385	-1.538
B	.885	-	- .885	- .966	-2.034
C	1.259	.885	-	- .742	- .885
D	1.385	.966	.742	-	- .264
E	1.538	2.034	.885	.264	-
Sum	5.067	3.000	- .517	-2.829	-4.721
Mean	1.013	.600	- .103	- .566	- .944
Scale Value	1.957	1.544	.841	.378	0

The ordering of the amount of powerless speech forms was in accord with the ordering of the tapes based upon the column sums of the proportion matrices. Therefore, no rearrangement of the rows and columns in the tables was necessary. Tape A contained the fewest question intonation forms, hesitations, and hedges and was rated the most competent sounding. Ratings for tapes B, C, D, and E followed, in that order. Scale values ranged from 0 to 1.96.

Credibility

The proportion matrix for credibility is shown in Table 4.6. Thurstone's Case V (Guilford, 1954) was applied to the data. Table 4.7. shows the Z matrix derived from the above proportion matrix and the normal curve tables. Each column of the Z matrix was summed and the means calculated. The absolute value of the lowest column mean was added to each of the column means to produce the scale values.

Scale values ranged from 0 to 1.9. Tape A was rated as most credible and tapes B, C, D, and E followed, in that order. Tape A contained the fewest hedges, question intonation forms, and hesitations and tape E contained the most. No rearrangement of the rows and columns in the tables was necessary since the ordering of the amount of powerless speech style forms was in

Table 4.6. The proportion matrix of the credibility ratings.

Tape	A	B	C	D	E
A	-	.208	.167	.042	.083
B	.792	-	.208	.104	.021
C	.833	.792	-	.250	.167
D	.958	.896	.750	-	.396
E	.917	.979	.833	.604	-

Table 4.7. The Z matrix for the credibility ratings.

Tape	A	B	C	D	E
A	-	- .813	- .966	- 1.728	-1.385
B	.813	-	- .813	-1.259	-2.034
C	.966	.813	-	- .674	- .966
D	1.728	1.259	.674	-	- .264
E	1.385	2.034	.966	.264	-
Sum	4.892	3.293	- .139	-3.397	-4.649
Mean	.978	.659	- .028	- .679	- .930
Scale Value	1.908	1.589	.902	.251	0

agreement with the ordering of the tapes based upon the column sums of the proportion matrix.

The chi-square, done to test internal consistency was not significant at the $p < .01$ level. Since it was not significant there was no concern about incorrectly applying Case V assumptions.

Uncertainty

A proportion matrix for the uncertain ratings was developed from the frequency of times each tape was chosen over every other tape. The matrix is given in Table 4.8. Table 4.9. presents the Z matrix generated from the proportion matrix and the normal curve tables. Each column of the Z matrix was summed and the column mean calculated. The absolute value of the lowest column mean was added to each of the column means to produce the scale values.

Tape E was rated as most uncertain. It was followed, in order, by D, C, B, and A. Tape E contained the greatest number of hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms and tape A contained the least. No rearrangement of the rows and columns in the tables was necessary since the ordering of the amount of hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms was in keeping with the ordering of the tapes based upon the column sums of the proportion matrix.

Table 4.8. The proportion matrix for the uncertainty ratings.

Tape	A	B	C	D	E
A	-	.813	.938	.958	.958
B	.188	-	.813	.938	.939
C	.063	.188	-	.688	.813
D	.042	.063	.313	-	.625
E	.042	.063	.188	.375	-

Table 4.9. The Z matrix for the uncertainty ratings.

Tape	A	B	C	D	E
A	-	.899	1.538	1.728	1.728
B	- .855	-	.899	1.538	1.538
C	-1.530	- .885	-	.490	.889
D	-1.728	-1.530	- .487	-	.319
E	-1.728	-1.530	- .885	- .319	-
Sum	-5.871	-3.060	1.055	3.437	4.474
Mean	-1.174	- .612	.211	.687	.895
Scale Value	0	.562	1.385	1.861	2.069

An internal consistency check showed that the assumptions of Case V were applicable to this data. The chi-square was not significant at the $p < .01$ level.

Scale Values

Graphs of the scale values for the four scales of powerful/powerless speech style are presented in pairs in Figures 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6. The scales are interval level.

Actual scale values were:

	A	B	C	D	E
Power	2.21	1.52	.82	.25	0
Competency	1.96	1.54	.84	.38	0
Credibility	1.91	1.59	.90	.25	0
Uncertainty	0	.56	1.39	1.86	2.07

In the cases of power, competence, and credibility tape A was rated as possessing the most of these traits. Tape B was rated second highest in possessing these traits and was followed in order by tapes C, D, and E. For the scale using the variable uncertain, tape E was rated as possessing the most uncertainty. Tape D was rated second highest in uncertainty and was followed in order by tapes C, B, and A.

It should be noted that the number of hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms increased in an orderly fashion from script to script. However, the scale

