

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

POLITENESS COMPETENCE AND SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

BY

CHARLES VICTOR PANKRATZ

A THESIS

**SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS**

DEPARTMENT OF CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

CALGARY, ALBERTA

APRIL, 1991

© Charles V. Pankratz 1991



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-66888-1

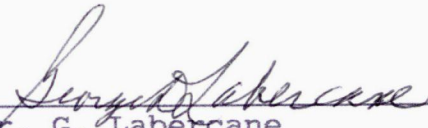
Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

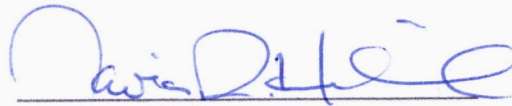
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "Politeness Competence and Second Language Learning" submitted by Charles V. Pankratz in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



Supervisor, Dr. D. Watt
Department of Curriculum
and Instruction



Dr. G. Labercane
Department of Curriculum
and Instruction



Dr D. Hill
Department of Computer
Science

April 15, 1991

ABSTRACT

This thesis examined from the context of second language learning a model of politeness adapted from Brown and Levinson (1987). Their model is based on the sociological construct of face which is the positive public image a person wishes to convey in social interaction, an image which is threatened by many speech acts. In order to mitigate this threat, speakers incorporate politeness strategies into their utterances. Politeness strategies are essentially semantic options of two types: positive politeness strategies which convey that the hearer is valued and negative politeness strategies which seek to minimize the imposition caused by the threatening speech act.

A qualitative research procedure was adopted to examine this model and its implications for second language learning. Fifteen adult participants, who were advanced English as a second language students, were interviewed to ascertain how their understanding of politeness compared with the model and how they had learned second language politeness. Participants also engaged in role plays to provide data demonstrating their use of politeness strategies in conversations.

The results provided some evidence that politeness is employed by interlocutors due to concerns with the face of a conversational partner. However, there was also evidence that politeness was employed due to the instrumental motivation of considering politeness a means of optimizing one's chances of

getting one's conversational aims.

There was evidence for many of the politeness strategies suggested by the model. The findings also suggested that further refinement of the taxonomy of strategies was necessary. In particular, strategies of giving reasons, leading up and the multifaceted approaches to politeness need to be given stronger presence in the outline of strategies.

The findings indicated that there seems to be an impressive amount of similarity in approaches to politeness among the cultures represented by the participants of this study. There were, however, also some differences worth noting such as the participants perception that Canadians are more likely to use compliments than the participants were accustomed to in their native language and that certain topics such as salaries and age were considered generally impolite in Canada.

Finally, the research suggested that politeness competence in a second language was largely due to transfer from the first language. Thus, the need for intensive conscious learning of a new politeness system for second language learners does not seem necessary. However, instruction in areas of cultural variation should be undertaken.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people who contributed in a variety of significant ways to the writing of this thesis. Dr. David Watt, my supervisor, provided both stimulating ideas and valuable advice throughout the course of this project. I sincerely wish to thank him. I gratefully acknowledge the participation of the students and teachers at the Alberta Vocational College who not only made this research possible, but also contributed to my understanding of the topic of politeness. To Phyllis Pankratz, my wife, special thanks for her support and help throughout the course of writing this thesis.

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this thesis to Stephanie and Karrim Pankratz whom I learned to appreciate in a new way during the time I was working on this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
Chapter	
I THE PROBLEM	1
II A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	6
Ethnography of Speaking	6
Structural Linguistics	10
Philosophy of Language	14
Conversational Analysis	20
A Limited Synthesis	24
III A MODEL OF POLITENESS IN LANGUAGE	30
The Phenomenon of Politeness	30
Lakoff and Leech's Models of Politeness	31
A Third Politeness Model	36
A Sociological Variable Affecting Language Use: Face	36
An Analysis of Situations in Terms of Threats to Face	43
Threats to Face	43
Assessment of the Seriousness of Threats to Face	44

	Power	45
	Familiarity and Affection	50
	Ranking	55
	The Role of Meaning in Politeness	58
	Brown and Levinson's Politeness Strategies	58
	Positive Politeness Strategies	65
	Realizations of Positive Politeness Strategies in Language Use	66
	Negative Politeness Strategies	70
	Realizations of Negative Politeness Strategies in Language Use	72
	Politeness as a Language System	79
	Politeness and Second Language Learning	81
IV	RESEARCH DESIGN	91
	Research Approach	91
	Interviews	92
	The Sociological Component of the Politeness Model	92
	The Situational Component of the Politeness Model	93
	The Semantic Component of the Politeness Model	95
	The Learning of Politeness	97
	Cultural Variation in Politeness	98
	Role Plays	99
	Participants	104
	Procedure	104
	Introductory Meeting	104

	Role Plays	104
	Interviews	106
	Analysis of Data	106
V	RESEARCH FINDINGS	108
	What Are the Sociological Determinants of Politeness?	108
	Do Learners Take into Account the Situational Dimensions of Power, Familiarity and Ranking?	113
	Assessment of Power	113
	Assessment of Familiarity	115
	Assessment of Ranking	118
	Which Politeness Strategies Have Been Learned?	122
	Positive Politeness Strategies	122
	Presupposing Common Ground	122
	Exaggerating Interest, Approval, Sympathy with Hearer	124
	Negative Politeness Strategies	125
	Being Pessimistic	125
	Giving Reason	126
	Minimizing the Imposition to Face	128
	Leading up	130
	Apologizing	131
	Hedging	132
	Conventional Indirectness	132
	Multifaceted Approaches to Politeness	133
	Prosodic and Kinesic Politeness Strategies	134

	What Is the Politeness Competence of Advanced Learners?	135
	How Are Politeness Strategies Learned in a Second Language	137
	How Does Politeness in the Target Language Compare with the Native Language	140
VI	DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS	148
	Reexamining the Politeness Model	148
	The Status of Face in the Model	148
	Affirmation of the Situational Dimensions	150
	Reanalysis of Strategies	153
	Cultural Variation in Politeness	159
	Suggestions for Further Research	162
	The Learning of Politeness	164
	Level of Competence	164
	Learning, Acquisition or Transfer?	165
	Divergence from the Canadian English Norms	167
	Implications for Pedagogy	169
	Conclusion	172
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	176

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 Participant Background Data	103

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Summary of Views of Situation, Meaning and Structure	26
2	Negative and Positive Face	42
3	Weighting of Threats to Face in the Situation . . .	44
4	Brown and Levinson's Categorization of Types of Politeness Strategies	59
5	Categorization of Politeness Strategy Types Adopted in this Thesis	64
6	Politeness Model Perspective of Situation, Meaning and Structure	80

CHAPTER ONE

The Problem

It is the teacher's job to equip the student to express her/himself in exactly the way s/he chooses to do so--rudely, tactfully, or in an elaborately polite manner. What we want to prevent is her/his being unintentionally rude or subservient. (Thomas, 1983, p. 96)

Politeness is a rather important matter in speech. It's presence can serve to greatly smooth the road to the accomplishment of the intended results of one's speech or, on the other hand, it's absence can leave an ill-maintained path, littered with irritations and obstructions in the way of achieving one's conversational purpose. A language has not been fully mastered until one can successfully manipulate its politeness conventions. The learner who wishes to master the politeness conventions of a language is faced with a daunting task since languages have extensive resources for expressing politeness, as Brown and Levinson (1987) have demonstrated, and these resources may be found at all levels of the language --morphological, lexical, syntactic, discoursal and prosodic.

If a learner successfully acquired all the politeness features of a language, the task of learning how to speak politely would still not nearly be complete. Mastery of politeness also requires the competence of analyzing the speech situation and selecting the appropriate language resources accordingly. Asking one's friend for the time with

a request heavily loaded with politeness markers would seem inappropriately effusive. The politeness features used must be in keeping with the situation in which they are being pressed into service. In other words, mastery of the politeness aspects of language go beyond the morphological, lexical, syntactic and prosodic features of the language to also include the knowledge of situational constraints for using those features.

The situational constraints on language, or pragmatics as they have come to be known in some cases, have been receiving increasing emphasis over the last several decades. Linguists have begun to realize that situational constraints, especially the meaning and intended force of utterances in their natural context, need to be taken into account in order to understand a language or linguistic system adequately. Politeness in language is one important response to particular situational constraints and the understanding of "politeness use" significantly enhances the study of language pragmatics.

The model of politeness adopted in this paper is based on that set out by Brown and Levinson (1987). As has already become clear in the foregoing comments, politeness as understood in this context must not be confused with social etiquette, although the latter perhaps relies to a great extent from the operant notions in politeness as understood here. Politeness is the signalling, through language and kinesics, that the face concerns of the interlocutors in a

situation are being attended to by the speaker. The notion of face used here is closely akin to the folk usage of the term in such expressions as saving face and losing face. In many conversations, interlocutors engage in speech acts that threaten the face of the person with whom they are speaking. For example, critical comments and insults can be seen as threats to a hearer's face. In addition to such obvious examples there are a wide assortment of other speech acts such as requests, orders, suggestions, warnings, offers and compliments which usually contain elements of threat to the hearer's face. To mitigate these threats to face, the speaker has the option of pressing into service the politeness conventions of the language for, as Brown and Levinson see it, the softening of threats to face is the primary purpose for a language's politeness features.

Learners of a language are faced with acquiring the politeness conventions of that language. Many conversational situations call for the exercise of politeness and in order to take part in these successfully, mastery of politeness is necessary. As already suggested above, the lack of politeness skills can block the achievement of a language learner's conversational aims.

The first purpose of this thesis is to examine a particular model of politeness in language in the context of second language learning. Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness, of which the model in this thesis is a slightly

modified adaptation, is still relatively new and can benefit from further development and research. Looking at the model from a second language perspective may lead to new insights and suggest further refinements to the model. As will be seen, Brown and Levinson's (1987) version of the model has been applied to second language acquisition previously but not in a manner that probed the model in depth.

A second purpose of the research undertaken for this paper is to explore the acquisition of politeness competence by language learners. As will be enlarged on in the following chapters, there is already considerable evidence that language learners do acquire at least some of the politeness strategies of the target language. How this acquisition takes place has received little attention and it is one of the primary purposes of this research to investigate that question. An attendant question to this issue regards the roles of formal or conscious learning, informal acquisition and transfer in the development of politeness competence.

Language teachers should find these to be issues of relevance. Teachers wish to give their students all possible assistance in successfully acquiring the target language, and politeness competence is an integral and important component of overall language competence. In order to assist with politeness competence, teachers will need to ensure that students not only acquire the linguistic politeness features but also understand how to use them appropriately in a given

situation. Just as some of the structural and prosodic aspects of language can be taught, no doubt some of the linguistic politeness features can be taught as well. However, less is known about the acquisition of pragmatic competence--how language learners gain the ability to appropriately manipulate language in relation to the specific situations in which it is used. Is this something that can or should be taught? I hope this study can assist to some small extent the understanding needed to answer those questions more adequately than we are able to at this point.

CHAPTER TWO

A Review of the Literature

Ethnography of Speaking

The recent interest in the situational constraints of speech and conversation had its beginning in the early 1960's. Hymes, an anthropologist and linguist, pointed out that becoming a proficient speaker in one's speech community goes beyond mastery of the grammatical system of a language:

This is a question of what a child internalizes about speaking, beyond rules of grammar and a dictionary, while becoming a full-fledged member of its speech community. Or, it is a question of what a foreigner must learn about a group's verbal behaviour in order to participate appropriately and effectively in its activities. (1962, p. 16)

The implication of the point Hymes made is that language use must not only be grammatically correct but also appropriate to the specific situations in which conversations take place. In order for a speaker to use language appropriately in a given situation there are rules of appropriateness, some of them cultural, that apply. To the study of the cultural norms for speaking appropriately, Hymes (1962) applied the label "ethnography of speaking".

Implicit in Hymes' understanding of language is that a speaker's choice of structure takes situation into consideration. The speaker depends on the situation to

function in interaction with what is said to communicate the intended meaning:

The use of a linguistic form identifies a range of meanings . . . , the context eliminates from consideration the meanings possible to the form other than those that the context can support. The effective meaning depends upon the interaction of the two. (1962, p. 19)

Although Hymes does not elaborate on this point, presumably he has in mind utterances like "You're drinking!". The speaker wishes to communicate a certain meaning in this situation and produces this particular utterance because it will work in conjunction with the situation (perhaps the utterance is set in the hospital room of a patient recovering from a tracheotomy) to communicate the intended meaning.

In studying the relation of language to situation, it becomes important to establish a framework for analyzing situations. Hymes suggested that the basic unit of analysis should be the speech event by which he meant things like a Sunday morning sermon, pledge of allegiance, salestalk, chewing out and getting it off the chest. A speech event is composed of smaller units termed speech acts, an act being to an event what a joke may be to the lecture in which it is embedded (Hymes, 1967). At this point Hymes was borrowing the speech act concept from the British philosopher, J. L. Austin (1962).

Another contribution of the ethnographic approach, as Gumperz (1972) pointed out, was the discovery that cultures exhibited amazing diversity of language use through the phenomena of bilingualism, bidialectalism and diglossia. In these cultures speakers alternated between speech and language varieties with apparent systematicity. For example, in some of the complex societies of Asia and Africa, it was not unusual to find in a single speech community, multiple speech varieties including several distinct languages.

Speakers in these communities appeared to alternate among languages and dialects at least in part in accordance with speech situations and, in particular, with speaker attitudes and social roles. Gumperz observed that "all speech communities are linguistically diverse and it can be shown that this diversity serves important communicative functions in signalling interspeaker attitudes and in providing information about speakers' social identities" (1972, p. 13). Thus, the systematic switching of speech and language varieties was a phenomenon that demonstrated the importance of the relationship of language use and situational factors. The recognition of the role of situational factors has led to increased interest in phenomena such as politeness use in language which involves both speaker attitudes and social identities, as will be seen later.

In agreement with the implications of what Hymes had stated, Gumperz (1972) felt that the speaker takes into

account situational factors in speech production. Gumperz understood the relationship of the situation to speech in interactionist terms, an approach that he saw exemplified in some of the work of Goffman, Garfinkel and Cicourel. In an interactionist approach,

communication is not governed by fixed social rules; it is a two-step process in which the speaker first takes in stimuli from the outside environment, evaluating and selecting from among them in the light of his own cultural background, personal history, and what he knows about his interlocutors. He then decides on the norms that apply to the situation at hand. These norms determine the speakers [sic] selection from among the communicative options available for encoding his intent. (Gumperz, 1972, p. 15)

Although ethnographic researchers, such as Gumperz provided useful insights regarding the importance of situational factors in understanding language use, it must be noted that ultimately they were more interested in the phenomenon of language use on a macro level. Gumperz (1972) stated that a major goal was to "devise schemes for the comparative study of language distribution which allow for the comparison of social systems in terms of what languages are spoken, by how many people, in what contexts, and in terms of what the local attitudes to these languages are" (p. 11). Thus, despite occasional references to individual situations

and speakers, the ethnographic researchers were generally interested in language use by social groups rather than by individuals in specific situations. Duranti (1985) has criticized this lack of interest in the micro level as a shortcoming of ethnographic researchers: they "do not seem interested in exploiting the potential richness of detailed linguistic analysis and thus fail to integrate their ethnographic knowledge with the linguists' knowledge and expertise in analyzing structural patterns of discourse" (1985, p. 197).

Duranti (1985) has also suggested that the ethnographic approach to linguistics must continue to work at several other agenda items. One area that needs further exploration is the dynamic relationship between language use and situations. In what way is language systematically affected by situation? Another issue to be addressed according to Duranti, is the comparison of norms of discourse across societies. The ethnographic approach needs to attempt to redress the paucity of generalizations that, due to assumptions of cultural relativism that underlie much of anthropological work, often characterizes the writings of ethnographic researchers. As will be seen, the phenomena of politeness touches in an important way on some of the issues Duranti raises.

Structural Linguistics

One of the developments in the field of structural linguistics has been the growing appreciation for language

structure beyond the sentence level as exemplified by work in discourse analysis. Coulthard (1985), in his summary of the American history of the relationship of discourse analysis and linguistics, points out that the early influence of Bloomfield did not encourage interest in the supra-sentential level of structure. Bloomfield felt that linguistics must begin its analysis by concentrating on form and substance, thus setting the phonological, lexical and syntactic features of utterances as the highest items on the agenda for the discipline of linguistics. Linguists following Bloomfield's lead concentrated on phonology and morphology and little work was done on higher levels of language structure or the relation between situation, meaning and structure.

Chomsky basically followed the agenda set by Bloomfield as well, concentrating on the formal, grammatical aspects of language, especially syntax. Chomsky (1957; cited in Coulthard, 1985) wrote that "the fundamental aim in the linguistic analysis of a language L is to separate the grammatical sequences which are sentences of L from the ungrammatical sequences which are not sentences of L and to study the structure of the grammatical sequences" (p. 2).

Once significant advances had been made in understanding those basic linguistic building blocks of phonology, morphology and syntax, linguists could begin to look beyond them to other matters. One area of interest for some linguists was discourse analysis which examined language

structure beyond the sentence level. Grimes (1975) felt that discourse is amenable to structural ordering in the same way previous grammars had found structure at the sentence level or lower. Grimes' propositional grammar is one example of how linguists analyzed structure at the discoursal level. One shortcoming of Grimes' analysis of discourse is that it gives only minimal attention to situational constraints. Grimes did discuss staging which is how "the speaker presents what he wants to say from a particular perspective" (1975, p. 323) for the hearer's benefit, but staging deals primarily with theme and topicalization and is based on features such as word order, voice, inflection and pronouns and is, at best, a very modest foray into the connection between language use and situation. Grimes seemed to sense the weakness of this area in his own formulations when he said that "the biggest gap in our understanding is in the area of staging" (1975, p. 359).

American linguists began to realize the need for more attention to the relation between situation, meaning and structure. Coulthard (1985) notes that writers such as Ross, McCawley, G. Lakoff and R. Lakoff were arguing that sentence-level grammar cannot be adequately described without reference to extra-sentence factors such as meaning in context and social situation. Similarly, it has come to be felt that analysis at the discourse level must not only pay attention to structure but also to meaning for participants in context. As Candlin (1985) says, discourse analysis strives to do two

things: "it must portray the structure of suprasentential text or social transaction by imposing some framework upon the data, explicitly or implicitly . . . [and] offer us a characterization of how, in the context of negotiation, participants go about the process of interpreting meaning" (p. viii).

Halliday is an example of a linguist whose view takes context or situation as a central concern in understanding language use. For Halliday, language is functional, meaning that language serves particular purposes in particular situations. Halliday saw the situational constraints of language exemplified in the concept of register:

The notion of register is at once very simple and very powerful. It refers to the fact that the language we speak or write varies according to the type of situation. . . . What the theory of register does is to attempt to uncover the general principles which govern this variation, so that we can begin to understand what situational factors determine what linguistic features. (1978, pp. 31-32)

Halliday (1978), adopting elements of earlier work done by Spencer and Gregory (1964) and Halliday, McIntosh, and Stevens (1964), stated that register is determined by field (situation), tenor (role of the participants) and mode (the role of language in the situation).

Halliday (1978) also analyzed the semantic systems of language which carry the meaning in conversational utterances. He discerned three systems: (a) the ideational which carries the ideas or content of language, (b) the interpersonal which carries the expressive, attitudinal and interactive social dimensions of meaning and (c) the textual which establishes the relationships inside the text among textual elements. According to Halliday, the dimensions of the situation (field, tenor and mode) determine the semantic systems available in a particular situation.

Philosophy of Language

The work of the language philosopher Austin has made a large contribution to the understanding of language use in situation. Austin (1962) talked of utterances in terms of three types of speech acts: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary. A locutionary act is the act of saying something, that is, the uttering of the words. An illocutionary act is what is done in or by saying something (eg. ordering, warning, informing). A perlocutionary act is the design, intention or purpose the speaker has in producing the utterance (eg. to convince, persuade, deter, surprise). To use Austin's less than felicitous example, in uttering the words "Shoot her" the speaker performs the locutionary act of uttering the words "shoot her", the illocutionary act of ordering the hearer to shoot her, and the perlocutionary act (or intention) of persuading the hearer to shoot her.

An important aspect of language that Austin made clear with the concept of the illocutionary act is that the same words or utterances can have different illocutionary forces depending upon the situation. Austin's example, "The bull is going to charge", can be a statement (if uttered by one spectator to another at a bull fight) or a warning (if screamed by one cowhand to another standing inside the corral).

Following on the work of Austin, Searle focused in particular on illocutionary acts. Like Austin he emphasized that the meaning in a speech act lay beyond its referential functions. He argued that an important dimension to meaning is the illocutionary effect which he formulated in the following way: "the speaker S intends to produce an illocutionary effect IE in the hearer H by means of getting H to recognize S's intention to produce IE" (Searle, 1969, p. 47).

Searle recognized that the situation had an important role to play in the illocutionary force or meaning of speech acts: "Often, in actual speech situations, the context will make it clear what the illocutionary force of the utterance is" (Searle, 1969, p. 30). Searle outlined several aspects of context that are critical in determining whether a speech act can be interpreted directly and literally. Using the illocutionary act of promising as an example, Searle stated that the following contextual factors must be true if the act

is to be taken literally: (a) normal input and output conditions must obtain, (b) the hearer must prefer the speaker doing the promised act to some other possibility such as not doing it and (c) it is not obvious to both the speaker and the hearer that the speaker would do the act in any case as part of the normal course of events.

For example, the speaker literally intends a promise to his wife such as "I promise not to leave you" if certain factors are assured. First, normal input and output conditions must obtain which may mean among other things that the wife (as well as the speaker) understand English, they don't have physical impediments to communication (the wife is not deaf) and proximity is not unusually distant (the wife is not in another room). Second, the wife must prefer that the husband not leave. If the wife and the husband both know that the wife would actually prefer that they separated, the utterance would no longer be a promise but a warning or a threat since it would be a statement of undesirable action. Finally, the utterance only functions satisfactorily as a promise if the husband's desertion is in some way in question. If this is not the case and an utterance states something that was already assumed, it functions quite differently. As Searle says "A happily married man who promises his wife he will not desert her in the next week is likely to provide more anxiety than comfort" (1969, p. 59).

Like Austin, Searle (1975) also observed that the illocutionary act performed through an utterance can be quite different from the literal meaning of that utterance. He referred to illocutionary acts that differed from the literal meanings of utterances as indirect speech acts. Searle gave the following example of an indirect speech act:

Student X: Let's go to the movies tonight.

Student Y: I have to study for an exam.

(Example from Searle, p. 61, 1975)

The primary illocutionary act made by Student Y in this example is a rejection of the proposal of going to the movies. This act, however, is indirect for it differs significantly from the literal meaning of Student Y 's utterance.

Indirect speech acts raise the question of how the illocutionary force can be successfully communicated if it is not directly stated. Searle (1975) argued that the interlocutors depend on the use of information about the situation, among other things, to communicate successfully. In the example given above, successful communication depends on both the utterance and the situation. An examination of the situation leads to the conclusion that Student Y cannot both study for an exam and go to a movie since each activity can consume the major part of an evening. Therefore having said that studying is on the agenda tonight, Student Y intends the utterance as a rejection of the proposal by implication.

It should be noted that Searle (1975) does not consider the indirect speech act to nullify the literal meaning, but rather to add another meaning: "The point is that, as is always the case with indirection, he [the speaker] means not only what he says but something more as well" (Searle, 1975, p. 70). What Searle is opening up here is the possibility that utterances can have layers of meaning in a situation. The possibility of multiple layers of communicated meaning is an important concept with regard to the expression of politeness in a language for politeness is another layer of communicated meaning in conversation.

