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## DISCOURSE OF DISCIPLINE: COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES IN COACHES' SPEECH

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### ABSTRACT

The great importance sport plays in modern society has resulted in analyses of many aspects of its social dynamics. The relationship of its main actors, in this case the coaches and athletes, was most often discussed from pedagogical, psychological and sociological stances and a relatively small number of studies referred to their communication, or rather its linguistic expression. The aim of this research was to describe the pragmatic mechanisms and the strategy of disciplining that coaches use when talking to athletes in two typical situations in sport: in training and at a competition. The research corpus, collected by a Discourse Completion Test, consists of authentic responses from 93 coaches of both genders. The corpus for analysis included 196 responses, categorised as clusters of speech acts which according to the strategic model could be categorised as examples of the disciplining strategy. Qualitative analysis provided an insight into the types of speech acts used in the analysed speech sequences, the functioning of politeness strategies used to mitigate the pressure on the interlocutors face, conversation implicatures and presuppositions which enable interpretation of the intended meaning that shapes coaches' discourse. The results of the analysis imply that coaches prefer using a more direct strategy in both observed situations, but also that by combining politeness strategies and indirectness they frequently disguise their communicative intentions, which most often refer to disciplining and requiring a change in the behaviour of the athlete. The conclusions we reached could be practically used in the education of coaches, by raising awareness of the importance of the aspects of linguistic production that would be appropriate in training and competitive situations, since the choice of linguistic strategies can improve the interaction of coaches and athletes.

**Key words:** PRAGMATICS / SPORTS DISCOURSE / STRATEGIC MODEL OF COMMUNICATION

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## INTRODUCTION

Sport is a universal social phenomenon and can be observed from various standpoints. The universality of the patterns existing in the sports environment (defined by the code of behaviour and the rules), ensures that sporting participants understand each other easily regardless of cultural, ethnical or political differences (Giulianotti, 2008:318). At the same time, sport is a result-oriented activity and its competitive aspect affects to a great extent different aspects of interaction between its participants.

The role of a coach in team sports in achievement of sporting results is unambiguous, both regarding the transfer of expert knowledge and the process of motivation. Therefore, the psychological aspects of coaches' actions were most often researched. However, the content of communication between the participants in sporting activities, i.e. coaches and athletes, was rarely observed as a parameter that affects not only the relations in a sports club, but also the sports achievements.

The speech of coaches in post-match phases and in communication with the media was analysed (Dumitrou, 2011) as a type of public discourse and Lorenzo, Calvo, Navarro and Rivilla (2013) analysed the verbal behaviour of coaches during the breaks of basketball matches regarding motivation aimed at achieving better scores. Savović, Ubović and Radenović (2018) provided a pedagogical review of the educational actions of coaches applying the discourse analysis on a motivational speech by Paunović, head coach of the U18 Serbian national football team, before a very important match in New Zealand. This research indicated the positive aspect of motivational speeches which do not contain either professional advice or negative emotions. As sport takes place dominantly in two situations in which coaches and athletes communicate, it is necessary to enlighten also the way of interaction between the participants in this specific social communication by analysing the speech they produce, both during the training process and during a competition. It is vitally important to underline that coach discourse, as a type of institutional communication does not shape only their relationship with athletes, but also the relations within the club and between individual athletes. (Vekarić, 2019)

As the aim of the paper is to "figure out the mechanisms, processes and knowledge that we use" (Trbojević Milošević, 2016) to interpret the utterances of coaches, our starting point was Austin's theory of Speech Acts (Austin, 1975), i.e. his stance that each speech act in communication produces locutionary (forming sounds, words, grammar), illocutionary (making statement, suggestion, order) and perlocutionary (what we achieve by our utterance) effects. Searl (1991) classifies speech acts into representatives, directives, commissives and declaratives, while Leech (1983) adds the category of rogatives too. It is important to underline that speech acts in this paper were analysed from the stance of Oishi, that the analysis of speech acts should be broadened to the overall speech situation that should be described as "a total speech act in a comprehensive speech situation" (Oishi, 2006). This framework of the analysis is in line with the research goals to interpret also the expressed intention of coaches and not only isolated speech acts. Oishi (2006) introduces a phenomenon of speech situation, determined by a spatial- time location. Such an approach enables explaining the relation of utterances and speakers' intentions.

