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## Politeness and Impoliteness Research in Global Contexts

**Guest Editor Miriam A. Locher**

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# Politeness and Impoliteness Research in Global Contexts

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Editorial

# Introduction to Politeness and Impoliteness Research in Global Contexts

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**Abstract**

Im/politeness research has been a solid and growing research field in sociolinguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis during the last four decades. The scientific interest in this topic is not accidental and may be explained by the general pragmatic turn of modern interdisciplinary linguistic studies which are not focused on language as an abstract system, but on its functioning in various contexts and types of interaction. Knowledge of the strategies and politeness mechanisms used in various social and cultural contexts promotes mutual understanding in communication. In this introduction to the special issue on im/politeness in global contexts we will briefly position the topic of im/politeness research, and highlight advancements in im/politeness theory, method and data. We then turn to a brief synopsis of each individual paper and highlight the theoretical and methodological contributions and innovations proposed by our authors. We end with a discussion of the results and a brief outlook on future research.

**Key words:** *politeness, impoliteness, face, im/politeness theory*

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Обзорная статья

# Введение в исследование вежливости и невежливости в глобальном контексте

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**Аннотация**

В течение последних четырех десятилетий исследование вежливости, а затем и невежливости, составляет значимую область прагматики, дискурс-анализа и социолингвистики. Научный интерес к этой теме не случаен, он обусловлен общей антропоцентрической парадигмой современных междисциплинарных лингвистических исследований, которые сосредоточены не на языке как абстрактной системе, а на его функционировании в различных контекстах и типах взаимодействия. Знание стратегий и механизмов вежливости, используемых в различных социальных и культурных контекстах, способствует взаимопониманию в общении. В нашей вводной статье к специальному выпуску о вежливости и невежливости в глобальном контексте мы кратко остановимся на развитии теории не/вежливости, расширении методологии и материала исследований. Затем обратимся к каждой статье и определим теоретический и методологический вклад, а также те элементы новизны, предложенные нашими авторами, которые расширяют имеющиеся представления о не/вежливости. В заключение обсудим полученные результаты и наметим перспективы дальнейших исследований.

**Ключевые слова:** *вежливость, невежливость, лицо, теория вежливости и невежливости*

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## 1. Introduction

In 2014 the *Russian Journal of Linguistics* dedicated a special issue to Geoffrey Leech and gave im/politeness studies center stage. The volume brought a large number of scholars together who added their voices to other research outlets such as *the Journal of Politeness Research, Pragmatics* or the *Journal of Pragmatics*, to name just three of the prominent journals within pragmatics where politeness scholars find their readership. Five years later, we again turn to this topic and pursue im/politeness research in "global contexts". When we issued the call for the present volume, we thought of global contexts in two ways. On the one hand, we hoped that our contributors would continue the trend to work on a variety of different languages and contexts in order to enhance our understanding beyond languages like English or Japanese, two languages which have received much attention to date. We have achieved this aim in that our authors work on a wide variety of languages, here presented in alphabetical order: Arabic, English, Greek, Korean, Russian, Spanish and Mandarin Chinese, as spoken in Taiwan. On the other hand, we also encouraged submissions which enhance our theoretical and methodological understanding of im/politeness phenomena in global contexts[1]. The contributions could achieve this either by addressing a cross-cultural and/or cross-linguistic perspective or by adding their insights to previous research on comparable discourse contexts as found in different languages and cultures. In what follows, we will first briefly position the topic of im/politeness research to contextualize the contributions to the special issue. We then turn to a brief synopsis of each individual paper and highlight the theoretical and methodological contributions and innovations proposed by our authors. We end with a discussion of the results and a brief outlook on future research.

[1] Note that we are not concerned with the impact of globalisation, as discussed by Sifianou & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2018) in their special issue in the *Journal of Pragmatics*.

## 2. Advancements in im/politeness theory, method and data

Ever since the early surge of politeness research epitomized by the work of Lakoff (1973), Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) and Leech (1983, see also 2014), politeness research has been a solid and growing research field in pragmatics[2], discourse analysis and sociolinguistics and there is no sign of decline in interest. While the early work on politeness combined a Gricean understanding of the creation of meaning with speech act analysis and was thus interested in pragmatic variation on the utterance level, the field has expanded considerably in the last decades. In earlier overviews, Locher (2014, 2018) reported on several areas of expansion, which can be subsumed in two blocks. The first cluster is about theoretical and methodological advancements, while the second cluster concerns the type and scope of data as well as the range of linguistic phenomena studied. For comprehensive and recent overviews, the reader is referred to the *Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness* (Culpeper et al. 2017). In this brief introduction to the field, we can only highlight a number of pertinent issues.

Early research was particularly interested in discussing how mitigation achieves face protection of both the hearer and the speaker. This research typically worked on particular speech acts on the utterance level. As a consequence, mitigation was almost used synonymously with politeness. This was the case no matter whether the interactants themselves were thinking of their mitigation practices as acts of expressing politeness. In contrast, a lay understanding of politeness often associates politeness with prescribed rules in etiquette books, which include linguistic phenomena but also forms of comportment more generally, and is thus of a multi-modal nature and draws on different ideologies of proper comportment. This multi-modal aspect of politeness norms has been acknowledged by many scholars who include facial expression and gestures in their analysis (typically, qualitative discourse analysis and conversation analysis) and who are interested in uncovering the interplay between different norms, but multimodality has featured less in research that works with discourse production and completion tasks or corpus linguistics.

The difference between emic (lay) and etic (theoretical, scholarly) understanding of im/politeness has given rise to the discursive approach to im/politeness (see Eelen 2001). In fact, the most important contributions of the discursive turn were to remind us of the evaluative and situated nature of concepts such as impoliteness or politeness, the importance that emotions play in assessments and to argue for the link of identity construction with these processes of judging (e.g. Haugh et al. 2013, Linguistic Politeness Research Group 2011, Langlotz & Locher 2017, Locher 2004, 2015, Locher and Watts 2005, 2008). It is by now standard practice to combine etic and emic approaches in order to account for the interplay between the perspectives[3]. For example, while face-aggravating, face-maintaining and face-enhancing are etic concepts, they can be linked to particular emic assessments as impolite or rude in the analysis of particular interactions (see Locher 2015: 8, Haugh & Chang, this volume, and Fernández-Amaya, this volume).

[2] We adopt a European definition of pragmatics which goes beyond the sentence level and includes the study of language in use from a social and cultural viewpoint (see Locher and Graham 2010: 1, Taavitsainen & Jucker 2010).

[3] Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou (2019: 94) refer to this as the third wave of politeness research, which, we believe, was co-occurrent with the second wave rather than following it neatly.

In general, the type of data that has been systematically researched over the last decades has been widened in scope. First, research into historical forms of politeness surface structures as well as the development of historical forms has thrived (e.g. Culpeper & Kádár 2010, Jucker & Kopaczyk 2017, Paternoster & Fitzmaurice 2019, Rathmayr 2009). This research highlights how norms are negotiable and changeable and that linguistic politeness strategies have developed over time and are embedded in their cultural context and ideologies of conduct. Second, scholars became interested in impoliteness and rudeness effects as well and have moved away from focusing primarily on mitigation of face-threats. The scope of linguistic phenomena studied has thus been broadened to include face-aggravating behavior (e.g. Bousfield 2008, Bousfield & Locher 2008, Culpeper 2011, specialized conferences such as *LIAR* — the linguistic impoliteness and rudeness conferences). Third, while there is still a strong branch which looks at individual speech acts on the utterance level, many studies work with longer stretches of talk and are interested in how relational meaning is negotiated over several turns in context (see Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou 2019: 94). Finally, the type of data studied nowadays is varied and includes naturally-occurring face-to-face oral data, multimodal computer-mediated data, and written data of all shades and forms (e.g. fictional and non-fictional). Not surprisingly, especially the study of computer-mediated data has gained particular momentum since the early 2000s in special issues, monographs, and many research articles (see also Parvaresh, this volume and below). In addition, scholars work with elicited data in its own right or to complement findings based on naturally-occurring data (e.g. interviews or discourse production and completion tasks).

From a theoretical point of view, this broadening in scope has important repercussions for theorizing im/politeness. The changeability and negotiability in expressing face concern reported from historical research means that we also have to revisit our understanding of what exactly is universal in politeness research. If it is not the surface realization, then it likely to be the capacity of human beings (model person in Brown and Levinson's 1987 framework) to recognize one's own and the addressee's face needs and to use language strategically for effect. In fact, much research effort has been invested into identifying culture specific features of understanding, perception and expression of politeness and the results also show changeability, negotiability and variability. As numerous cross-cultural studies have shown, while expressing politeness seems to be universal, how this is being done is in essence a culture specific phenomenon (e.g. Leech 2005, 2014). Ideas about what is polite and what is not might differ cross-culturally (see Larina 2003, 2004, 2009, 2013, Rathmayr 2003, Sifianou 1992, Watts 2003 among others). The same act of communication (verbal or non-verbal) perceived as polite in one culture may be considered as inappropriate, impolite and even rude in another (Larina 2015: 197, see also Haugh and Chang, this volume)[4]. As a consequence, much research effort is invested in teasing apart how large scale ideologies as

[4] Watts (2003: 14) rightly claims that the lexemes *polite* and *politeness* and the terms matching them in other languages may vary in meaning and connotations associated with them (Watts 2003: 14). Depending on one's research question, this insight has methodological implications (see, for example, Locher 2012: 50 for the problematic idea of making an etic distinction between impoliteness and rudeness based on the English lexeme connotations, when studying other languages than English).

well as norms developed in different contexts and on different levels (e.g. personal, cultural, situational and co-textual norms; Culpeper 2008: 30) inform and shape politeness. Knowing what effect a particular phrasing might have means that interlocutors are aware of the norms of a lingua-culture in its different levels and can exploit this knowledge to maintain, challenge/aggravate or enhance their own or their addressee's face. They do this in situ, i.e. they exploit the indexical force of their linguistic choices at the time and in their context. In doing so, there is an intricate interplay between societal ideologies, the norms of a particular community of practice and the activity types they activate and the actual indexicalities evoked by the interactants[5].