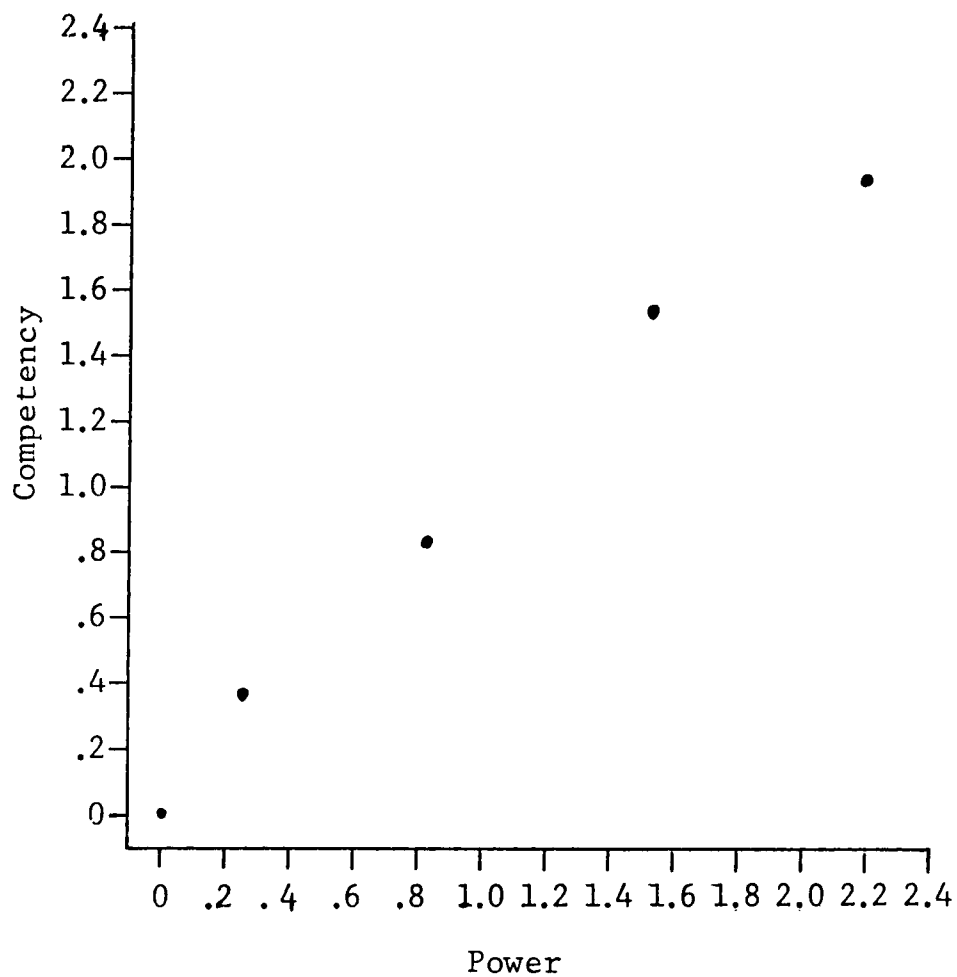


Figure 4.1. A graphic plot of the scale values of the power and competency ratings.

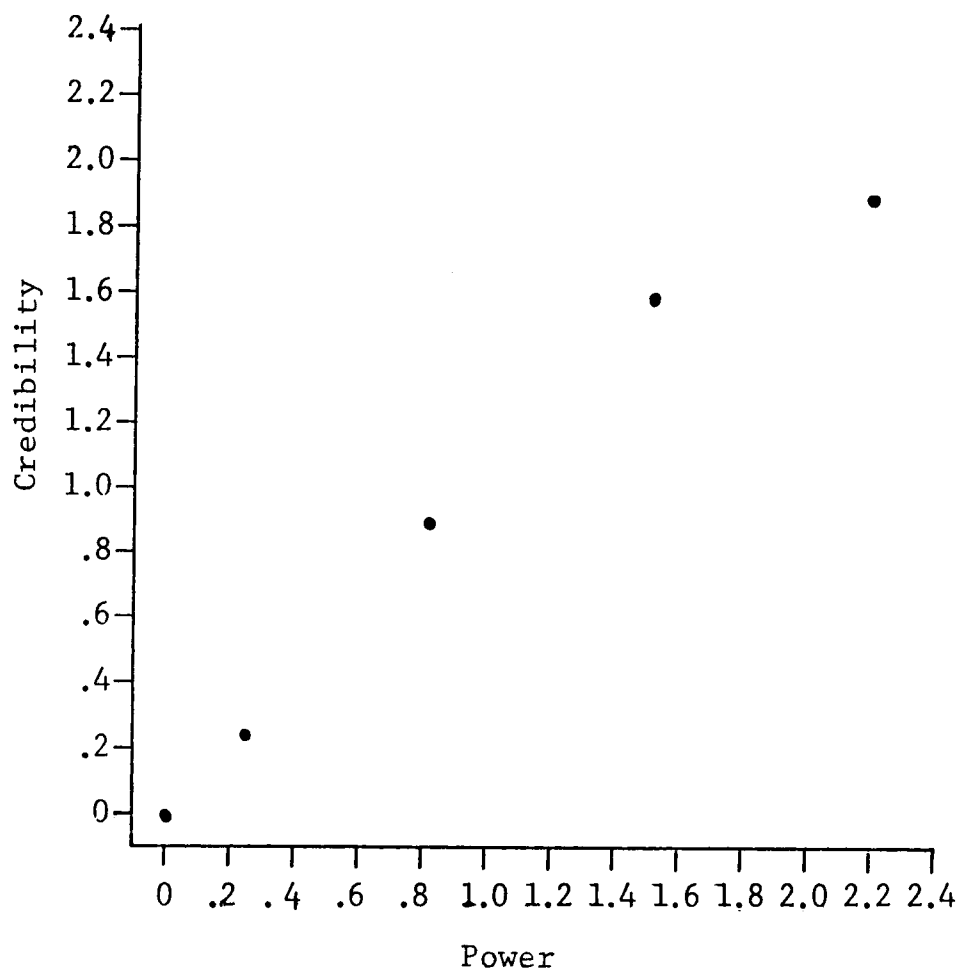


Figure 4.2. A graphic plot of the scale values of the power and credibility ratings.