A systematic analysis of the connection between meaning and context or situation is found in Grice's (1975) work on conversational implicature. Grice argued that in general, conversation works on the cooperative principle which is that participants are expected to make their contribution as required by the accepted direction or purpose of the conversation. This is done by adhering to the four conversational maxims: quantity, quality, relation and manner. The maxim of quantity dictates that the conversational contribution be neither less nor more informative than required. The maxim of quality stipulates that what is said should be true or at least something for which the speaker has adequate evidence. The maxim of relation simply specifies that the contribution should be relevant. Finally the maxim

of manner suggests that one should be perspicuous (not obscure, ambiguous, wordy or disorganized).

Grice gives the following example of how these maxims operate in a particular situation:

Suppose that A and B are talking about a mutual friend, C, who is now working in a bank. A asks B how C is getting on in his job, and B replies, Oh quite well, I think; he likes his colleagues and he hasn't been to prison yet. (1975, p. 43)

On the surface, B is flouting the maxim of relation since the comment about prison seems irrelevant in this situation (ie. the rest of the conversation). However, in actuality, B assumes that A will operate on the basis of the maxim of relation and interpret the comment at a deeper level since relation is not evident at the literal level. The implicature involves making a connection between prison and dishonesty, as well as the understanding that questioning a friend's honesty outright is not appropriate. B does not wish to come out and say that C is dishonest but believes that A can work out this implicature from what has been said.

Grice's analysis of conversation ties context very closely to language use. The operation of the maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner depend on a knowledge of the discoursal and social context to function. In the above example, the contextual factor of the lack of anything

to do with prison in the surrounding discourse is used by B to communicate an opinion of C's honesty by implicature.

Conversational Analysis

Through careful examination of empirical speech data, conversational analysts have discerned a variety of structural features in informal conversation. The types of structure identified by researchers in this field differ significantly from those that have been identified by writers approaching discourse analysis from the basis of structural linguistics. For example, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) examined the turn-taking structure of conversation and enumerated the rules which the taking of turns follows. Tannen (1984) looked at a variety of features of conversation such as pace, overlap of utterances, number of narratives, prompts and intonation under the general rubric of style. Taking a more strictly formal approach to structure, Ventola (1979) isolated specific components of conversation (eg. greeting, address, identification, direct approach, indirect approach and centring). She identified the sequential relation of these structures to each other and also looked at variation in the structure as a factor of social distance between interlocutors. Couper-Kuhlen (1990) looked at the rhythmic structure of conversations and its role in the flow of conversation across turns. These examples demonstrate how conversational analysis has discerned structural elements of language that had previously been neglected.

Attention also needs to be drawn to the methodological contribution made by researchers working from this perspective. Conversation analysts can typically be distinguished from writers in the area of structural linguistics and the philosophy of language in that conversational analysis is based on the examination of excerpts from actual conversations. In this regard, conversation analysis is related to the ethnography of speaking which also looks at actual natural data. The difference in orientation between ethnography of speaking and conversational analysis is that the latter tends to involve micro-analysis, which is the study of individual conversations at the level of minutia, rather than macro-analysis which focuses on language phenomena at the societal level, an approach more typical of ethnomethodological research.

Under the heading of conversational analysis, we can also include some of the work of Goffman who employed micro-analysis of natural-type data (although not necessarily actual natural conversations). Goffman pushed the boundaries of understanding the relationship between language use and situation beyond what had been understood through the notions of illocutionary force and conversational maxims. Illocutionary force and conversational maxims are related to the speaker's intended meaning in a particular situation but Goffman emphasized that communication is not only structured on the basis of meaning but in accordance with other aspects

of the situation such as matters of face. Face for Goffman refers to a person's self image consisting of approved social attributes which the person wishes to maintain in interaction with others (Goffman, 1967). In conversation one wishes to have what transpires support a socially approved image of oneself. Since a great deal of maintaining face depends on the utterances of the conversational partner(s), conversation often proceeds on the basis of implicit mutual support of each other's face.

These face concerns, present in almost all situations, affect the actual structure and content of conversations. Goffman's example is useful in demonstrating some of these effects:

A: "Do you have the time?"

B: "Sure, It's five o'clock."

(Goffman, 1981, p. 16)

The initial utterance is indirect. Literally it is not a request to be told the time--it is a question of whether the other person possesses time information--a wristwatch perhaps. The illocutionary force of the utterance, which is a request to be told the time, is made indirectly, but why? To find the answer it is necessary to look at factors in the situation such as face concerns. In the case of the example given, the indirect form is used because A wishes to neutralize as much as possible the potentially offensive act of encroaching on B with a demand. Demands imply a stance of superior power or

status. B's reply of "Sure" indicates that the effort to minimize the offense is accepted. Thus the interaction is shaped by and must be understood in terms of face matters in the particular situation.

Goffman's work adds another dimension to the understanding of the relationship between situation, meaning and structure. Other writers mentioned above have generally paid attention to the aspects of the immediate situation that relate to structure and meaning. For example both Searle's analysis of situation from the perspective of illocutionary force and Grice's conversational maxims are analyzed in terms of factors inherent in the immediate situation. However, with the notion of face, Goffman introduced a societal factor into the equation. It is not that other writers, particularly ethnographers, were unaware that societal or cultural factors constrain speech but they failed to isolate the dynamic variables that are operating. Goffman's work has suggested at least one societal variable (face) that constrains language structure.

However, Goffman's work only brings the issue of the relation between societal factors and structure to the surface--it does not systematize how face actually operates. Goffman does not analyze the language resources for addressing the matter of face and their relation to each other. Consider the following alternatives for A's utterance in Goffman's example above:

It's really cold out here, isn't it? How long will we
have to wait for the bus?

Would you mind telling me the time?

I wonder if it's five o'clock yet?

Each of these utterances serve as requests to be told the time but employ different linguistic resources for dealing with the constraints of face in the situation. What is needed is a systematic categorization of these resources and an outline of the dynamic that determines when and how they are used in relation to the societal matters of face that impinge on the situation. As will be argued in the following pages, this lacuna is partially addressed by the notion of politeness and its impact on language use.

Work in the area of understanding the systematic interplay between situations and language use is beginning to emerge as a field of study in its own right under the rubric of pragmatics. Writers such as Leech (1983) and Levinson (1983) have attempted major outlines of work in the area. Pery-Woodley (1990) notes that it is an area that should have useful implications for second language learners and the fact that language learners need to have pragmatic competence is beginning to be recognized (Thomas, 1983).

A Limited Synthesis

In the preceding pages I have outlined some of the advances that have been made in understanding how situations constrain language use and how the relationship between

situation, meaning and structure has been articulated. Figure 1 below is a simple summary of some of the points that have been raised. An important contribution to the understanding of situation has been the setting out of situational variables that are relevant to understanding language use. In particular, Hymes' notion of speech events and Halliday's categories of field, tenor and mode are attempts at isolating operative constituents of situation--those elements that are taken into account by competent language speakers.

Duranti (1985) noted the paucity of cross-societal norms or factors that impact language structure. One writer who has addressed this area is Goffman who argued that face is a cross-societal factor that is taken into account at the level of meaning and structure. Although others no doubt have understood that societal and cultural factors impact the structure of language use, Goffman's contribution was that he isolated a particular cultural factor that seemed operative, namely face. However, what remains to be analyzed further is the nature of the relationship between the societal notion of face and language structure--what are the dynamics of that relationship? Two different approaches to understanding meaning are exemplified in Halliday and Austin (see Figure 1). Halliday conceptualizes meaning tri-functionally in terms of ideational, interpersonal and textual semantic systems whereas Austin employs the categories of locutionary, illocutionary

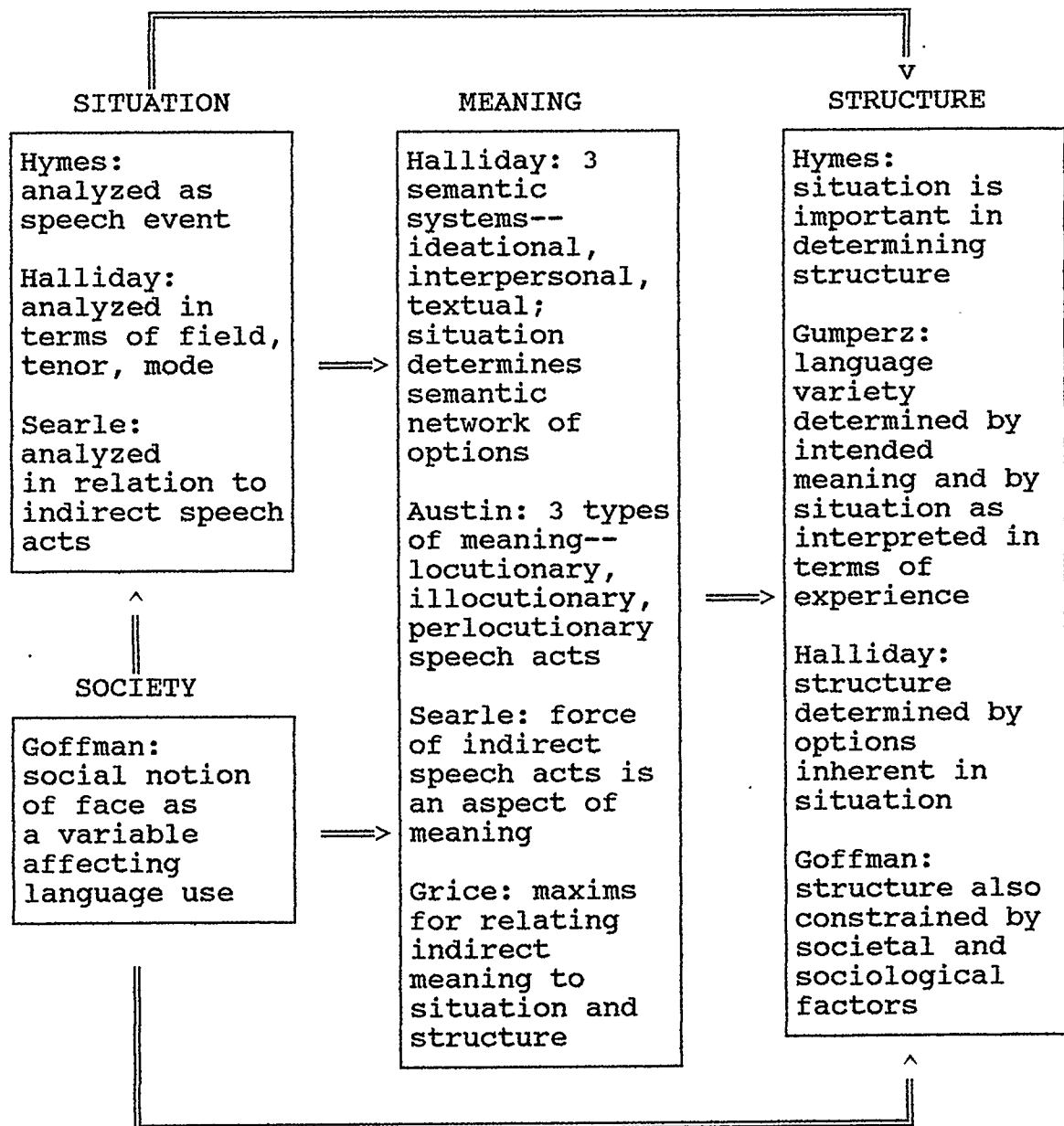


Figure 1: Summary of views of situation, meaning and structure.

and perlocutionary speech acts which comprise different aspects of meaning from the speaker's perspective. Implicit in both of the approaches is the understanding that the categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive but can operate simultaneously resulting in multiple levels of meaning in a given utterance or instance of language use.

Searle and Grice have been instrumental in achieving a measure of understanding of the dynamic relationship between meaning and structure. Searle demonstrated that indirect force or meaning is connected to structure. Grice advanced the understanding of the rational process inherent in the relation of indirect meaning and structure by outlining some of its operative principles or maxims.

Numerous valuable insights into the understanding of language structure have been achieved in the last thirty years. Some of those contributions have been discussed above, among which are the following:

1. Gumperz noted that language variety (ie. dialect or language) is one aspect of language structure beyond the sentence level that impacts meaning. Language variety can serve as a meaning-carrying element of structure since meaning can be conveyed through the selection language variety.
2. Structural linguists argued that supra-sentential elements of language as discerned through discourse analysis are part of language structure.

3. Conversational analysts extended the range of conversational features that could be considered part of language structure.

One thing that does not seem adequately addressed is the function of this abundance of structure, some of which seems redundant. There is a need to search for functional explanations of the multiplicity of structural resources in language.

Although Hymes and Gumperz noted that structure was in part determined by the situation (see Figure 1), they did not suggest how language structure was systematically related to situation. Halliday can be credited with making one of the most ambitious attempts at relating situation to structure (and meaning) through his analysis of situation and notion of semantic networks. The work of Hymes and Searle suggests that other models of systematic relationship seem possible.

The research and theorizing to date has put in place a significant base on which future work in the area of language use can build. Given the understanding we now have of the relationship between situation, meaning and structure in language, the challenge for language researchers and theorists is to establish theories and models which develop these understanding further and use the base that has been built to explore new territory. A number of theorists, such as Halliday and Goffman, have taken on this challenge. As we will see, work in the area of politeness in language also

integrates many of the insights summarized above and explores language use further on the basis of those insights.

CHAPTER THREE

A Model of Politeness in Language

The Phenomenon of Politeness.

Because it involves the structuring of language to convey a certain type of meaning in the context of particular situations, politeness is a phenomena which seems worth examining in some depth in order to further the understanding of the dynamic relationship between situation, meaning and structure. Obviously, the view of politeness in mind here is more extensive and sophisticated than the use of please and thank you and the adherence to the prescriptions of etiquette books. Brown and Gilman state that politeness "means putting things in such a way as to take account of the feelings of the hearer" (1989, p. 161). Although the notion of politeness will be given more elaborate description in the following pages, this definition forms a good basis since it incorporates structure (putting things in such a way), situation (taking into account feelings) and meaning (implied by the fact that the speaker wishes to convey a meaning that impacts the hearer's feelings in a certain way).

The importance of politeness in language has been suggested by several writers. Searle, who drew attention to the importance of indirect speech acts in language, wrote that "the chief motivation--though not the only motivation--for using these indirect forms is politeness" (Searle, 1975, p. 74). Gumperz stated that "politeness . . . is basic to the

production of social order, and a precondition of human cooperation, so that any theory which provides an understanding of this phenomenon at the same time goes to the foundations of human social life" (in the "Foreword" to Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. xiii). It stands to reason that any phenomenon which is so basic and potentially influential in the arena of social life might be expected to exercise significant influence on language use.

Lakoff and Leech's Models of Politeness

Considerable work has been done in the area of politeness in language. According to Lavandera (1988) three influential views of politeness in language have been put forward: (1) Lakoff's model, (2) Leech's model and (3) Brown and Levinson's model. To begin with, let me review Lakoff's and Leech's models and examine them to see to what extent they advance current understandings of the relationship between situation, meaning and structure.

In setting the context in which she understands the use of politeness in language, Lakoff (1973) notes that speech reflects the speaker's attitude toward his social context: more specifically, his assumptions about (1) the people he is communicating with: their feelings about him, their rank relative to his; (2) the real-world situation in which he is communicating... and (3) his decisions, based on (1) and (2) as to the effect he

wishes to achieve via his communicative act. (Lakoff, 1973, p. 293).

However, Lakoff does not elaborate a systematic relationship between the people in the situation (points (1) and (2)) and language meaning (point 3).

What Lakoff's (1973) model does elaborate is how politeness constrains the form or structure of utterances because politeness sets the agenda for appropriate meanings that need to be realized in utterances. These meanings are expressed in the following rules:

1. Don't impose.
2. Give options.
3. Make A [the hearer] feel good--be friendly.

(Lakoff, 1973, p. 298)

Lakoff does not elaborate on how she arrived at these three rules. However, she does set politeness in opposition to the concept of speech clarity as set out by Grice's (1975) maxims for cooperative conversation and notes that clarity is often abrogated in favour of politeness.

The first rule, don't impose, impacts language use by such means as conscripting the use of passives (eg. omitted agent in "Breakfast is served"), impersonal expressions (eg. the authorial we in writing) and technical terminology (eg. defecation). The second rule, give options, involves the use of hedges, euphemisms and other meaning strategies which allow the hearer freedom to make a decision about what is being said

rather than forcing the speaker's opinion on the hearer. Strategies which include the use of compliments, expressions such as like or y'know and first names are realizations of the third rule of politeness which is to make the hearer feel good and establish a sense of camaraderie between the speaker and the hearer.

Leech's (1983) model of politeness, more elaborate than Lakoff's, forms a major part of his outline of linguistic pragmatics. Like Lakoff, Leech's major thrust is to analyze the impact of politeness on language use. Also like Lakoff's model, the rules of politeness are categorized in terms of the meaning they are intended to convey. Leech outlines six major maxims which operate under the politeness principle:

1. Tact Maxim

Minimize cost to other and maximize benefit to other.

2. Generosity Maxim

Minimize benefit to self and maximize cost to self.

3. Approbation Maxim

Minimize dispraise of other and maximize praise of other.

4. Modesty Maxim

Minimize praise of self and maximize dispraise of self.

5. Agreement Maxim

Minimize disagreement between self and other and maximize agreement between self and other.

6. Sympathy Maxim.

Minimize antipathy between self and other and maximize sympathy between self and other.

(Paraphrased from Leech, 1983, p. 132)

In his discussion of these maxims, Leech gives a much more detailed description of the maxim of tact than the others. For the sake of brevity, I will follow suit and describe only the maxim of tact in detail.

The maxim of tact works on the principle that one should minimize the cost to the hearer and maximize the cost to oneself. Minimizing the cost to other means suppressing the expression of the cost through indirectness and optionality (providing the hearer with a choice of acceptable responses). For example, it is more polite to say to the hearer "Will you answer the phone?" than to say "Answer the phone" (Leech, 1983, p. 107). This is because the former utterance is more indirect and allows more optionality to the hearer. Indirectness involves the amount of inference needed to arrive at the illocutionary goal from what has been said. Indirect utterances are more polite because their (impolite) force is more tentative and diminished. "Answer the phone" is less polite than "Will you answer the phone?" because some inference is needed in the second utterance to arrive at the

conclusion that the question is implying the speaker's wish that the hearer answer the phone. In terms of optionality, the imperative "Answer the phone" gives the hearer little choice in terms of response whereas "Will you answer the phone?", by expressing some doubt as to whether the hearer will make the desired response, gives the hearer more of an option to respond negatively. The appropriate amount of tact to be expressed through optionality and indirectness in a given situation depends on the cost of the matter involved (in the example above, the cost would be the amount of imposition involved in answering the phone), the horizontal social distance between the interlocutors (how well they know each other, for example) and the vertical distance or authoritative status of the hearer with respect to the speaker. For a fuller description of how these parameters might be understood see section below (page 44) on assessment of the seriousness of threat to face which employs very similar parameters.

The major contribution of Lakoff and Leech's models of politeness is their categorization of rules that impact language use through the stipulation of implicit meaning to be conveyed. If politeness is thought of as a layer of meaning, different rules or maxims make explicit how that meaning can be realized through language structure. Even though both of these writers mention the impact of situation on meaning and structure, they do not elaborate how this relationship may be systematized. Leech does categorize

situations in terms of cost, horizontal distance and vertical distance but is very brief at this point and so contributes only minimally to the understanding in that area.

A Third Politeness Model

A Sociological Variable Affecting Language Use: Face

The third model of politeness, the one adopted in this thesis, is based on the work of Brown and Levinson (1987) as set out in their book Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage (which is a reprint of their 1978 article in Goody). Brown and Levinson's model is much more ambitious than either Lakoff or Leech's model in its attempt to encompass a wide spectrum of the language system. It is an attempt to categorize and articulate an ordered relationship between elements of situation, meaning and structure as well as take into account sociological constraint on language use. Although the model used in this thesis is based on Brown and Levinson's, it diverges from their model in several places and the differences will be noted and discussed as they arise below.

In addressing sociological influences on the language system of politeness, this model adopts Goffman's (1967) concept of face. As already mentioned earlier, Goffman's analysis of social interaction involves the notion of face as a person's self-image consisting of approved social attributes which the person wishes to claim in interaction with others. When that image is not sustained in a social encounter (the

person is shamed by something that is said or done, for example) that person loses face or is in the wrong face. If the course of events do not call into question that image, the person has maintained face. In interaction, it is natural for all the interactants to cooperate in mutual face-saving since all wish to have their face maintained by the words and actions of others as well as their own.

Goffman, however, is not the first or only one to point out the significance of face in human interaction. For example, Yang (1945) in his description of a Chinese village uses the notion of face to explain aspects of social life there. In Taitou, the village Yang describes, face is social esteem accorded by others and involves honour and prestige. If one villager purposely asked a difficult question of another in a public gathering, the one to whom the question was addressed would complain: "That son of a turtle purposely embarrassed me and made me lose face. I shall not forgive him" (Yang, 1945, p. 171).

Scollon and Scollon (1981) use the concept of face to analyze the reality set of Athabaskan natives and compare it with the reality set of "English" North Americans. The Athabaskan native reality set tends toward negative face (see below). It is characterized by respect for the individual and care not to intervene in that individual's movements or thinking.

Another example of the relevance of face concerns in cultural understanding is Basso's (1979) description of the Apache's view of whitemen. Basso gives the following Apache impersonation of a whiteman speaking to an Apache:

Hello, my friend! How you doing? How you feeling . .
 . . Look who here, everybody! Look who just come in.
 Sure, it's my Indian friend. . . . Come right in, my
 friend! Don't stay outside in the rain. Better you come
 in right now. . . . Sit down! Sit right down! Take your
 loads off you ass. You hungry? You want some beer?
 (1979, p. 46)

Basso explains how this imitation shows up what is offensive in whitemen's behaviour. The use of the term friend is found to be presumptuous. The unsolicited inquiry about feelings is considered an impertinent violation of personal privacy. Drawing attention to a person's comings or goings momentarily isolates and socially exposes that person. The imperative (eg. telling someone to come in or sit down) is considered coercive bossing behaviour and therefore offensive. The impersonation is therefore made to demonstrate the overall lack of deference or attention to negative face (see below) by whitemen in general. This, then, is another example of how face has proved to be an important concept in understanding social interaction in general.