In addition, the broadening of scope also sheds more light on the study of pragmatic variability in expressing different speech acts and in negotiating meaning in longer stretches of data in different contexts more generally. This is because this field has not just been a concern of im/politeness scholars (see Locher 2015 for elaboration on this point). The im/politeness research community has reached out to other fields and there are by now a number of theories and approaches that can cross-fertilize each other. Among them are Arundale's face-constituting theory (e.g. Arundale 2010, 2013), Spencer-Oatey's rapport management (Spencer-Oatey 2005, 2009), relational work in interpersonal pragmatics (Locher & Watts 2005, 2008; Locher & Graham 2010), Faircloughian genre and discourse inspired studies (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2010, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou 2019), the impact of politeness on communicative styles (House 2006, Larina 2003, 2009, 2015), and research on identity construction (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall 2005, 2008; Hall & Bucholtz 2013).The latter is an especially promising research avenue since politeness judgements always also have repercussions on identity construction, which in its turn guides the way people interact (see Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2009, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou 2017, Larina et al. 2017a, Locher 2008).

In Parvaresh's (this volume) report on the 2019 meeting of the *International Symposium of Politeness*, these general trends are confirmed. Scholars convened to report on research about both politeness as well as impoliteness and they demonstrate an enriching mix of methodologies and theories. He reports that the study of im/politeness in historical data is going strong, that researching online data is still a hot issue, that the study of aggressive language helps to tease out the indexicality of relational messages, that conceptualising morality in addition to personal, cultural, situational and co-textual norms (Culpeper 2008: 30) has gained in importance, that research which takes the evaluative notion of im/politeness into account (Locher 2004) is continued, that notions of impoliteness and conflict are being elaborated on, that individual speech acts continue to be studied comparatively across lingua-cultures and on their own and, finally, that ethical considerations and risks involved in data collection was discussed numerous times. Overall, the research field is thus striving. In what follows, we will introduce the papers in this special issue which add their voices to this discussion.

[5] Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou (2019: 97) refer to this complex interplay as micro (style), meso (genre) and macro (discourse) and base their argumentation on Fairclough's (2003) insights. While they argue that concepts of community of practice and activity type cannot do the work of combining the meso with the macro level, we see no reason to discard these concepts and believe that the important work of linking these levels can be achieved through them.

## 3. Issues covered in the collection

The collection presents nine original research papers. The first paper by Haugh and Chang focuses on the speech act of criticism from a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective. Since the authors highlight the methodological challenges of an analysis of this kind, they set the scene for later papers concerning an approach to im/politeness in global contexts. This paper is followed by a theoretical paper presenting a meta-analysis of the changing role of indirectness in im/politeness studies by Terkourafi. The following three papers focus on different languages and explore these with different methodologies: Rhee employs a historical approach on Korean; Bragina and Sharonov use corpus linguistics and discourse analysis on Russian, and Vlasyan and Kozhukhova work with discourse production tasks on Russian. The papers thus demonstrate how we can gain insights about different languages, contexts and cultures with the help of a wide variety of different methodologies. This trajectory is continued in the remaining papers as well. However, the papers in the last group all introduce research on naturally-occurring data derived from computer-mediated communication. Im/politeness in online contexts has intensively been worked on in the last two decades (for overviews see, e.g., Graham & Hardaker 2017, Locher 2006, Locher et al. 2015). The papers in this volume continue the discussion of methodological and theoretical approaches and add insights into different languages and cultures in online practices. We will position these contributions one by one.

The starting point for this collection is a paper by **Michael Haugh** and **Wei-Lin Melody Chang**. They work with elicited data where informants meet for the first time. Their data sets consist of dyads in English recorded in Australia and dyads in Mandarin Chinese recorded in Taiwan. The focus of analysis are acts of criticism of the conversational partner. While much research in the past focused on comparing the linguistic realization of speech acts, the authors argue that an integrated sequential and indexical analysis will help us better understand not only cross-linguistic differences but also the different status of the content of the speech act and the indexical value of the speech act in the different cultures. They address the methodological challenge of approaching data as researchers who are part or are not part of the studied community, the implications of this presence/absence of membership for analysis and the consequences on theorizing im/politeness. Their paper works as an important reminder that the label "criticism" per se might have different connotations in different cultures and that only comparing linguistic form might fall short of a comprehensive analysis since the members themselves might have different interpretations of the speech act. This important insight is further elaborated on in Fernández-Amaya's (this volume) contribution on disagreement (see below).

**Marina Terkourafi** turns our attention to the role of linguistic indirectness in im/politeness studies in the light of processes of urbanization and globalization. While the use of indirectness has been associated with face-saving and has been described as a universally safe strategy (Brown & Levinson 1987), Terkourafi offers an alternative interpretation. In doing so she combines im/politeness studies with network theory (Milroy 1987). She explains that ingroup knowledge is needed to interpret indirectness and therefore what Terkourafi terms accidental indirectness is only accessible to this ingroup. As a consequence, indirectness might become disfavored as a strategy. By presenting a meta-analysis of three studies in different linguistic and cultural contexts which offer a diachronic perspective on the use of indirectness (Morgan 1991 on the use of indirectness in a community of African-American women; He 2012 and others on complimenting in Chinese; Jucker 2012 on the development of English politeness), Terkourafi draws our attention to the hypothesis that the overall weakening of networks might be the reason for a potential increase in direct rather than indirect linguistic strategies. To explore this hypothesis further is of interest for im/politeness studies as it questions one of the pillars of im/politeness studies.

**Seongha Rhee** turns our attention to Korean, one of the most grammatically indexical languages with respect to politeness phenomena. In fact, "in Korean the speaker-addressee relationship is reflected in mandatory sentence-final verbal morphology" (Rhee & Koo 2017: 101). In addition, there is a diverse pronoun system and a complex address term system, which comprises both kinship as well as terms derived from work hierarchies and seniority. Positioning his research in an understanding of 'emergent grammar' (Hopper 1987) and grammaticalization processes, Rhee explores in particular the development of the first and second person pronouns and their link to address terms from a historical perspective. In doing so, he is able to show how politeness considerations of defining one's place in society by expressing respect to others (+honorific) and displaying one's lower position with respect to others (+humiliative) is achieved through linguistic indexicals. This pronoun and address term system is highly dynamic and continuously develops in order to fulfil the expressive needs of the interactants. This development is steered by the pressure and challenge to choose adequate markers since choosing the wrong level or omitting the use of proper address terms might result in undesired pragmatic effects. Rhee argues that, just like words and phrases employed to avoid taboo lose their mitigating power over time, the pronouns change their power of indexing politeness and positioning through frequent use. As a consequence, "[+Honorific] terms are constantly innovated to upgrade the diminishing honorification effect and the first-person reference terms are constantly innovated to strengthen the [+Humiliative] meaning" (Rhee, this volume). This study demonstrates that the research community can gain much from broadening the scope of data to include a diachronic perspective. In showing that the pronoun politeness indexicals are dynamic over time, we are reminded of the dynamic nature of linguistic realisations of acts of positioning that express politeness concerns per se[6]. However, what seems to be stable is the need to express these differences in positioning and politeness.

**Natalia Bragina** and **Igor Sharonov** present a corpus linguistic analysis of over 200 naturally-occurring Russian dialogues from the Russian National Corpus that involve face-threatening and face-aggravating behavior. They focus in particular on instances

[6] Note that we do not wish to imply that "anything goes" and that everything is re-invented constantly from scratch (as some critics of the discursive approach have misunderstood). (Im)politeness indexicals take their power from norms that are shared by individuals. However, these very norms can change over time, as Rhee's paper has so convincingly demonstrated. For more elaboration on this point, see Locher (2012: 52).

where a conversational partner reprimands an interlocutor for the perceived, inappropriate nature of a previous statement. The context of these interactions is everyday informal communication. The authors label these reprimands "pedagogical aggression" because of their corrective nature and their negative stance towards the addressee. Due to these features, the authors argue that these reprimands become impolite in turn and are set in contrast to responses which aim at neutralizing a previously perceived inappropriate contribution (which the authors call empathy strategy). The form that the contributions containing pedagogical aggression take are "1) a pseudo-question (rhetorical question or a question to the assumptions of an interlocutor), 2) mocking citations from the interlocutor's speech, [and] 3) rhymed pseudo-answers" (Bragina & Sharonov, this volume). In this article the authors focus on the third type. They show that this strategy is assessed by native speakers as impolite, but possible, since there is an unspoken presumption according to which aggressive-educational speech behavior is allowed against an interlocutor who made a communicative mistake in informal communication. There is a set of speech formulas in the Russian language for the realization of this strategy. In intimate contexts the use of rhymed pseudo-answers can sound humorous and not lead to conflict. However, the authors show that, in further communication, the interlocutors take care to explain and make amends for his or her attack against the addressee. In a conflictual dialogue, stereotypical pseudo-answer phrases are used to break off the contact with the interlocutor or to switch to another mode of communication. The authors' study convincingly shows that the strategy of pedagogical aggression becomes particularly noteworthy because it is contrasted with the empathy strategy. This finding highlights that the indexical power of politeness or impoliteness in situ is derived by processes of contrasting behavior with each other. This theoretical point links to insights on the discursive nature of im/politeness judgements, as proposed and developed by a number of scholars (e.g. Haugh et al. 2013, Linguistic Politeness Research Group 2011, Locher & Watts 2005, 2008, 2015), and as further developed in this volume by Tzanne and Sifianou (see below).