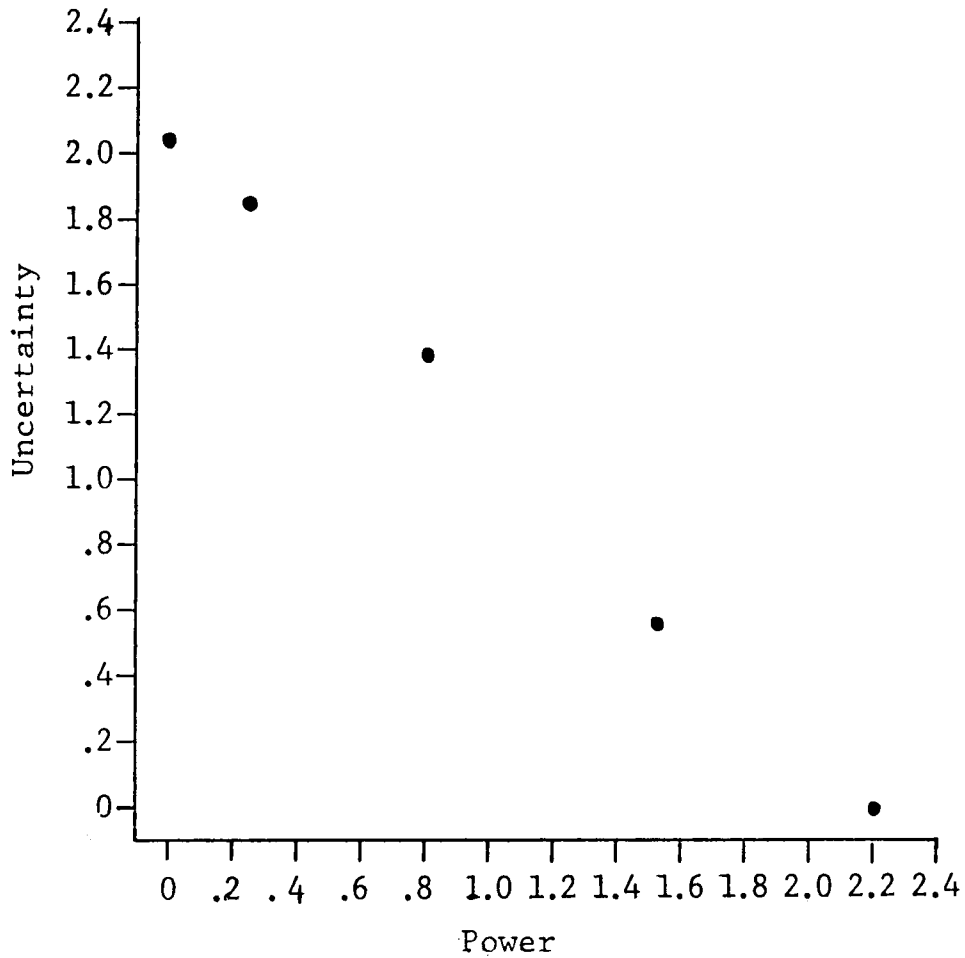


Figure 4.3. A graphic plot of the scale values of the power and uncertainty ratings.

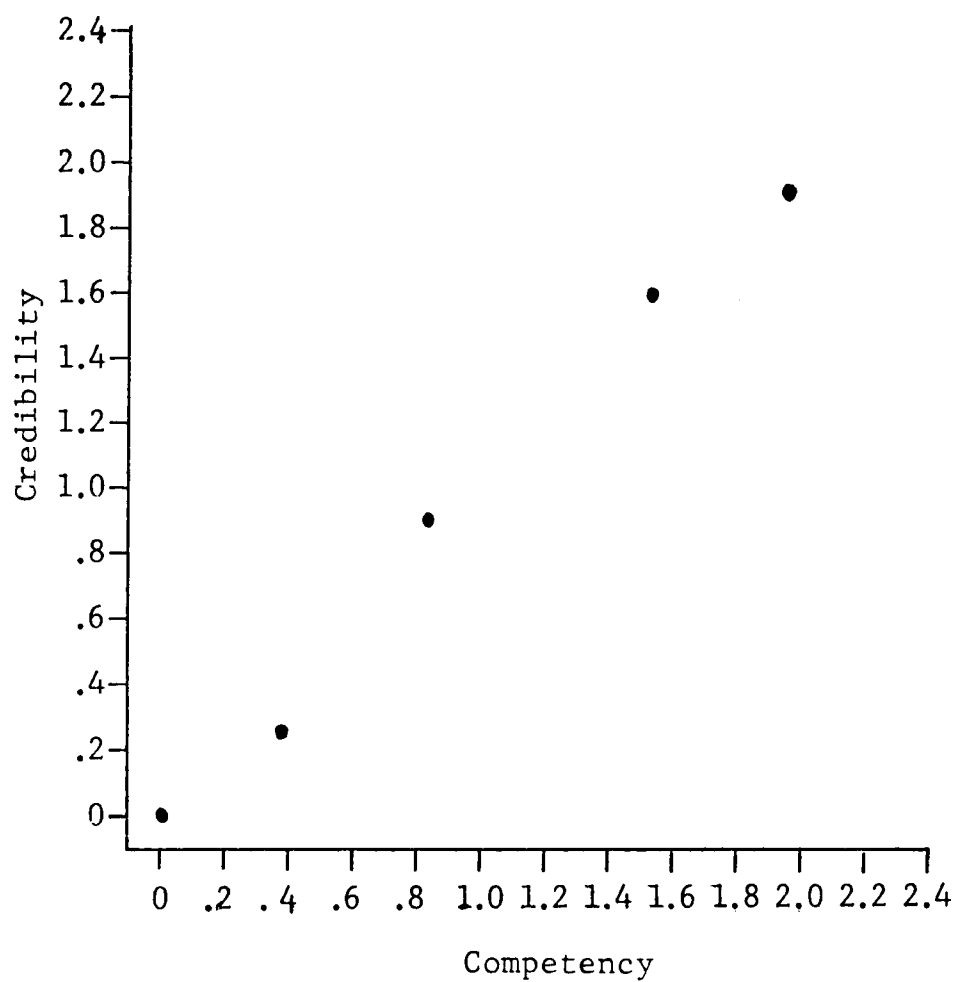


Figure 4.4. A graphic plot of the scale values of the competency and credibility ratings.