Brown and Levinson (1987) believe that the dimension of face is present across a wide range of cultures, which is not

to say that it is understood in the same way cross-culturally. Obviously, the interpretation of face at the level of individual acts and how they reflect on face is culture specific. The impersonation related by Basso (1979) above, depends on its effect precisely on the difference in interpretation individual utterances are given in the Apache culture and the whiteman's culture. At a higher level, the examples above of the presence of the face dimension in a variety of cultures suggests that various aspects of face may take relatively higher or lower prominence between cultures. In Yang's (1945) village honour and prestige (face enhancement) seems prominent whereas in the culture of the Athabaskans (Scollon and Scollon, 1981) and the Apaches (Basso, 1979) face loss is prominent as is seen in the avoidance of imposition which would reflect negatively on face. However, the basic notion of face and the fact that it plays a role in social interaction is understood to be effectively universal by Brown and Levinson (1987). Also seen to be universal are the two basic face wants which comprise face. Let us turn to a consideration of these.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the social person has two basic face wants: the want to be valued by others and the want to be free from the imposition of others. Brown and Levinson trace this classification back to Durkheim's (1915) description of negative and positive cults in his analysis of religious life. Of the negative cult, he says:

By definition, sacred beings are separated beings A whole group of rites has the object of realizing this state of separation which is essential. Since their function is to prevent undue mixings and to keep one of these two domains from encroaching upon the other, they are only able to impose abstentions or negative acts. Therefore, we propose to give the name negative cult to the system formed by these special rites. (Durkheim, 1915, p. 299)

Of the positive cult, Durkheim writes:

Men have never thought that their duties towards religious forces might be reduced to a simple abstinence from all commerce; they have always believed that they upheld positive and bilateral relations with them, whose regulation and organization is the function of a group of ritual practices. To this special system of rites we give the name of positive cult. (1915, p. 326)

Goffman (1971) picks up these notions from Durkheim's general analysis of religious life and applies them to the rituals of interpersonal relationships at the individual level. The negative rituals protect "the preserves of the self and the right to be let alone" (p. 62). In situations where an act might cause offence they serve to remediate by defining the meaning of the act in acceptable terms. For example, to remediate any potentially offensive reading that his act of trying to unlock the wrong blue VW van, a man may

step back from the door, stop, look at the key which he holds very visibly high and shake his head in puzzlement to make sure his action is read in the hopefully acceptable terms of an honest mistake by onlookers. Positive rites on the other hand support the social relationship between individuals by bringing the doer closer to the recipient in some way. Goffman gives examples such as offerings of drinks, inquiries made about another's health, and interest in someone's opinions of a movie. These are all gestures of concern with the needs, experiences and situation of that individual from that individual's point of view, gestures which work to support the relationship between them. Goffman has a high view of the role of these rituals in present society:

In contemporary society rituals performed to stand-ins [sic] for supernatural entities are everywhere in decay, as are extensive ceremonial agendas involving long strings of obligatory rites. What remains are brief rituals one individual performs for and to another, attesting to civility and good will on the performer's part and to the recipient's possession of a small patrimony of sacredness. What remains, in brief, are interpersonal rituals. These little pieties are a mean version of what anthropologists would look for in their paradise. But they are worth examining. (Goffman, 1971, p. 63)

By putting together Goffman's notion of face and Durkheim/Goffman's notions of positive and negative ritual, Brown and Levinson (1987) arrive at face with positive and negative components (see Figure 2 below):

positive face: the want of a person that his wants be considered desirable to others. It includes the desire for a positive self-image which is approved of and appreciated by others.

negative face: the want of a person that his action not be impeded by others. It is a want for freedom from imposition and freedom of action and includes claims to territories, personal preserves as well as rights to non-distraction.

(Paraphrased from Brown and Levinson, 1987, pp. 62-67)

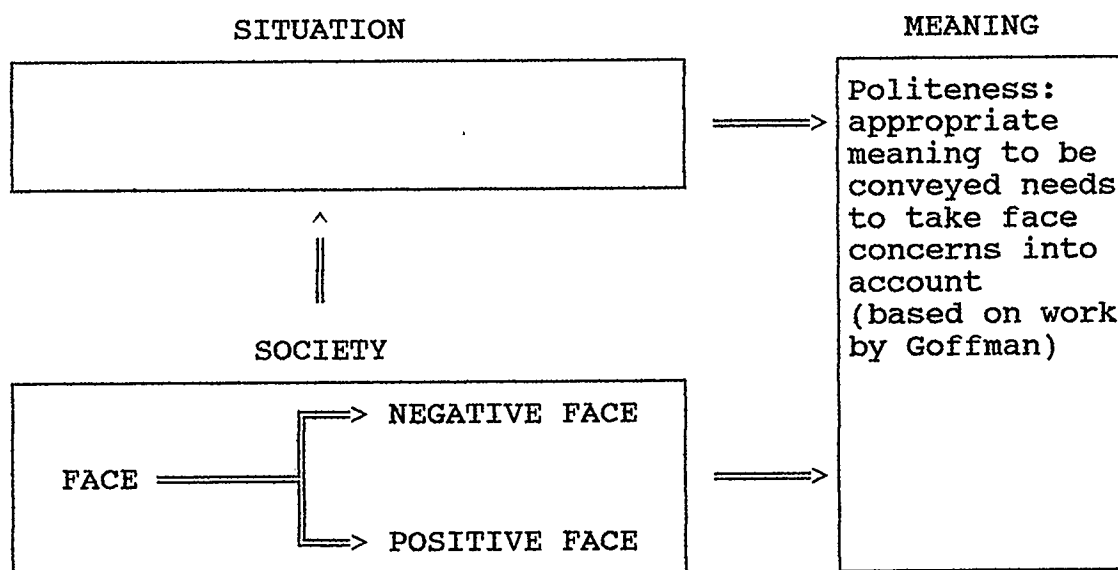


Figure 2. Negative and positive face.

Brown and Levinson (1987) adopt the concept of face because they consider it to be an operative variable in the societal constraint on language use. Brown and Levinson believe that face, resident in all adults except those who are incapacitated in some way, constrains language use for interlocutors across cultures. Part of that constraint is indirect (see figure 2) through the role of face in the assessments of situations, a matter to which we now turn.

An Analysis of Situations in Terms of Threats to Face

Threats to face. In this politeness model, the basis on which situations are analyzed is through assessing the threats to face present in the situations. The meaning to be conveyed on the level of politeness must take situational dimensions into consideration. Brown and Levinson (1987) use the label "face threatening acts" (FTAs) for certain kinds of acts which can intrinsically threaten face because they run contrary to the face wants of one of the participants. For example, when the speaker expresses disagreement with the hearer's views, the speaker is potentially indicating a lack of care about hearer's feelings. This is a threat to the hearer's positive face. A threat to the hearer's negative face can occur when the speaker orders the hearer to do something. This threaten's the hearer's negative face because it indicates that the speaker is not avoiding placing an imposition on the hearer's freedom of action. Generally people cooperate to maintain each other's face in interaction since face is

mutually vulnerable among the participants. "Everyone's face depends on everyone else's being maintained" (1987, p. 61).

Assessment of the seriousness of threats to face. In this model of politeness, there are four situational variables which are involved in the assessment of the seriousness of the threat to face: power, familiarity, affection and ranking (see Figure 3 below). Brown and Levinson's (1987) categorization involves only three variables, familiarity and affection being collapsed into the single dimension of distance. However, they admit the possibility of a four-part categorization and, for reasons discussed below, the four-part categorization is adopted here.

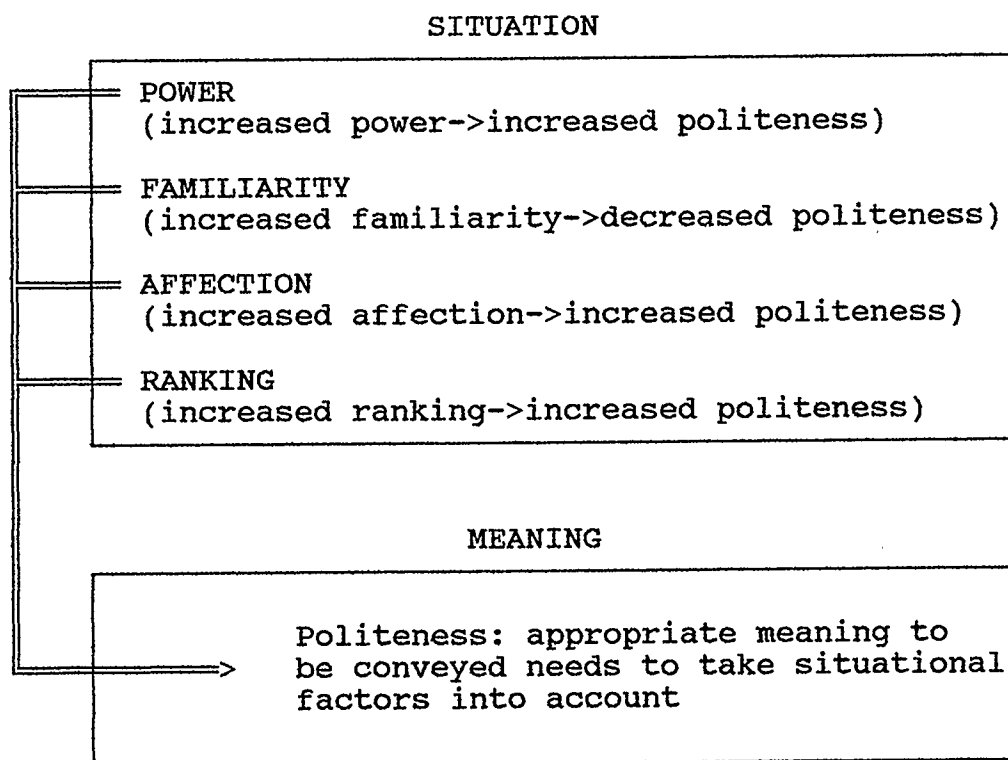


Figure 3. Weighting of threats to face in the situation.

Brown and Levinson (1987) take these variables to be pan-cultural by which they mean that the variables will be active in many cultures. However, the particular realization of the variables will vary from culture to culture. Thus, the variable of power is manifest pan-culturally but in a given culture pertinent realizations may be related to roles such as prince, witch, thug or priest.

Brown and Levinson (1987) base their variables of power and distance on earlier work done by Brown and Gilman (1960; see also Brown, 1965) who analyze the distribution of pronouns of address in European languages. In particular Brown and Gilman analyze uses of T and V pronouns (from the Latin tu and vos and corresponding to tu and vous in French) with T being the familiar singular pronoun of address and V being the polite form. They find that the distribution of these pronouns can be described using the two dimensions of power and solidarity.

Power. Brown and Gilman (1960) define power as the degree to which one person can control the other's behaviour based on the relative wealth, physical strength, age, or institutionalized roles that exist between them. The greater the relative power of the hearer over the speaker, the more likely that the speaker will use the V form of the pronoun. For example, Pope Gregory I (590-604) commanding high power in the institution of the church used T with his subordinates within the ecclesiastical hierarchy whereas the subordinates

addressed him with V. This example demonstrates the asymmetric nature of the power dimension of social interaction. Although the work done by Brown and Gilman is in European T-V languages, Brown and Levinson (1987) consider power and solidarity (distance in Brown and Levinson's terminology) to be universal dimensions of situations affecting language use.

Brown and Levinson (1987) adopt Brown and Gilman's notion of power as a major factor in assessing the weightiness of a face threatening act. Specifically, power is "the degree to which H [the hearer] can impose his own plans and his own self-evaluation (face) at the expense of S's [the speaker's] plans and self-evaluation" (1987, p. 77). The power variable functions inversely--the greater the relative power of the hearer to the speaker, the more serious the threat to the hearer's face.

Although Brown and Levinson (1987) introduce the power, distance and ranking variables as major components of the model, they do not expand as much on these variables as one might expect and in fact do not systematically demonstrate the effect of variation of these components on language use. This is no doubt due to their greater interest in typifying language data according to specific politeness strategies. The most extensive systematic analysis of the effect of these variables on language has been applied by Brown and Gilman to conversations in literature (Shakespearean tragedies) rather

than to actual spoken data. For purposes of exemplification several of their literature analyses will be given here under the assumption that a similar analysis could be made on spoken data.

Brown and Gilman demonstrate the effect of the power variable on language use in literature by analyzing a passage from King Lear. The interactants in this instance are Cordelia (the queen of France) and the doctor.

Doctor: So please your Majesty

 That we may wake the King: he hath slept long.

Cordelia: Be governed by your knowledge, and proceed

 I' th' sway of your own will.

(IV, vii, 17-20; quoted in Brown and Gilman, 1989, p. 187)

The doctor's face threatening act is a request for permission to wake the king and the queen's is a directive telling the doctor what to do, in this case, to use his own judgement. The queen's speech does defer somewhat to politeness--"be governed" puts the imperative in the passive and there is respect implied through the acknowledgment of the doctor's knowledge. The doctor's speech is considerably more polite--"so please" (politeness indicator), "your Majesty" (deferential address form) and "we" (inclusive pronoun). Although the example is not controlled for ranking of face threatening acts (ie., requesting to wake the king and giving an order are not necessarily equally ranked as threats to

face) and its possible effects on the language used, there can be little doubt that the doctor's utterance is more polite due to the fact that he is addressing someone of superior power (Brown and Gilman, 1989). This example illustrates how power systematically constrains language use in literature and the model would predict a similar influence on language use in conversation.

There has been a good deal of agreement with Brown and Levinson's (1987) position regarding power as a major component of assessments of face threatening acts in relation to the expression of politeness in language. Yang (1945) considers factors such as social status, equality and prestige to be factors in losing or gaining face in social interactions of all kinds. These factors could all be considered aspects of what Brown and Levinson wish to convey with the notion of power. Bates (1976), in apparent independence of Brown and Levinson's work, considers Brown and Gilman's two dimensions of power/status and solidarity/intimacy as the dimensions by which politeness manifestations in language are constrained. In empirical studies, Baxter (1984), Falbo and Peplau (1980) and Holtgraves, Srull and Socall (1989) all have found that the perceived power differential between the speaker and the hearer affects judgements of language use in situations involving politeness concerns. Grimshaw (1980a, 1980b) in his description of social interaction posits several key variables which encompass Brown and Levinson's concepts of power and

distance and argues that ultimately such factors will need to be variables in a characterization of any interactional or sociolinguistic rule system.

Rosaldo (1982), although agreeing that power may be a major factor in assessing face threats in North America, argues against the universality of the power variable. She supports her position by claiming that power is not an operative variable in language use in the culture of the headhunting Ilongot of the Philippines. In the Ilongot language, politeness strategies seem unaffected by the power or status differential between interlocutors. Therefore, Rosaldo argues, power should not be given the status of a universal. Rosaldo's comments, although thought-provoking, do not really call into question the importance of the power dimension in the North American English setting which is the primary interest of this thesis. One is also given to doubt whether her analysis of the power/status differential in the Ilongot culture is complete since in another section of her paper she seems to inadvertently give a counter example to her own argument. The example, which concerns a woman who says that out of respect she would use the request form rather than the command form in addressing her husband's sister, seems to indicate that respect (which is linked to power or status) affects language strategies related to politeness.

The weight of opinion on the matter of the power dimension seems to favour Brown and Levinson's (1987)

analysis. The formulation of its effect on politeness no doubt will need to be further defined and delimited. In general terms, however, it seems to function as theorized by Brown and Levinson.

Familiarity and affection. The second and third dimensions in this model of politeness are those of familiarity and affection. Together, these correspond to Brown and Levinson's (1987) dimension of distance which is based on Brown and Gilman's variable of solidarity. According to Brown and Gilman (1960) and Brown (1965), solidarity is symmetrical and is based on the intimacy or sameness between the interactants. It can be determined by questions such as "who are the people whose welfare is of great importance to you?" and "who are the people for whom you are less concerned?" (Brown, 1965, p. 57). It is based on the identities, similarities and shared experiences of the interactants. According to Brown and Gilman (1960), relationships of greater intimacy or sameness are less likely to use the V pronoun. For example, a sibling would be addressed with the T form but a stranger on the street with the V form. Brown and Levinson understand distance to be operative in a similar manner in the politeness model.

Brown and Levinson (1987) describe distance in the context of face threatening acts as "a symmetric social dimension of similarity/difference within which S [the speaker] and H [the hearer] stand for the purposes of this

act" (1987, p. 76). This may be determined by the frequency of interaction between the participants, the kinds of goods (material and non-material) exchanged between them, and social distance. Brown and Levinson do not substantially elaborate on this definition of distance and it is not entirely clear how they wish this variable to be understood. I find Brown's description of solidarity above more explicit and presume that Brown and Levinson intend something similar by their notion of distance. One thing that Brown and Levinson make clear is that in its effect on threat to face, distance functions in a straight-forward fashion--the greater the social distance between the speaker and the hearer, the greater the seriousness of the face threatening act.

In general terms, Brown and Levinson's (1987) notion of distance as a factor affecting politeness matters in social interaction agrees with the analyses of Grimshaw (1980a, 1980b), Leech (1983) and R. Lakoff (1973). In the introduction to their book, Brown and Levinson suggest that, given the evidence by Holtgraves (1984), Baxter (1984) and Slugoski (1985), the distance variable may be underanalyzed and that liking or affection, which they have subsumed under distance, should be a separate variable.

Brown and Gilman (1989) concur with Brown and Levinson's (1987) suggestion that a fourth variable is necessary and they suggest replacing the factor of distance with two separate variables. They argue that increase in affection can result

in increase in politeness rather than the decrease in politeness Brown and Levinson's original concept of distance would predict. As mentioned above, Brown and Gilman's examination of the dimensions of face threatening acts is based on conversation in literature rather than natural conversational data but for illustrative purposes I will include another example of their analysis here. In this excerpt from Macbeth, Malcolm reproaches Macduff in terms largely unmitigated by politeness conventions:

Malcolm: Why in that rawness (unprotected condition)
left you wife and child.

(IV, iii, 26; quoted in Brown and Gilman, 1989,
p. 194).

Later in the play, after Macduff has proved his loyalty and we may assume that the feelings between the two have become more positive, Malcolm again addresses Macduff. The speech is Malcolm's confession to Macduff that his suspicions of Macduff were unwarranted and it is imbued with an entirely different tone. The higher politeness level conveyed by the notice of admirable qualities, exaggerated approval and self-abasement is due at least in part, Brown and Gilman argue, to the increased affection between the two:

Malcolm: Macduff, this noble passion,
Child of integrity, hath from my soul
Wiped the black scruples (suspicions),
reconciled my thoughts

To thy good truth and honour.

(IV, iii, 114-117; quoted in Brown and Gilman, 1989, p. 194)

These examples from conversations in literature demonstrate how an increase in affection between the interactants is reflected in increased politeness.

In the example just cited, the dimension of affection works in the opposite direction predicted by Brown and Levinson's (1987) original distance variable. Brown and Levinson state that decreased distance (corresponding to increased affection) results in less politeness but in the example it resulted in a higher level of politeness. Brown and Gilman (1989) feel that the reason affect works this way is because affect results in greater concern for face. They allow that the social distance as measured in terms of how well interactants know each other may still have the effect predicted by Brown and Levinson's original formulation of distance. They therefore suggest that the affective factor be split apart from the distance parameter.

In the model of politeness used in this study, Brown and Levinson's (1987) dimension of distance will be replaced by the two dimensions of affection and familiarity, eliminating the use of the term distance altogether in hopes of minimizing confusion. Affection involves feelings of liking or disliking between the interactants and intimate love relationships would rate the highest on this variable and relationships of hatred

or extreme aversion would stand at the other pole. The example of Malcolm's speeches from Macbeth above is an illustration of the effect of the affection variable. Familiarity is based on the frequency and amount of previous interaction between interactants. This notion of familiarity is well described by Hasan's concept of social distance (not to be confused with Brown and Levinson's dimension of distance):

The degree of social distance is determined by the frequency and the range of previous interaction between the interactants. . . Minimum social distance obtains between interactants who have previously interacted fairly regularly in a wide range of differing fields. . . maximum social distance obtains between interactants who have either never interacted together previously or only very rarely. (R. Hasan, 1978 as quoted in Ventola, 1979, p. 275)

Newly met strangers would rank very low on this variable whereas family members living in the same household would typically rank high. The how-do-you-dos and formal addresses (eg. How do you do, Dr. Doolittle?) of newly met strangers are polite contrasts to the informal greetings (eg. Hi, John) exchanged once they have come to know each other better.

As already implied, affection and familiarity affect the assessment of the threat to face in opposite directions. Brown and Levinson (1987) interpret the work of Holtgraves

(1984) and Baxter (1984) as suggesting that higher affection between interactants results in more politeness and this will be the position adopted in this paper. Brown and Levinson reiterate Slugoski's (1985) idea that this effect of affection may be due to the fact that persons in intimate relationships avoid using each other for instrumental means and thus would use a high degree of politeness when imposing with, for example, a request. I find this rationale weak (if I have understood Brown and Levinson's cryptic discussion of this issue correctly, and there is a good chance that I have not) and feel that more work needs to be done in this area. With regard to the dimension of familiarity, this variable maintains the relationship to face threats that was expressed by Brown and Levinson's distance variable: greater familiarity (less distance) results in decreased politeness.

Ranking. The fourth dimension used in determining the weightiness of a face threatening act is ranking. Ranking measures the degree to which the particular threat to face interferes with the negative and positive face wants (see discussion above) of the hearer. In general, ranking is proportional to the expenditure of services (which includes the expenditure of time) and of goods (which can include such non-material goods as information, the expression of regard and face payments) entailed by the threatening act.

Again, the effect of ranking can be demonstrated on conversations in literature through one of Brown and Gilman's

Shakespearean examples. Macbeth requests Banquo to give him his opinion following the fulfilment of the first of the Witches' prophecies (Thane of Cawdor):

Macbeth: Think upon what hath chanced, and at more time,
The interim having weighed it, let us speak
Our free hearts each to other.

(I, iii, 153-155; quoted in Brown and Gilman,
1989, p. 198)

Later in the play, Macbeth again appears to request conversation with Banquo but this time with a great deal more politeness:

Macbeth: Yet, when we can entreat an hour to serve,
We would spend it in some words upon that
business
If you would grant the time.

(II, i, 22-24; quoted in Brown and Gilman,
1989, p. 198)

The politeness is marked by the lexical deference of entreat and grant, the inclusive we, the minimizing of imposition with some and the indirectness of the request itself. Why all this politeness? The reason becomes more evident as the play continues--the request is not for a mere conversation but for involvement in a plot to murder Duncan, an act much weightier in ranking!

Brown and Levinson's (1987) ranking variable has been generally accepted by others. Leech (1983) speaking in terms

of cost/benefits, Grimshaw (1980b) speaking in terms of valence and cost and Brown and Gilman (1989) using Brown and Levinson's ranking concept all accept ranking or a very similar notion in their analyses of politeness or verbal manipulation (Grimshaw). Experimental support for the effect of ranking on the expression of politeness has been found in work by Lustig and King (1980).

This model of politeness covers new ground in terms of the understanding of situation and its relation to language use. Brown and Levinson (1987) believe that the situational dimensions are additive--the cumulative "score" arrived at by tallying the individual variables determines the weightiness of the threat to face. For example, a situation where the hearer's relative power is high and ranking is low may have the same weightiness as another situation where the hearer's relative power is not high but the ranking of the act has increased. Although situation has been analyzed by other theorists in terms similar to that of power, familiarity, affection and ranking (eg. Brown and Gilman, 1960), this model incorporates them into an operative system whose output constrains language use. To put it in its simplest terms the system operates as follows: increased threat to face in a situation as determined by power, familiarity, affection and ranking corresponds to an increase in the level of politeness expressed.

The Role of Meaning in Politeness

Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies. Politeness in the context of this model means to speak in such a way as to express consideration for matters of face in a situation. This is essentially a matter of meaning. The meaning options for dealing with threats to face are categorized in terms of strategies. For example, in uttering a criticism, a speaker is going to threaten the face of the hearer because that criticism will reflect negatively on the hearer's face or person. Knowing that the hearer's face will be threatened, the speaker can choose to mitigate this threat through expressing a compensating concern with the hearer's face through one or more politeness strategies. These strategies will determine the way the criticism will be realized in actual structural terms. Strategies, according to Brown and Levinson,

imply a rational element while covering both (a) innovative plans of action, which may still be (but need not be) unconscious, and (b) routines--that is, previously constructed plans whose original rational origin is still preserved in their construction, despite their present automatic application as ready-made programmes. (1987, p. 85)

It is the rational element of strategies that determines how face will be addressed in the situation.

redress can take the form of either positive or negative politeness strategies.