**Gayane Vlasyan** and **Irina Kozhukhova** work on im/politeness in Russian by means of elicited data obtained through a discourse production test with 101 participants of three age groups: schoolchildren, university students and adults. The task was to issue an invitation in scenarios which differed according to age and social status of the interactants considering both symmetrical (informal context) and asymmetrical (formal context) relations. The respondents were supposed to invite (a) a friend/colleague and (b) a teacher/boss to an event or a birthday party. The authors wanted to establish whether a difference is made in formal and informal contexts and how this reflects on a particular Russian understanding of the speech act invitation. They report that there are indeed differences in politeness strategies and linguistic means of expression in formal and informal contexts. Overall, however, there is a preference for issuing direct invitations, which correlates with the Russian style of communication in general (see Larina 2003, 2008, 2009, 2015). The results show that in symmetrical contexts in the groups of schoolchildren and students the most typical form of invitation is the imperative (literal translation: *Girls, come to my place on Saturday to celebrate my birthday)*. In the group of adults as well as in all the three groups in formal (asymmetrical) context, it is the performative (*I invite* *you to my birthday party*). However, indirect invitations are not uncommon but they are less frequent and are not favored by any of the groups under the study. This finding is consistent with the idea that in Russian giving options while inviting "could be interpreted as evidence of the Speaker's insincerity, rather than a demonstration of respect for the Hearer's wants" (Leech & Larina 2014: 15) and could be perceived negatively. Rather than hedging, the respondents of all three groups used many intensifiers both in informal and formal contexts (literal translation: *You must come / Your presence is mandatory / Rejection is not accepted / I (we) really want to see you / I (we) will be very glad to see you*). Thus the authors demonstrate that Russian inviters place high value on signaling the speaker's interests. The paper adds to our knowledge of the speech act of invitation since it analyses new data and argues that in Russian culture invitation appears not to be a face-threatening act. The authors support the idea that in Russian culture, which is of a collectivist type (Larina et al. 2017a,b), directness does not always violate principles of politeness and in many speech acts and contexts is expected and perceived positively. The findings also show that culture-specific differences in communication are not random but systematic and regular use of typical strategies leads to the formation of communicative features, the totality of which forms a communicative ethno-style (Larina 2015: 197).

As mentioned in the previous section, the research community has long recognized that politeness judgements are linked to norms of different types. Culpeper (2008: 30) speaks of personal, cultural, situational and co-textual norms that shape interaction. Kádár and Haugh (2013: 95), in turn, mention localised norms, "community of practice/organisational or other group-based norms," and societal/cultural norms. To gain access to and tease these norms apart is one of the challenges of im/politeness research. **Angeliki Tzanne** and **Maria Sifianou** take up this challenge and ask where and how researchers can gain an entry point into establishing what a community's particular lay conceptualizations of politeness and impoliteness are. In their research, they thus tackle the tricky question of how to discover norms, i.e. how to know what is perceived as (im)polite in a particular context as an analyst. Rather than studying interactions between participants or turning to etiquette books (both valid sources, of course), they argue that scholars can also gain much insight from looking at media coverage of im/politeness issues. They are therefore interested in meta-discussions in the public space, which point to a societal rather than individual understanding of impoliteness. Their data consists of two online articles on impoliteness in Greece written by one journalist, which were shared in the media and received reader comments. Analyzing the articles and the comments with the help of the concepts of discursive identity construction and van Dijk's (1998, 2006a, b) insights into ideological positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, the authors show that impoliteness is not only perceived as a linguistic phenomenon but encompassed all kinds of behaviour in the public and private space, and that, crucially, the "'polite' and 'impolite citizen'" are "co-constructed as binary opposites by the journalist and posters" (Tzanne and Sifianou, this volume). While such views are stereotypical to a certain extent, they reveal recurrent and pervasive lay understandings of im/politeness norms. The authors reveal that the ingroup of polite citizens are constructed as superior to the impolite outgroup and are differentiated along lines of power, knowledge, education, civilization and intelligence. The contribution thus demonstrates how insights from online meta-discussions can further our understanding of lay conceptualizations of im/politeness. Once more, the process of acts of contrasting is brought home. That the parameters of contrasting can easily shift, however, was shown in a comparable analysis by Locher and Luginbühl (2019). As in Tzanne and Sifianou's contribution, online newspaper articles and reader comments were analyzed. In this case, the triggering texts contrasted German politeness with Swiss (German) politeness norms. Interestingly, the Swiss speakers of German dialects were observed to construct a unified Swiss versus German politeness understanding, but have been observed to uphold a difference in dialectal norms when talking only about the Swiss. This is because there are many dialects in Switzerland but, apparently, for the process of comparison with an outgroup, this fact is simplified, and as a consequence different norms were constructed as well.

**Najma Al Zidjaly**'s contribution adds yet another perspective to the im/politeness discussion. Her paper is entitled "Divine impoliteness: How Arabs negotiate Islamic moral order on Twitter" and is the result of engaging in a long-term online ethnography which observes Arab identity construction on social media. Al Zidjaly has demonstrated in numerous publications how the religious moral order imbues Arab identity construction and understanding of self (e.g. Al Zidjaly 2014, 2017, 2019). For this paper, the author chose to analyse one particular tweet which triggered many comments and kept the media spot light for a considerable time. This post discussed a well-known prayer that includes Muslims but excludes non-Muslims by omission from getting well (i.e. by not mentioning them). The tweet author questions the morality of this exclusivity/omission and invites discussion. Since questioning the Quran and the hadiths ("the reported sayings of the prophet of Islam documented in the authoritative books of Sahih Al-Bukhari and Sahih Al-Muslim", Al Zidjaly, this volume) is not allowed, the discussion is controversial from the beginning. As it turns out in the discussion of the participants, the prayer's wording is neither taken from the Quran nor the hadiths so that voicing different opinions and engaging in discussions of these opinions becomes possible. A recurrent strategy is what Al Zidjaly terms "divine impoliteness", i.e. commentators turn to and quote religious authoritative texts, which are aggressive towards others, in order to legitimize the face-loss of the omitted parties who are being excluded from prayers of getting well. In Al Zidjaly's view, these online discussions are evidence of a "shift in Islamic moral order", the discussion of which has become increasingly possible in online contexts. Since work on im/politeness in Arabic is only slowly increasing in number (e.g. Badarneh 2019, Farhat 2013, Labben 2018), this paper is particularly welcome as it highlights the complexity of different types of norms that intertwine in im/politeness considerations and particularly spotlights the religious moral order as an aspect that secular Western scholars might be less aware of.

**Lucía Fernández-Amaya**'s contribution presents a case study of a naturally-occurring WhatsApp conversation among family members, which took place during 14 hours in Spain and comprises over 9900 words. This close-knit group discusses the demonstration held in the context of International Women's Day, which took place on the same day. As it turns out, the family members hold diametrically opposed views on feminism and express these views in the WhatsApp chat. This results in prolonged arguments where people position and defend their own point of view as well as react to others' contributions. The linguistic focus of the study is thus the expression of disagreement and alignment and disaffiliation with each other. In a qualitative analysis of 427 instances of disagreement, Fernández-Amaya first establishes a typology of disagreements and then codes the established strategies systematically in order to arrive at the overall distribution of the strategies (giving opposite opinions and emotional or personal reasons are most frequent) and the distribution among the members of the family. In doing so, she is able to show how the family members differ in their preferences. In a second step, the contributors to the WhatsApp discussion were sent an electronic questionnaire and relevant passages to establish whether the directness of the disagreement and the often diametrically opposed positions expressed resulted in impoliteness judgements. Adding to research on disagreement and relational work, which reported that the expression of disagreement is often expected and not necessarily negatively marked (for an overview, see e.g., Angouri and Locher 2012), the author found that the family members did not consider the uttered face-threats to be severe or impolite. Instead, their close bond and family ties allowed them to express themselves without fear of damaging their relationships and some even evaluated the encountered disagreement in positive terms. Just as Haugh and Chang (in this volume) reminded us in their study of criticism in first encounters, the indexical value of a speech act as well as its realization have to be analyzed in context in order to make statements about their evaluative status with respect to im/politeness norms.

The final research contribution of the special issue and of the block on computer-mediated communication is written by **María de la O Hernández-López**, who works on naturally-occurring consumer reviews in English on the peer-to-peer business platform Airbnb. Similar to the work by Dayter and Rüdiger (2014), who worked on comments on Couchsurfing, Hernández-López also highlights how the reviewers engage in a delicate act when writing reviews. This is because both the host's as well as guest's public faces on the platform are at stake since both parties are being rated and their earning possibilities in case of the host and their acceptance rate as guest will be affected by the ratings. By analyzing 120 reviews, Hernández-López establishes three different emotional orientations: delighted/satisfied, ambivalent/neutral, and dissatisfied/disappointed. The established forms and distribution are then linked to a discussion of what norms prevail (following Locher and Watts 2005, 2008). The results point to a clear preference of being polite, while avoiding overtly being rude or offensive. Due to this positivity norm, however, what is not being said is also informative and implies dissatisfaction on this peer-to-peer business platform. Linguistically, messages leaning toward the negative pole of the cline are characterized through "a process of depersonalisation, with a tone based on formality and distancing from the host", while messages leaning towards the positive end of the cline are characterized through the use of enthusiastic and friendly vocabulary and content. Furthermore, with respect to this peer-to-peer business platform, Hernández-López shows how sociability is constructed as key for both the host's and the guest's behavior. Methodologically, the paper adds to our understanding of how the norms of a particular community can be studied. She established patterns of stance and content distribution and was then able to compare her results to similar (but not identical) reviewer platforms such as Couchsurfing or TripAdvisor (Dayter and Rüdiger 2014, Rosen et al. 2011, Vásquez 2011, 2014).