In order to interpret the meaning of an utterance in a situation when communicative intention does not correspond to the propositional content, the interlocutors convey meaning by inferences such as conversational implicatures and presuppositions. On the pragmatic level, such inferences are necessary to interpret the meaning that was not directly explicated (Trbojević Milošević, 2016). Jule (1996) states that presupposition, as something that the speaker assumes prior to utterance production, in a great number of cases is associated with the usage of certain words and structures. Thus, for example, lexical presuppositions are activated by verbs such as the factual verb *to know* or lexical verbs such as *reveal* or *imagine*, as well as iterative verbs that mark repeated actions; structural presuppositions are activated by particles including *only*, *just*, *still*, *already*, etc. Numerous research of speech acts are closely connected to investigations of politeness in linguistics and one of the most famous politeness theories was developed by Brown and Levinson (1987). In their theory, based on Goffman's anthropological notion of face (1974), they attempted to present a theoretical construct, which presumes that each individual has two faces: negative and positive. The negative

face is the need for independence, freedom of choice without imposing, while the positive one is our need to be accepted by others. In communication we try to protect both our faces, but also the face of our interlocutor, but very often with our utterances we pose a threat to the face of our interlocutors. In that case, two groups of strategies are recognised, with a large number of sub-strategies available to save both negative and positive faces of the participants in conversation (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Particularly important for decoding the intended meaning are implicatures and the theory of the English linguistic philosopher Grice (1975), who thought that conversation takes place in line with the cooperative principle. This principle is accomplished by adhering to the four maxims as preconditions of successful conversation: the maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner. Any flouting of these maxims signals that the intended meaning differs from the literal. In that case, the interlocutor reveals the intended, non-explicated meaning by inference (Trbojević Milošević, 2016). Thus, successful communication relies on implicatures, although the implicit, i.e., pragmatic meaning can significantly differ from semantic meaning of the produced utterance. Hence, it is important to identify implicatures in indirect speech acts in order to decode the speaker's intended meaning. In the majority of cases, successful decoding of the intended meaning is impossible without the context.

This paper presents linguistic realisations of the strategy of disciplining that dominate in coaches' interaction with athletes. Combining pragmatic analysis, that relies on the speech act theory and politeness strategies, implied meaning marked with presupposition and implicatures, we have identified the communication principles and patterns that guide coaches when deploying the strategy of disciplining in their interaction with athletes.

## METHOD

This paper is part of broader research<sup>1</sup> aimed at describing and determining the typical structure of communication between coaches and athletes and to point out dominant strategies in their interaction. The corpus for the analysis is written material collected by the *Discourse Completion Test*. This instrument consists of incomplete discourse sequences for typical situations in the form of a short scenario for one situation and an incomplete dialogue to be completed by the respondents (Blum-Kulka et al., 1982).

The questionnaire covered nine situations from two communication contexts (training and match), which included the majority of the activities in which the interaction between coaches and athletes occurs: pedagogical, professional and educational. The DCT was voluntarily and anonymously completed by 93 coaches (63 males and 30 females) during the course of 2018. The research included only coaches and athletes of team sports (football, volleyball, water polo, basketball and handball). A total of 837 answers were collected, out of which 667 were linguistically relevant for analysis. Out of that number 357 were clusters of speech acts which consist of multiple utterances and thus produce a complex speech situation and they were classified into two groups. The replies were marked with a letter "T" (for Serbian "trener" – coach) and the number of the situation it refers to (1–9) and the number of the respondent (1–93 e.g. T3/57).

The classification was done according to the *Strategic Model of Communication of Coaches* (Vekarić, 2019) and the analysed clusters of speech acts, 196 in total, were those that accounted for the usage of the disciplining strategy in the coach discourse.