The first type of strategy, stating the face threatening act baldly, without redress, involves presenting the force of the threatening act clearly, without any attempt to show concern for face (for example, making a request by saying "Give me five dollars"). Brown and Levinson (1987) identify this type of strategy with speaking in literal accordance with Grice's Maxims of Cooperation (Grice, 1975). These strategies may be employed when no retribution from the recipient is feared. Likely situations for use of these strategies are where the speaker and the hearer tacitly agree that the demands of face may be suspended due to constraints of efficiency or where the threat to the hearer's face is minimal (such as making an offer, request or suggestion that is clearly in the hearer's interest and requires no great sacrifice on the speaker's part). For example, "Get out" may be yelled at any person found in a burning building without regard to that person's face because the constraints of efficiency are uppermost in that situation. Bald, redressless utterances may also be used in situations where the speaker holds vastly superior power to the hearer and can destroy the hearer's face without expecting reciprocal loss of face. A principal may shout "Get out" to a student loitering in the vestibule during recess because of superior power and the

likelihood that it will not result in loss of face (to the principal).

The second type of strategy, positive politeness, employs redressive action to the hearer's face to counteract the potential damage to face. It addresses the positive face of the hearer through showing, in some way, that the speaker values the hearer and is supportive of the hearer's interests. Take, for example, a speaker who turns down a request to a party (implicitly threatening the face of the person who has extended the invitation): "You know how I feel about these things, Liz. I'm afraid a party like that isn't for me." By stating that the hearer knows the speaker's personal feelings, the speaker is implying an intimacy with the hearer and addressing her positive face.

Like positive politeness, negative politeness employs redressive action but in this case the redress is oriented to the hearer's negative face. The redress is an attempt to minimize the imposition of the force of the speech act on the hearer. For example, the use of few in "Could I just borrow a few dollars from you" is an attempt to minimize the imposition of the request.

Although Brown and Levinson (1987) do not directly address the interrelationship between negative and positive politeness, I understand their view to entail that positive and negative politeness function independently of each other. Despite the terminology of negative and positive, these types

of politeness are not viewed as opposite endpoints on a scale or even as binary entities that are somehow opposites of each other--they are different in kind. Positive politeness expresses approval and appreciation of the person and negative politeness seeks to minimize the imposition of a threatening act. Although negative politeness may presuppose positive politeness in that the speaker's desire not to impose entails an appreciation for hearer, the expression of the two in language is not systematically related. It is possible that a single utterance may include both a positive and a negative politeness strategy but this can be considered coincidental concurrence rather than systematic relationship:

You wouldn't happen to have a pen I could possibly borrow, by any chance, would you ol' buddy?

(Example from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 231)

In this example the negative politeness strategies of pessimism (negative construction) and hedge (possibly) attempt to minimize the imposition while the positive politeness strategy of an in-group form of address (ol' buddy) attempts to express appreciation and solidarity. However, these strategies are not necessarily interrelated and the presence or effectiveness of one of these strategies is not necessarily directly related to the presence or effectiveness of the other.

Going off record is the fourth type of strategy for expressing a face threatening act. In this case the act is

done in such a way that some ambiguity with regard to the speaker's intention can be interpreted in the act. Brown and Levinson give the following example:

If I say 'Damn, I'm out of cash, I forgot to go to the bank today', I may be intending to get you to lend me some cash, but I cannot be held to have committed myself to that intent (as you would discover were you to challenge me with 'This is the seventeenth time you've asked me to lend you money'). (1987, p. 69)

Finally, Brown and Levinson (1987) include a fifth type of strategy--don't do the face threatening act. The rationale of this strategy type is obvious and essentially uninteresting for the purposes of this thesis so I will forgo further explanation of this point.

The relationship between strategy types in the model adopted in this thesis differs somewhat from Brown and Levinson's (1987) just described. Essentially, Brown and Levinson's off-record politeness is negative politeness because it meets the criteria for negative politeness: it involves the attempt to reduce the imposition of the threatening act. If the speaker embeds the threat to face in an ambiguous (off-record) utterance, the threat is minimized. What we are left with, then, are two types of negative politeness, those that are on record (the threat to face is expressed) and those that are off record (the threat to face is not directly expressed).

In the model employed in this thesis, Brown and Levinson's (1987) strategy type of expressing the threatening act baldly without redress will not be included. This is essentially a null category and it is questionable if engaging in an act without employing a strategy can be considered a type of strategy. In any case, for purposes of this model which seeks to examine how threats to face are redressed by language this category cannot be considered a type of language mitigation. It is possible that there may be cases where speaking directly is a polite response but in that case it becomes a politeness strategy and cannot be considered to be uttered with no regard to politeness.

To summarize, the categorization of strategies adopted in this model of politeness includes two general types of strategies: positive and negative politeness. Under the heading of negative politeness there are two subcategories: on- and off-record statements of threats to face. Figure 5 below illustrates the categorization adopted here.

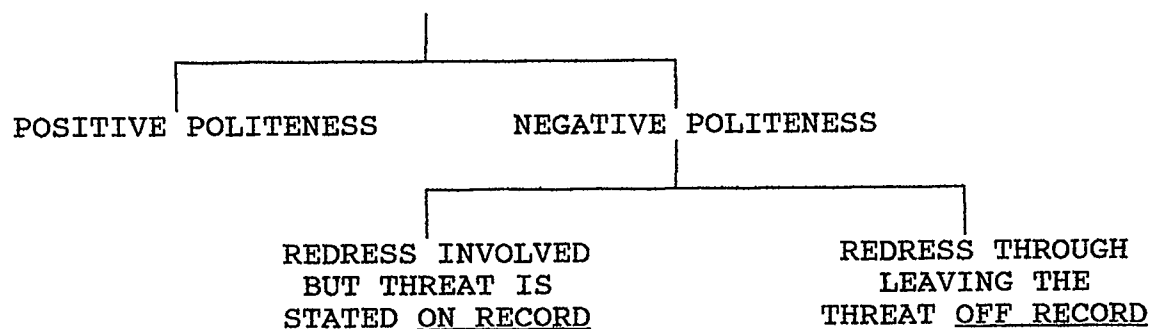


Figure 5. Categorization of politeness strategy types adopted in this thesis.

Positive politeness strategies. In positive politeness the intent is to express solidarity with the hearer and appreciation of the hearer's general interests. It is characterized by the type of speech that is found between intimates where shared wants and knowledge are presupposed, approval and interest in each other's personality is expressed and reciprocity of obligations or satisfying of wants is expected. One difference between positive politeness and normal language behaviour of intimates is that expression of positive politeness may contain an element of insincerity. However, this is compensated for through the implication that what is said is a sincere attempt to enhance the hearer's positive face. The following list of positive politeness strategies is based on that set out by Brown and Levinson (1987):

1. Notice, attend to hearer and hearer's interests, wants, needs, goods.
2. Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with hearer).
3. Intensify interest in hearer.
4. Use in-group identity markers.
5. Seek agreement.
6. Avoid disagreement.
7. Presuppose/raise/assert common ground.
8. Joke.
9. Assert or presuppose speaker's knowledge of and

concern for hearer's wants.

10. Offer, promise.
11. Be optimistic.
12. Include both speaker and hearer in the activity.
13. Give (or ask for) reasons.
14. Assume or assert reciprocity.
15. Give gifts to hearer (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation).

A further description of all of the above strategies goes beyond the scope of this paper and would be redundant to the detailed analysis that is found in Brown and Levinson (1987). However, to give a suggestion of how these strategies function I have included a number of examples here, taken from Brown and Levinson's English language data.

Realizations of positive politeness strategies in language use. Structurally, politeness strategies are realized in language in a wide variety of ways. Since the essence of politeness is in the meaning conveyed there is no necessary connection between certain structural features of language and politeness. For example, the positive politeness strategy of noticing and attending to the hearer and the hearer's interests or wants can be expressed in almost limitless ways, most of which are not connected to a particular structural feature of language.

On the other hand, some language features are particularly suitable for expressing certain types of

politeness. For example, the negative on-record strategy impersonalizing the speaker and hearer (see discussion below on negative politeness) is a means par excellence of realizing this strategy. One of the contributions of this politeness model to understanding language is that it provides another functional rationalization for the existence for the abundance of structural resources in a language. Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that politeness is one of the social motivations for the existence of some of the myriad syntactic and lexical resources available in languages: "In general the abundance of syntactic and lexical apparatus in a grammar seems undermotivated by either systemic or cognitive distinctions and psychological processing factors. The other motivation is, grossly, social, and includes processes like face-risk minimization" (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 94). Features of language which otherwise may seem redundant serve specific purposes in expressing politeness in language. Some of the structural features of language that play important roles in expressing politeness are modals, passivization, indirect speech acts and preference organization in conversational structure, to name just a few.

In the following sections, the operation of a number of politeness strategies will be demonstrated through analysis of speech examples (primarily from Brown and Levinson, 1987). In some cases, the politeness strategy is realized through the use of a particular structural feature of the language. In

others it is realized at the semantic level through the meaning expressed.

As a matter of methodological interest, the linguistic data on which Brown and Levinson based their work should be noted:

Our data consist in first-hand tape-recorded use for three languages: English (from both sides of the Atlantic); Tzeltal, a Mayan language spoken in the community of Tenejapa in Chiapas, Mexico; and South Indian Tamil. (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 59)

They indicate this was supplemented by elicited data for Tzeltal and Tamil and by their own intuitions for English. Brown and Levinson's examples utilized in this chapter are taken from their English data.

One way in which the positive politeness strategy of in-group identity markers is realized in English is through the use of familiar forms of address:

Help me with this bag here, will you son?

Come here, honey.

(Examples from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 108)

It should be noted that the in-group markers need not reflect reality--that is, they may be used with persons who are not part of the in group. The intended effect of the strategy, however, is to make such persons feel included. Another means of expressing in-group membership, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), is through the use of in-group jargon or

slang. In the following example, related by Gumperz (1982), failure to switch to in-group jargon resulted in a request effectively being denied:

The [black] graduate student has been sent to interview a black housewife in a low income, inner city neighbourhood. The contact has been made over the phone by someone in the office. The student arrives, rings the bell, and is met by the husband, who opens the door, smiles, and steps towards him:

Husband: So y're gonna check out ma ol lady, hah?

Interviewer: Ah, no! I only came to get some information. They called from the office.

(Husband, dropping his smile, disappears without a word and calls his wife.) (Gumperz, 1982, p. 133)

Gumperz reports that the subsequent interview with the wife was quite unsatisfactory, most likely due to the fact that the student had not replied with in-group slang. The student would have done better saying something to the effect: "Yea, I'ma git some info" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 133).

Embarking on a safe topic in conversation is a way of realizing the strategy of seeking agreement. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the venture into a safe topic can give the speaker about to engage in a face threatening act an opportunity to support the hearer's positive face through affirmation of that person's opinion on that topic. This may

be the functional explanation for some small talk phenomena on topics like the weather, illness or current local happenings. Preceding a face threatening act with small talk may also serve positive politeness for a slightly different reason. It can be undertaken to demonstrate that the speaker wishes to spend time and effort conversing with the hearer on a topic not related to the face threatening act in order to indicate general interest in the hearer and stress that the hearer has not been sought out solely for the purpose of the threatening act.

Positive politeness can be expressed through implication of intimacy through the strategy of presupposing common ground, knowledge or values. Presupposition of the hearer's wants or opinions is seen in examples such as:

Don't you want some dinner now?

Don't you think it's marvellous!?

(Examples from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 123)

A presupposition of the hearer's knowledge may be asserted through expressions such as you know:

Look, you know I've got this test coming up, well how about lending me your Encyclopaedia Britannica?

(Example from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 124)

Negative politeness strategies. Negative politeness addresses the hearer's negative face--the freedom of unhindered action and unimpeded attention. Negative politeness minimizes the imposition of the particular face

threatening act in question. It also includes deference and respect behaviours since these imply a desire to avoid imposing.

There are two categories of negative politeness. In the first category which involves redressing a face threat that is stated on record the intent is to minimize the impingement of the threat to face by means which do not involve masking the threat. The on-record negative strategies outlined below are adapted from Brown and Levinson's (1987) categorization of negative politeness strategies:

1. Be conventionally indirect.
2. Question, hedge.
3. Be pessimistic.
4. Minimize the imposition.
5. Give deference.
6. Apologize.
7. Impersonalize the speaker and hearer.
8. State the face threatening act as a general rule.
9. Go on record as incurring debt, or as not indebting the hearer.

The second category of negative politeness strategies involves stating the face threatening act off record. An off-record negative politeness utterance is at least partially ambiguous regarding the intended force since several interpretations of the utterance are possible. This allows the hearer an out because, if necessary, the hearer can attend

to an illocutionary force other than the one entailing a face threatening act. The threat to face is minimized because the ambiguity allows the hearer the freedom to choose an interpretation which would not involve imposition.

The negative off-record strategies in this model are adapted from Brown and Levinson's (1987) off-record strategies:

1. Give hints.
2. Give association clues.
3. Presuppose.
4. Understate.
5. Overstate.
6. Use tautologies.
7. Use contradictions.
8. Be ironic.
9. Use metaphors.
10. Use rhetorical questions.
11. Be ambiguous.
12. Be vague.
13. Over-generalize.
14. Displace hearer (direct threatening act at someone else than intended hearer).
15. Be incomplete.

Realizations of negative politeness strategies in language use. Let me begin by giving examples of on-record negative politeness. One negative on-record politeness strategy is the

use of conventionalized indirect speech acts. By means of their indirectness they skirt the imposition of the face threatening act to some extent. At the same time, by virtue of their conventionalization, they are unambiguous and cannot be classified as off-record politeness strategies.

Perhaps the purest example of a conventionalized indirect speech act is one that by its ubiquitous use as an idiom to convey a certain illocutionary force can no longer be used to render its direct force (unless some convoluted context is conjectured):

Can you pass the salt?

(Example from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 133)

One has difficulty imagining Can you pass the salt? as anything other than a request. There are a number of other bases on which indirect speech acts are rendered unambiguous. One is through the addition of syntactic markings such as please:

Can you give me the change in quarters, please?

The presence of please prohibits this utterance from possibly being interpreted as a question.

The context can also serve to establish that only the indirect force can be entertained. If the following example were said to a clerk in a shop, it would usually be understood as a request:

I need a comb.

(Example from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 134)

Hedges are another strategy for realizing negative on-record politeness. A hedge expresses tentativeness or limits the extent of a proposition. Words and phrases such as sort of, pretty (ie. quite), probably and maybe, are commonly used in hedging. It is easy to see how hedges can soften face threatening acts by reducing their full impact. Hedges also serve to indicate that the speaker is avoiding the imposition of the speaker's opinion on the hearer. By means of a hedge the speaker serves notice that presumptions are not being made about the hearer, the hearer's wants, or what might be worthy of the hearer's attention.

For example, the following hedges suggest that the speaker does not wish to presume that what is said would be considered truthful by the hearer:

To the best of my recollection. . .

I think perhaps you should. . .

(Examples from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p.164, 171)

There are also prosodic and kinesic hedges which can serve to replace or emphasize many verbal hedges. Brown and Levinson (1987) mention raised eyebrows, frowns, umms and ahhs and hesitations as some examples but do not pursue this area in depth.

Expressions of pessimism, encoded through devices such as modals, are another negative on-record politeness strategy according to Brown and Levinson (1987). Pessimism avoids imposition on the hearer through the implication that the

conditions for the appropriateness of the act may not obtain. In the following example, pessimism is expressed through a modal:

Could you do X?

(Example from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 173)

The modal could gives a hypothetical force to the request and implies that the speaker is not optimistic that the request would be granted concretely. Modals are an important realization of politeness in English. Not only are they heavily used in threatening acts such as requests but they are also one aspect of the politeness model that receives attention in language classrooms.

An obvious means of expressing negative on-record politeness is the strategy of minimizing the imposition of the face threatening act itself. This is typically done through the use of diminutive adjectives, nouns and adverbials such as tiny, a smidgen, or just or euphemistic verbs such as borrow used in place of take:

I just want to ask you if I can borrow a tiny bit of paper.

(Example from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 177)

Another strategy for realizing negative on-record politeness is apologizing, either directly or indirectly. One way this can be accomplished is through communicating that the speaker is aware of the potential infringement on the hearer's territory by the face threatening act and is not undertaking

the threat to the hearer's face lightly:

I hate to intrude, but . . .

(Example from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 188)

Often included in the notion of apologizing in English is the giving of a reason for the possibly threatening or offending act. Giving an overwhelming reason why the speaker is doing the face threatening act implies that the speaker is not undertaking the face threatening act lightly--the act is only being done because the speaker can do nothing else. This is the notion expressed in the following:

Can you possibly help me with this because there is no one else I could ask.

(Example from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 189)

Brown and Levinson (1987) consider the strategy of impersonalizing the agents (speaker and hearer) in the face threatening act to be another way of indicating a speaker's wish not to impinge. Avoiding direct reference to either the speaker or hearer removes the directness of the impingement. The passive with agent deleted is seen by Brown and Levinson to be the means par excellence for avoiding reference to the agents:

Further details should have been sent.

That letter must be typed immediately.

(Examples from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 194)

In all probability the list of nine on-record negative politeness strategies outlined earlier is incomplete. In

particular, as Brown and Levinson (1987) note, the strategies listed do not do justice to strategies affecting conversation at a more general level. The work done in the area of conversational analysis up to this point makes it seem probable that conversational politeness strategies exist and are significant. Interlocutors may attempt to give a conversation a certain tone (eg. deferent, urgent, etc.) which will encourage a hearer to respond without taking offence to the threat to face. Attempts may also be made to build a context in which the threat seems like a natural culmination to what has come before. For example, a conversationalist may moan and groan about the amount of work to be done and go on about how important the work is prior to requesting a colleague's assistance. Unfortunately, not enough work has been done in this area to provide a more certain elaboration.

Let us turn now to examples of negative off-record strategies. One means of doing a face threatening act off record is through the strategy of giving hints. This may involve stating the motive or reason why the act should be done:

It's cold in here.

(Example from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 215)

This statement may be used as an off-record request to close the window. If the hearer chooses to object to being subjected to this request, the speaker may claim that a request was not intended--the utterance was meant as a

complaint about the house's furnace. A hint can also be expressed through asserting (or questioning) one of the conditions for the act:

That window isn't open.

(Example from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 215)

This-off record request to close the window is based on asserting the closed condition of the window presently. In general, a hint involves flaunting Grice's (1975) maxim of relevance (ie. why is the speaker stating this fact) and the hearer is invited to search for a possible interpretation.

Understatement, another negative off-record strategy, flaunts Grice's (1975) maxim of quantity. Typically, understatements are constructed by putting things more moderately than is the actual state of affairs:

That house needs a touch of paint.

(Example from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 218)

The face threatening act intended here may be that the house actually needs a new coat of paint throughout and that the hearer should paint it.

Politeness strategies can involve intonation. For example, the off-record strategy of presupposition can be realized through marked stress:

It wasn't me who did it.

(Example from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 217)

Here the contrastive stress on me indicates a presupposition

that a certain someone did do it and the utterance serves as implicit criticism of that someone.

Politeness as a Language System

One of the most ambitious features of this politeness model is that it attempts to connect the various components of the language system (see Figure 6 below). Very central to the model is the understanding that the interpersonal level of meaning as expressed in politeness exercises considerable influence on language structure and systematically integrates major components of the language system. The strategies or meaning options available to deal with face concerns present in the situation are often realized through specific structural components of language which impact interpersonal meaning. The principles used to translate the strategies or meaning options into structural realizations often involve principles of implicature (usually based on Grice's maxims).

The rational selection of strategies and their structural realization is systematically related to an analysis of the situation. The relevant aspect of the situation from the perspective of politeness is that which is determined by the societal norm of face. The analysis of situation involves an examination of face threats in the situation which are assessed through the dimensions of power, familiarity, affection and ranking.

As already noted in a number of instances, this model of politeness is based on the work of theorists and researchers

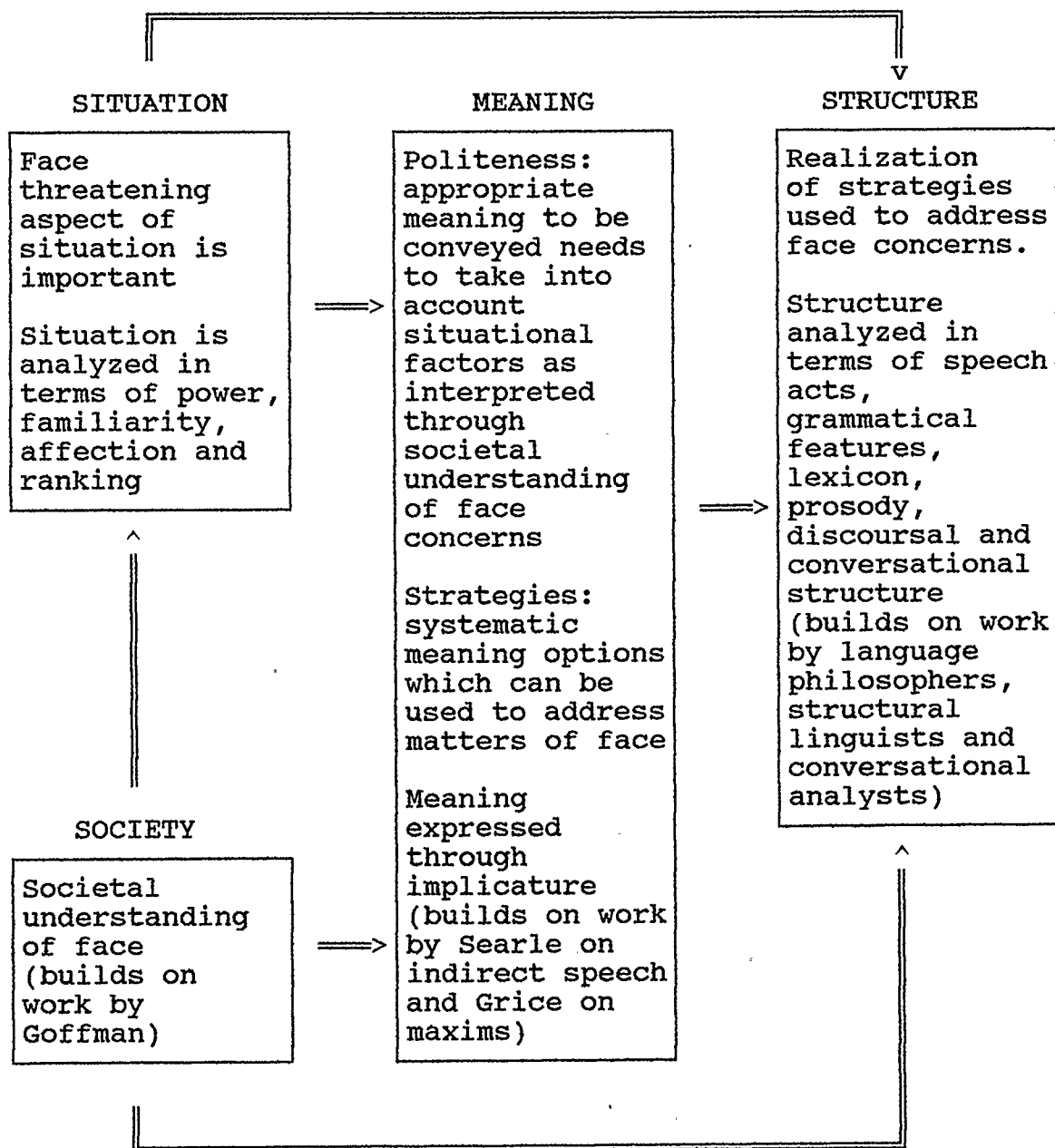


Figure 6. Politeness Model Perspective of Situation, Meaning and Structure.

many areas. The appreciation for the structural resources of language is particularly indebted to the work of language philosophers, structural linguists and conversational analysts. An important contribution of politeness theory has been the partial functional rationalization for the abundance of those structural resources. Many of the apparently redundant features of language are actually non-redundant language resources available for realizing degrees of politeness.