The special issue is wrapped up with two reviews of books that belong to the im/politeness research field: Daria Dayter reviews Mills' (2017) book *English Politeness and Class*, while Zsófia Demjen discusses Locher's (2017) book on *Reflective Writing in Medical Contexts*, which is written from an interpersonal pragmatics perspective. Vahid Parvaresh, finally, reports on the recent research trends observed during *The 12th International Conference on (Im)Politeness*, which was held in Cambridge, UK, in 2019.

## 4. Discussion and outlook

The papers in this special issue reflect the enriching cross-fertilization of theories, methods and approaches which is typical of present-day im/politeness research. It is noteworthy that rather than focusing on politeness, several papers are on conflict and disagreement and thus reflect on politeness by studying how face-aggravation surfaces and is contrasted with expectations about politeness. They cover criticism in first encounter (Haugh & Chang), discussions of the religious moral order and prayers that are face-aggravating (Al Zidjaly), and disagreement in a family about feminism (Fernández-Amaya). In the case of the practice of reviewing in Airbnb studied by Hernández-López, overt face-aggravation is avoided but the omission of face-enhancing relational work is interpreted as negative. This finding was only possible by establishing the virtual community of practice norms rather than only counting on the linguistic surface structure to index face-maintenance. The two papers on reprimands and invitations in Russian reveal cultural indexicals of im/politeness in the speech acts involved (Bragina & Sharonov, Vlasyan & Kozhukhova). In Tzanne and Sifianou's contribution we learn about the ingroup and outgroup creation of impolite and polite identities. Rhee's paper demonstrates how norms established to index respect and hierarchies in address terms changes over time as these very forms become weaker in their expressive power. Terkourafi's contribution questions the classic understanding of the connection between indirectness and im/politeness and posits a hypothesis of increasing directness in connection with urbanization and globalization.

The papers have in common that they add insights about im/politeness discourses in different cultures. They use and combine different methods to uncover the norms based on which interactants arrive at im/politeness (and more generally relational) judgements. The data used reflects a wide scope from semi-authentic data (first encounters), discourse production tests, examples from large and custom-made corpora, online ethnography, and historical texts. These papers can be taken to reflect developments in im/politeness research. Rather than deploring that there is no single, unified im/politeness theory, we consider this variety enriching and wish to endorse the call for mixed methodologies and openness towards studying both culture specifics as well as universals in relational practices. While clearly much more needs to be done to understand the complexity of how different norms interact, how they give rise to im/politeness judgements and effects, and how we can uncover these processes of relational indexicalities, we are confident that the articles presented in this issue can be of use to the research community and become an impulse for further reflection, research and discoveries.

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## 1. Введение

В 2014 году наш журнал посвятил специальный выпуск памяти Джеффри Лича, центральное место в котором было отведено изучению вежливости и невежливости. Он объединил ученых, чьи исследования дополнили публикации таких известных журналов в области прагматики, как *Journal of Politeness Research, Pragmatics*, *Journal of Pragmatics* и других, где исследователи не/вежливости находят своих читателей. Пять лет спустя мы снова обращаемся к данной теме. Когда мы объявили о подготовке данного выпуска и пригласили авторов участвовать в нем, мы рассматривали «глобальные контексты» в двух аспектах. С одной стороны, мы надеялись, что наши авторы представят исследования из области различных языков и контекстов, что расширит понимание не/вежливости, чаще всего исследуемой на материале английского и японского языков. Мы достигли этой цели благодаря тому, что наши авторы работают над самыми разными языками: английским, арабским, греческим, испанским, китайским, корейским и русским (перечислены в алфавитном порядке). С другой стороны, мы также хотели, чтобы в этом спецвыпуске нашли отражение теоретические и методологические вопросы изучения не/вежливости в глобальном контексте[7] через обращение к культурным и языковым аспектам в различных лингвокультурах и развитие предыдущих сопоставительных дискурсивных исследований.

В данной статье мы сначала коротко остановимся на проблеме изучения не/вежливости. Затем дадим краткий обзор каждой отдельной статьи наших авторов, отметим новизну проведенных ими исследований, а также их теоретический и методологический вклад в изучение не/вежливости. В завершение обсудим результаты и наметим перспективы дальнейших исследований.

## 2. Развитие теории не/вежливости, расширение методологии и сбора данных

Начиная с раннего всплеска интереса к вежливости, вызванного работами Р. Лакофф (Lakoff 1973), П. Браун и С. Левинсона (Brown & Levinson 1978, 1987), а также Дж. Лича (Leech 1983, см. также 2014), изучение вежливости является стабильно развивающимся направлением исследований в области социолингвистики, прагматики[8] и дискурс-анализа, и ничто не указывает на снижение интереса к данной теме. Если в ранних работах по вежливости, где взгляд П. Грайса на формирование значения сочетался с анализом речевых актов, интерес проявлялся к прагматическому варьированию на уровне высказывания, то в последние десятилетия область изучения вежливости значительно расширилась. В предыдущих обзорах (Locher 2014, 2018) выделялось несколько таких областей, которые могут быть отнесены к двум блокам. Первый касается развития теоретической и методологической базы, второй — типа исследовательского материала и его охвата,

[7] Уточним, что мы здесь не касаемся влияния глобализации на вежливость, о чем пишут Sifianou & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2018) в специальном выпуске журнала *Journal of Pragmatics*.

[8] Мы придерживаемся европейского определения прагматики, которое выходит за рамки предложения и включает изучение использования языка с социальной и культурной точек зрения (см. Locher & Graham 2010: 1, Taavitsainen & Jucker 2010 и др.).

а также диапазона изучаемых языковых явлений. Глубокие и всесторонние обзоры по исследованию не/вежливости можно найти в книге *Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness* (Culpeper et al. 2017). В данном кратком введении мы выделим лишь несколько актуальных вопросов.

В ранних исследованиях интерес проявлялся прежде всего к тому, как стратегии и тактики смягчения воздействия способствуют сохранению лица слушающего и говорящего (Здесь и далее под термином Э. Гоффмана «лицо» понимается социальный имидж человека). В них обычно рассматривались определенные речевые акты на уровне отдельного высказывания. Как следствие, смягчение воздействия стало почти синонимом вежливости, независимо от того, воспринимали ли сами участники свои действия как акты выражения вежливости или нет. На бытовом уровне, напротив, вежливость часто связывают с правилами, предписанными в книгах по этикету, которые включают как вербальные, так и более общие формы поведения. Таким образом, вежливость имеет мультимодальную природу и опирается на различные идеологии должного поведения. Этот мультимодальный взгляд на нормы вежливости разделяют многие ученые, включающие в свой анализ (как правило, качественный анализ дискурса и конверсационный анализ) выражение лица, жесты и др. Их интересует взаимодействие различных норм. Однако в исследованиях, которые проводятся на основе дискурсивных тестов (DCT, DPT) и корпусной лингвистики, на мультимодальность обращается меньше внимания.

Различие между эмическим (бытовым) и этическим (теоретическим, научным) пониманием не/вежливости привело к дискурсивному подходу к изучению данных явлений (см. Eelen 2001). Наиболее существенным вкладом в него стало указание на оценочный и контекстуальный характер таких понятий, как вежливость и невежливость, на важность эмоций в их оценке и утверждение о связи этих процессов с конструированием идентичности (например, Haugh et al. 2013, Linguistic Politeness Research Group 2011, Langlotz & Locher 2017, Locher 2004, 2015, Locher & Watts 2005, 2008). В настоящее время общепринято сочетать эмический и этический подходы для учета их взаимосвязи[9]. Например, в анализе конкретных взаимодействий этические понятия «понижение лица» (т.е. понижение социального имиджа), «поддержание лица» (поддержание социального имиджа) и «улучшение лица» (повышение социального имиджа) могут быть связаны с такими эмическими оценками, как невежливый или грубый (см. Locher 2015: 8, Haugh & Chang и Fernández-Amaya в этом выпуске).

В целом в течение последних десятилетий существенно расширяется материал исследований. Во-первых, ученые заинтересовались диахроническим аспектом изучения вежливости, ее историческими формами и их развитием (например, Culpeper & Kádár 2010, Jucker & Kopaczyk 2017, Paternoster & Fitzmaurice 2019, Ратмайр 2009 и др.). В этих исследованиях показано изменение норм и то, как стратегии вежливости со временем развиваются и встраиваются в культурный контекст и идеологию поведения. Во-вторых, ученые также заинтересовались невежливостью и грубостью и перестали концентрировать свое внимание в первую

[9] Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou (2019: 94) называют это третьей волной исследования вежливости, которая, как мы полагаем, сопутствовала второй волне, а не следовала за ней.

очередь на смягчении угрозы лицу. Они расширили сферу своих исследований и включили в нее поведение, понижающее лицо (например, Bousfield 2008, Bousfield & Locher 2008, Culpeper 2011, Жельвис 2001/1997, 2014; Ларина, Харлова 2014, Харлова 2015, специализированные конференции по невежливости и грубости, такие как LIAR, конференция «Вежливость и антивежливость в языке и коммуникации» [Шаронов 2018]). В-третьих, хотя по-прежнему существует серьезное направление, которое рассматривает отдельные речевые акты на уровне высказываний, многие исследователи работают с более длинными фрагментами речи и исследуют, как реляционное значение раскрывается в контексте в течение нескольких ходов (см. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou 2019: 94). Наконец, материал, исследуемый в настоящее время, отличается разнообразием и включает межличностное общение, проходящее в естественных условиях, интернет-общение, письменные тексты различных стилей и жанров и др. Неудивительно, что с начала 2000-х годов изучение интернет-общения получило особый импульс, о чем свидетельствуют специальные выпуски журналов, монографии и многочисленные научные статьи (см. также обзор Парвареша в этом выпуске). Отметим при этом, что исследователи работают с материалом по своему выбору, используют комбинированные методы, дополняя, например, данные естественной коммуникации данными, полученными в ходе интервью или дискурс-тестов.