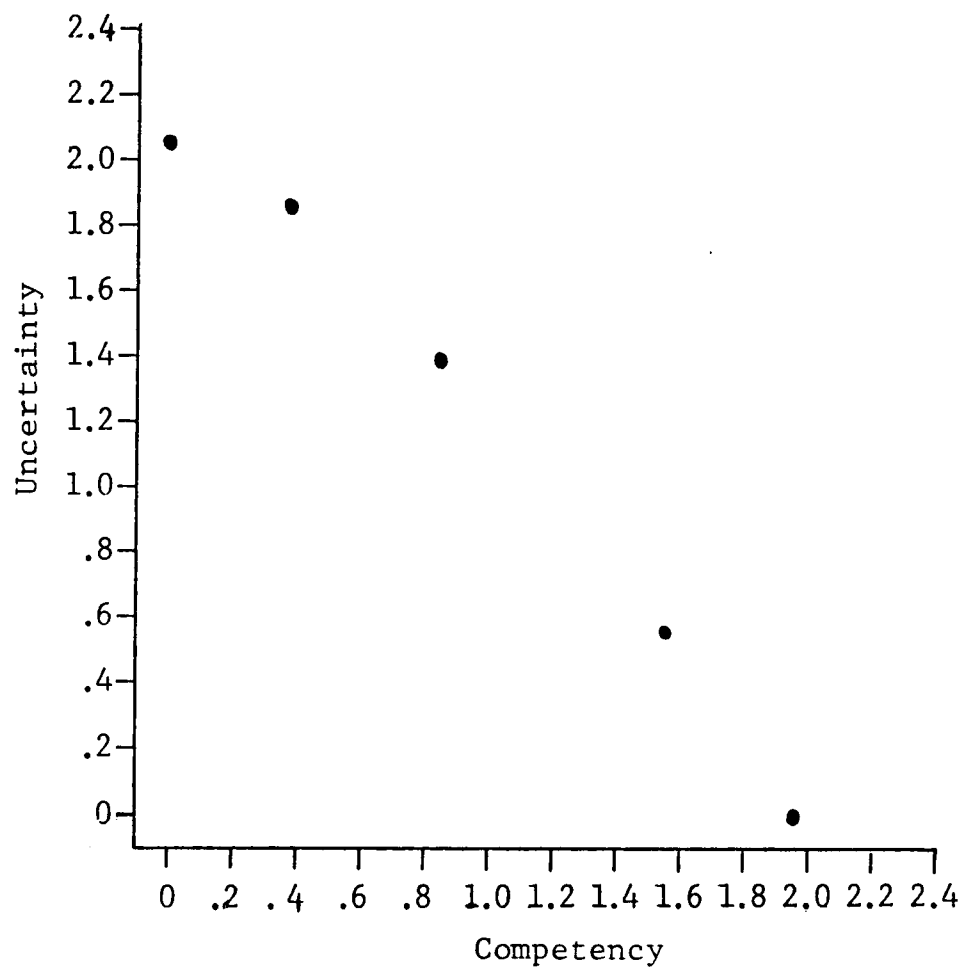


Figure 4.5. A graphic plot of the scale values of the competency and uncertainty ratings.

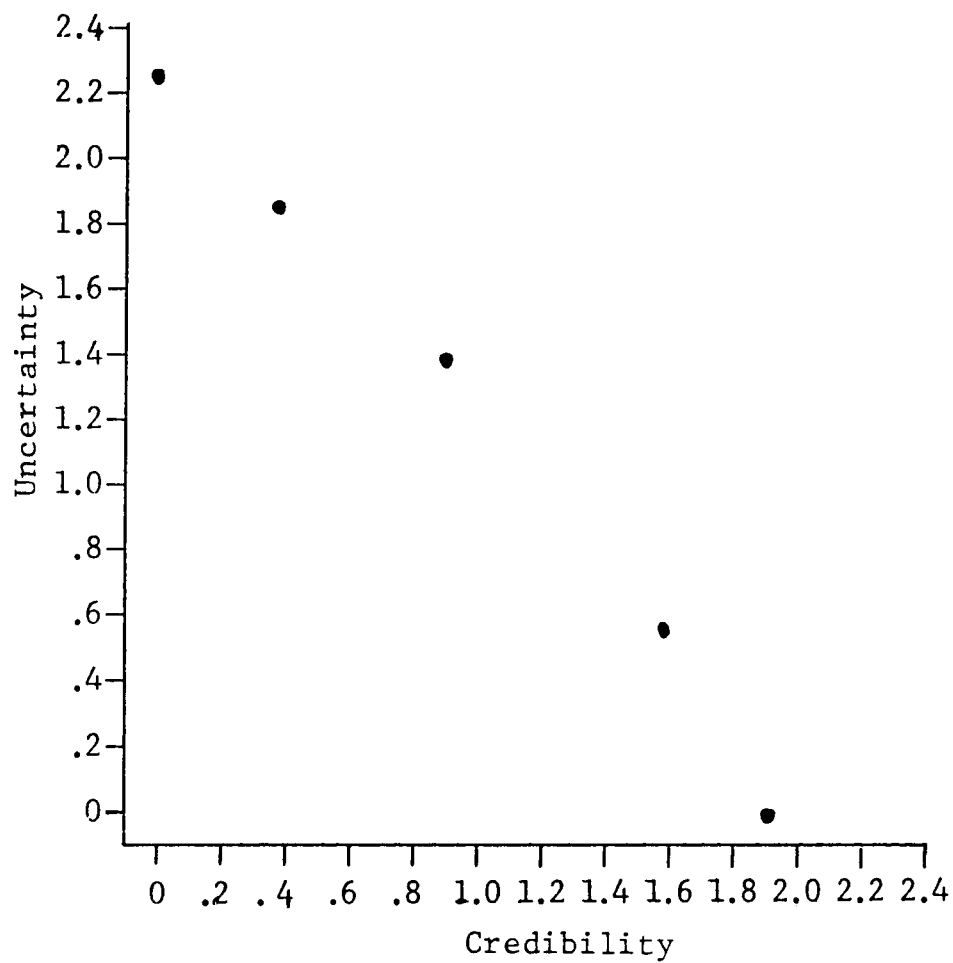


Figure 4.6. A graphic plot of the scale values of the credibility and uncertainty ratings.

values are not separated by equal intervals. For the scales of power, credibility, and uncertainty the distance between tapes D and E is the smallest of the distances between any other two adjacent tapes.

For the ratings of power, the distances between A and B and B and C are very similar. Competence ratings show a large separation between B and C. The other intervals for the competence scale are similar to one another. The scale values of credibility show less distance between A and B than for B and C or C and D. The distances between B and C and between C and D are nearly equal. Scale values of uncertainty show the greatest separation between B and C.

Across scales, tapes B and C, C and D, and D and E have similar intervals. The intervals between tapes A and B fluctuate widely.

A Pearson r correlation coefficient was calculated for each pair of scales. The six correlations are presented in the correlation matrix in Table 4.10. All correlations are .99 or greater.

Table 4.10 Correlation matrix of the scales of power, competency, credibility, and uncertainty.

Variables	Power	Competency	Credibility	Uncertainty
Power	-	.99	.99	-1.00
Competency		-	.99	-1.00
Credibility			-	- .99
Uncertainty				-

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

This chapter reviews the findings of this research project. In addition, implications of the study are discussed. Directions for future research are also suggested.

Summary of Results

As predicted, ratings of power, competence, and credibility decreased as the number of hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms increased. And, as predicted, ratings of uncertainty increased as the number of powerless speech style forms used increased. The relationship between the ratings and the number of powerless speech style forms used in a tape recording was monotonic rather than linear. An equal increase in the number of powerless speech style forms from tape to tape did not generate an equal increase in scale ratings from tape to tape.

Correlation coefficients of the scales showed them to be highly related. The four dimensions, power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty, may actually represent only one underlying dimension to the subjects. An halo effect in responding to the speech samples could explain such strong correlations of .99 and -1.0. That

is, once the participant rated the sample as more powerful than the other sample the participant assumed it sounded more competent, more credible, and more ~~uncertain~~.

Scales of the psychological distance between levels of powerless speech style showed the intervals varied from tape to tape. The distance between tapes D and E was the smallest across the power, competency, and uncertainty scales. Tapes D and E contained the highest numbers of powerless speech forms. For the credibility scale the smallest interval was between tapes A and B. The largest interval over all tapes was between tapes B and C on the uncertainty scale. In fact, within each scale B and C was always the largest interval.