In terms of meaning, the politeness model has built on and extended the work of Searle and Grice on the rational process that relates meaning to structure. It has also enlarged the understanding of interpersonal meaning through the incorporation of some of Goffman's insights. In the area of the relation of situation to language use, this model has contributed another perspective from which situations can be categorized systematically and has brought to light how Goffman's societal dimension of face can impact the assessments of situations made by interlocutors.

Politeness and Second Language Learning

An important implication of this model of politeness for language learning is that it makes explicit and describes in fairly extensive terms another aspect of the language system that learners need to acquire. Several areas of the politeness model seem particularly critical to second language learning. To begin with, the model rests on a sociological

notion of face. Although work done to date in a variety of cultures suggests that face is relatively universal, its particularization in specific societies is not necessarily so. Do language learners show any evidence that they approach the politeness aspects of language from a basis of face and, if so, have the culturally variant aspects of face been acknowledged consciously or unconsciously?

With regard to the analysis of situation, how do language learners assess parameters of power, familiarity, affection and ranking? As has been noted above, the specific assessments of these variables may differ among cultures. In order to structure their speech appropriately, language learners need to adopt the assessment norms of the target culture.

Politeness is the creation of a type of interpersonal meaning. Interlocutors do not just wish to be polite in a given situation, they attempt to create meaning. Interlocutors wish to convey their attitudes and perceptions about the persons they are talking with through politeness. These are not conveyed through direct statements (at least not usually). Rather these are carried in the nuances and subtext of conversation, namely through politeness strategies which function to address the social identity of interactants (face). Learners of a second language are faced with the challenge of mastering this semantic aspect of the politeness system, for without it, they are doomed to meet with at least

some failure in their attempts at politeness since in the final analysis it is the semantic content of utterances that creates politeness. It is in the interpersonal meaning, the expression of their attitude to their conversational partners, that the essence of politeness is conveyed.

Language learners must understand what interpersonal meaning options (ie. politeness strategies) are available in a given language and culture. The learners' rational system guiding the use of the strategies must function in a way that is compatible with the usual approach taken to expressing politeness in the target culture. In other words language learners must be able to integrate (1) the relevant features of the situation and (2) the system for guiding choice of politeness strategies to be able to produce appropriate utterances for given situations.

The challenge language learners are faced with can also be expressed in terms of Halliday's (1978) semantic networks. Language learners often struggle just to express themselves clearly at the ideational level. This is the level of language that expresses the propositional content or ideas. However, politeness functions largely at the interpersonal semantic level, adding a second layer of burden to the expressive capabilities of second language learners.

Finally, how do language learners deal with politeness at the structural level--the realization of politeness strategies in actual conversational utterances? Language learners need

to master the structural resources of the language for conveying politeness. For example, this involves acquiring competence in passives as a resource for realizing the politeness strategy of impersonalizing the agents.

The greatest thrust of the research that has been carried out with second language learners and politeness has focused on the structural aspect. A number of attempts have been made to assess whether language learners demonstrate sensitivity to politeness in language at a structural level. For example, Walters (1979), Fraser and Nolen (1981), Carrell and Konneker (1981) and Tanaka and Kawade (1982) had language learners rank or rate a variety of utterances for politeness or deference. The utterances on which the learners made judgements varied in terms of indirectness and possible syntactic factors that might be related to politeness such as conditionality, presence of modals, tense of modals and sentence type (imperative, interrogative, assertive). The results from all of these studies suggest that language learners are sensitive in much the same way as native speakers to politeness levels which might be conveyed by these structures.

To give the flavour of some of this ranking and rating research let me describe more fully Carrell and Konneker's (1981) study. This experiment involved two sets of participants--a group of native English speaking university undergraduates and a group of intermediate and advanced ESL students. Both sets of participants performed identical

tasks. All participants read a card which described a purchase context such as buying cigarettes at a newspaper-tobacco stand. They were then given eight more cards, each of which contained a request utterance appropriate to that purchase situation. For example, one of the cards contained the utterance "Could you give me a pack of Marlboros?" (Carrell and Konneker, 1981, p. 21). The eight utterances in the set all contained requests for Marlboros but varied in politeness based on a priori syntactic grounds. A question such as "Do you have a pack of Marlboros?" was considered more polite by the researchers than the declarative "I want a pack of Marlboros" because it allowed the hearer more freedom and the imperative "Give me a pack of Marlboros" was considered the least polite by the same rationale (Carrell and Konneker, 1981, p. 21). Similarly, an utterance with a modal such as "I'll have a pack of Marlboros" was considered more polite than an utterance with no modal such as "I want a pack of Marlboros" because the modal adds indirectness to the utterance. An utterance with a past modal such as "I'd like a pack of Marlboros" was regarded as even more polite because it conveys greater uncertainty than the present modal (Carrell and Konneker, 1981, p. 21). The participants were asked to subjectively rank the politeness of the eight utterances by sorting the cards so that the utterance they considered to be most polite would be on top and the least, on the bottom. Each participant was given three different situations for

which they were asked to rank three different sets of eight utterances.

The results of the experiments indicated that the members in each group ranked the utterances quite consistently within groups. Also, the native-speaking undergrad and the ESL rankings were fairly well correlated with each other and with an a priori syntactic ranking based on the syntactic features described above.

Some research has also examined aspects of the situation with regard to their relation to politeness. These included attempts to examine whether factors related to power, familiarity and ranking affected politeness in the output of language learners. Through role-play type exercises, Rintell (1979, 1981), Scarcella (1979), Scarcella and Brunak (1981), Zimin (1981) and Walters (1981) investigated how factors such as gender, age or status of the hearer, level of language proficiency of the speaker, types of situations and kinds of face threatening acts affect the amount of politeness or type of politeness strategies used by language learners. The results generally indicate that non-native speakers are able to manipulate language in accordance with politeness concerns, varying their politeness in relation to the age, status and sex of the person addressed and the ranking of the face threatening act. Some of these studies seemed to indicate that the repertoire of language strategies used to express

politeness by language learners seems more limited than that of native speakers.

Again, let me describe one of the studies more fully, that of Scarcella and Brunak (1981). Twenty male adult ESL students (ten beginning level, 10 advanced level) and six male native English speakers were asked to role-play how they would invite another male to an office party and in the invitation make clear that the invitee should not bring his wife. Each participant took on the role of inviter three times--once extending the invitation to the boss, once to a subordinate clerk and once to a fellow employee who is a good friend. The results indicated that the ESL participants varied their language significantly in accordance with the power or status of the person addressed. These results were obtained by analyzing transcripts of the video-taped role plays for politeness strategies set out in Brown and Levinson's (1987) work. The transcripts were analyzed by coding and counting of such features as hedges, indirectness, slang and ellipsis. The results also indicated that the variety of strategies and the quantity of politeness features used by ESL students lagged well behind that of native speakers.

The research thus far in the area of second language learning and politeness has failed to address a number of important areas. To begin with, the societal notion of face has not been directly examined. Are language learners motivated to speak politely due to an underlying concern to

support the face of their conversational partners? Are there other reasons why they attempt to speak politely? The research undertaken in this thesis has endeavoured to gain more information regarding the determinants for politeness. An understanding of the impetus for politeness in second language learners should be helpful in understanding when and how they express politeness.

The research cited above also indicated that elements of the situation, such as power and ranking, were taken into account by language speakers in the context of politeness. However, the research was basically of the litmus variety--it noted the presence but did not attempt to examine the systematic operation of the various dimensions. The present research has attempted to examine in more depth language learners' assessments of some of these variables.

The structural aspect of the politeness system of language learners has already been the subject of a fair amount of research as has been discussed above. It seems clear that language learners acquire many of the structural features of language used to express politeness and understand some of their impact on politeness. The present research has attempted to assess to what extent language learners are consciously aware of structural resources they employ to express politeness. If language learners are employing certain structures at the conscious level, this would suggest

that direct teaching of language strategies could be advantageous.

In the previous research, there seems to have been no attempt to directly examine the learners' understanding of the meaning they are creating in the use of politeness or to ascertain if the meaning they are creating is determined by a concern for face. Even though this area is very important for understanding politeness, it is difficult to access through research. Given the difficulties involved, the present research did not investigate this matter.

From the perspective of language learning, another issue is of vital importance. How are the various aspects of the second language politeness system learned? Is any of it acquired through formal instruction? Is some of it transferred from the first language? Are aspects of it acquired informally or subconsciously? How well do learners feel they have been able to learn the politeness system of the target language? This is an area that has not been attended to in the second language research on politeness. The present research was designed to examine the learning of politeness features in a language. The fact that learning does occur seems fairly certain given the demonstrated politeness competence of second language learners in previous research but how was this competence achieved? The answer to these questions should interest language educators.

Finally, one other question the research addressed was cultural variability in politeness. Is politeness equally important in different cultures? Are there cultural variations in the way aspects of the politeness system is viewed? Answers to these questions could help in the understanding of how politeness is expressed by individual learners.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Design

Research Approach

A qualitative research design was employed in this study. The interest was in obtaining more information about what learners know and think about politeness, rather than in testing a particular hypothesis. Given the fact that some of the questions of interest did not appear to have been investigated before, a qualitative approach was suitable for an initial investigation, hopefully uncovering information and suggesting variables that could later be subjected to closer and more controlled scrutiny. The primary method chosen for obtaining information was through open-ended questioning in individual interviews with participants.

The interviews were designed to elicit information about five areas: (a) the sociological component of the politeness model, (b) the situational component of the politeness model, (c) the structural component of the politeness model, (d) the learning of the politeness system in a second language and (e) cultural variation in politeness. As will be described below, each of these areas involved one or more specific research questions. In order to elicit information from participants about each of these, the interview questions described below were formulated.

Because the model of politeness centres on manifestations of politeness in speech, the research also elicited

conversational samples of polite speech from participants. This was done by having participants play roles in assigned conversations (described below) which involved the use of politeness. The data obtained through the role plays was used to supplement and compare with the information obtained in the interviews.

Interviews

The interview questions were designed to elicit information that would bear on the main questions of interest in this research. For each of the main research questions, one or more interview questions were constructed to draw out information that would shed light on that issue. It should be noted that the questions listed below only formed a loose protocol for the interviews. The order, as well as the wording, of the questions in the interviews did not necessarily correspond to the way in which the questions are presented below. The flow of each interview determined when and how questions were asked. Also, in the interviews some questions were passed over and others added, again depending on the nature of the particular interview. The guiding principle was to probe those areas in which the participants seemed most able to give useful information.

The Sociological Component of the Politeness Model

The research question related to the sociological component of the politeness system was "What are the sociological determinants of politeness?". The model of

politeness which is the basis of this thesis suggests that interlocutors are polite because they want to support the face of their conversational partner as well as their own. Do language learners seem to be motivated to speak politely because of an explicit concern with face? The interview question designed to initiate an exchange with the participants on this issue was:

1. Why do people speak politely?

Although participants were not expected to mention face as a sociological determinant of politeness directly, their answers should reflect underlying assumptions that could be interpreted as supporting or casting doubt on face as an operative construct.

The Situational Component of the Politeness Model

The research question relating to the situational component of the politeness model was " Do learners take into account the situational dimensions of power, familiarity and ranking?" The politeness model which forms the perspective of this study sets out power, familiarity, affection and ranking as the situational factors which affect the selection of language strategies. The interview question probing the area of the power relationship between the speaker and the hearer was:

2. Who on this list should you be most polite to in Canada? Why?

When the question was asked the participants were presented

with the following list of possibilities: friends, doctors, strangers in the street, teachers, classmates, older people, police officers, neighbours, clerks in shops, someone else. Participants were given the opportunity to choose more than one possibility, rank items on the list or discuss the relationship between items on the list. The rationale behind this question was that the choices on the list would give some idea of what kind of social roles were given highest ranking in the context of speaking politely. Also the explanation for their choices would give some information regarding the ranking system they used.

In order to obtain information regarding how participants ranked the dimension of familiarity, participants were asked:

3. What would you do differently if you were asking a good friend for a favour or a stranger?

Why would you be more polite to the stranger?

Not only would this question show if familiarity affected their use of politeness strategies, it would also show in which direction that effect was.

As noted in the previous chapter, the understanding of the dimension of affection is still tentative at this point. Also, it is difficult to construct an interview question that would factor out and provide clear information on this dimension. In the present research, this area was not specifically probed.

Finally, the area of the ranking of face threatening acts was pursued rather indirectly through this question:

4. What kinds of things is it not polite to ask someone about or ask someone for in Canada?

To date there has been no scheme elaborated for systematically ranking face threatening acts. Researchers have compared individual threatening acts and, on an intuitive basis, have rated them relative to each other but there have not been attempts to formulate a general basis for rating ranking. This lacuna is no doubt due to the diversity and quantity of threatening acts. Given the lack of a rational approach to ranking, this research did not attempt to elicit comparative ranking from participants. Instead, a much more basic and simple objective was aimed for with regard to ranking and that was to obtain some information that would point to the existence or nonexistence of a ranking scheme. Asking someone about things that are not politely broached should provide some evidence that relates to this question since the fact that one considers a topic beyond the bounds of politeness implies that a ranking scheme exists and the particular topic in question ranks as a very high threat to face.

The Semantic Component of the Politeness Model

The most important semantic component of the politeness system is the language strategies which are the meaning options for expressing politeness. Since significant research has already been done in the area of second language learners

and politeness strategies (see Chapter Three above; Walters, 1979; Fraser and Nolen, 1981; Carrell and Konneker, 1981; Tanaka and Kawade, 1982; Rintell, 1979, 1981; Scarcella, 1979; Scarcella and Brunak, 1981; Zimin, 1981; and Walters, 1981), the main concern was not so much to obtain a general perspective of learners' politeness competence as to investigate to what extent learners were consciously aware of strategies for expressing politeness that they could use when speaking English. This is of interest to educators since classroom language instruction often involves the conscious teaching of language features.

The research question for investigating strategies was: Which politeness strategies have been learned? A number of interview questions were formulated to obtain information relevant to this area:

5. What does it mean to speak politely?
Can you think of examples of words or phrases?
6. If you were phoning to ask your friend to borrow a car, would you: (a) Talk about something else first, the class, the weather? Why? (b) Say something nice to that person--for example "you are so friendly" or "you did very well on the test in school"? Why?
7. If you wanted to ask a friend for a favour such as borrowing the car, would you say "Can you do me a little favour" or "Can you do me a big favour"?

Question 5 expresses the research question quite directly. Question 6 was included to specifically probe the area of positive politeness. Asking about the weather is a means of realizing the positive politeness strategy of seeking agreement on a safe topic of conversation. Giving a compliment is a means of expressing the positive politeness strategy of showing or exaggerating interest in or approval of the hearer. Question 7 was included to probe negative politeness. A common means of expressing negative politeness is through minimization and asking for a little favour would be an example of this strategy. It was also hoped that in answer to question 3 above, participants would give specific examples that would provide further information about politeness strategies.

The Learning of Politeness

A research question of interest in the area of the learning of politeness was "what is the politeness competence of advanced learners?" This is of general interest to language educators since learners' perceptions of their own competence are an important issue in learning, particularly when compared with other measures of competence. It also relates to the area of pedagogic needs, in that educational efforts should take into consideration those areas in which the learners are most acutely perceiving problems. Participants' views of their competence were elicited through the following interview question:

8. Do you ever find it difficult to know how to say something politely?

The second and more important research question in the area of pedagogy was "how are politeness strategies learned in a second language?" What was sought here, in part, was the participants' own perceptions of how they acquired the politeness strategies of which they were consciously aware. Therefore, the participants were asked directly:

9. How did you learn the things you have mentioned about being polite?

Cultural Variation in Politeness

The research question that addressed the impact of culture on the use of politeness was: How does politeness in the target language compare with the native language? The interview questions that were designed to elicit information regarding this issue were:

10. Is politeness important in Canada?
What makes you think it is important?
Is politeness more important in Canada than in your country?
11. Can you remember a situation where someone was surprised or angry at what you said but you did not mean to say anything bad?
12. Is there anything that Canadians sometimes say that surprised you because it did not seem polite?

Question 10 elicits general opinions about variation in

politeness between cultures. Questions 11 and 12 were designed to explore the possibility that some strategies for politeness differed between cultures. If participants found some Canadian politeness strategies strange or, conversely, Canadians found some of the participants' strategies strange, this would point to differences in cultural approaches to politeness. It was assumed that answers to other interview questions would provide additional information on this issue. In particular, for a number of the interview questions, a complementary question about how the perception of politeness in Canada on these factors compared with that of their own country was asked. If participants seemed to assume a fair amount of similarity between cultures, that would imply that many participants were transferring the approach and strategies of politeness from their native language and culture to Canadian English.

Role plays

In addition to providing information in interviews, participants also took part in role plays in which they enacted predetermined conversational situations which were designed to elicit politeness. The purpose of the role plays was to provide additional conversational data which would support or question information obtained in the interviews, particularly in the area of language strategies. This information would show how participants actually employed politeness strategies in conversations and could be used as

a comparison and elaboration of the strategies they mentioned in response to interview questions.

All role plays involved telephone situations. The reason for this is that telephone calls are fairly well-bounded situations that have natural beginnings and endings. Also, telephone conversations are situations in which the expression of politeness is limited to linguistic and prosodic features. It was hoped that this would push participants to maximize their use of linguistic politeness competence and display as much of it as they were able.

There were four different role-play situations used in all. In role plays REQUEST-HOMEWORK and REQUEST-CAR, the ranking of the face threatening act was varied. In REQUEST-HOMEWORK the low ranking request required information about a homework assignment and in REQUEST-CAR the high ranking request involved borrowing the other person's car. The participants were given the following information about these situations and the roles they were to play:

REQUEST-HOMEWORK: You were absent from your class yesterday and you want to find out if there was any homework and, if so, what it was. In your conversation, phone your good friend in the class to get information about the homework. Speak like you think a Canadian who speaks English as a first language would make this call to a good friend.

REQUEST-CAR: Your brother from Toronto is coming to visit you tomorrow and you need to pick him up at the airport. You do not have a car. Your good friend has a car but you have never borrowed it from your friend before and you are not sure how the friend would feel about borrowing that car. But, because taking a taxi would be very expensive, you decide to borrow a car from your friend. In your conversation, call your friend on the telephone to see if you can borrow her/his car. Speak like you think a Canadian who speaks English as a first language would make this call to a good friend.

In role plays DECLINE-FRIEND and DECLINE-TEACHER, the power differential between the roles was varied. In DECLINE-FRIEND, the participants had to decline an invitation to a party hosted by a friend. In the DECLINE-TEACHER role play, the participants had to decline an invitation to a party hosted by a teacher. In the DECLINE-FRIEND role play, it should be noted that the friend was described as a classmate who was not well known. The situation was described in that way to minimize differences that might normally be assumed in terms of the familiarity or affection dimensions between student-to-friend and student-to-teacher roles. These two role plays were presented to the participants as follows:

DECLINE-FRIEND: There is going to be an end-of-class party at the home of one of the students in your class, a woman/man who you have not talked to very much. She/he

has invited everyone in the class to come to the party and she/he is expecting you to come. You have decided not to go to the party. You do not know most of the other students in the class very well and you do not think you would have a good time. In your conversation, call your friend on the telephone to tell her/him that you are not coming. Speak like you think a Canadian who speaks English as a first language would make this call to another Canadian student.

DECLINE-TEACHER: There is going to be an end-of-class party at the home of the teacher. She/he has invited everyone in the class to come to the party and she/he is expecting you to come. You have decided not to go to the party. You do not know most of the other students in the class very well and you do not think you would have a good time. In your conversation, call your teacher on the telephone and tell her/him that you are not coming. Speak like you think a Canadian who speaks English as a first language would make this call to a teacher.

Role plays that vary in terms of ranking and power were chosen because the effect of those dimensions is more established than that of the dimensions of familiarity and affection. The fact that less work has been done on the factors of familiarity and affection means that the predictability of their effect on politeness strategies is less certain.

Table 1

Participant Background Data

	Native Country	Native Language	Sex	Yrs. Educ.	Occupation
C1	Chile	Spanish	F	14	Secretary
C2	Chile	Spanish	M	16	Forestry technician
CZ	Czech.	Slovak	M	17	Teacher
ET	Ethiopia	Tigrigna	M	13	Student
IR	Iraq	Turkish	M	17	Student
P1	Poland	Polish	M	13	Electro-mech. technician
P2	Poland	Polish	F	14	Art gallery manager
P3	Poland	Polish	M	13	Store manager
P4	Poland	Polish	M	11	Mechanic
RU	Rumania	Rumanian	F	18	Family doctor
S1	El Salvador	Spanish	M	15	Student
S2	El Salvador	Spanish	M	13	Mechanic
S3	El Salvador	Spanish	F	9	Hospital housekeeper
SU	Sudan	Nuer	M	14	Teacher
VN	Vietnam	Vietnamese	M	10	Janitor

Participants

Fifteen participants took part in the research. One of these, CZ, was absent for the role plays and only participated in the interview. All were adult full-time students in an English as a Second Language program and were drawn from three sections of an advanced conversation course. For a summary of the demographic data available on the participants, see Table 1.

Procedure

Introductory Meeting

The research was designed to give the researcher (myself) three contact points with the participants. The first meeting with the participants was an introductory half hour session in a classroom. At that time, I told the participants about the general purposes of this research. I told them that I was investigating how they expressed politeness in English and what their opinions about politeness might be. I then told them about their role in the research, telling them that they would be involved in video-taped role plays and a one-to-one interview with me. After that, I handed out and explained the consent forms to them and they were given the opportunity to sign them.

Role Plays

The role plays took place during a two hour class session. All participants were assigned role plays and given sheets of paper with the descriptions of their role play

situations (see above) and the following introductory instructions: "Read about this conversation and then think about how you would speak in a conversation like this. You will then have a chance to do this conversation with another student who will play the second part." The participants were allowed several minutes to think about what they wanted to say. The provision of time to think about the conversations was in line with the interest of this study to focus on the conscious processes involved in politeness. The role plays were not rehearsed so that participants did not have a chance to discuss their "lines" with each other and be affected in that way by what their partners might say to them.

Pairs of participants who had been assigned the same role play were asked to come to the front of the room and perform the role play (which were video recorded). The role plays were complete telephone conversations starting with answering the phone and ending with hanging up. Every pair of participants did the role play twice, each of the two participants in a pair taking a turn at the "lead role". The lead role initiated the call and the "support role" was asked to play the other part.

There were two sets of role plays, one after the other. With fourteen participants (the fifteenth participant was absent for the role plays), it was possible to have seven pairs for each set of role plays. Since every pair did two role plays (each partner taking the lead role once) and there

were two sets of role plays, twenty-eight role plays took place in all.

Some care was taken in the assigning of role plays to provide balance in terms of the role plays enacted and the pairing up of partners. In advance, role plays had been assigned in such a way that an approximately equal number of enactments of each of the four role play situations took place. Participants were assigned a different partner in the second set than in the first set. Pairing was also done with consideration for cultural matching with the purpose of having participants take part with a person from the same culture and a different culture in those cases where more than one participant from a country was available. This resulted in eight same- and twenty different-culture role plays.

Interviews

The interviews, spread over a two week period, took place at times when participants' class schedules would allow them to be released. Fifteen participants were interviewed one-on-one and these interviews were video recorded. Interviews were scheduled at half hour intervals.