Расширение предметной области имеет важное значение для развития теории не/вежливости. Изменчивость и вариативность в выражении отношения к лицу, о которых свидетельствуют диахронические исследования, означает, что необходимо пересмотреть наше понимание того, что именно является универсальным в исследованиях вежливости. Если это не внешнее проявление вежливости, то, скорее всего, это способность людей (идеальной личности, согласно Brown & Levinson 1987) осознавать свои собственные потребности и потребности адресата и использовать язык стратегически для достижения той или иной цели. Много усилий было вложено в изучение выявления культурных особенностей понимания, восприятия и выражения вежливости, результаты которых также показывают ее вариативность. Как продемонстрировали многочисленные кросс-культурные исследования, хотя вежливость по сути является универсальной категорией, ее конкретное выражение культурно специфично. Представление о том, что вежливо, а что нет, в разных культурах может различаться (см. Sifianou 1992, Watts 2003, Ратмайер 2003, Ларина 2003, 2004, 2009 и многие др.). Один и тот же акт (вербальный или невербальный), воспринимаемый как вежливый в одной культуре, может рассматриваться как неуместный, невежливый и даже грубый в другой (Larina 2015: 197, см. также Haugh & Chang в этом номере)[10]. Это справедливо также и для субкультур в рамках одной этнической культуры (см., например, Брагина 2018).

[10] Как справедливо утверждает Уоттс (Watts 2003: 14), лексемы *polite* и *politeness* и соответствующие им термины в других языках могут различаться по значению и связанным с ними коннотациям, что также было показано в исследованиях М. Сифиану (Sifianou 1992), Лариной (2003, 2004, 2009), Ратмайр (2003) и др. В зависимости от исследовательского вопроса, этот вывод имеет то или иное методологическое применение (см., например, исследование М. Лохэр [Locher 2012], в котором выявляются различия между невежливостью и грубостью на основе коннотаций английских лексем при изучении других языков) [Locher 2012: 50]).

В результате исследователи прилагают большие усилия для изучения того, как культура в целом, а также нормы, разработанные в различных контекстах и на разных уровнях (например, личностные, ситуативные, текстовые, см. [Culpeper 2008: 30]), информируют о вежливости и формируют ее. Знание того, что влияет на конкретное высказывание, означает, что собеседники знают нормы той или иной лингвокультуры на разных ее уровнях и могут использовать эти знания для сохранения, понижения или повышения своего лица или лица адресата. Они делают это в конкретной ситуации, то есть используют индексальную силу своего языкового выбора в конкретное время и в конкретном контексте. При этом существует сложная взаимосвязь между идеологиями, нормами данного сообщества, совершаемыми коммуникантами действиями и выбором языковых средств)[11].

Кроме того, расширение области исследования способствует также изучению прагматической вариативности в выражении различных речевых актов и выявлению их значения в более длинных фрагментах речи в различных контекстах. Это связано с тем, что данная область является предметом внимания не только исследователей, занимающихся не/вежливостью (подробно см. Locher 2015). Сообщество исследователей не/вежливости обращается к другим областям, и в настоящее время существует целый ряд теорий и подходов, которые могут взаимно обогащать друг друга. Среди них — теория создания лица (‘face-constituting theory’) (Arundale 2010, 2013 и др.), управление взаимоотношениями (‘rapport management’) (Spencer-Oatey 2005, 2009), работа по улучшению отношений, или реляционная работа (‘relational work’) в межличностной прагматике (Locher & Watts 2005, 2008; Locher & Graham 2010), исследования жанра и дискурса (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2010, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou 2019), влияние вежливости на стили коммуникации (Ларина 2003, 2009, House 2006, Larina 2015), исследования по построению идентичности (например, Bucholtz & Hall 2005, 2008; Hall & Bucholtz 2013). Последнее направление представляется особенно перспективным, поскольку оценка вежливости всегда оказывает влияние на конструирование идентичности (см. Locher 2008, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2009, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou 2017, Larina et al. 2017a, b), что в свою очередь определяет стиль коммуникации (см. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2009, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou 2017, Locher 2008, Земская 1997, Ларина 2003, 2009).

В обзоре Международного симпозиума по не/вежливости 2019 г. эти общие тенденции в изучении рассматриваемого явления также нашли отражение. Участники симпозиума, которые собрались, чтобы представить результаты своих исследований в области вежливости и невежливости, продемонстрировали взаимообогащающее разнообразие методологий и теорий. Они показали, что набирают силу исследования вежливости в диахроническом аспекте; по-прежнему остается актуальным исследование онлайн-коммуникации; изучение речевой

[11] Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou (2019: 97) называют это сложное взаимодействие микро (стиль), мезо (жанр) и макро (дискурс) и основывают свою аргументацию на взглядах Фэйрклафа (Fairclough 2003).

агрессии помогает выявить индексальность (маркированность) высказываний; в дополнение к личным, культурным, ситуативным и текстовым нормам (Culpeper 2008: 30) приобретает все большее значение концептуализация этики поведения; продолжаются исследования, учитывающие оценочный характер не/вежливости (Locher 2004); разрабатываются понятия невежливости и конфликта; продолжают изучаться отдельные речевые акты как в рамках одной культуры, так и в сопоставлении с различными лингвокультурами. В ходе симпозиума неоднократно обсуждались вопросы, касающиеся сбора материала. В целом, было показано, что данная исследовательская область имеет широкие перспективы. Ниже мы кратко представим наших авторов и их статьи, которые продолжат обсуждение вышеперечисленных вопросов.

## 3. Авторы и статьи выпуска

В данном выпуске представлены девять оригинальных исследований. Авторы первой статьи Майкл Хо и Вей-Лин Мелоди Чанг исследуют речевой акт «критика» с межъязыковой и межкультурной точек зрения. Выдвигая на первый план методологические проблемы, они создают основу для последующих работ, касающихся подходов к вежливости и невежливости в глобальном контексте. Далее идет теоретическая статья Марины Теркурафи, в которой представлен мета-анализ меняющейся роли косвенности в исследованиях не/вежливости. Следующие три статьи посвящены различным языкам, исследование которых осуществляется на разных методологических принципах: Сингха Ри применяет диахронический метод к анализу корейского языка; исследователи русского языка Н.Г. Брагина и И.А. Шаронов используют корпусную лингвистику и дискурс-анализ, а Г.Р. Власян и И.В. Кожухова работают с дискурсивными тестами. Таким образом, статьи показывают, что мы можем получать данные о различных языках, контекстах и культурах с помощью широкого спектра методологий, о чем свидетельствуют и остальные статьи. Последние посвящены исследованию естественной речевой коммуникации, осуществляемой с применением современных компьютерных технологий. В последние два десятилетия исследование вежливости в онлайн-контексте интенсивно развивается (см., например, Graham & Hardaker 2017, Locher 2006, Locher et al. 2015). Статьи нашего спецвыпуска продолжают обсуждение методологических и теоретических подходов и дают представление о различных языках и культурах в онлайн-общении. Отдельно остановимся на каждой из статей.

Открывает выпуск статья **Майкла Хо** и **Вей-Лин Мелоди Чанг**, которая посвящена анализу речевого акта «критика» в ситуации первой встречи собеседников. Материалом для исследования послужили диады на английском языке, записанные в Австралии, и диады на китайском языке (мандарин), записанные на Тайване. В центре анализа находятся речевые действия, содержащие критику собеседника. В то время как многие исследования сосредоточены на сравнении языковой реализации речевых актов, авторы утверждают, что комплексный последовательный и индексальный анализ помогает лучше понять не только межъязыковые различия, но и различный статус содержания того или иного речевого акта и его индексальное значение в разных культурах. Авторы обращаются к методологическим проблемам анализа материала, когда исследователи являются или не являются частью изучаемого сообщества, последствиям влияния этого факта на анализ и теоретические выводы, касающиеся не/вежливости. Они обращают внимание на то, что слово «критика» само по себе может иметь различные коннотации в разных культурах и что недостаточно ограничиваться сравнением одной лишь языковой формы, поскольку у собеседников могут быть разные интерпретации данного речевого акта. Это важное заключение находит дальнейшее развитие и в статье Фернандес-Амайя (в этом выпуске), анализирующей речевой акт «несогласие» (см. ниже).

**Марина Теркурафи** обращает внимание на роль косвенности в исследованиях не/вежливости в свете процессов урбанизации и глобализации. Хотя использование косвенности традиционно связывается с сохранением лица и рассматривается как универсально безопасная стратегия (Brown & Levinson 1987), она предлагает альтернативную точку зрения. Сочетая теорию вежливости с так называемой теорией сетей (‘network theory’) (Milroy 1987), Теркурафи объясняет, что для интерпретации косвенности необходимы внутригрупповые знания, и поэтому то, что она называет случайной косвенностью (‘accidental indirectness’), свойственно только для данной группы. Как следствие, косвенность может стать и нежелательной стратегией. Представляя мета-анализ трех исследований в различных лингвистических и культурных контекстах, которые предлагают диахроническую перспективу использования косвенности (Morgan [1991] о косвенности в сообществе афро-американских женщин; He et al. [2012] о комплиментах в китайском языке; Jucker [2012] о развитии английской вежливости), Теркурафи выдвигает гипотезу о том, что общее ослабление межличностных отношений может быть причиной потенциального увеличения прямых, а не косвенных языковых стратегий. Дальнейшее изучение этой гипотезы представляет интерес для исследований вежливости и невежливости, поскольку ставит под сомнение одно из основных теоретических положений.