Practical Implications

This study makes a major contribution in showing that people can discriminate between different levels of powerful/powerless speech style when the levels contain varying numbers of powerless forms. Past studies of powerful/powerless speech style have used two extremes in their speech samples. The powerful speech style was portrayed with few of the forms associated with powerless speech style. The more powerless style contained a large number of many of the powerless speech forms. Researchers should not assume that speech style is a dichotomous, all or none, variable. This study systematically varied the

number of powerless forms between speech samples. Judges easily discriminated between the five levels. There is a clear relationship between a speaker's speech style and a listener's perceptions of the speaker. This study has shown that listener's can discriminate on the basis of small increases of the powerless speech style forms in the speech samples. Earlier studies dichotomized powerful/powerless speech style and may have, in essence, deluged the listeners with powerless forms in the powerless speech style condition.

This study has shown that perceptions of power, competence, credibility and uncertainty are affected by the number of hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms in a speech sample. It appears, however, that an equal increase in powerless speech style does not generate an equal increase in a scale rating. The intervals between adjacent tapes are often not equal even though the number of powerless forms increased the same amount from tape to tape. In three scales the interval distance between tapes D and E was the smallest. In the scale of uncertainty the interval distance from tape B to C was much larger than the interval distances between any other two adjacent tapes. For some traits a small increase in powerless forms at the lower end of the speech style continuum (tape A and B) greatly changes ratings. For several different ratings, the same increase in

powerless forms at the upper end, that is tapes D and E, changes the ratings little. There may be a point where adding more forms does not change ratings and another point where adding a small number of powerless forms does greatly change the ratings. This is reminiscent of Weber's law which states that "'A stimulus must be increased by a constant fraction of its value to be just noticeably different'" (Woodworth & Schlosberg, 1965, p. 194). The number of powerless speech style forms must be increased more and more from speech sample to speech sample to get the same intervals in the scales of power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty that were produced at the lower end of the speech style continuum. More powerless speech style forms must be added to tape D, for example, to produce the same size interval on the scale between D and E than would be needed to add to A to get that size interval between A and B. It appears, then, that as the number of powerless speech style forms increases in a speech sample the task of discriminating between adjacent speech samples becomes more difficult. This observation has not been made in previous research articles on the topic.

The scales produced in this study present evidence that there is little psychological distance between 15 and 20 hedges, 5 and 6 question intonation forms, and 45 and 55 hesitations for ratings of power,

competence, credibility, and uncertainty. It seems to make a large difference between 5 and 10 hedges, 3 and 4 question intonation forms, and 25 to 35 hesitations in terms of uncertainty but not credibility, power, and competence. Depending on the trait being measured, the listener may be more sensitive to the presence of hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms.

The measurement of uncertainty was unique to this study. McMillan et al. (1977) argued that certain powerless speech forms connoted uncertainty. In their judgment these were the modal constructions, intensifiers, tag questions, and imperative constructions. Using different powerless speech forms, the present study had subjects judge which of a pair of tapes sounded more uncertain. Subjects choose the ones with more of the hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms. This may explain why ratings of credibility are so affected by a powerless speech style. Rather than appearing deceitful the speaker may merely sound unsure of himself or herself to listeners. In turn, the listeners will not put great stock in statements of which the speaker seems unsure.

Another contribution of this study was in using the applied setting of the employment interview. This setting has been used in a limited way before with written transcripts of simulated job interviews. However, the present study used voice recordings for the subjects to

judge power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty. This study provides a scale of powerlessness based upon varying amounts of powerless speech forms. It paves the way for more research that varies applicant sex, qualifications, and job level as well as speech style. Arvey et al. (1982) acknowledged that various psychological variables influence an interviewer's judgment of an applicant's suitability for hire. From the results of this study it can be surmised that powerful/powerless speech style may be one of these variables. If this proves to be the case, training programs and publications can make speakers more aware of the influence of the powerless speech style and encourage them to avoid using this style. Interviewers need to be especially careful of the possible discrimination against applicants who use the powerless speech style. If this style is indeed a reflection of low status, and women are most likely to be in this position, then interviewers may be, inadvertently, discriminating against women as a group.

The scales produced in this project can be used as a guide for producing new scripts for use in other research projects. The interview questions were taken from various structured interview forms. The arrangement of the questions in the script were such that the applicant could detail his education, work history, and

relevant experience in a logical manner without sounding as if he was reading a resume. The script was written and then read aloud without any powerless speech forms included to determine if the script sounded believable. The scripts included three of the most powerless speech style forms, hedges, hesitations, and question intonation forms. Bradac and Mulac (1984) showed that hesitations, hedges, and question intonation forms were judged as powerless and ineffective and less likely to create the desired impression of authoritativeness. They contended that these more powerless forms may have been confounded with polite linguistic forms in other studies. In this study, the powerless speech style forms were systematically included in each script. Five hedges, one question intonation form and ten hesitations were added to the script to be recorded as tape A. Again, the script was read aloud to be sure the added powerless speech style forms sounded natural. Examples of hesitations and hedges were taken from studies by Lakoff (1975) and O'Barr (1981). The script for tape B used the script for tape A but added five more hedges, one more question intonation form, and ten more hesitations. Each subsequent script built on the one before it, adding the same number of powerless forms each time.

Directions for Future Research

Research on person perception and social psychological variables is growing. Powerful/powerless speech style has been shown to influence ratings of speakers in a simulated courtroom. More work must be done to determine if the phenomenon occurs in other applied settings such as the job interview. Too, as a factor in person perception it should be thoroughly investigated to determine just how strong the impact of powerful/powerless speech style is.

Investigations of the variables that influence hiring decisions should include powerful/powerless speech style as one of those variables. Studies reported in this literature review have considered speech styles that reflect ethnic and foreign accents to be a factor in hiring decisions. Interviewers' perceptions of the applicant do influence their judgments (Arvey et al., 1982). This study has shown that speech style does influence raters' perceptions of the the speaker's power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty and thereby could influence hiring decisions.

Future projects can expand the findings of this study by manipulating levels of qualifications, sex of speaker, and job level to determine if these moderate the effects of speech style. Some suggested research questions are:

1. Do more qualified people with a powerless speech style receive lower ratings than a less qualified person with a powerful speech style?
2. Do ratings of men and women with qualifications and speech style held constant differ?
3. Are the effects of speech style on ratings effected by the level of the job the applicant is seeking?
4. Does sex of the rater (employment interviewer) effect his or her ratings of applicants with different speech styles?

The above may be more easily manipulated in the laboratory but it is important to observe what happens in actual employment interviews. A first step is to have actual interviewers rate tapes of applicants or actors portraying applicants. Second, observations and analysis of actual job interviews should be done. Many more constraints on the interviewer and the applicant are present in the actual interview setting than can be duplicated in the laboratory.