Analysis of Data

All of the interviews and role plays were transcribed, resulting in 217 pages of transcription. The analysis proceeded by examining the interview data for information that related to the research questions in this study. The role play transcriptions were used to provide supportive and

illustrative data for the information that was obtained in the interviews. The role plays were coded by analyzing each role play for instances of the politeness strategies that have been outlined above under the description of the model. For an example of how a particular conversation was coded, see page 133 below.

CHAPTER FIVE

Research Findings

The results of the analysis of the data appear on the following pages of this chapter. The findings are organized according to the research questions set out in the research design and these questions form the major headings of this chapter. To give the reader an opportunity to get a sense of the nature of the data and how it has been analyzed, many excerpts from the interviews and role plays are included in the following pages. To be fair to the participants and give them a chance to express themselves clearly to the reading audience, the excerpts from the interviews which appear in the thesis have been edited for grammatical and lexical correctness, taking as much care as possible to minimize the impact on the meaning. In the case of the role play material, editing has not been undertaken since in this case it is the actual details and structure of the conversations that is under analysis rather than only the informational content. In the discipline of conversational analysis, errors, repairs, repetitions and other conversational rough spots have proven to be integral data.

What Are the Sociological Determinants of Politeness?

According to the model adopted here, the operative sociological determinant of politeness is face--interlocutors are polite because they want to support the face of their conversational partners. The participants' responses that

come closest to expressing something related to the notion of face were those that spoke of politeness as a means to avoid hurting people. Presumably what is meant by hurt is making people feel badly about themselves through utterances such as such as slights and insults. Hurt is essentially a negative reflection on the positive social attributes which the person wishes to claim in interactions with others (ie. face).

Four of the interviewees mentioned the rationale of avoiding hurt as a reason for politeness. IR said that the reason politeness was important when declining an invitation was to avoid hurting the inviter's feelings and he elaborated on what he meant:

Because when he invites you, maybe he likes you. If he doesn't like you, he would never invite you to his party. And when you say to him, "I can't come," maybe he feels you don't like him or something like that so you must be more polite and apologize to him.

(IR, p. 8)

S3 felt that it was necessary to be polite, even if that meant telling lies since

you would feel bad, after all, if I tell you the truth.

(S3, p. 4)

When asked directly if people thought about the other person's feelings when they were talking, P4 said yes and went on to explain:

Sometimes you want to tell something to a person, and you

are, you know, angry at the person but you don't want to hurt that person, you know, anyway. So you want to express yourself in a way that the person will understand but will not take it, you know, as a, you know, hurt.

(P4, p. 3)

S1 was another participant that felt politeness served to avoid hurting anybody. He went on to note the reciprocal nature of the use of politeness in this respect:

So if they ask you in a polite way, you are going to have to answer that polite question in a polite way. It's like you give me and I give you. That is like a game. If you are very happy with me, I am going to be very happy with you.

(S1, p. 2)

Most of the interviewees put it in more general, positive terms. They felt that politeness expressed good relationships (RU, P3, C2), respect (S1, P3, C1), comfortableness (S1, S2), goodness (IR), kindness (CZ, P3), caring (CZ) and pleasantness (P1). IR put it this way:

If we want to live, we must be polite. Yes. If we don't want to live, then we don't need politeness or goodness. Let us be in the jungle. That's better. If we want to live, we must try for politeness and what else? Any kind of goodness.

(IR, p. 3)

These positive expressions of the nature of politeness perhaps

can be considered somewhat akin to concerns for face, for expressing positive feelings and striving for good relationships in conversation may well involve enhancing that person's face.

There were a fair number of responses that seemed to support sociological determinants of politeness other than the matter of face. Most of these were cast in negative terms as societal reasons why a particular group was not polite (in the interviewee's opinion). VN felt that the people in Vietnam had become less polite because the economy had declined. Similarly, RU felt that the difficult life in Rumania in the last ten years had impacted politeness. The Rumanian people have no time to be polite and they are angry, they have problems to stay living. They have no food. They have no meat for children. And they have no time to speak very much with each other.

(RU, p. 7)

S1 felt that the people of one culture could be less polite than those of another because of classroom conditions. This occurred because teachers did not have enough time to teach politeness to this generation of children:

The teacher won't pay attention to you because the teacher has to be with forty, maybe twenty five, thirty students and he or she is running to try to do all the work and maybe that's the way they are losing the way to

talk politely.

(S1, p. 6)

A strong theme in the responses of the interviewees was that politeness serves to help the speaker achieve certain purposes. This could be considered an instrumental view of politeness. SU seemed to hold this view when he talked of speaking with a doctor or a boss:

The more you become polite to a person above you, the better he will serve you I know the doctors are very polite. You need to be polite to them too, to get better service.

(SU, p. 9)

P3 said that one should be polite to the police

because I expect police officers to be very polite to me and this, you know, is ping pong.

(P3, p. 8)

According to CZ, politeness to strangers can also be seen as serving to help the speaker achieve something:

To a stranger I should always be polite because I want something and politeness is a more sure way to receive the correct answer.

(CZ, p. 10)

An instrumental attribution of politeness cannot be considered a societal determinant because it is based on features present for the most part within specific situations rather than on

a societal basis. However, it was included here with the analysis of the societal determinants of politeness to show that there is evidence that contrasts with a view that would hold the face construct to be the sole determinant of politeness.

Do Learners Take into Account the Situational
Dimensions of Power, Familiarity and Ranking?

Assessment of Power

In the politeness model adopted here, the situation in which the threatening act occurs is analyzed in terms of the dimensions of power, familiarity, affection and ranking. Some of the most pertinent information regarding the dimension of power was the selection by participants of whom they would be most polite to from a list of possible roles and positions. Older people, teachers, police officers and doctors were selected as people to be polite to with older people and teachers being mentioned the most often, followed by police officers and doctors. As discussed above, the dimension of power involves the notion of status and all of these roles or positions selected involve a higher relative status compared with other roles or positions on the list that were not selected such as neighbours, strangers in the street and class mates. A few participants said that one should be polite to everyone.

Some interviewees seemed to contradict themselves saying both that one should treat everyone equally politely and that

one should treat certain categories of people most politely. For example, RU said that one should be most polite to doctors because of their job, to one's boss because a boss can fire you, to a teacher because the teacher teaches you and to older people because their life is bad. She then went on to say that

I think that you have to be polite [to a police officer]
. . . not because he is a police officer. No. Because he's a person and you have to respect the person. Not because one is a doctor or a teacher. Because each is a human being and if a human being, you need to respect [each person]. The job is not important.

(RU, pp. 12-13)

The data from the role plays also has a bearing on the question of whether power is taken into account by language learners when expressing politeness. There were two role play situations in which participants had to decline a party invitation--in one they had to decline an invitation by a teacher and in the other by a classmate. The most significant difference between the two situations was that the role play in which participants had to decline a teacher's party was the high power condition. Since the study was not designed to impose strict controls on the information taken in, statistical analysis is not appropriate. However, a rough calculation shows that an average of 5.6 strategies were used to indicate politeness when participants spoke to an

interactant in the teacher's role whereas an average of 5.7 strategies were used when the role was that of a classmate. Thus the role plays do not seem to give any indication that the power dimension was functioning as has been predicted by the model. However, given the nature of these calculations, this certainly should not be considered conclusive. It was my subjective judgement that the participants tended to interact in a manner consistent with their real-life relationships with each other (in most cases classmates, and in several cases friends) even in role plays where they had been instructed to consider the other participant a teacher. This assessment is based on the observation that they generally spoke with the person in the teacher role more informally than ESL students usually talk to teachers.

Assessment of Familiarity.

The findings that seem to bear quite directly on the operation of the dimension of familiarity was the consistent and strong response by interviewees that one would be more polite to strangers than to friends in Canada. As C2 says,

it's very important here to be polite. Outside the home, in the street when you don't know the people, when you don't know the person in the store--everywhere it's very important to be polite.

(C2, p. 13)

S2's example of when can could be used demonstrates how speech is less polite with friends and familiar people:

Sometimes can is not polite but we can use it with my friends or my wife or my daughter.

(S2, p. 1)

The participants had some interesting explanations as to why one would be more polite to a stranger than to a friend. S1 thought that talking very politely to a friend worked negatively in the relationship. Talking politely makes a friend feel

that you don't have a lot of confidence in him because sometimes talking politely makes a wall between people You are there and I am here and I don't know you very much so you have to be there, I have to be here. You are on top and maybe I'm down or I'm down and you're on top but we won't be together. Maybe. So that's the reason that maybe if we are very good friends and I would say to you "Excuse me. Would you mind doing that for me?", [you would reply] "Heh! Come on! What happened to you? [ie. Why are you talking like that?]."

(S1, pp. 10, 11)

S1 thus seems to see politeness as a distancing mechanism which implies a status difference between interlocutors. S1 also sees politeness being used with strangers because one is unsure of how they might react:

With your brother, you know him very well and you know what you are expecting. You know that most of the time

if you ask something of your brother, he is going to say yes to you and if you want a no answer, you know that he is going to say no And with a stranger, you don't know, really. You don't have the same, I don't know how to say it, friendship or you don't really know them so you have to be careful because you don't know how the person is going to react to what you are going to say.

(S1, p. 5)

P3 told the story of going to a good friend's party and being treated very politely there:

My friend . . . was very polite to me. I was surprised. He was a very good friend and between friends you are . . . not so polite, not so "do you like." Just "give me something," very simple. And he was so polite to me that I was surprised.

(P3, p. 6)

His friend's politeness was not only surprising but also made him wonder about their relationship and his comment was "maybe something is wrong" (P3, p. 6). He seemed to feel that this amount of politeness would only be addressed to someone who was not a close friend. Therefore, as can be seen from the above, most interviewees seemed convinced that more politeness was given to the less familiar person.

As discussed in the description of the research procedure, there was no specific attempt to draw out

information regarding the operation of the affection dimension. However, in passing I would like to note one response that may have a bearing on the affection dimension. S2 remarked that the politeness he would express to his boss would depend on his relationship with his boss--the closer the relationship, the less polite his speech to his boss (S2, p. 6). Although S2 did not elaborate on what he meant by close, it's seems possible that in this context it could be related to affection--that is, to what extent they were friends. Therefore, in this case more affection would seem to result in less politeness.

Assessment of Ranking

As discussed in the description of the research procedure in the previous chapter, the purpose in this study with regard to the dimension of ranking was not to try to uncover implicit ranking hierarchies that individual interviewees might hold. What was hoped for was some evidence about whether or not interactants indeed did rank face threatening acts or not. To obtain evidence bearing on this I asked participants if they were aware of any topics of conversation that should not be talked about in Canada (for the rationale of this approach see research procedure description). Many interviewees felt there were some topics that should not be talked about in Canada. The most frequently mentioned topic to avoid was that of a person's income. Two other topics mentioned by a number of interviewees were matters dealing with personal

relationships (including family matters) and a person's age. The fact that these topics should not be broached in conversation indicates that they involve a very high threat to face. It seems that imposition into the privacy of interactants is at its greatest in the areas involved in these topics. What is at work here is a hierarchy of ranking of threat to face and what is exposed is the highest end of that ranking scale.

There was also other incidental evidence that the participants ranked threatening acts differentially. IR, for example, relates the following story of a phone conversation he had with a friend:

He [the friend] was at his parents' home and he doesn't have his own home. He stays at his parents' [home] sometimes and he also comes to his brother's home. And when I phoned him, he was at his parent's home. I told him as a joke,

"Where are you? You don't have a home. Come here!"

. . . . Then I felt very sorry about that. Why had I told him that. Now he felt that he didn't have a home and he was homeless or something like that. I had no time to tell him that after ten o'clock that night because I work at night. I thought about that all that time. When I saw a [different] friend, I told him,

"I must now go to his home and apologize."

And that's what I did. I went to his home and I told

him,

"I want to apologize to you. I made a mistake with you."

"What kind of mistake did you do?"

I felt I made a mistake but he didn't I was very happy. That was it. I told him,

"There is no wrong?"

"Yes, there is nothing."

"That's okay?"

"Okay."

Then I didn't tell him what I have told you.

(IR, pp. 13-14)

In this case, IR felt that he had made a very serious threat to his friend's face--IR had told his friend that he was homeless. IR felt it to be so serious that he thought about it all night at work and made a point of going to his friend and apologizing when his shift was finished. Fortunately for IR, the friend had either missed the threatening force of his words or not ranked the threat to face nearly as seriously as IR had. This story illustrates how some threats to face can be ranked very seriously, implying that interactants do rank threats to face differentially.

In another example, S1 said that one is usually relatively impolite with friends in comparison to strangers. However, when speaking to a friend with regard to a matter of higher ranking, the level of politeness will rise:

Sometimes you have to be polite with your good friend

because you need a favour. You won't say "Heh you!" like that. Sometimes you have to know how to say something like when a person has died, you won't say "Heh, your mother has died" right now. It's your best friend and you won't talk like that. You have to try to find a good way to say it, not like cool water or ice, or like snow. It has to be very warm, very slow.

(S1, p. 11)

This again demonstrates that interactants feel that threatening acts are ranked differentially and require different levels of politeness accordingly.

The information from the role plays also lends some support to the model's prediction regarding how ranking functions. In the role play involving requests, one situation involved asking for information about a homework assignment and the other involved asking to borrow a car. Clearly, the role plays involving the request for use of a car were the higher ranking condition. As already mentioned, this study was not set up with the controls necessary for dependable statistical measures but a rough calculation shows that an average of 3.2 politeness strategies were used by interactants requesting homework information and an average of 5.6 strategies by interactants requesting to borrow a car. Thus, a higher ranking face threatening act seemed to correlate with greater use of politeness indicators.

Which Politeness Strategies Have Been Learned?

Positive Politeness Strategies

The information obtained in the interviews and the data from the role plays was most relevant to two of the positive politeness strategies. These are the strategies of (a) presupposing common ground and (b) exaggerating interest, approval, sympathy with the hearer. The findings that bear on these strategies will be discussed below together with how these strategies were realized in conversation by the participants.

Presupposing Common Ground. In the category of positive politeness strategies, a number of participants mentioned that they would use the discoursal strategy that Brown and Levinson (1987) call presupposing common ground through gossip and small talk. Brown and Levinson say that small talk can be used as positive politeness because the speaker is spending effort and time in conversing with the hearer as a mark of interest or friendship, thus stressing general interest in the hearer and indicating that the hearer is not sought out simply for the purpose of the threatening act (eg. request). One of the responses in the interviews that relates to the matter of presupposing common ground is the following comment made by S3 about how she would request to borrow a friend's car:

I would say "Hello. How are you? What nice weather we have!" or, you know, whatever, because for me it would

be rude to just, you know, ask him, you know, just like that.

(S3, p. 10)

Interestingly, some interviewees indicated that they would use this strategy for a slightly different purpose than displaying general interest as Brown and Levinson (1987) have posited. These interviewees thought that small talk serves to get an indication of the other person's state of mind or well being and is used to assess whether one should actually go ahead with threatening act or not. This is apparently why RU felt she would not make a request directly at the beginning of a conversation:

Because, you know, maybe the other person is not in good health. Maybe he could have a big problem and you have to know something about this person before you ask."

(RU, p. 17)

Small talk did not occur in a single role play (other than the usual 'how are you' inquiries) either before or after the face threatening act. It is difficult to know if this is due to the artificial nature of these conversations or if this is typical of the everyday conversations of these participants.

Another means of presupposing common ground is through indicating the assumption that the speaker and the hearer share common knowledge. Although they did not mention it in the interviews, the participants used this approach in the

role plays. This was usually done by the use of the phrase you know as in the following example of S1 declining a party invitation:

S1: I won't go to your party yet tomorrow. It's very hard to me to go.

IR: Why?

S1: You know, to be honest with you I have two, two problems, you know. Sometimes, do you remember the two guys that, that they are from the United States?

(DECLINE-TEACHER:S1)

In this example, in addition to the use of you know, common ground is also asserted through the mention of a common bit of knowledge--the guys from the United States.

Exaggerating interest, approval, sympathy with hearer.

Most of the participants who were asked whether they would give a compliment (one form of the positive politeness strategy of exaggerating interest, approval or sympathy with the hearer) indicated that they would not. S1 responded to the idea of using a compliment negatively because

if somebody does this to me I will know in a hurry that he is going or she is going to need something from me and he is trying to buy me, to catch me, saying "Oh, you are a very nice person."

(S1, p. 12)

To probe the participants on this matter I asked questions

like "Would you say something nice to the person before you asked about [borrowing] the car?" I was not entirely happy with my line of questioning because making a positive compliment this salient in my question sounded like I was asking about flattery, whereas in a conversation, positive comments can be interwoven quite naturally and are not necessarily considered flattery (at least by Canadians). Therefore the negative response to the use of compliments may be due in part to the way this information was elicited.

There was not a single role play in which the interactants used compliments. Given the generally negative responses to compliments in the interviews this is not surprising and seems to give some weight to the participants' assertions made in the interviews that compliments would not be used in conversations to redress face threatening acts.

Negative Politeness Strategies

Participants seemed more inclined to use negative politeness strategies than positive politeness strategies. The findings from the role plays and the interviews bear most significantly on the following negative politeness strategies: (a) being pessimistic, (b) giving reasons, (c) minimizing imposition, (d) leading up, (e) apologizing, (f) hedging, and (g) conventional indirectness. A discussion of the findings that bear on each of these strategies follows.

Being Pessimistic. Overall, the most commonly mentioned politeness language manipulation in the interviews by far was

the use of modals (such as could, would, and may), which serve the negative politeness strategy of pessimism by expressing a measure of doubt or uncertainty regarding the proposition being uttered. Modals were also employed by the participants in the role plays but not more frequently than many of the other strategies discussed below. The following is one example of modal use (in this case could) from a role play--C1 is talking to a friend on the phone:

Listen, I, I want a favour. Could you, could I borrow your car for tomorrow morning because my brother is coming from Toronto?

(REQUEST-CAR:C1)

Giving reasons. Another negative politeness strategy that was mentioned in the interviews was that of giving reasons for doing a face threatening act. Brown and Levinson (1987) classify giving reasons under the category of apologizing but I have chosen to keep it distinct. (See discussion in the following chapter.) In her interview, P2 talked about a recent problem she had had with her apartment manager. P2 had found white mice in her suite and said that, at first, she went down and politely asked the manager for free use of the laundry facilities to wash items with which the mice had been in contact. When she got a negative response, she then tried again:

I took a big box with very expensive wool, mohair wool, in which I know mice were inside among the wool. I make

sweaters and try to sell them. So, it was very expensive wool and I said to her "Before I didn't tell you about this damage but . . . if you are complaining that it's too much, you haven't come and seen and checked how much washing I need done . . ."

(P2, p. 6)

P2 said that this time she was quite direct in her demand to be allowed to wash her wool for free, but as her description above indicates, she gave the overwhelming reason why she was being so direct with her threatening request--her expensive wool on which part of her income depended had been affected.

IR indicated that reasons might at times have to be fabricated in order to reduce the threat to face:

Maybe I lie and I try to make him feel that there is a thing that I must do In this way I can keep from hurting his feelings. For example "My brother is coming from a journey" or "He is coming out of the hospital and I must see him at the time you are having the party."

(IR, p. 9).

In the role plays, giving a reason for doing the face threatening act proved to be the most popular strategy. In a number of cases, a reason was requested by the conversational partner. This usually occurred in the conversations where the participants were declining invitations and the reason for declining was asked for by the "host". However, even if these instances of elicited

responses were discounted, giving a reason would still be one of the most popular strategies.

The following shows SU giving a reason in a role play requesting to borrow a friend's car:

I wonder if you can borrow me your car because my brother is coming from Toronto tomorrow and, you see, I don't have car and it is very expensive to rent a taxi up to airport and I don't have enough money.

(REQUEST-CAR:SU)

Generally, participants gave these kind of straight-forward reasons for their face threatening acts.

Minimizing the imposition to face. In their interviews, two participants said that they would at times redress a face threatening act through means that correspond to the negative politeness strategy of minimizing the imposition of the face threatening act. For example, VN related how he had used this strategy in his job:

I worked cleaning for the Calgary Herald. I worked in the offices. I saw a lady work there, right, very late and I wanted to do my job but I thought about how to say it. Many times I saw what people say on TV and the movies so I knocked, knocked, and asked "'Scuse me, may I bother you? I want to do something--a little bit of cleaning here for you. Can you . . ."

(VN, p. 9)

The use of little bit here minimizes the imposition of the cleaning to be done in the woman's office.

However, more of the interviewees seemed disinclined to use the minimizing strategy. When asked whether they would request to borrow a car by saying "I need a little favour" or by saying "I need a big favour", they usually replied that they would use the latter. The reason for this seems to have to do with positive politeness, as ET explains:

Even if he's your friend or whatever, and you ask him a favour, don't make it little or something like that. Make it big and he will be happy to do a big favour.

. . . He feels like "I'm doing this for my friend and he called it a big favour and he borrowed it" and so he will be happy.

(ET, p. 8)

It seems that the chance to do a big favour is seen as an affirmation of the closeness and strength of the relationship which relates to the positive face of the interactants.

In the role plays, the minimizing strategy was used in several instances. Most of these involved the use of just as in this example where S3 is asking what the homework assignment was:

S3: I just wonder, did you go to school yesterday?

ET: Ya, sure

S3: Okay. Ahh, I just wonder what was the assignment

yesterday?

(REQUEST-HOMEWORK:S3)

However, the strategy of maximizing the imposition, as suggested by ET above, was used several times as well. The use of big in RO's request to borrow a car is an example:

I have a big problem I need you car. It's possible to borrow me?

(REQUEST-CAR:RO)

Other negative politeness strategies mentioned by single interviewees were that of offering help in return for the threatening act (CZ), speaking indirectly (CZ) and promising to not do the threatening act next time (P4).

Leading up. There were several negative politeness strategies that were fairly popular in the role plays that were seldom mentioned in the interviews or not at all. One of these was the strategy of leading up to the face threatening act. This strategy is not mentioned above in the outline of negative politeness strategies nor in Brown and Levinson's (1987) outline. However, in the introduction to their book, they note that this is a strategy that has come to their attention. They refer to leading up as pre-sequencing which is the structural manifestation of this strategy in conversation. However, in the approach taken to politeness strategies in this thesis, strategies are thought of as meaning options and leading up expresses the notion that the topic of the face threatening act is broached before the

actual face threatening act is articulated. Leading up serves to soften the act itself through breaking the ice in advance, so to speak. In the following example, P1 breaks the ice before stating clearly his intention to not come to the party:

P1: I call to you because I have a problem.

P2: Oh, what kind of problem?

P1: I want to tell you, ah, you probably, ah, organize your party . . .

P2: [interrupting] Yes, that's right.

P1: . . . for all this week. And, umm I have some reasons for not coming to, to this party.

(DECLINE-FRIEND:P1)

P1 first broaches the topic by announcing a problem, then moves a little closer in on the threatening act by speaking of P2 organizing the party before he finally comes to the matter of his not coming. Leading up occurred in eight of the role plays.

Apologizing. Apologizing was also a relatively popular strategy. It was most common in the role plays where the participant had to call the teacher (played by another participant) to decline an invitation to a party. In the following example VN is declining the invitation:

I'm sorry about I'm phoning you because I have something ah, to do my girlfriend tonight so I can miss your party. And even I'm very sorry.

(DECLINE-TEACHER:VN)

VN uses the phrase I'm sorry twice in this sequence to indicate his apology and this was the phrase used most frequently to apologize by participants generally.

Hedging. Another negative politeness strategy that was used in the role plays was hedging. In the following example, P2 uses a number of hedges in declining a friend's party invitation:

You know, I have second thoughts and I don't think it would be good time for me, really, because I know that most of the people what you invite, I, I don't know and even we are don't, mmm, don't know each other very much.