**Сингха Ри** пишет о корейском языке, где вежливость грамматикализована, то есть маркировка вежливости получает не только прагматическое, но и грамматическое оформление. В корейском языке отношение говорящего к адресату выражено обязательной частицей в конце предложения (Rhee & Koo 2017: 101), кроме того, существует разнообразная и сложная система местоимений и терминов обращения, которая включает как термины родства, так и термины, выражающие иерархию и старшинство. Опираясь на идеи «эмерджентной грамматики ‘emergent grammar’ (Hopper 1987), Ри исследует развитие местоимений первого и второго лица и их связь с терминами обращения и референции в диахронической перспективе. Он показывает, как с помощью языковых указателей (местоимений и маркеров почтения/уничижения) выражается необходимая для корейской вежливости более высокая позиция адресата и более низкая позиция адресанта. Данная система местоимений и терминов обращений весьма динамична, она постоянно развивается, для того чтобы удовлетворить коммуникативные потребности участников общения. Это развитие обусловлено сложностью выбора адекватных маркеров вежливости, поскольку выбор неправильного уровня вежливости или неиспользование должного термина обращения может привести к нежелательному прагматическому результату. С. Ри утверждает, что точно так же, как табуированные слова со временем теряют свою силу, местоимения в результате частого употребления теряют свою способность индексировать определенный уровень вежливости. Как следствие, термины почтения [+Honorific] постоянно обновляются, чтобы повысить снижающийся эффект почитания, а термины обозначения первого лица [+Humiliative] обновляются для усиления эффекта самоуничижения. Данное исследование показывает, что обращение к диахронической перспективе обогащает теорию вежливости новыми данными. Тот факт, что местоименные маркеры вежливости изменяются во времени, свидетельствует о динамичном характере языковых реализаций актов позиционирования, которые необходимы для выражения вежливости[12]. При этом сама необходимость выражать эти различия через позиционирование представляется стабильной.

**Н.Г. Брагина** и **И.А. Шаронов** рассматривают повседневное неформальное общение в русской культуре. В статье представлен анализ более 200 диалогов, взятых из Национального корпуса русского языка, в которых содержится угроза лицу собеседника в виде выговора за неуместный характер предыдущего высказывания. Авторы называют такой выговор «педагогической агрессией» в связи с его корректирующим характером и негативным отношением. Из-за этих особенностей они определяют подобные выговоры как невежливые и противопоставляют их ответам, направленным на нейтрализацию ранее воспринятого неуместного высказывания (эмпатийной стратегии). В ходе своего исследования авторы выделяют три тактики «агрессивно-педагогической» стратегии, предполагающие использование: (1) ответных псевдовопросов (риторических вопросов и вопросов, обращенных к презумпциям собеседника, его исходным предположениям); (2) передразнивающих цитаций; (3) рифмованных псевдоответов. В центре внимания данной статьи — третий тип высказываний. Авторы показывают, что рассматриваемая стратегия оценивается носителями русского языка как невежливая, но возможная, поскольку, как они отмечают, существует негласная презумпция, согласно которой в неформальном общении по отношению к совершившему коммуникативную ошибку собеседнику позволительно агрессивно-воспитательное речевое поведение. Для реализации этой стратегии в русском языке существует набор шаблонных речевых формул. В статье показано, что в ситуации близких отношений использование рифмованных псевдо-ответов может носить шутливый характер и не приводить к конфликту, однако в дальнейшей коммуникации говорящий все равно должен объяснить и компенсировать свой выпад против собеседника. В конфликтном диалоге стереотипные псевдо-ответные фразы используются, чтобы разорвать контакт с собеседником или переключиться на другой

[12] Мы не говорим здесь о том, что «все идет» и что все постоянно изобретается заново с нуля (как это неверно истолковано некоторыми критиками дискурсивного подхода). Маркеры не/вежливости опираются на принятые в обществе нормы, которые, однако, со временем могут меняться, что убедительно продемонстрировано в статье Ри (более подробно об этом см. Locher 2012: 52).

режим коммуникации. Авторы исследования убедительно показывают, что стратегия педагогической агрессии заслуживает особого внимания, поскольку она контрастирует с эмпатийной стратегией. Этот вывод подчеркивает, что в реальной ситуации непосредственного общения маркированность вежливости и невежливости определяется через противопоставление. Данное теоретическое положение связано с дискурсивным подходом к изучению не/вежливости, который был предложен и разработан рядом ученых (например, Haugh et al. 2013, Linguistic Politeness Research Group 2011, Locher & Watts 2005, 2008, 2015) и развивается авторами данного спецвыпуска (см. ниже).

**Г.Р. Власян** и **И.В. Кожухова** исследуют вежливость в русском языке на материале данных дискурсивного теста, в котором приняли участие респонденты трех возрастных групп: школьники, студенты университета и взрослые. Их задача состояла в том, чтобы сформулировать приглашение в ситуациях, которые различались в зависимости от возраста и социального статуса участников, т.е. с учетом как симметричных (неформальный контекст), так и асимметричных (формальный контекст) отношений. Респонденты должны были пригласить (а) друга/коллегу и (б) учителя/начальника на мероприятие или день рождения. Авторы хотели выявить различия в выражении приглашения в формальном и неформальном контекстах и уточнить характеристики речевого акта «приглашение» в понимании русских. Результаты проведенного исследования показали, что, несмотря на существующие различия в стратегиях и языковых средствах реализации данного речевого акта в формальном и неформальном контекстах, в целом предпочтение отдается прямым приглашениям, что соответствует русскому стилю коммуникации (см. Ларина 2003, 2008, 2009, 2015). В симметричных контекстах в группах «школьники» и «студенты» наиболее типичной формой приглашения является императив (*Приходи(те) ко мне в субботу на день рождения*), в группе «взрослые», а также во всех трех группах в формальном (асимметричном) контексте — перформатив (*Я приглашаю тебя (Вас) на день рождения*). Косвенные приглашения также существуют, но они встречаются реже и не являются преобладающими ни в одной из исследуемых групп. Этот вывод согласуется с идеей о том, что в русском языке предоставление выбора в приглашении может быть истолковано не как проявление уважения к желаниям слушателя, а как свидетельство неискренности говорящего (Leech & Larina 2014: 15) и может восприниматься негативно. Вместо хеджирования респонденты всех трех групп, напротив, использовали различные интенсификаторы воздействия как в неформальном, так и формальном контексте (*Ты обязательно должен прийти / твое присутствие обязательно / отказ не принимается / Я (мы) очень хочу (хотим) тебя (Вас) видеть / Я (мы) буду (будем) очень рад(рады) тебя (Вас) видеть*), делая таким образом акцент на интересах приглашающего, а не приглашаемого. Результаты исследования дают новые данные о речевом акте «приглашение» и свидетельствуют о том, что в русской культуре приглашение не является угрожающим лицу актом, во всяком случае в той степени, как это имеет место в англосаксонских культурах. Они подтверждают идею о том, что в русской культуре с ее по-прежнему коллективистской направленностью (Larina et al. 2017a, b), прямолинейность не всегда нарушает принципы вежливости и во многих речевых актах и контекстах она ожидается и воспринимается позитивно. Полученные данные также показывают, что культурные различия в коммуникации не случайны, а системны и регулярное использование типичных стратегий приводит к формированию коммуникативных особенностей, совокупность которых формирует коммуникативный этностиль (Larina 2015: 197).

Как упоминалось в предыдущем разделе, исследовательское сообщество давно признало, что оценка вежливости связана с нормами различных типов. Дж. Калпепер (Culpeper 2008: 30) говорит о личных, культурных, ситуативных и текстовых нормах, которые выстраивают взаимодействие. Д. Кадар и М. Хо (Kádár & Haugh 2013: 95), в свою очередь, упоминают «локализованные нормы» (‘localised norms’) — нормы сообщества/организации или другие групповые нормы и социальные/культурные нормы. Выделить эти нормы — одна из задач исследователей вежливости. **Ангелики Цанне** и **Мария Сифиану** ставят перед собой эту задачу и задаются вопросом, где и как исследователи могут получить информацию о том, как представители того или иного сообщества понимают вежливость и невежливость. В своем исследовании они, таким образом, ищут ответ, касающийся того, как выявить нормы, то есть как узнать, что воспринимается как не/вежливость в определенном контексте. Вместо того, чтобы изучать взаимодействие между участниками коммуникации или обращаться к книгам по этикету (что, безусловно, является ценным источником), они утверждают, что ученые могут также получить много информации, обратившись к тому, как вопросы о вежливости/невежливости освещаются в СМИ. Именно поэтому в фокусе их интереса — мета-дискуссии в публичном пространстве, которые указывают на социальное, а не индивидуальное понимание невежливости. Материалом исследования послужили две онлайн-статьи о невежливости в Греции, написанные одним и тем же журналистом, которые были распространены в средствах массовой информации и вызвали отклик читателей. Анализируя статьи и комментарии к ним с помощью концепций дискурсивного конструирования идентичности и идей Ван Дейка (van Dijk 1998, 2006a, b) об идеологической позитивной презентации себя и негативной презентации другого, авторы показывают, что невежливость воспринимается не только как лингвистический феномен, но она охватывает все виды поведения в публичном и частном пространстве и, что особенно важно, «вежливый» и «невежливый гражданин» совместно конструируются журналистом и авторами постов как бинарные противоположности.