The analysis was done from the perspective of discursive pragmatics. Pragmatics and discourse analysis are interrelated disciplines dealing with the language in use, but differ mostly per units analysed (Blitvich & Sifianou, 2019). Having in mind that pragmatics deals with utterances, while the discourse analysis deals with suprasentential structures and that our corpus consists of longer sequences, discursive

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<sup>1</sup>Part of the unpublished doctoral dissertation by Gordana Vekarić "Discourse of Power: Communication Models and Strategies in Interactions between Coaches and Athletes".

pragmatics provided an adequate platform for the variety of the perspectives of the analysed discourse (Zienkowski, J. et al., 2011).

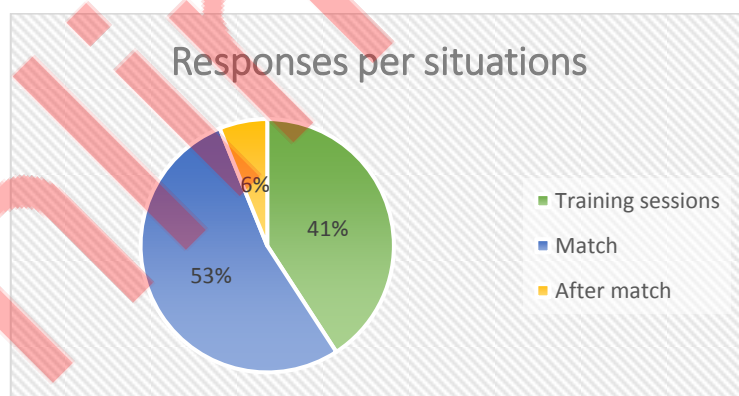
The aim of the paper was to deploy an integrative approach and analyse those pragmatic forms, functions and context (Haugh & Culpeper, 2018) that give an indication to the strategy of disciplining in the speech of a coach when they interact with their athletes. Thus the framework of our research was the description and understanding of those aspects the speakers use to constitute their own identities and position themselves and those they communicate with (White, 2011), keeping in mind the context-related features of the said discourse (Aimer & Simon -Vanderbergen, 2011).

The key pragmatic mechanisms, speech acts and politeness strategy were applied through the model of "rational actor" who chooses the means to accomplish their intended objectives (Kasper, 2006) making such means become the matter of rational choices.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

*The strategic model of coach communication* implies the usage of one of the two communicative strategies, the strategy of support or the disciplining strategy. Our analysis of the clusters of speech acts indicated that in more than half of the total number of utterances (196), coaches opted for the strategy of disciplining (Vekarić, 2019). Such utterances most often contained a compulsory request to accept a coach's stance, but also very often they used such utterances to constitute the interlocutors needs, by presupposing the best option for the athlete at that particular moment. The analysis also included utterances which make amends in the form of politeness strategies, but whose primary function, based on implicatures and presuppositions, can be defined as the function of the athlete's disciplining.

The obtained responses (Figure 1) indicate that the strategy of disciplining works in both situations examined, training sessions and match situations and it also occurred in twelve responses to question no. 9<sup>2</sup> of the questionnaire which refers to the situation in the dressing room after a match.



**Figure 1.** Percentage view of the responses according to the situations of the questionnaire

Such replies were expected in the situations in which the tasks made to the participants in interaction significantly vary regarding the time interval in which the communication occurs, the amount of exchanged information, spatial distance and the nature of information exchanged.

A great number of clusters of speech acts (54% replies) which belong to the strategy of disciplining and which refer to the competitive situation are not in line with the dominant role of a coach in that situation, which is primarily to motivate the players for result-oriented play; consequently it could be expected that in such circumstances the support strategy prevails. Namely, the short time intervals available in competitive

<sup>2</sup> 9. Although they deterred from the agreed strategy for the match and did not apply those technical options that you expected, your team has won. Everyone is happy but you are not fully satisfied. YOU TELL THEM:

situations for verbal communication results in the fact that coaches opt for a more direct, though more risky strategy, instead of choosing a more complex strategy and risk an athlete's losing interest in what is said (Vekarić, 2019). This shows that a match is a powerful extra-linguistic factor for speech production, which occasionally is not in line with the communicative intentions of coaches and their dominant role of a motivator.

Deploying the strategy of disciplining in training circumstances is expected, since in such situations a coach appears as an authority figure that possesses competences, but also with the power and obligation to control the application of new knowledge in a desirable manner. However, even in those utterances that contain mitigators, in the form of negative and positive politeness, it is the core part of the speech act that is the face threatening act (FTA) to the athlete.