(DECLINE-FRIEND:P2)

I don't think, most, I don't know, and very much are all hedges used in this utterance. The hedging strategy was found in seven of the role plays.

Conventional indirectness. Conventional indirectness was also used relatively frequently by the participants in the role plays. In the following example, C2 makes her request to be told the previous day's homework in indirect terms:

Ya, I want to ask about the homework because, about the homework today in the class because I didn't go. I don't know what happened.

(REQUEST-HOMEWORK:C2)

She states her intention to ask about the homework, rather than making a direct request to be told. Also, she mentions that she did not go to class and does not know what happened

which also serve as indirect requests to be told what did happen with regard to homework.

Multifaceted Approaches to Politeness

Although Brown and Levinson (1987) allow for multiple politeness strategies for redressing one face threatening act, they do not discuss this possibility in depth. The use of multiple politeness strategies occurred in every single role play in this study. It seems probable that some selection process may be involved in determining the mix of strategies employed in a particular conversational structure. A subjective impression of the strategies used in the role plays in this research is that they fit the situation and work together as integrated components of the conversational structure. Although an analysis of the relation of conversational structure to politeness is beyond the scope of this thesis and there is little precedent to follow in this area, I believe the point can be made through an example. In the following conversation, S1, speaking with IR who is playing the part of his teacher, declines the invitation to the teacher's party:

S1: I called you because I lead up
 have a, not a problem, but
 I, I won't go to your
 party yet tomorrow. It's reason
 very hard to me to go.

IR: Why?

S1: You know, common ground
to be honest with you, I common ground
have two, two problems,
you know. Sometimes, do common ground
you remember the two guys
that, that they are from
the United States?

IR: Yes, yes.

S1: You know, common ground
I have some hedge
problem with them and I reason
don't like them and they
don't like me so I don't,
I'm not going to feel very hedge
well with them in, in your
party.

IR: Okay, man. As you like.

S1: So, if you don't mind. deference
we can have a good time incur debt
next.

(DECLINE-TEACHER:S1)

The overall effect is that of a cohesive approach to being polite rather than a random piling up of strategies.

Prosodic and Kinesic Politeness Strategies

Although there is not an opportunity here to go into it in depth, it should be noted that interviewees were also aware

of prosodic and kinesic strategies for redressing face threatening acts. A few of the participants mentioned tone of voice, including intonation:

Interviewer: Is there anything that people do to their voice [to indicate politeness]?

P2: Oh, intonation.

Interviewer: Okay. Can you say how they intonate to be polite?

P2: Smoothly. They can talk smoothly and not loudly, maybe.

(P2, p. 2)

In this case P2 seems to feel that intonation means voice quality, rather than what would normally be considered intonation in linguistic terms. However, at least one other participant, S1, mentioned linguistic intonation as a politeness indicator. Smiling, body language and shaking hands were also mentioned as politeness indicators.

What Is the Politeness Competence of Advanced Learners?

When asked their opinion about how much difficulty they experienced in expressing politeness, interviewees varied a good deal. Four of them felt that they did not find it at all difficult to express themselves politely in English, whereas two others found it substantially difficult. The remaining five participants that spoke to this issue experienced some difficulty in expressing themselves politely. One of them,

SU, gave the following example of a difficult situation in which he did not know how to express himself politely:

I went to a shop downtown here and I got a boy [clerk] who was the same age as me, I guess. I needed coins for the [transit ticket] machine and I had a lot of ten cent and twenty-five cent pieces When I came here, I didn't know the cents, the dimes or anything like that because I was not used to it. When I finished whatever I was buying, I put them all together because I didn't know [the coins]. I knew only the two dollar bill, the five dollar bill and things like that. So I went and gave him that.

"May I get this changed to a dollar and a quarter for the machine because I want to go on the C Train?"

He said "Okay."

So he began counting and ten cents were missing and he became angry with me and gave back everything. . . . I didn't know what to say then--how to give him an excuse or say it in a way he could accept. I could not say what I meant so left without telling him anything...

(SU, pp. 3,4)

The transcripts from the role plays confirm that the participants have a fair level of politeness competence. The lowest number of politeness strategies employed by a participant engaging in one of the face threatening acts in

the role plays was two and often participants used five or more strategies. Although there is no formal process for measuring the appropriateness of strategy use in context, my subjective judgement of the strategies used by these participants is that the great majority of strategies seemed appropriate.

At the same time, the politeness competence of the learners also seemed deficient in some ways because their use of politeness was skewed. Certain politeness strategies were used frequently in the role plays as discussed above and others hardly at all. The infrequency of use for certain politeness forms, however, cannot be considered conclusive evidence for competence deficiency in these areas since there is no native speaker data with which to compare it. One might expect native speakers to use certain strategies less than others as well.

How Are Politeness Strategies Learned in a Second Language?

When asked where they had learned their English politeness strategies, interviewees mentioned informal learning (ie. listening to people) and formal learning (ie. from teachers and books) to almost an equal extent. The following example in which S1 talks about going to the Bay or malls to learn politeness is an illustration of informal learning:

The salespeople are polite with you all the time because

they want you to buy something. So they have to be polite to you to make you feel very well, very comfortable in that place. So, most of the time, by being at some supermarkets and malls, you can learn to talk very politely.

(S1, p. 2)

On the other hand RU learned some politeness distinctions from books, a more formal type of learning:

I found some books and I began to learn. And I think that was the first time I saw that can was for friends and could was more polite.

(RU, p. 1)

However, it would seem that there is a distinction between the politeness strategies learned formally and informally. The examples given by interviewees of strategies learned formally involved modals as the foregoing example illustrates. S3 mentioned the appropriate use of may I as a strategy learned from teachers. Also, the fact that modals were the predominant politeness strategy specifically mentioned by interviewees generally may suggest that they are conscious of it because it has been taught. Other strategies were used extensively in role plays but were not mentioned in response to queries in the interviews, perhaps because they had been acquired by means other than formal instruction.

One aspect of politeness competence involves pragmatics, the ability to use the strategies appropriately in a given

situation. There were hints in the information given by interviewees that they had transferred politeness pragmatics from their native language. IR had the following to say about his attempt to use politeness in English:

When I spoke with people, I tried to translate my language politeness words . . . I feel there are many things the same in my language and in the English.

(From IR, p. 5)

Although IR does not directly address the matter of pragmatics here, it seems clear that he is making the assumption that there is no significant pragmatic difference in the use of politeness in English and Farsi and for this reason, the only concern is how to translate the words he would use in Farsi to English.

More general evidence that interviewees assumed that they could transfer their first language pragmatics to Canadian English was that they seemed to feel that the pragmatics between the two languages were similar. Participants were hard pressed to think of examples of situations in which the politeness used or required in a Canadian situation differed from what their own assessments of the pragmatics of the situation had been. Specifically, when asked if, upon coming to Canada, there were any situations in which they were surprised by the lack of politeness or someone else was surprised at their lack of politeness, participants did not have many examples to relate. The most common response to

this line of questioning was that they found the language of teenagers impolite, hardly a matter which indicates that they had general doubts about similarities in politeness use in Canada and their own countries.

How Does Politeness in the Target Language

Compare with the Native Language?

Almost all of the participants said that speaking politely was important here in Canada. Some participants felt that differences in politeness exist between cultures with there being more politeness in Canada than in their native countries. As already noted earlier, some of the reasons given for the differences in politeness were attributed to political, economic or educational conditions.

A number of participants felt that Canadians are overly polite. The amount of politeness in Canada surprised S3:

When I came here, I was surprised. I didn't expect such polite people. Sometimes I thought it was too polite Here, without reason, some people are so polite.

(P3, p. 6)

CZ said that

when I came to Calgary, I thought at first that they [the people] were overly polite.

(CZ, p.2)

He gave an example of being surprised by the amount of politeness:

I remember one case when I was looking for a lady and a room and asked about it and the answer was

"She is in room number [CZ gestured to the right] and she is a very nice lady."

This addition of "is a very nice lady"--I didn't know why this person said this and for me it was strange information In my country I think no one would answer you with additional information like "this nice lady."

(CZ, p. 7)

As already noted earlier, a number of participants commented on how much Canadians use compliments. Here is C2's comment on Canadian compliment giving:

This is very common here in Canada. You know, you give a compliment to the other person. I hear this kind of thing very much: "I like your shoes." I don't like that.

(C2, pp. 11-12)

S3 talked about teachers using a lot of compliments, something she didn't seem to mind:

Many times they [Canadians] say "Oh, you are good" and you are not, you know The teacher [says] "You're doing okay. Don't worry" but you know that you're not doing okay. She's maybe just saying that to make you feel better It is the custom to say those compliments. So people, you know, give good compliments all the time, you know and things like that. So it's

good.

(S3, pp. 11-12)

RU and CZ also felt Canadians used an abundance of compliments.

At times, the perceived concern with politeness in Canada struck participants as insincere. P2 gave the example of greetings:

Greetings every morning. Asking "How are you?" And sometimes I feel that it seems to me that it's more like form to ask but sometimes people don't really care if you are good or not but you are supposed to ask "How are you?"

(P2, p. 3)

Some participants felt that Canadians were more willing to lie to be polite. C1 said that Canadians

always give a good answer even if it's not the truth. They always act like this. They lie to you many times but just to be kind. But I think it's not a good idea. It's one thing that I don't like much about Canadian people.

(C1, p. 3).

RU also did not like departure from the truth for the sake of politeness, particularly when teachers spoke positively and indicated correctness in response student errors:

It's difficult for me to understand [ie. learn English] if you cannot correct. And I think in Canada it happens

many times All the things are okay but you didn't pass the exam, you didn't pass the test or something like this. But you don't know what is wrong. You have no opportunities to check the mistakes.

(RU, pp. 18-19)

Others stated that their native culture and Canadian culture were similar in terms of politeness or that politeness was important in all cultures. When asked to compare the politeness in Rumania to the way Canadians are polite, RU said that these were the same (even though at another point in the interview she explained that Rumanians were less polite because of conditions in Rumania). IR felt that there is enough similarity in the expression of politeness in Farsi and English that he manages to express politeness through translating from one language to the other. The discussion in the foregoing section on assumptions about pragmatic transfer also parallels the assumption of similarity by participants. Perhaps a generalization that could be made from these contrasting views is that some participants felt that there was more politeness in the speech of Canadians (difference in quantity) but the type and expression of politeness was similar (similarity of kind).

A more specific cultural variation in politeness mentioned by participants related to teenagers. Six of the participants found teenagers in Canada impolite. Typically, such comments came in response to a question about what the

participants found impolite in Canadian speech when they came to Canada. Like most of these interviewees, SU did not like this aspect of Canadian culture:

The other day I got on the C Train. There was a young boy and a young woman. They were talking to each other. They were saying "What a fucking thing this is." And for us at home, we don't say this I guess that even though they feel it is quite polite or something that people can get used to--talking, using them as everyday words, . . . it's not polite to me.

(SU, p. 5)

One other thing that seems interesting in the responses of the interviewees is what could be called false sensitization to cultural variation. A number of the aspects of politeness in Canada that interviewees had been sensitized to seem to be false--that is, these items really do not have the cultural valences that the interviewees had come to associate with them. A2 for example, felt that politics was a topic which one should not talk about with Canadians. Though Canadians may often exercise care in talking about politics, my perception is that the subject is not considered off limits. RU mentioned that one should not ask about salaries in Canada, a perception which may be accurate, but the valence she attached to the matter of salaries in Canada seems to go considerably beyond what Canadians would hold. RU once asked a friend what salary she was making and that

friend had not called her again. She thought that the question about salary might be the reason that the friend had not stayed in touch:

RO: Maybe this was the reason. Maybe not.
I'm not sure. But I'm not angry. But I
cannot understand. I cannot understand.
It's difficult to understand.

Interviewer: Ya. That's true about Canadians. But
it's not that serious. People . . .

RO: It's serious. No. It's very serious.
I think you can be fired if you know.

Interviewer: Oh, no.

RO: Yes, I think so. You can lose your job
if you ask, because here the people are
not paid the same for the same work.

(RU, p. 15)

It seems to me that RU attached considerably more seriousness to the matter of salary than most Canadians would. Salary is something that is not polite to ask about, but if one did, it would not be a matter of such dire consequence.

C1 and P1 have both come to feel that certain words or expressions should not be used in Canada. In C1's case, he called a man crazy for driving too fast. That man got very upset and said that crazy is a bad word in Canada, an impression that C1 now carries with him. P1 had a similar story for the word silly:

I know of one example of my friend She said one person told her something untrue . . . and she said to this person,

"Don't be silly."

And this guy said to her,

"You know, I know you. We are friends and there is no problem with what you said but normally don't use this sentence 'Don't be silly'."

In our language, it's just normal. Nobody would be bothered but here it's something different.

(P1, pp. 4-5)

It appears that for C1 and P1, these words have come to have a negative valence that goes beyond what Canadians would normally attach to them.

This effect can also work in the opposite manner. This occurs when a second language speaker feels that there is less valence attached to a word or topic than Canadians generally might give it. P4 reported that during conversation class he was talking with a female classmate and used the idiom (his terminology) "I want to have sex to you." He explained to me that in Canada this idiom could be used when

you are sitting, you know, with me in class and I want to help you with the classes.

(P4, p. 5)

It appears that P4 attaches a much lower valence to the expression than most Canadians would and as a consequence runs

the risk of appearing quite impolite (to say the least) if he continues to use it.

CHAPTER SIX

Discussion of Findings

Reexamining the Politeness Model

The Status of Face in the Model

Is the notion of face comprehensive enough to answer fully the question of why people use politeness conventions? The politeness model which is the basis of this thesis has adopted Brown and Levinson's (1987) position that politeness conventions are used because a mutual implicit agreement regarding face exists between interactants:

In general, people cooperate (and assume each other's cooperation) in maintaining face in interaction, such cooperation being based on the mutual vulnerability of face. That is, normally everyone's face depends on everyone else's being maintained, and since people can be expected to defend their faces if threatened, and in defending their own to threaten others' faces, it is in general in every participant's best interest to maintain each others' face. (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 61)

The agreement between interactants may be paraphrased as "If you sustain my face, I'll sustain yours."

The findings in this research lend some indirect support to this role of face in politeness. Some participants felt that politeness was used to avoid hurting others which could be interpreted as concern with the others' face. However, even this evidence is equivocal since other interpretations

are possible. For example, the desire to avoid hurt may emanate from a deeply held value that other people should be treated well. This rationale may be supported to an extent by the comments made by some interviewees that politeness expresses goodness, kindness and pleasantness.

A case can also be made for instrumental motivation of politeness. In the interviews participants indicated that they would use politeness in certain situations because this would increase the chances of achieving the aims of their speech acts. As CZ said:

To a stranger I should always be polite because I want something and politeness is a more sure way to receive the correct answer.

(From CZ, p. 10)

Instrumentality differs from mutual face maintenance in that the motivation is to gain something more than just reciprocal face support. The desire is to achieve something personally beneficial. Instrumentality and the notion of face can be seen to interact through a chain of logic something like this: I want X. How can I maximize the probability of obtaining X from this person? By being nice to the person through what I say (politeness). How can I do that? By constructing my speech in such a way that this person's positive or negative face is addressed (politeness strategies).

The findings of this research also raise the possibility of societal determinants of politeness. There was a

suggestion by a number of participants that politeness does not exist to the same level in all cultures. If this is the case, there may be societal variables that go beyond individual situations that determine this variation in levels on a societal basis.

There may be societal determinants that have to do with such things as economic or political pressures that operate on a society-wide basis. There is a certain amount of reasonableness to the argument that adverse economic and political conditions can affect the members of a society generally and negatively influence the level of politeness in that society. As the social conditions of a society worsen to the extent that most of the energy of its members is spent on basic survival needs such as food and shelter, less attention is given to politeness. The notion, expressed by one or two of the participants, that politeness is an indicator of a higher level of societal functioning, would go hand in hand with this view of politeness determinants. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to suggest that in addition to face, there are other determinants of politeness on a general level.

Affirmation of the Situational Dimensions

On the whole, the theory that the dimensions of power, familiarity, affection and ranking act as operative variables in the weighting of face threatening acts was supported by the findings. In the role plays no significant effect seemed

evident for the manipulation of the power variable (teacher/friend). As already mentioned, this may have been due to the nature of the role-play design. However, in the interviews, the dimension of power appeared to be understood as a significant variable by the participants who said that they would treat older people, teachers, police officers and doctors most politely. The fact that some interviewees made a point of saying that one should treat all categories of people with equal politeness seemed to imply that this egalitarian view was unusual and not to be taken for granted and that they expected other people to take the dimension of power into account when assessing the politeness demands of a situation. For example, RU's assertion that she would not base her politeness to a police officer on his position implies that she felt that there would be others who would be polite for that reason. Implicit in what has already been said is that the direction of the effect of the power variable in the findings here are as the model hypothesized: as the perceived power of the hearer over the speaker increases, the level of politeness increases.

The dimension of familiarity has a strong effect on the level of politeness according to the comments in the interviews. The participants assertively and consistently expressed the opinion that they would be more polite to strangers than friends. With regard to the dimension of

affection, there was little in the findings that bears on this variable.

The solid response to the dimension of familiarity lends some support to separating this factor out from the original dimension of distance that Brown and Levinson (1987) first set out. The fact that there seems to be a clear effect related specifically to the dimension of familiarity argues that this dimension needs to be dealt with independently and not enmeshed with other factors that could be brought in under the heading of distance such as affection. It has yet to be established with a relative degree of certainty whether affection does affect politeness (see discussion in Chapter Three) and the separating of these dimensions will have the additional advantage of aiding in the analysis of the effect of affection on politeness.

Although the interviewees were not questioned directly about ranking face threatening acts, the fact that they felt there were some topics such as income and age that were beyond the domain of politeness in conversation indicates that they had in effect ranked these as very threatening. As well, the incidental evidence that certain threatening acts were to be handled with more concern or politeness lends additional support to ranking being used in assessment of situations. In line with the politeness model, the participants in the role plays increased the amount of politeness in response to a face threatening act of higher rank.

Reanalysis of Strategies

An important component of the politeness model is the setting out of politeness strategies that specify the semantic options available for expressing politeness. On one hand, the research supported the analysis of strategies provided by the model. The findings gave substantial support to five of the strategies outlined by the model: (a) presupposing common ground, (b) being pessimistic, (c) apologizing (e) hedging and (f) conventional indirectness. The fact that substantial support was not given to the other thirty four strategies outlined by the model (see pages 65, 66, 71, 72) does not necessarily cast a proportional amount of doubt on the model's analysis of strategies. For one thing, instances of quite a number of other strategies were present in the conversational data of the role plays but they were not present to the same extent as the five listed. A number of other factors no doubt also play into the skewed representation of strategies in the data. First of all, the interview data involves information that is limited to language strategies of which participants were consciously aware. Because strategy implementation may often occur at the automatic or subconscious level it would stand to reason that participants would be limited in the strategies they are conscious of and can articulate. Secondly, the conversational data was elicited in only two types of face threatening act situations--requests and declinations of invitations. Politeness strategies may vary

in suitability for different threats to face and conversational situations. Therefore, it would be unlikely that the full range of strategies would be equally appropriate to only two types of situations. Thirdly, because the participants were second language learners it may be assumed that they had not yet acquired the linguistic resources to express the full range of strategies. For example, the slang to express the positive politeness strategy of in-group marker usage may well not be within the range of the participants' linguistic resources.

However, the findings also suggest that aspects of the model's strategy outlines need to be revised or given further thought. For example, the categorization of giving reasons (a very popular strategy in the data) as a positive politeness strategy may not be the most appropriate. In Brown and Levinson's (1987) rationalization of this strategy, giving reasons conveys that the speaker and hearer are cooperators:

By including H [hearer] thus in his practical reasoning, and assuming reflexivity (H wants S's [speaker's] wants), H is thereby led to see the reasonableness of S's FTA [face threatening act] (or so S hopes). In other words, giving reasons is a way of implying 'I can help you' or 'you can help me', and, assuming cooperation, a way of showing what help is needed. (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 128)

This line of reasoning seems more convoluted than necessary

and a more parsimonious approach would be to categorize giving a reason as a negative politeness strategy. As a negative politeness strategy, giving a reason would serve to indicate to the hearer that the face threatening act would not be undertaken were it not for the compelling reason stated. One of the criteria for distinguishing between positive and negative politeness strategies is that positive politeness strategies are addressed to the hearer generally whereas negative strategies are addressed to the particular face threatening act involved. As the following example illustrates the reasons given tend to apply directly to the threatening act (in this case the borrowing of a car) rather than to the hearer in general:

So I wonder if you can borrow me your car because my brother is coming from Toronto, tomorrow and, you see, I don't have car and it is very expensive to rent a taxi up to airport and I don't have enough money.

(REQUEST-CAR:SU)

The connection of the reasons with the face threatening act seems to argue in favour of seeing this strategy as a means of negative politeness. Brown and Levinson (1987) do make some allowance for this interpretation in that they include the substrategy of giving overwhelming reasons as a subpoint under the negative politeness strategy of apologizing. However, given its straightforward connection to face threatening acts and the popularity of its use, at least in

this study, it would seem appropriate to give it the status of a negative politeness strategy in its own right.

The participants in this research seemed disinclined to use the positive politeness strategy of exaggerating interest, approval, or sympathy with the hearer. If, as Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest, American culture tends more toward positive politeness than some other cultures, perhaps the same is true of Canada. In that case, the findings relating to this strategy may be an example of cultural variation in approach to strategy type use with speakers from other cultures more inclined toward negative strategy use. This would be supported by the attitude that came through generally that Canadians used too many compliments and seemed insincere. Exaggerating interest in the hearer thus can be allowed to stand as a strategy category but is an example of a strategy that would more likely be employed by members of one culture than another.

Many participants also were disinclined to use the negative politeness strategy of minimizing imposition. The evidence on this point was less substantial than that related to exaggerating interest in the hearer but it is worth noting. There is less reason to believe that the disinclination toward minimizing imposition is reflective of cultural variation. It is interesting that some participants preferred to maximize the imposition because this reflected affirmation of the strength of the relationship between interlocutors.

Maximizing imposition needs to be considered as a possible positive politeness strategy because its impact is on strengthening solidarity with the hearer.

A negative politeness strategy that needs to be added to the model is that of leading up. This strategy is the prior reference to something related to the face threatening act without mention of the threatening act itself. It is a breaking-the-ice strategy designed to prepare the way and lessen the abruptness or impact of the face threatening act which is to come. Participants in this research employed leading up in the role plays and Brown and Levinson (1987) acknowledge the possibility of this strategy in the discussion of pre-sequences in the introduction to their book. It therefore needs to be added as a category of negative politeness.

Another strategy area that needs to be developed further relates to the multifaceted approach to addressing face threatening acts. Although Brown and Levinson (1987) admit this is a short-coming of their work and offer a very brief discussion of multiple strategy use, the impression left by their outline of politeness strategies is that usually a single strategy is selected by an interlocutor for a specific situation. In actuality this may seldom occur. The findings in this research are that multiple strategy use is typical of conversations. The most basic level of understanding multiple strategy use is the piling-up effect that Brown and Levinson

suggest which works on the simple principle that using a greater quantity of politeness strategies increases the level of politeness. However, it seems reasonable to assume that a more sophisticated analysis should be possible as well. Might there be some system of strategy selection or rationalization which determines which sets of strategies appear in a particular conversational structure?