The scales produced in this study can be used in future studies as a guide for producing new scripts. The researcher can feel secure in the knowledge that even small increases in the powerless forms will affect ratings of the speaker.

In conclusion, powerful/powerless speech style as defined by the number of hesitations, hedges, and question

intonation forms shows a monotonic relationship with ratings of power, competence, credibility, and uncertainty. The interval distances between the scale values were not equal even though the powerless speech characteristics increased equally from script to script. The conclusion to be drawn is that people do discriminate between relatively small increases of powerless speech style forms in speech.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

EXAMPLES OF HEDGES, HESITATIONS, AND QUESTION INTONATIONS

Hedges

Examples from Lakoff (1975)

well	I guess
y'know	I think
kinda	I wonder

Examples from O'Barr (1980)

sort of
a little
kind of

Question Intonations

Includes from Lakoff (1975)

tag questions
rising intonation on a declarative statement

Hesitations

Examples from O'Barr (1980)

uh	let's see
um	now
ah	so
oh well	you see

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

SCRIPTS USED IN TAPE RECORDINGS

Tape A

1. Q. Good afternoon Mr. Bates. It's a pleasure to meet you. Please make yourself comfortable.

A. Thank you. I'm "um" glad to have the opportunity to talk with you today.

2. Q. I see that you are here for the position of administrative assistant.

A. "Ah" Yes, I am.

3. Q. Let's begin with your present job. I'd like to know what your day-to-day activities and your special responsibilities are.

A. I am "uh" presently employed with the Bee Corp. as Director of Development. Some of my day-to-day activities include supervising a staff of 15 employees, working with other department heads in the Bee Corp., and reviewing plans for future market research, troubleshooting problems in current research, and reviewing results of completed projects.

I am "uh" responsible for the quality and direction of the research of my department. Within this, I "ah" must work with other department directors on long-range planning and be sure my department is doing its part, right? Supervising the fifteen people in my department "um" entails interviewing potential employees, completing performance reviews, and coordinating their day-to-day activities.

4. Q. Please give me the highlights of your full-time jobs from your first one up to the present job. I'd like to know the job functions and responsibilities you preformed.

A. My first job was as an Executive Scout Director. In this job I was responsible for recruiting and "uh" coordinating the efforts of volunteer scout leaders in a three county area. To recruit leaders I spoke at community club meetings and

"um" put together information packets to be given out within the counties. When someone would volunteer to be a leader I had to be sure they were properly trained in scouting procedures. During the year I would organize meetings for the leaders. At these meetings we would discuss needs and problems, work on solutions, and disseminate information.

I left the scouts after one year to work with the "ah" LMN Corp. as Business Manager. At LMN I was in charge of procurement, inventory control, and resource budgeting. I also did some contract administration work there. I was with LMN Corp. for five years.

5. Q. What has given you your greatest feeling of accomplishment?
A. I most enjoy supervising a staff and the feeling of being an important part of an organization?
6. Q. How have you felt about your progress over the years?
A. In the last 10 years I have had three jobs that increased in responsibility and salary. "Um" I am happy with my progress.
7. Q. What strengths do you have that qualify you for the job of Administrative Assistant?
A. Well, I have supervisory experience and am "um" familiar with the importance of good coordination between departments. I have worked with budgets and records and long range planning. I do have a knowledge of management procedures, the required education, and "um" experience.
8. Q. In regards to education, what is your background?
A. I graduated from the University of "um" South Carolina at Columbia with a B.S. and an MBA in Management.
9. Q. May I contact your previous employers for references?
A. Yes, that "uh" would be fine.

10. Q. Thank you for coming in today to interview.
We'll be contacting you shortly about the
position.

A. Yes, "uh" thank you.

Tape B

1. Q. Good afternoon Mr. Bates. It's a pleasure to meet you. Please make yourself comfortable.

A. Thank you. I'm "um" glad to have the opportunity to talk with you today.

2. Q. I see that you are here for the position of administrative assistant.

A. "Ah" Yes, I am.

3. Q. Let's begin with your present job. I'd like to know what your day-to-day activities and your special responsibilities are.

A. "Well," I am "uh" presently employed with the Bee Corp. as Director of Development. "I guess" some of my day-to-day activities include "uh" supervising a staff of 15 employees, working with other department heads in the Bee Corp., and reviewing plans for future market research, troubleshooting problems in current research, and "let's see" reviewing results of completed projects.

I am "uh" responsible for the quality and direction of the research of my department. Within this, I "ah" must work with other department directors on long-range planning and be sure my department is doing its part, right? Supervising the fifteen people in my department "um" entails interviewing potential employees, completing performance reviews, and coordinating their day-to-day activities.

4. Q. Please give me the highlights of your full-time jobs from your first one up to the present job. I'd like to know the job functions and responsibilities you preformed.

A. "Now" my first job was as an "um" Executive Scout Director. In this job I was responsible for recruiting and "uh" coordinating the efforts of volunteer scout leaders in a three county area. To recruit leaders I spoke at community club meetings and "um" put together information packets to be given out within the counties. When someone would volunteer to be a leader I had to "kinda" be sure they were properly trained in scouting procedures. During the year I would organize

meetings for the leaders. At these meetings we would "um" discuss needs and problems, work on solutions, and disseminate information. I left the scouts after "oh, well," one year to work with the "ah" LMN Corp. as Business Manager. At LMN I was in charge of procurement, inventory control, and "uh" resource budgeting. I also did some contract administration work there. I was with LMN Corp. for five years.

5. Q. What has given you your greatest feeling of accomplishment?

A. "Let's see," I most enjoy supervising a staff and the feeling of being an important part of an organization?

6. Q. How have you felt about your progress over the years?

A. "I think" in the last 10 years I have had three jobs that increased in responsibility and salary. "So," "um" I am happy with my progress.

7. Q. What strengths do you have that qualify you for the job of Administrative Assistant?

A. "Well," I have supervisory experience and am "um" familiar with the importance of good coordination between departments. I have worked with budgets and records and long range planning. I do have a knowledge of management procedures, the required education, and "um" experience.