Interestingly, this strategy appears also in the after-match situation, when one would expect, that thanks to good score, a coach expresses his satisfaction with the result and opts for the supporting strategy. Contrary to that, in a number of cases coaches opted to accompany the praise with those linguistic elements that signalise disciplining, i.e. request a change in the behaviour of the athlete.

By the insight into the corpus it was established that those linguistic devices that marked the strategy of disciplining occupy different positions within the complex utterance so that the analysis was modelled accordingly.

In a limited number of replies the coaches opted for mitigating devices in the form of politeness strategies at the very beginning of the utterance, only to be followed by a speech act that actually indicates illocutionary force and signalises the strategy of disciplining:

In the example:

*T1/17 "Hajde da probamo primjeniti ovo o čemu smo razgovarali. Ovo je seniorska prva liga i moramo se tako ponašati na treningu i u igri. Neću više dozvoliti pogrešnu izvedbu elementa."*

*[T1/17 Come on, let's try to apply what we talked about. This is the senior first league and we have to behave like that in training and in the game. I will no longer allow certain elements of the game to be misrepresented.]*

It can be seen that the coach deploys an attention marker "come on", which, as a rule, is followed by an utterance which has a function of encouraging; then the strategy of positive politeness in the form of claiming common ground and belonging to the same group by using the inclusive "we". Here, the presupposed meaning is activated by the verb "to try", and therefore the athletes are given an option to make a mistake. Even the second sequence of speech acts is an indirect face threatening act in the form of generalisation and stating the well known facts such as: "This is the senior first league", only to be followed by a deontic modal verb "must", mitigated by the inclusive "we", introducing thus the communicative intention of disciplining. Only in the last speech act of the cluster does the coach use the speech act of prohibition and states the intended meaning of the entire cluster.

*T9/11 "Čestitam na pobjedi, ali moram da vam skrenem pažnju da to još nije kako treba. Moramo svi da se trudimo više, na pravom smo putu, ali ako ne budemo radili kako treba možemo da bacimo sve u vodu, pukli smo"*

*[T9/11 "Congratulations on the victory, but I must draw your attention to the fact that it is not as it should be yet. We all have to work harder, we are on the right path, but if we don't work properly, we can waste all this, we will fail." ]*

This order in the sequence of speech acts is characteristic for the situation provided in no. 9 of the questionnaire in which the expected speech act after winning is congratulating for the victory. In the above example the first utterance starts with an expressive speech act of congratulating by using the explicit performative "to congratulate". However, it is followed by a reproach and in the peripheral part of the first utterance the coach hedges his speech act of congratulating. In the utterance the coach uses the strategy of positive politeness, in the form of an inclusive "we", attempting thus to take over a part of the responsibility, followed by an implicit threat by stating a possible negative consequence.

The intention of disciplining is sometimes reflected only after a series of instructive speech acts related to the game techniques, intended to highlight the cooperative relation of the participants in communication,

by providing the reasons to support one's own stance. In this part, we can see that the coach, by being redundant, flouts the conversational maxims:

*T9/24 "Danas možemo biti zadovoljni samo rezultatom. Igra nije bila dobra, toga morate biti svi svesni. Na ovaj način možete dobiti i utakmicu ali ne i turnir, prvenstvo ili kup. Za pobjede težih protivnika, potrebno je mnogo više discipline u igri, poštovanja zadataka. Svi to možete ali svako od vas treba to da želi."*

*[T9 / 24 "Today we can only be satisfied with the result. The game was not good, you must all be aware of that. This way you can win a match but not a tournament, championship or cup. For victories over tougher opponents, much more discipline is needed in the game, respect for tasks. You can all do it, but each of you should want it." ]*

Nevertheless, in the final part of the cluster the coach uses a conversational implicature: "For victories over tougher opponents" implying that the opponent was easy to beat, which led to a good score and the presupposed meaning is that the game lacked discipline and that they failed to respect the tasks. In the last utterance of the sequence the coach re-establishes the common context with a strategy of positive politeness ('We can all do it'), presupposing in the second part that "not all players equally desire that":