Хотя такие взгляды в определенной степени являются стереотипными, они демонстрируют повторяющиеся и распространенные представления о нормах вежливости на бытовом уровне. Авторы показывают, что «своя» группа вежливых граждан конструируется как превосходящая по сравнению с «чужой» группой невежливых граждан и они различаются по таким признакам, как власть, образование, культура и интеллект. Таким образом, в данном исследовании показано, как анализ мета-дискуссий в Интернете может способствовать углублению нашего понимания о концептуализации не/вежливости носителями того или иного сообщества. Отметим, что хотя процесс противопоставления убедителен, параметры контрастирования могут легко сдвигаться, что показано в (Locher & Luginbühl 2019), где также были проанализированы статьи в газетах и комментарии читателей. В последнем случае инициирующие тексты противопоставляли немецкую вежливость швейцарским (немецким) нормам вежливости. Интересно отметить, что, как было установлено, швейцарцы, говорящие на немецких диалектах, выстроили свое единое швейцарское понимание вежливости, противопоставив ее немецкой, однако, когда речь шла только о Швейцарии, они отметили разницу в диалектных нормах. Это связано с тем, что в Швейцарии существует множество диалектов, но, по-видимому, при сравнении с внешней группой ситуация упрощается.

Статья **Наджмы Аль Зиджали** дает еще одну перспективу исследования вежливости и невежливости. Ее статья, озаглавленная «„Божественная невежливость“: как арабы обсуждают исламский моральный порядок в Твиттере», является результатом долгих этнографических онлайн-наблюдений над построением арабской идентичности в социальных сетях. В многочисленных публикациях Аль Зиджали продемонстрировала, как религиозный нравственный порядок влияет на построение арабской идентичности и понимание себя (Al Zidjaly 2014, 2017, 2019 и др.). Для этой статьи автором был выбран один конкретный твит, который вызвал много комментариев и оставался в центре внимания СМИ в течение значительного времени. В нем обсуждалась хорошо известная молитва, в которой немусульмане, в отличие от мусульман, не упоминались в просьбах к всевышнему о здоровье. Автор твита подвергает сомнению моральную сторону этого опущения и приглашает к дискуссии. Поскольку ставить под сомнение Коран и хадисы (высказывания пророка, задокументированные в авторитетных книгах Sahih Al-Bukhari и Sahih Al-Muslim) не разрешено, обсуждение является спорным изначально. Однако, как выясняется в ходе дискуссии, слова молитвы взяты не из Корана и не из хадисов, что сделало возможным высказывать различные мнения и участвовать в их обсуждении. То, что Аль Зиджали называет агрессивной «божественной невежливостью», является повторяющейся стратегией, комментаторы обращаются к религиозным авторитетным текстам, которые агрессивны по отношению к другим, и цитируют их, чтобы узаконить потерю лица тех, кто исключен из молитвы о здоровье. По мнению автора статьи, эти онлайн-дискуссии являются свидетельством сдвига в исламском моральном порядке, обсуждение которого становится все более возможным в онлайн-контекстах. Поскольку работы по не/вежливости в арабском языке немногочисленны и эта тема только начинает интересовать арабских исследователей (например, Badarneh 2019, Farhat 2013, Labben 2018), данная статья имеет особое значение. В ней подчеркивается сложность различных типов норм, которые переплетаются при рассмотрении не/вежливости, и освещается религиозный нравственный порядок, о котором светские западные ученые могут иметь неполное представление.

Статья **Люсии Фернандес-Амайя** представляет собой исследование конкретной ситуации общения членов испанской семьи, которое проходило в WhatsApp в течение 14 часов. В данном фрагменте дискурса объемом более 9900 слов данная группа обсуждает демонстрацию, проведенную по случаю Международного женского дня. Как оказалось, члены семьи придерживаются диаметрально противоположных взглядов на феминизм и выражают их в чате в WhatsApp. Это приводит к длительным спорам, участники которых выражают и отстаивают собственные точки зрения и реагируют на мнения других. Таким образом, в фокусе исследования — выражение несогласия, поддержание мнений других и расхождение с ними. В качественном анализе 427 случаев выражения несогласия Фернандес-Амайя сначала создает типологию несогласий, затем систематизирует установленные стратегии (чаще всего это выражение противоположного мнения и объяснение эмоциональных и личных причин) и анализирует их распределение между членами семьи, что дает возможность показать, как они различаются по своим предпочтениям. На втором этапе исследования участникам дискуссии в WhatsApp была отправлена электронная анкета и соответствующие фрагменты, чтобы установить, оценивают ли они прямое несогласие и высказывание часто диаметрально противоположных позиций как проявление невежливости. Результаты анализа показали, что члены семьи не считают подобные высказывания невежливыми и представляющими серьезную угрозу их лицу, напротив, их тесная связь и семейные узы позволили им выразить себя без опасения испортить свои отношения, а некоторые участники дискуссии даже оценили возникшие разногласия как позитивные. Таким образом, представленные результаты и выводы дополнили новыми данными исследования по выражению несогласия и реляционной работе, которые показали, что в процессе коммуникации несогласие часто ожидаемо и оно не обязательно имеет отрицательную маркированность (см. подробно, например, Angouri & Locher 2012). Полученные выводы подтверждают мнение Хо и Чанг, анализирующих выражение критики (в этом выпуске), о том, что для оценки того или иного акта как вежливого или невежливого, его индексальная оценка и реализация должны быть проанализированы в контексте.

**Мария де ла О Эрнандес-Лопес** исследует отзывы потребителей на англоязычной онлайн-площадке Airbnb. Подобно Д. Дайтер и С. Рюдигер (Dayter & Rüdiger 2014), которые исследовали комментарии клиентов на сайте гостевой сети Couchsurfing, Эрнандес-Лопес показывает их действия в таком деликатном акте, как отзыв, где на карту поставлено публичное лицо как принимающей стороны, так и гостей сайта. Проанализировав 120 отзывов, автор выявляет три разные эмоциональные оценки: восхищение/удовлетворение, амбивалентность/нейтральность и неудовлетворение/разочарование, которые затем обсуждаются в связи с выявлением преобладающих норм (см. Locher & Watts 2005, 2008). Результаты указывают на явное предпочтение авторов отзывов быть вежливыми и избегать откровенных грубостей или оскорблений. Однако из-за этой нормы позитивности умалчивание также становится информативным, так как предполагается, что то, о чем не говорится, оценивается неудовлетворительно. Сообщения, приближающиеся к отрицательному полюсу шкалы, характеризуются деперсонализацией, формальным стилем и дистанцированием от хозяина отеля, тогда как сообщения с положительной оценкой содержат позитивную экспрессивную лексику. Автор установила соотношение между моделями выражения отношения и содержанием отзывов, а затем сравнила свои результаты с аналогичными (но не идентичными) платформами, такими как Couchsurfing или TripAdvisor (Dayter & Rüdiger 2014, Rosen et al. 2011, Vásquez 2011, 2014). С точки зрения методологии статья дополняет наши представления о том, как могут быть изучены нормы конкретного сообщества.

Специальный выпуск завершают две рецензии на книги, относящиеся к области исследования вежливости и невежливости: Дарья Дайтер рецензирует книгу Сары Миллс *English Politeness and Class* (Английская вежливость и класс) (2017), а Жофиа Дэмен — книгу Мириам Лохэр *Reflective Writing in Medical Contexts* (Рефлексивное письмо в медицинских контекстах) (2017), которая написана с позиций межличностной прагматики. Вахид Парвареш дает обзор 12-й Международной конференции по вежливости и невежливости, состоявшейся в Кембридже, Великобритания, в июле 2019 г., в котором очерчивает основные направления обсуждавшихся на конференции исследований.

## 4. Обсуждение и перспективы

Статьи нашего специального выпуска отражают взаимообогащение теорий, методов и подходов, что характерно для современных исследований в области не/вежливости. Следует отметить, что вместо того, чтобы фокусироваться на вежливости, некоторые статьи посвящены конфликтам и разногласиям. Таким образом, через изучение вежливости рассматривается, как наносится урон лицу и как это контрастирует с ожиданиями вежливости. Среди тем статей — критика при первом знакомстве (Haugh & Chang), обсуждение религиозного нравственного порядка и молитв, которые наносят урон лицу (Al Zidjaly), разногласия в семье по поводу феминизма (Fernández-Amaya). В исследовании, посвященном анализу отзывов на платформе Airbnb (Hernández-López), показано, что авторы отзывов избегают явного нанесения урона лицу, но отсутствие действий по улучшению лица воспринимается как негативная оценка. Получить данные результаты стало возможным не только через оценку поверхностных языковых структур, указывающих на сохранение лица, но и благодаря установлению практических норм виртуального сообщества. В двух статьях на русском языке о замечаниях и приглашениях раскрываются культурные знаки не/вежливости в рассматриваемых речевых актах (Брагина и Шаронов, Власян и Кожухова). Благодаря статье Цанне и Сифиану мы узнаем о внутригрупповом и внегрупповом представлении о невежливой и вежливой идентичности. Статья Ри демонстрирует, как нормы, установленные для фиксации уважения и иерархии в терминах обращения, со временем меняются, поскольку теряют свою выразительную силу. М. Теркурафи ставит под сомнение классическое понимание связи между косвенностью и вежливостью и выдвигает гипотезу о появлении тенденции к развитию прямолинейности в связи с урбанизацией и глобализацией.