8. Q. In regards to education, what is your background?

A. "Ah," I graduated from the University of "um" South Carolina, at Columbia?, with a B.S. and an MBA in Management.

9. Q. May I contact your previous employers for references?

A. Yes, that "uh" would be fine.

10. Q. Thank you for coming in today to interview. We'll be contacting you shortly about the position.

A. Yes, "uh" thank you.

Tape C

1. Q. Good afternoon Mr. Bates. It's a pleasure to meet you. Please make yourself comfortable.

A. Thank you. I'm "um" glad to have the "uh" opportunity to talk with you today.

2. Q. I see that you are here for the position of administrative assistant.

A. "Ah" Yes, I am.

3. Q. Let's begin with your present job. I'd like to know what your day-to-day activities and your special responsibilities are.

A. "Well," I am "uh" presently employed with the Bee Corp. as Director of Development. "I guess" some of my day-to-day activities include "uh" supervising a staff of 15 employees, working with other department heads in the Bee Corp., and reviewing plans for future market research, troubleshooting problems in current research, and "let's see" reviewing results of completed projects.

"Let's see" I am "uh" responsible for the quality and direction of the research of my department. Within this, I "ah" must work with other department directors on long-range planning and be sure my department is "uh" doing its part, right? "So" supervising the fifteen people in my department "um" entails interviewing potential employees, completing performance reviews, and "well" coordinating their "uh" "y'know" day-to-day activities.

4. Q. Please give me the highlights of your full-time jobs from your first one up to the present job. I'd like to know the job functions and responsibilities you preformed.

A. "Now" my first job was as an "um" Executive Scout Director. In this job I was responsible for recruiting and "uh" coordinating the efforts of volunteer scout leaders in a three county area. To "um" recruit leaders I spoke at community club meetings and "um" put together information packets to be given out within the counties. When someone would volunteer to be a leader I had to "kinda" be sure they were properly trained in scouting

procedures. During the year I would organize meetings for the leaders. "You see" at these meetings we would "um" discuss needs and problems, work on solutions, and disseminate information.

"Uh" I left the scouts after "oh, well," one year to work with the "ah" LMN Corp. as Business Manager. At LMN I was in charge of procurement, inventory control, and "uh" resource budgeting. "I guess" I also did some contract administration work there. I was with LMN Corp. for, "let's see," five years.

5. Q. What has given you your greatest feeling of accomplishment?
A. "Let's see," I most enjoy supervising a staff and the feeling of being an important part of an organization?
6. Q. How have you felt about your progress over the years?
A. I think in the last 10 years I have had three jobs that increased in responsibility and salary. "So," "um" I am kinda happy with my progress.
7. Q. What strengths do you have that qualify you for the job of Administrative Assistant?
A. Well, I have supervisory experience and am "um" familiar with the importance of good coordination between departments. "Y'know" I have worked with budgets and records and long range planning. I do have a knowledge of management procedures, the required education, and "um" experience.
8. Q. In regards to education, what is your background?
A. "Ah," I graduated from the University of "um" South Carolina, at Columbia?, with "um" a B.S. and an MBA in Management.
9. Q. May I contact your previous employers for references?
A. Yes, that "uh" would be fine, I guess?

10. Q. Thank you for coming in today to interview.
We'll be contacting you shortly about the
position.

A. Yes, "uh" thank you.

Tape D

1. Q. Good afternoon Mr. Bates. It's a pleasure to meet you. Please make yourself comfortable.

A. Thank you. I'm "um" glad to have the "uh" opportunity to talk with you today.

2. Q. I see that you are here for the position of administrative assistant.

A. "I guess,"¹ "uh," I am.

3. Q. Let's begin with your present job. I'd like to know what your day-to-day activities and your special responsibilities are.

A. "Well," I am "uh" presently employed with the Bee Corp. as Director of Development. "I guess" some of my day-to-day activities include "uh" supervising a staff of 15 employees, working with other "uh" department heads in the "y'know" Bee Corp., and reviewing plans for future market research, "um" troubleshooting problems in current research, and "let's see" reviewing results of completed projects.

"Let's see" I am "uh" responsible for the quality and direction of the research of my department. "Um" within this, I "ah" must work with other department directors on "kinda" long-range planning and be sure my department is "uh" doing its part, right? "So" supervising the fifteen people in my department "um" entails interviewing potential employees, completing performance reviews, and "well" coordinating their "uh" "y'know" day-to-day activities.

¹ "I guess" is a strong hedge to put at the beginning of an answer to a question a job applicant should be confident in answering. O'Barr (1981) used this hedge in a similar way in his script of a witness's court testimony: "I guess I remember coming to in the Duke Emergency, and I thought I was at the police station because..." (p. 131).

4. Q. Please give me the highlights of your full-time jobs from your first one up to the present job. I'd like to know the job functions and responsibilities you preformed.
- A. "Now" my first job was as an "um" Executive Scout Director. Boy Scouts? In this job I was responsible for recruiting and "uh" coordinating the efforts of volunteer scout leaders in a three county area. To "um" recruit leaders I spoke at community club meetings and "um" put together information packets to be given out within the counties. When someone would "y'know" volunteer to be a leader I had to "kinda" be sure they were properly trained in "um" scouting procedures. During the year I would organize meetings for the leaders. "You see" at these meetings we would "um" discuss needs and problems, work on solutions, and "oh, well" disseminate information.
- "Uh" I left the scouts after "oh, well," one year to work with the "ah" LMN Corp. as Business Manager. At LMN I was in charge of "um" procurement, inventory control, and "uh" resource budgeting. "I guess" I also did some contract administration work there. I was with LMN Corp. for, "let's see," five years.
5. Q. What has given you your greatest feeling of accomplishment?
- A. "Let's see," I most enjoy supervising a staff and "oh" the feeling of being an important part of an organization?
6. Q. How have you felt about your progress over the years?
- A. " I think" in the last 10 years I have had three jobs that increased in responsibility and salary. "So," "um" I am "kinda" happy with my progress.
7. Q. What strengths do you have that qualify you for the job of Administrative Assistant?
- A. "Well", I have supervisory experience and am "um" familiar with the importance of good coordination between departments. "Y'know" I have worked with budgets and "um" records and long range planning. I do have a knowledge of "uh" management procedures, the required education, and "um" experience.

8. Q. In regards to education, what is your background?
- A. "Ah," I graduated from the University of "um" South Carolina, at Columbia?, with "um" a B.S. and a "well" MBA in Management.
9. Q. May I contact your previous employers for references?
- A. Yes, that "uh" would be fine, I guess?
10. Q. Thank you for coming in today to interview. We'll be contacting you shortly about the position.
- A. "Uh," yes, "uh" thank you.

Tape E

1. Q. Good afternoon Mr. Bates. It's a pleasure to meet you. Please make yourself comfortable.

A. Thank you. I'm "um" glad to have the "uh" opportunity to talk with you today.
2. Q. I see that you are here for the position of administrative assistant.