Although these clusters of speech acts begin with the acts by which the coach saves the interlocutor's face and strives to motivate the athlete to change something, they are actually only the introduction to the criticism that follows, very often drawn by an implicature ("you are not persistent"), while the intended meaning is always a request to change something with the player (his/her attitude, behaviour, play), with an additional doubt by which the coach implies that the athlete may not be capable to execute the requested task, performing thus additionally a FTA, as in the following examples:

*T4/88 "Niko se nije rodio naučen zbog toga i postoji trening. Ukoliko budeš uporan sigurno ćeš savladati."*

*[T4 / 88 "No one is born with experience because of that training exists. If you have perseverance you will surely learn." ]*

*T9/67 "Iako je pobjeda ostvarena niste ostvarile svoj maksimum na današnjem takmičenju. Očekujem od vas još veći stepen zalaganja na sledećem takmičenju."*

*[T9 / 67 "Although you claimed victory, you did not achieve your maximum in today's competition. I expect from you an even greater degree of commitment in the next competition." ]*

In the example:

*T6/84 "Slušajte, sve je u redu, jeste velika razlika, jeste da gubimo, ali ajde nemojte da grešite kao da trenirate dva dana. Obranite dva, tri napada, stisni zube i u napadu malo odlučnije na gol. Stegle ste se i one to vide, morate da napadate jedan na jedan, prođi, napravi 2 min, morate da budete agresivnije, a ne da lopta kruži okolo i one gledaju u vas i čekaju da pogrešite. Ajde odigrajte do kraja utakmicu"*

*T6 / 84 "Listen, everything is fine, it is a big difference, we are losing, but come on, don't make mistakes like you have only trained for two days. Defend two, three attacks, grit your teeth and in the attack go a little more decisively on goal. You tightened up and they saw it, you have to attack one on one, pass, make 2 minutes, you have to be more aggressive, don't let the ball circle around while they look at you and wait for you to make a mistake. C'mon play the game until the end."*

The first utterance represents a coach's attempt to encourage athletes "everything is fine", but he implicitly (negation) points out that they are making mistakes. The central part consists of several instructive utterances used by the coach in his/her attempt to try and discipline them in order to endure "until the end".

In the example:

*T1/11 "Ajde molim te, objasni mi šta nije jasno. Ili se urazumi i pokušaj da uradiš kako treba pa makar i pogrešila ili idi kući."*

*[T1 / 11 "Come on, please explain to me what is not clear. Either come to your senses and try to do the right thing, even if you make mistakes, or go home." ]*

The sequence begins with a direct plea and an indirect request, only to turn in the next utterance into a directive-commissive threat, whose communicative aim is that the interlocutor meets the condition, otherwise a punishment will follow in the form of a ban from training.

Such utterances show that by keeping athletes in suspense, the coach actually conditions them in order to produce the desired effect and change their behaviour.

The second, by far larger group of clusters of speech acts includes those in which the coach at the very beginning uses directives (orders, requests), commissives (warnings, threats) or rogatives which pose an

inherent FTAs to athletes and only in the last utterance they add a repair in the form of politeness strategy or the expressive speech act of encouraging such as in the example:

*T5/1 "Ljudi, trgnite se. Glupo je da izgubimo. Mnogo smo radili. Probaćemo ono sa istrčavanjem krila. Vežbali smo to sto puta. Samo to uradite. To smo vežbali sto puta. Ako ne uspe, probajte ponovo. Možete vi to."*

*[T5/1 "Folks, wake up. It's stupid to lose. We worked a lot. We'll try the one with the wingers running. We practiced it a hundred times. Just do it. We've practiced that a hundred times. If it fails, try again. You can do it." ]*

The coach starts with an order implying that what the athlete is doing is not good and then by deploying the strategy of positive politeness, notices and underlines the interlocutors qualities, common interests, needs. Instead of conditioning, by using the verb "to try" he/she leaves an option to the athlete and at the end he adds a repair in the form of the speech act of encouragement.