It may be that the structure of conversational face threatening acts can be analyzed in a similar manner to that outlined by Ventola (1979) in her examination of the effect of social distance on conversational structure. Ventola argued that the presence of certain conversational components such as identification and centring and the position of other components such as greeting and approaches depend on the social distance between interlocutors and the nature of the conversation. In a similar way it may be that the presence of certain politeness strategies depends on the nature of the face threatening act and the status of the variables of power, familiarity, affection and ranking. For example, the presence of a certain set of strategies may depend on whether the conversation entails a refusal of an offer or a request, or whether a high ranking request or a low ranking request is involved.

I have reviewed the role play data in the hopes of uncovering some pattern of strategy concurrence. Unfortunately the results were negative. However, the present

study was not designed to elicit results bearing on that question and the reasonableness of assuming that some selection process is at work remains.

Cultural Variation in Politeness

The fact that participants had found little to contradict their assumptions that they could use the same approach to politeness in Canada as they did in their own country lends some evidence to the possibility that there may be a good deal of similarity in the Canadian English politeness system and that of the languages and cultures that the participants represented. One could argue that the participants are not sensitive enough and that differences in pragmatics exist but the participants have still not become aware of them. The problem with this argument is the lack of supporting evidence. On the contrary, the fact that many of the politeness strategies employed by the participants in the role plays seem appropriate lends evidence in support of a significant degree of similarity. This by no means rules out the possibility that some differences exist and are important but these differences may well be the exception rather than the norm.

Assuming this much similarity between cultures runs contrary to the common emphasis on the differences between cultures. As Duranti (1985) has noted, ethnographers often are very reluctant to deal in cultural universals or generalizations. Specifically, researchers such as Rosaldo (1982) have questioned the possibility of establishing cross-

cultural generalizations even at the most general level of variables such as power in the assessment of politeness. Nonetheless, it seems to be the case that many immigrants from a wide range of cultures use their first culture politeness competence to deal quite successfully with a wide range of situations in the Canadian English culture.

One possible difference between cultures that was raised was the relative level of politeness used in speech. Are more and stronger politeness strategies employed in the spoken language of some cultures than others? The model of politeness in this thesis, following Brown and Levinson (1987), takes politeness to be a universal which exists as an important component of cultures generally. This view does not allow for radical differences in the importance of politeness and levels of politeness between most cultures.

The comments made by participants in the interviews both supported and questioned the view that politeness holds a similar level of importance cross-culturally. Some of the participants said that politeness was equally important in Canada and their native culture and some even said that they felt it was equally important throughout the world. Others, however, felt that politeness was not equally important in all cultures and several of them felt that more politeness existed in Canada than in their native countries.

The opinions of the participants who felt that politeness was more important and used more in Canada than their own

countries could be discounted by arguing that the participants are sociologically and linguistically naive. What they perceive as differences in the amount of politeness is really a difference in the type of politeness. Given their newness to the Canadian culture, certain expressions of politeness might be very salient to them because these particular expressions of politeness are not as typical of their native language and culture, thus giving them the impression that politeness is more important in Canada. The problem with this argument is the fact that this research has generally confirmed the similarity of the politeness systems between cultures which would support the participants' reliability as judges of the politeness of another culture.

One possible support to the argument that differences in politeness levels exist is that there are plausible reasons for differences at particular times. Some participants suggested that recent economic, political and educational conditions in their native countries impacted the amount of politeness used at a societal level. It seems reasonable that these factors, among others, could result in differences in the levels of politeness that exist between different languages and cultures at certain times. The evidence, of course, gives no basis for proposing how much difference may be found but there is enough of a difference for it to be perceived quite readily by people who have had significant multilingual and multicultural experience.

Suggestions for Further Research

An area which is in need of continued investigation is the place of the dimension of affection in the weighting of face threatening acts. The presence and operation of the other variables of power, familiarity and ranking seem fairly well established by now. The same cannot be said about the affection variable. Although the politeness model suggests that increased affection coincides with an increase in politeness, little work has been done in the area and its effect cannot be taken with any certainty.

Considering that the politeness model invokes a fair amount of sociological explanation, the data base needs to be broadened. Admiration must be expressed for Brown and Levinson's (1987) extensive linguistic analysis of cross-cultural speech data but it has been already noted that the data base for the politeness model must extend beyond individual speech acts to encompass the broader field of conversational analysis. A multifaceted approach to politeness (which includes conversational structure) needs to be analyzed further on the basis of empirical conversational data. One area for exploration regards the selection rationale for the presence of particular sets of politeness strategies that are dispersed throughout a conversation. As was suggested above, the presence of certain strategies in conversation may be linked to the type of face threatening act engaged in or the status of one or more of the variables of

power, familiarity, affection and ranking. Exploration of this issue could well begin with correlational analysis of politeness strategy use in conversations.

It should be noted that to pursue such an examination, the usual notion of conversational analysis which focuses rather predominantly on linguistic data is insufficient. Due to the fact that in politeness theory, judgements of power, familiarity, affection and ranking must be made for each individual situation, attempts at conversational analysis should include a wider range of data along the lines of the framework that Hymes (1967) suggested for understanding the interaction of language and social setting, particularly the data related to setting and participants.

The politeness model would be strengthened by triangulation through other lines of research in addition to the analysis of conversational data. Given the sociological nature of the model, other sociological research approaches need to be pursued. In particular, more qualitative research, of which the present undertaking is just a small and limited example, needs to be done. Because the politeness model involves value constructs, qualitative research is needed to arrive at a fuller understanding of the values involved and their operation as they relate to politeness phenomena. This avenue of research should bear some fruitful results, for even the findings of a limited study such as this resulted in interesting and useful data and contributed some suggestions

for possible areas for broadening the understanding of politeness.

Another area which remains underexamined is that of the sociological determinants of politeness. What are the supra-situational factors that need to be incorporated in the politeness model? Some of the participants in this research suggested that the economic, political and social conditions at the societal level affect politeness. These can only be taken as suggestive but invite further examination. Perhaps a line of research would be to compare language communities which have experienced strong economic or social adversities with communities of similar cultural background who have not experienced the hardships.

The Learning of Politeness

Level of Competence

The information participants gave in the interviews and the language they used in the role plays amply support earlier research (Fraser and Nolen, 1981; Carrell and Konneker, 1981; Rintell, 1979 1981; Scarcella and Brunak, 1981, etc.) that suggests that language learners develop a certain degree of competence in the politeness conventions of the English language. Is this competence deficient in comparison to native speaker language use as suggested by Scarcella and Brunak (1981)? The present research, although not intended to examine this question directly, did provide some indication that language learners' competence was skewed. However, this

should not overshadow the impressive degree of competence that learners do exhibit.

Learning, Acquisition or Transfer?

The matter of learning politeness formally or informally is related to a debate that was carried on for a considerable time in the language teaching field regarding whether language competence is achieved through learning or through acquisition. Closely associated with this debate is Krashen (1982) who has argued that the stronger and more natural process for learning language is acquisition: "Normally, acquisition 'initiates' our utterances in a second language and is responsible for our fluency. Learning has only one function, and that is as a Monitor, or editor" (Krashen, p. 15). Critics of Krashen, such as McLaughlin (1987) seriously question the limited role that Krashen gives to learning. The findings in this research indicate that politeness competence is gained both through formal learning and through acquisition. In particular, instruction in the use of modals for politeness purposes is an important learned component of the participants' politeness competence. Other politeness strategies which are evident in the participants' speech seem to have been acquired (in Krashen's sense) through exposure rather than formal instruction since the participants gave no indication of being explicitly conscious of them.

The findings also suggest that a significant amount of transfer contributes to politeness competence. Some partic-

ipants used translation from their native language to express politeness. Much of politeness has to do with semantics (recall that strategies are meaning options) and pragmatics (assessment of situations) rather than specific syntactic features of language and these aspects are easily transferred from one language and culture to another. Transfer seems to be effective since the findings suggest that participants were generally appropriate in their use of language strategies--they used them in situations and in a manner consistent with what would be typical of native-born Canadian English speakers. A significant amount of similarity seems to exist between cultures at the semantic and pragmatic level. Language students assume this similarity and proceed on that basis. This means that the semantics and pragmatics of politeness generally do not need to be learned or acquired from scratch by immigrant students. Differences do exist but these seem to be the exception rather than the rule and need to be dealt with from that perspective. Therefore transfer from the native language and culture seems to be an effective way of gaining politeness competence in a second language.

The evidence available from this research would suggest that all three processes contribute to the politeness competence of language learners. Certain strategies are learned through formal instruction. Other strategies are learned through acquisition--they are not formally taught but are adopted in the course of gaining competence in the

language generally by being exposed to it and using it. Finally, transfer from the native language and culture seems to be a considerable help in gaining politeness competence in the new language, particularly in providing many politeness strategies and the pragmatics of appropriate use.

Divergence from the Canadian English Norms

In the discussion above there has been considerable emphasis on the relatively high level of competence of language learners. However, some attention also needs to be given to areas in which participants diverged from typical approaches to politeness in Canadian English. This divergence is attributable to two areas: inappropriate transfer and false learning.

One area that participants showed differences in approach to politeness had to do with positive politeness strategies. The findings indicated that even though the strategy of exaggerating interest, approval, or sympathy with the hearer was perceived to be an aspect of Canadian politeness, a number of participants indicated antipathy toward this strategy and it was not used in the role plays. This is likely due to a transfer of first language and culture approaches to politeness.

A more general difference in approaches to politeness due to transfer is indicated by some participants' opinion that the approach typical of their first language and culture employed a lower level of politeness than Canadian English.

There is no evidence to suggest that these participants correspondingly also exhibited less politeness in their English speech than native-born Canadians because a lower level was what they were accustomed to from their background. However, this is a divergence between approaches to politeness that has the potential to affect a learner's second language expression of politeness. If learners are used to expressing less politeness in their native language, it may take some adjustment to raise that level in a second language.

The main example of a divergence that has been caused by false learning is that of inappropriate rankings or valences given to certain face threatening issues. Participants gave rankings to the topic of salary, the words silly and crazy and the expression "I want to have sex to you" that do not concur with the typical ranking given these in Canadian English speech. All of these were "learned" inappropriately through experiences with these terms or from inaccurate reading of a dictionary.

These differences should not be seen as a departure from the earlier affirmation in this chapter of the significant similarities between politeness systems of different languages and cultures. In fact, the salience these particular differences had for the participants gives credence to the view that differences are the exception rather than the rule. It is precisely because the assumption of similarity was typically not challenged by the experiences of the

participants that differences seemed so prominent when they were encountered.

Implications for Pedagogy

One implication of the findings is that certain politeness strategies can be formally taught. Participants had studied modals as a politeness strategy through explicit instruction and the presence of modal use in the role plays indicates that this learning had resulted in transfer to actual language use. It is reassuring to see that at least some aspects of politeness are being taught in language classrooms and texts and even more reassuring that this is showing results. Language teachers should be encouraged to continue explicit instruction in certain aspects of politeness such as modals.

At the same time, the findings are suggestive that certain language strategies are also acquired informally and perhaps unconsciously. This should also be reassuring for language teachers since it absolves them from the burden for teaching all language strategies, a rather daunting task given their number and complexity. It seems that the learning of politeness strategies reflects the dichotomy mentioned above between formal learning and informal acquisition in language education generally.

There are other aspects of politeness competence that could be served by explicit instruction--particularly the areas where the politeness systems of two languages differ.

Although it seems that these exceptions involve a relatively minor proportion of overall politeness competence, at least two areas are suggested by this research. The first is that students should be made aware of topics that are typically not broached in casual conversations in Canada such as an interlocutor's salary, age or personal matters related to intimate or familial relationships. Many of the participants had learned about avoiding these topics. The findings do not indicate how the participants had learned about these topics but I suggest that it be an area of instruction in the language classroom. The second area in which instruction is suggested is in teaching the appropriateness of offering compliments in certain situations in Canadian society. In the interviews for this research, a number of participants indicated that this was an area that differed from their native cultures and at times reacted somewhat negatively to the way compliments are used in Canada. It is not so important that students are taught to use compliments as that they become aware of them as a common strategy in Canada. Instruction in these areas of politeness should involve discussing what the cultural understanding of these areas is in Canada. If at all possible, students should be helped to understand that such issues are not good or bad, only different, and that every culture has aspects which are not understood by newcomers to that culture.

A pedagogic question than arises in relation to politeness competency is whether politeness pragmatics should be specifically taught. Pragmatics in terms of the politeness model means the appropriate use of politeness strategy in a given situation based on an appropriate analysis of the situation in terms of power, familiarity, affection and ranking. Pragmatic ability is separated from strategy mastery because knowledge of the strategies available is different from the ability to use those strategies appropriately in given situations. The evidence in the research gives no indication that participants had received instruction in the pragmatics of politeness and my experience in teaching and observing English language classrooms would lead me to doubt that politeness pragmatics receive much instructional attention. The fact that the participants displayed a fair measure of pragmatic competence would suggest that there need be no general campaign to increase the teaching of politeness pragmatics.

Instruction in politeness at a metacognitive level is suggested. Some of the basic aspects of the politeness model, particularly the notion of face and an overview of politeness strategies would be helpful for language learners. The benefit of this would not necessarily be direct improvement in the production of appropriate politeness strategies. Rather, it would provide a framework by which learners could understand their experiences in the new culture and raise

their awareness of how their utterances impact the politeness dimension of interaction. If learners are consciously aware of the politeness dimension of language and its general framework as a system and can integrate their observations of how the language is used, this can result in further development of their own politeness competence in the new language. Also, just as native speakers are at times conscious of the perceived "impoliteness" of language learners, language learners also face situations in which they do not appreciate the politeness (or lack of it) they experience in the new culture. The lack of participants' appreciation for the role of compliments in Canadian English in this research is an example. If learners are given a metacognitive framework from which to analyze politeness, they have a better chance of understanding the manifestations of politeness they encounter in their new language.

Conclusion

The purpose of this research has been to take a particular model of politeness in language and examine it in the context of second language learning. Closely aligned to this purpose has been the investigation of the acquisition of politeness competence by second language learners. These issues are of theoretical and practical interest to language educators.

The politeness model adopted in the research takes the sociological notion of face as a basic determinant of

politeness. The research lent some support to the operation of the face construct as a determinant of politeness. However, there was also evidence that there may be other pressures that bear on the politeness system. On the societal level, such things as economic, political and educational factors may affect politeness. At the situational level, politeness may be motivated by instrumental concerns for getting one's aims met through conversation.

In general terms the situational dimensions in the model that are considered to affect the selection of politeness strategies were sustained by the evidence. In particular, the evidence suggested that the dimensions of power, familiarity and ranking have an effect on the expression of politeness. This research did not investigate the effect of the dimension of affection and this is an area in need of further analysis and research.

It was clear in the research that the participants made significant use of strategies outlined in the politeness model in the service of expressing politeness. The findings of the research also suggested that a small amount of reworking needs to be done on several strategies. The strategies of giving reasons and leading up need to be added to the list of negative politeness strategies. It is apparent that multifaceted approaches to politeness are underanalyzed and further work needs to be done in that area.

The main conclusion to be made regarding the cultural variation in the expression of politeness is the significant similarity that exists between cultures both in the areas of the assessment of the situational dimensions affecting politeness and the use and nature of politeness strategies. This conclusion was supported by the fact that participants had not found many significant differences in approaches to politeness between their first language and Canadian English. It was also supported by the fact that the participants' use of politeness strategies was largely appropriate in the role-play conversations.

The areas of cultural variation that were apparent were matters of degree. It seems that Canadian speech may be slightly more oriented toward positive politeness than some other languages and cultures. Participants mentioned that Canadians are more likely to use compliments than what they were accustomed to in their native country. Some participants also indicated that they found Canadian politeness somewhat insincere which is a likely reaction to speech that is more oriented to positive politeness. The other variation of degree was that a number of participants perceived Canadians to use more politeness than was currently the case in their native countries.

As a matter of pedagogical interest, the research indicated that advanced language learners display considerable politeness competence in English. The research suggested that

explicit learning, informal acquisition and transfer from native language all contribute to the politeness competence of language learners. Given the general similarity of approaches to politeness between cultures, the most important of these may be transfer. It was noted that language learners are also subject to false learning through experiences that lead them to form inaccurate views of the ranking of certain threats to face.

The areas for further research into the phenomenon of politeness remain many and our understanding at present is still limited. However, fortunately for those whose concern it is that language learners learn to express themselves appropriately, it seems that much of politeness competence is transferrable and does not depend entirely on instruction. Despite the limitations of our theoretical knowledge of politeness, language learners seem to be able to achieve considerable politeness competence in their new language relatively quickly and successfully.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Austin, J. L. (1962). How to do things with words. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.
- Basso, K. H. (1979). Portraits of "the whiteman". Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bates, E. (1976). Language and context: the acquisition of pragmatics. New York: Academic Press.
- Baxter, L. A. (1984). An investigation of compliance-gaining as politeness. Human Communication Research, 10, 427-456.
- Blum-Kulka, S. (1987). Indirectness and politeness in requests: same or different? Journal of Pragmatics, 11, 131-146.
- Brown, P. and Levinson, S. C. (1987). Politeness: some universals in language usage. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, R. (1965). Social psychology. New York: The Free Press.
- Brown, R. and Gilman, A. (1960). The pronouns of power and solidarity. In T. A. Sebeok (Ed.), Style in language (pp. 253-276). New York: Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Brown, R. and Gilman, A. (1989). Politeness theory and Shakespeare's four major tragedies. Language and Society, 18, 159-212.
- Candlin, C. N. (1985). Preface. In M. Coulthard, An introduction to discourse analysis (pp. vii-x.). London: Longman
- Carrell, P. and Konneker, B. (1981). Politeness: comparing native and nonnative judgements. Language Learning, 31, 17-30.
- Chomsky, N. (1957). Syntactic structures. The Hague: Mouton.

- Coulthard, M. (1985). An introduction to discourse analysis.
London: Longman.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. (1990). Working paper number 8: Speech rhythm at turn transitions: its functioning in everyday conversation, Part ii. In series: Kontextualisierung durch Rhythmus und Intonation. Konstanz: Universitat Konstanz.
- Duranti, A. (1985). Sociocultural dimensions of discourse. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), Handbook of discourse, (Vol. 1, pp. 193-230). London: Academic Press.
- Durkheim, E. (1915). The elementary forms of the religious life.
London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.
- Falbo, T. and Peplau, L. A. (1980). Power strategies in intimate relationships. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 38, 618-628.
- Fraser, B. and Nolen, W. (1981). The association of deference with linguistic form. International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 27, 93-109.
- Goffman, E. (1967). Interaction ritual: essays on face-face behaviour. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Goffman, E. (1971). Relations in public: microstudies of the public order. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Goffman, E. (1981). Forms of talk. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Goody, E. (Ed.). (1978). Questions and politeness: strategies in social interaction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole and J. Morgan (Eds.), Syntax and semantics, (Vol. 3, pp. 41-58). New York: Academic Press.
- Grimes, J. E. (1975). The thread of discourse. The Hague: Mouton.
- Grimshaw, A. (1980a). Social interactional and sociolinguistic rules. Social Forces, 58, 789-810.
- Grimshaw, A. (1980b). Selection and labelling of instrumentalities of verbal manipulation. Discourse Processes, 3, 203-229.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1972). Introduction. In J. J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (Eds.), Directions in sociolinguistics (pp. 1-25). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1982). Discourse strategies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). Language as social semiotic. Baltimore: University Park Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K., McIntosh, A. and Stevens, P. (1964). The linguistic sciences and language teaching. London: Longman.
- Hasan, R. (1978). Text in the systemic-functional model. In W. Dressler (Ed.), Current trends in textlinguistics, (pp. 228-246). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Holtgraves, T. M. (1984). The role of direct and indirect speech acts in social interaction. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Nevada--Reno.

- Holtgraves, T., Snull, T. K., Socal, D. (1989). Conversation memory: the effects of speaker status on memory for the assertiveness of conversation remarks. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56, 149-160.
- Hymes, D. (1962). The ethnography of speaking. In Anthropology and human behaviour (pp. 13-53). Washington: The Anthropological Society of Washington.
- Hymes, D. (1967). Models of the interaction of language and social setting. Journal of social issues, 23, 8-28.
- Krashen, S. D. (1982). Principles and practice in second language acquisition. Oxford: Pergamon Institute of English.
- Lakoff, R. (1973). The logic of politeness; or, minding your p's and q's. In Papers from the ninth regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society (pp.292-305). Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Lavandera, B. (1988). The social pragmatics of politeness forms. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar and K. J. Mattheier (Eds.), Sociolinguistics: an international handbook of the science of language and society, Vol.2 (pp. 1196-1205). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Leech, G. N. (1983). Principles of pragmatics. London: Longman.
- Levinson, S. C. (1983). Pragmatics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lustig, M. W. and King, S. W. (1980). The effect of communication apprehension and situation on communication strategy choices. Human Communication Research, 7, 74-82.

- McLaughlin, B. (1987). Theories of second-language learning. London: Edward Arnold.
- Pery-Woodley, M. (1990). Contrasting discourses: contrastive analysis and a discourse approach to writing. Language Teaching, 23, 143-151.
- Rintell, E. (1979). Getting your speech act together: the pragmatic ability of second language learners. Working papers on bilingualism (No. 17, pp. 97-106). Toronto: Modern Language Centre, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Rintell, E. (1981). Sociolinguistic variation and pragmatic ability: a look at learners. International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 27, 11-34.
- Rosaldo, M. Z. (1982). The things we do with words: Ilongot speech acts and speech act theory in philosophy. Language in Society, 11, 203-237.
- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A. and Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. Language, 50, 696-735.
- Scarcella, R. (1979). On speaking politely in a second language. In C. A. Yorio, K. Perkins, and J. Schachter (Eds.), On TESOL '79: the learner in focus (pp. 275-287). Washington: TESOL.
- Scarcella, R. and Brunak, J. (1981) On speaking politely in a second language. International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 27, 59-75).

- Schegloff, E. A. (1978). On some questions and ambiguities in conversation. In W. U. Dressler (Ed.), Current trends in textlinguistics (pp. 81-102). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Scollon, R. and Scollon, S. B. K. (1981). Narrative, literacy and face in interethnic communication. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Searle, J. R. (1969). Speech acts. London: Cambridge at the University Press.
- Searle, J. R. (1975). Indirect speech acts. In P. Cole and J. Morgan (Eds.), Syntax and semantics, (Vol. 3, pp. 59-82). New York: Academic Press.
- Searle, J. R. (1976). A classification of illocutionary acts. Language in Society, 5, 1-23.
- Slugoski, B. R. (1985). Grice's theory of conversation as a social psychological model. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Oxford University.
- Spencer, J. and Gregory, M. J. (1964). An approach to the study of style. In Enkvist, N. E., Spencer, J. and Gregory, M. (Eds.), Linguistics and style. London: Oxford University Press.
- Tanake, S. and Kawade, S. (1982). Politeness strategies and second language acquisition. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 5, 18-33.
- Tannen, D. (1984). Conversational style: analysing talk among friends. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

- Thomas, J. (1983). Cross-cultural pragmatic failure. Applied Linguistics, 4, 91-112.
- van Dijk, T. A. (Ed). (1985). Handbook of discourse (4 vols.). New York: Academic Press.
- Ventola, E. (1979). The structure of casual conversation in English. Journal of Pragmatics, 3, 267-298.
- Walters, J. (1979). The perception of politeness in English and Spanish. In C. A. Yorio, K. Perkins, and J. Schachter (Eds.), On TESOL '79: the learner in focus (pp. 288-296). Washington: TESOL.
- Walters, J. (1981). Variation in the requesting behaviour of bilingual children. International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 27, 77-92.
- Yang, M. C. (1945). A Chinese village. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Zimin, S. (1981). Sex and politeness: factors in first- and second-language use. International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 27, 35-58.