A. "I guess," "uh," I am.
3. Q. Let's begin with your present job. I'd like to know what your day-to-day activities and your special responsibilities are.

A. "Well," I am "uh" presently employed with the Bee Corp. as "um" Director of Development. "I guess" some of my day-to-day activities include "uh" supervising a staff of 15 employees, working with other "uh" department heads in the "y'know" Bee Corp., and reviewing plans for future market research, "um" troubleshooting "oh well" problems in current research, and "let's see" reviewing results of completed projects.

"Let's see" I am "uh" responsible for the quality and direction of the research of my department. "Um" within this, I "ah" must work with other department directors on "kinda" long-range planning and be sure my department is "uh" doing its part, right? "So" supervising the fifteen people in my department "um" entails interviewing potential employees, completing performance reviews, and "well" coordinating their "uh" "y'know" day-to-day activities.
4. Q. Please give me the highlights of your full-time jobs from your first one up to the present job. I'd like to know the job functions and responsibilities you preformed.

A. "Now" my first job was as an "um" Executive Scout Director. Boy Scouts? In this job I was "uh" responsible for recruiting and "uh" coordinating the efforts of volunteer "y'know" scout leaders in a three county area. To "um" recruit leaders I spoke at "oh, well" community club meetings and "um" put together information packets to be given out within the "uh" counties. When someone would "y'know" volunteer to be a leader I had to "kinda"

be sure they were properly trained in "um" scouting procedures. During the year I would "uh" organize meetings for the leaders. "You see" at these meetings we would "um" discuss needs and problems, work on solutions, and "oh, well" disseminate information.

"Uh" I left the scouts after "oh, well," one year to work with the "ah" LMN Corp. as "y'know" Business Manager. At LMN I was in charge of "um" procurement, inventory control, and "uh" resource budgeting. "I guess" I also did some contract administration work there. I was with LMN Corp. for, "let's see," five years.

5. Q. What has given you your greatest feeling of accomplishment?

A. "Let's see," I most enjoy "well" supervising a staff and "oh" the feeling of being an important part of an "um" organization?
6. Q. How have you felt about your progress over the years?

A. "I think" in the last 10 years I have had "uh" three jobs that increased in "y'know" responsibility and salary. "So," "um" I am "kinda" happy with my progress.
7. Q. What strengths do you have that qualify you for the job of Administrative Assistant?

A. "Well," I have supervisory experience and am "um" familiar with the importance of good "uh" coordination between departments. "Y'know" I have worked with budgets and "um" records and long range planning. I do have a knowledge of "uh" management procedures, the "y'know" required education, and "um," experience?
8. Q. In regards to education, what is your background?

A. "Ah," I graduated from the University of "um" South Carolina, at Columbia?, with "um" a B.S. and a "well" MBA in "um" management.
9. Q. May I contact your previous employers for references?

A. Yes, that "uh" would be fine, I guess?

10. Q. Thank you for coming in today to interview.
We'll be contacting you shortly about the
position.

A. "Uh," yes, "uh" thank you.

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

JOB DESCRIPTION

Title: Administrative Assistant
KO Company, Inc.

Description: Supervises administrative work
Coordinates work between departments
Receives supervision from superior
Supervises a staff of 15 clerical personnel

Duties: Supervises personnel in day-to-day work
Takes part in long-range planning
Establishes methods and procedures
Policies for work performed
Performs some staff functions such as budgets and records
Directs methods, studies and work flow analysis
Prepares reports as directed by supervisor

Skills: Knowledge of management procedures
Proven ability to coordinate activities with other areas

Education: College degree in Business

Experience: Five years in a related field

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX D

SPEECH SAMPLE COMPARISON FORM

Participant Information:

Age _____

Sex _____

Code _____

You will hear two sets of speech samples of a simulated job interview. Within each set is three pairs of speech samples. You are to rate the person applying for the job in the interview. You are to compare the interviewee in Sample 1 with the interviewee in Sample 2. You are not comparing the interviewee with the interviewer.

In each pair of speech samples you are to determine which, Sample 1 or Sample 2, sounded more powerful, more competent, more credible, and more uncertain. Before the next pair is presented please state how or why you made the choices you made. At times, it may be difficult to make a choice between pairs. Use your best judgment. Do not skip any pairs or any ratings within the pairs.

After listening to each pair of speech samples, mark the appropriate column with an X.

SET 1

Pair A

Mark the sample, number 1 or number 2, that sounded the most

	Sample 1	Sample 2
Powerful	_____	_____
Competent	_____	_____
Credible	_____	_____
Uncertain	_____	_____

How are you making this judgment?

Pair B

Mark the sample, number 1 or number 2, that sounded the most

	Sample 1	Sample 2
Powerful	_____	_____
Competent	_____	_____
Credible	_____	_____
Uncertain	_____	_____

How are you making this judgment?

Pair C

Mark the sample, number 1 or number 2, that sounded the most

	Sample 1	Sample 2
Powerful	_____	_____
Competent	_____	_____
Credible	_____	_____
Uncertain	_____	_____

How are you making this judgment?

SET 2

Pair D

Mark the sample, number 1 or number 2, that sounded the most

	Sample 1	Sample 2
Powerful	_____	_____
Competent	_____	_____
Credible	_____	_____
Uncertain	_____	_____

How are you making this judgment?

Pair E

Mark the sample, number 1 or number 2, that sounded the most

	Sample 1	Sample 2
Powerful	_____	_____
Competent	_____	_____
Credible	_____	_____
Uncertain	_____	_____

How are you making this judgment?

Pair F

Mark the sample, number 1 or number 2, that sounded the most

	Sample 1	Sample 2
Powerful	_____	_____
Competent	_____	_____
Credible	_____	_____
Uncertain	_____	_____

How are you making this judgment?

VITA

Dorothy Cosby Doolittle was born in Alma, Georgia, on April 2, 1957. She attended elementary and junior high schools in that city and graduated from Bacon County High School in June 1975. The following September she entered the University of Georgia. She double majored in psychology and sociology and in December 1978 she received a Bachelor of Arts degree. In the fall of 1979 she accepted a graduate assistantship at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in the Industrial/Organizational Psychology Program and began study toward a Masters of Science degree. She received this degree in June 1982.

In June of 1982 she entered the graduate program in Experimental Psychology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. She received the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in Experimental Psychology in March 1987.

The author is a member of the American Psychological Association and the Academy of Management. She is employed by East Tennessee State University as an assistant professor in the Department of Psychology.