In the example:

*T1/37 "Polako, koncentriši se, ovo je od izuzetne važnosti za igru ekipe ali i za tvoj napredak. U ekipi će igrati samo oni koji mogu da sprovedu ovaj element. Sve je na tebi."*

*[T1 / 37 "Take it easy, concentrate, this is extremely important for the team's game but also for your progress. Only those who can implement this element will play in the team. It's all up to you." ]*

The coach highlights the team as an institution, which acts also as an external disciplining factor for all athletes. It is followed by a warning and by using a scalar implicature "only those who" the athlete is put in the group of those who are not performing well. In the last utterance the responsibility is shifted to the athlete.

In such utterances, repairs are most often performed by using a strategy of positive politeness, through establishing a common context and stressing the belonging to the same group:

*T8/76 "Od sada na terenu komunikacija bez reči. Reči čuvajte za posle utakmice. Ko progovori ide na klupu. Udahnite duboko. Mi smo tim!"*

*[T8 / 76 "From now on, wordless communication on the field. Keep your words for after the game. Whoever speaks goes to the bench. Take a deep breath. We are a team!" ]*

Rogatives which appear in such sequences are placed at the very beginning as a rule; these are actually rhetorical questions, that are an indirect face threatening act to athletes and only in one example the coach supposedly expects to get an answer:

*T2/28 "Kakvu taktiku bi ti izabrao? Kakvo je slaganje ostatka tima?"*

*[T2 / 28 "What tactics would you choose? What is the view of the rest of the team?" ]*

In such sequences an indirect question appeared only in one example, but it was immediately followed by an ironic, rhetorical question threatening the athlete's face without a repair:

*T2/11 "Objasni mi zašto nisi to uradila. Dokle ćeš više da radiš po svom i da sve nas praviš budalama? Ovo je timski sport, a to što ti radiš budi u meni totalno nezadovoljstvo. Ovo ti je poslednja opomena da se uozbiljiš i uradiš onako kako smo se dogovorili."*

*[T2 / 11 "Explain to me why you didn't do it. How much longer are you going to work on your own and make fools of us all? This is a team sport and what you do arouses total dissatisfaction in me. This is your last warning to get serious and do as we agreed." ]*

After such impolite rhetorical questions coaches often introduce a team or general sports rules to intensify pressure on athletes to change his/her behaviour, followed by a direct warning with a repair in the form of positive politeness strategy by highlighting a cooperative relation between the interlocutors "as we agreed".

Other direct questions are ironical and imply that the athlete is doing something wrong. The fact that coaches continue their speech after these utterances indicates that they do not expect any answer. Thus they consolidate their power of decision making and the athletes are left little space to react verbally in any way. The rhetorical questions are followed by:

a) Encouraging by using the in-group identity markers (inclusive "we"), but the last utterance of the sequence contains a directive speech act of requiring a change:

*T4/5 "Čemu to, zašto radiš protiv sebe? Idemo sve iz početka, možeš ti to sigurno! Fokusiraj se, misli pozitivno!"*

[T4/5 "Why is that, why are you working against yourself? Let's go all over again, you can do it for sure! Focus, think positive!" ]

b) Additional direct rogate which intensifies pressure on an athlete, followed by a reply and an order as FTA, since it presupposes that it is questionable whether the athlete is capable of fulfilling the required task. The presupposed meaning is deduced from the utterance "Look the others" meaning that the others are performing tasks correctly. It is followed by a commissive speech act by which the coach conditions the athlete to decide on his/her own whether they can continue, so this utterance is interpreted as a threat:

T1/1 "Ej, o čemu se radi? Još jednom te pitam: da li si razumeo šta treba da uradiš? Daj, uključi glavu i probaj da uradiš ono što ti govorim! Pogledaj ostale. Ako nisi spreman za trening, bolje reci. Praviš budalu od sebe, ..."

[T1 / 1 "Hey, what's going on? I ask you again: did you understand what you needed to do? Come on, switch your brain on and try to do what I'm telling you! Look at the others. If you're not ready for training, you better say so. You are making a fool of yourself..."]

T8/84 "Alo, šta je bre to, pijaca?? Kakvo je to ponašanje? Ako sam ja rekla Ivi kao srednjem beku šta se radi i ona vama prenela tu je kraj, nema raspravke. Udahni duboko, radimo šta smo se dogovorile i bez ovakvih ispada vise, moliću, ajdeee!!"

[T8 / 84 "Oi, what the hell is that, are you on vacation?" What kind of behavior is that? I told Iva as a midfielder what was going on and she told you, that's the end of it, no more discussion. Take a deep breath, we do what we agreed and without such outbursts, please, let's goooo!!"]

We can see that the utterances are intensified by markers "bre", "dokle" "ajdeee", and that direct FTAs to an athletes face are mitigated by strategies of positive politeness of stressing the cooperative relations between a coach and an athlete ("radimo šta smo se dogovorile ") or by argumenting their own stance.

Indirect face threatening acts are produced also by using generalisations which refer to well known facts on a given sport, roles of the participants, therefore giving justification to the coaches for the disciplining that follows and that is expressed by directive-commissive speech acts of threats, aimed not only to oblige athletes, but also to force them to execute a task or behave in a particular way:

T2/74 "Ovo je kolektivni sport, deo si ekipe sa mnom na čelu. Ako ćeš biti deo ovog tima, moraćeš slušati i primenjivati moje ideje, inače nećeš biti deo tima. Možeš izneti svoje mišljenje, a na meni je hoću li ga primeniti i poslušati ili ne."

[T2 / 74 "This is a collective sport, you are part of the team led by me. If you are going to be part of this team, you will have to listen to and apply my ideas, otherwise you will not be part of the team. You can express your opinion, and it is up to me whether I will apply it and listen to it or not." ]

T2/71 "Treneri služe da ti prenesu svoje iskustvo kao i znanje koje poseduju, ako misliš da si u pravu postani jedan od nas i vodi svoj tim."

[T2 / 71 "Coaches serve to pass on their experience as well as the knowledge they have, if you think you are right, become one of us and lead your team." ]

T2/73 "Ovo nije individualni sport, već ekipni i ne treba tim da gubi zbog tvog neslaganja. Moraš da naučiš da treba i grupi da se prilagodiš a ne samo sebi."

[T2 / 73 "This is not an individual sport, but a team sport and the team should not lose because of your disagreement. You have to learn that you need to adapt to the group and not just think of yourself." ]

It has been noted that in these examples coaches additionally distance themselves from their players, by stressing their role as decision makers. This is most often achieved by using a first person pronoun "I" or by underlining their coaching position by which they want to enforce and enhance their authority. Coaches underline their role also by polarisation achieved by the use of personal pronouns "I" vs "you":

T1/10 "Treniraš zbog sebe, a ne zbog mene. Nemoj da očekuješ da ćeš igrati, jer da bi igrao moraš da zaslužiš, boljih od tebe ima, ja sam svoje rekao, a ti sad vidi šta ćeš"

[T1 / 10 "You train for yourself, not for me. Don't expect to play, because in order to play you have to deserve, there are better players than you, I said my thing and now we'll see what you will do." ]

Such clusters of utterances can be too general and redundant at the very beginning and the coach thus decides to flout the maxims of quantity and manner and implies that the athlete does not perform what is expected from him/her:



T2/23 "Taktiku određuje trener a ne igrači. Oni sprovode taktiku u cilju što boljeg rezultata cele ekipe a ne pojedinaca. Ako nećeš da budeš deo ekipe kaži otvoreno, ako to želiš onda ćeš raditi šta ti se kaže."

[T2 / 23 "Tactics are determined by the coach and not the players. They implement tactics in order to get the best possible result for the whole team and not for individuals. If you don't want to be part of the team, say it openly, if you want to, then you will do what you are told. ]

With the last utterance of the cluster being often a directive speech act of threat.

The third group of clusters includes those which in all the constituent utterances contain speech acts inherently threatening face of their hearers by using directives, commissives or their combinations.

Such complex sequences of utterances which contain at the same time functions such as: requests, threats, warnings, criticisms, prohibitions, result from the coach's power of forcing and praising and coaches, aware of their position, do not hesitate to take risk and commit a FTA by their utterances:

T1/9 "Moraćeš da počneš da razmišljaš dok treniraš. Ostaćeš na istom nivou, a svi ostali će da napreduju i da te preteknu. Niko ti posle neće biti kriv što ne igraš ili što u igri nešto ne možeš da izvedeš."

[T1 / 9 "You will have to start thinking while training. You will stay at the same level and everyone else will progress and overtake you. No one will be guilty because you are not playing or for not being able to perform something in the game." ]

T1/73 "Slušaj, moraš da se potruđiš malo da bi mogla da odradiš taj element, jer bez toga ne možeš da igraš. Sada vježbaj malo sama sa strane ali prvo samo zaustavljanje i nameštanje i kad to savladaš onda pokušaj ceo element da odradiš, a ja ću ti pomagati."

[T1 / 73 "Listen, you have to work a little harder to be able to do that element, because you can't play without it. Now practice a little on your own, first just stopping and adjustment and when you master that, then try to do the whole element, then I will help you. " ]

Sometimes such statements can contain offensive utterances by which coaches want to induce a change in an athletes' behaviour in order to achieve results:

T8/22 "Dragaaaaneee, jesam li rekao da Darko izvodi taj slobodan udarac. Ejjjjjjj, idiote, koliko sam puta to rekao? Pa i na tabli napisao. Strašno! Vidite (obraća se sada rezervnim igračima) na šta mi ličimo?"

[T8/22 "Hey Dragaaaanannn, didn't I say that Darko takes the free kick. Hey, you idiot, how many times have I said that? I even wrote it on the board. Disaster! See what we look like?" ]

T8/73 "Samo bez rasprave, najbitnije je da svako čuva svoju zonu. Gledajte kretanje protivnika i tražite rupe u terenu i tamo bacajte lopte. A budem li čula od nekog još neku uvredu ta je završila utakmicu."

[T8/73 "Just without arguments, the most important thing is that everyone guards their zone. Watch the movement of the opponent and look for holes in the field and throw the balls there. And if I hear another insult from someone, that person is finished in the game." ]

T8/82 "Dosta sad! Tišina i vi na klupi, ni reč! Čuvajte snagu za igru, gledajte loptu. Hoću da čujem samo reči bodrenja i upozorite saigračicu na protivnika koji dolazi iza leđa, sve ostalo zaboravite!"

[T8/82 "Enough now! Silence and you on the benches, not a word! Save your energy for the game, watch the ball. I just want to hear words of encouragement and warn your teammate about the opponent who is coming from behind, forget everything else!" ]

This linguistic behaviour is particularly noticeable in competitive situations, when a fast, spontaneous communication does not have an instructive character, but is dominantly affective and when due to tension and excitement, the needs of face are tacitly neglected because the situation as such requires urgent reaction and communication is restricted by time and space.

## CONCLUSION

The research identified the typical features of coach discourse when deploying the disciplining strategy, defined within the *Strategic model of coaches' communication with athletes*.

The strategy of disciplining implies inherent power of a coach in his/her interaction with athletes, requiring the change of behaviour or actions, which is in line with the dominant role of the coach in this specific social situation, which range from instructional, controlling to motivation roles.

As the communicative intentions of coaches are not always explicit, their real meaning was interpreted by observing multiple planes: speech acts, politeness, implied or presupposed meaning. The results indicated that coaches apply this strategy almost equally in the two observed situations: training and match. However, it was not expected to find this strategy deployed also *post festum*, thus in the post-match situation, when the achieved score was good and when the strategy of support was expected. In such cases, the strategy of disciplining was implicit and the communicative intention of disciplining was drawn by implicatures or presuppositions.

The results of the research provide an insight in those pragmatic mechanisms and linguistic expressions that coaches use to accomplish various communicative intentions in training and match-related situations: the presented speech events encompass an extensive inventory of expressions ranging from dominantly directive, commissive and representative speech acts, rhetorical questions to explicit insults and deploy almost all strategies of positive and negative politeness, face threatening acts with or without (often) repair, with a markedly low frequency of mitigating devices. Such a choice is not unusual, when having in mind the social status of coaches in the sporting (communicative) community and this discourse displays a clear reflection of relations of power and control between coaches and athletes, being distinctly asymmetric (Vekarić 2019).

Finally, but equally important, the results of this kind of research can and should be applied in the education of coaches and provide a wide range of patterns of communicative situations and linguistic production choices with appropriate communication strategies aimed at developing and improving successful interpersonal communication with athletes.

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