Общим в статьях выпуска является то, что они вносят вклад в развитие представлений о проявлении не/вежливости в разных типах дискурса в различных культурах. Авторы используют и комбинируют различные методы, чтобы раскрыть нормы, на основании которых участники общения делают вывод о вежливости и невежливости. Используемый для анализа материал свидетельствует о его широком диапазоне: это полуаутентичные данные, данные дискурсивных тестов, онлайн коммуникация, корпусные данные, исторические тексты и др. Эти статьи дают возможность проследить развитие исследований в области не/вежливости. Вместо того, чтобы сожалеть об отсутствии единой, всеохватывающей теории не/вежливости, мы считаем наблюдаемое на данный момент разнообразие теоретических и методологических подходов обогащающим и хотим поддержать призыв к комплексности подходов, взаимообогащению методологий, к открытости в изучении как культурноспецифичных, так и универсальных реляционных практик.

Очевидно, что для понимания сложностей взаимодействия различных норм, того, как они влияют на оценку высказываний и передаваемых ими отношений, на выражение вежливости и невежливости в различных социальных и культурных контекстах, многое еще предстоит сделать. Тем не менее мы надеемся, что представленные в нашем выпуске статьи будут полезными для научного сообщества и могут стать импульсом для дальнейших размышлений, научных поисков и открытий.



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Research Article

# Indexical and Sequential Properties of Criticisms in Initial Interactions: Implications for Examining (Im) Politeness across Cultures

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**Abstract**

Cross-cultural studies of (im)politeness have tended to focus on identifying differences in linguistic behaviour by which speech acts are delivered, which are then explained as motivated by underlying cultural differences. In this paper, we argue that this approach unnecessarily backgrounds emic or cultural members' understandings of (im)politeness. Through a comparative analysis of criticisms in initial interactions amongst Taiwanese speakers of Mandarin Chinese and amongst Australian speakers of English, we draw attention to the way in which similarities in the locally situated ways in which criticisms are delivered and responded to (i.e. their *sequential* properties) can mask differences in the culturally relevant meanings of criticisms (i.e. their *indexical* properties) in the respective languages. We conclude that cross-cultural studies of (im)politeness should not only focus on differences in the forms or strategies by which speech acts are accomplished, but remain alert to the possibility that what is ostensibly the same speech act, may in fact be interpreted in different ways by members of different cultural groups.

**Keywords:** *(im)politeness, speech act, criticism, initial interaction, (Australian) English, (Mandarin) Chinese, cross-cultural pragmatics*

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Научная статья

# Индексальные и последовательные свойства критических замечаний в начале коммуникации: подходы к изучению (не)вежливости в кросс-культурном аспекте

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**Аннотация**

Кросс-культурные исследования вежливости и невежливости обычно нацелены на выявление различий в вербальном поведении, проявляющихся в реализации отдельных речевых актов, которые затем объясняются основными культурными различиями. В этой статье показано, что данный подход излишне опирается на эмический взгляд на (не)вежливость, т.е на ее понимание носителями данной культуры. Посредством сравнительного анализа критики в начальной фазе общения тайваньских носителей китайского языка и австралийских носителей английского языка мы обращаем внимание на то, как сходства в способах выражения критики и ответов на нее (то есть их последовательные свойства) могут скрывать различия в релевантных для культуры значениях критики (то есть различия их индексальных свойств) в соответствующих языках. Мы пришли к выводу, что межкультурные исследования (не)вежливости должны не только выявлять различия в формах и стратегиях, с помощью которых реализуются речевые акты, но и учитывать то, что якобы одни и те же речевые акты на самом деле могут быть по-разному истолкованы членами различных культурных групп.

**Ключевые слова:** (*не)вежливость, речевой акт, критика, начальная фаза взаимодействия, австралийский английский, китайский (мандарин), кросс-культурная прагматика*

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## 1. Introduction

Studies of (im)politeness across languages and cultures have generally focused on identifying differences in (linguistic) behaviour that are then explained as cultural differences, with much of this work in cross-cultural pragmatics focusing on requests, apologies, compliments and compliment responses (Sifianou & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2017: 584). Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) politeness theory has long been a popular vehicle for these kinds of cross-cultural (im)politeness studies, in large part because that is what Brown and Levinson's theory was designed to do. While the discursive turn in (im)politeness research has subsequently challenged the validity of Brown and Levinson's approach (Eelen 2011; Mills 2003), such critical work has not provided a clear alternative way forward for studying (im)politeness across languages and cultures (Grainger 2013; Sifianou & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2017). This has led to a return to a neo-Brown and Levinsonian stance, in which the same theoretical tools (positive and negative face, face-threatening acts and so on) are deployed with discourse data, as opposed to the utterance-based analyses found in Brown and Levinson's original work[1]. This has, in turn, reinforced the view that cross-cultural studies of (im)politeness are about identifying differences in (linguistic) behaviour, which are then explained as motivated by underlying cultural differences.

One problem with this approach, however, is that it under-estimates the extent to which the same (linguistic) behaviour can have different meanings for members across languages and cultures. This point was already noted in passing by House and Kasper (1981) in their concluding remarks of a comparative study of "complaints" in English and German.

> From an etic standpoint, then, the behaviour of the German speakers may well be considered impolite by reference to an English norm; however, from an emic standpoint, which is the one we would prefer here, one would simply claim that the differential behaviour displayed by the German and English speakers may be a reflection of the fact that the two cultural systems are organized differently, and that, e.g., a level 6 complaint in the German culture is not necessarily comparable to a level 6 complaint in the English culture, because the value of each is derived from the value it has relative to the remaining levels, and their frequency and modality of use in the particular cultural system (House and Kasper 1981: 184).

It follows from House and Kasper's comparative analysis that although British and German speakers of English may readily understand a "complaint" is being made through a particular form, they may not be aware that the (im)politeness value of that "complaint" is likely to be different depending on the cultural background of the speaker. The point made here by House and Kasper (1981) arguably has important implications for both cross-cultural and intercultural studies of (im)politeness. In the case of cross-cultural studies of (im)politeness, we have the problem of ensuring we are actually comparing like with like. House and Kasper (1981) claim that while the same form may deliver the same speech act across two languages, its so-called "(im)politeness value" may differ. In other words, the indexical value of analogous syntactic forms is different across English and German. Comparing the same forms therefore does not amount to comparing the same thing. In the case of studies of (im)politeness in intercultural settings, the potential for "hidden misunderstandings" (Carbaugh 2005) is clear, given the same form may have different indexical values unbeknownst to those participants.

In recent years researchers have shifted from the emic-etic distinction to making a distinction between first-order participant and second-order analyst understandings of (im)politeness (Watts, Ide & Ehlich 1992; Eelen 2001). In much of this work, participant understandings are treated as essentially synonymous with emic (or cultural members') understandings, and analyst (or scientific) understandings are treated as synonymous with etic (or cultural non-members') understandings. In short, the emic-etic distinction has been more or less reconstrued as a distinction between first-order participant and second-order analyst understandings.

[1] A move that was advocated by Brown and Levinson themselves in their introduction to the 1987 reissue of the original 1978 publication.

An underlying theoretical question this raises for (im)politeness research is whether the emic-etic and participant-analyst distinctions actually encapsulate the same thing. There has been some debate about this by (im)politeness researchers (Haugh 2012; Kádár & Haugh 2013; Spencer-Oatey & Kádár 2016), in part, because there are different extant definitions of the emic-etic distinction (Headland, Pike & Harris 1990). The emic-etic distinction can be made with reference to participants, systems or both. When the emic-etic distinction is applied to participants (i.e. cultural members/insiders versus non-members/outsiders), it is invoked as grounds for interpretation by analysts. When the emic-etic distinction is applied to cultural systems (i.e. culture-internal versus culture-comparative orientation), it is invoked as grounds for theorisation by scientific observers. In other words, the emic-etic distinction can be conceptualised in two distinct ways with respect to participants and analysts.

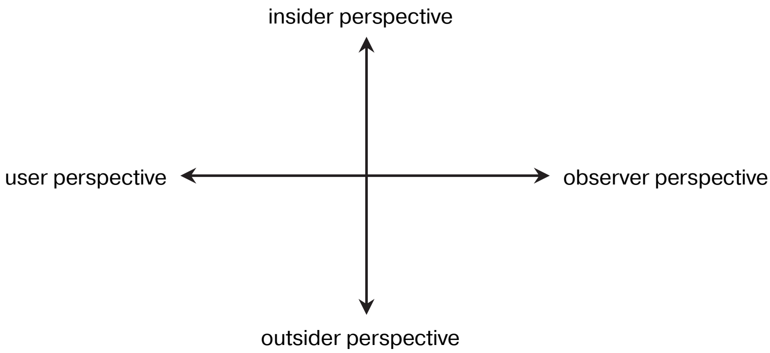


**Figure 1.** Theorising perspectives on talk and conduct

These perspectives are, of course, necessarily interlinked in that analysis presupposes theorisation of some sort or another (even if that theorisation is only tacit), while theorisation presupposes analysis of some sort or another (even if that analysis is only introspective in nature). Different researchers place varying emphasis on these different possible perspectives and how they might be formally interlinked.

In this paper, the overall aim is to examine the role of emic or cultural members' understandings in studies of (im)politeness across languages and cultures. We attempt to do this through the lens of a speech act that has not received much attention to date in (im)politeness research, namely, criticisms. We examine criticisms, specifically other-criticisms, in initial interactions in which participants are getting acquainted. The advantage of this type of data is that in such settings the relational history of the participants is transparent to the analyst. The culturally relevant meanings of criticisms (i.e. their *indexical* properties), and the locally situated ways which they are delivered and responded to (i.e. their *sequential* properties), are thus equally accessible to both participants and analysts.

We begin, in the following section, by briefly discussing prior research on criticisms, before going on, in section 3, to introduce the dataset in question and outline our methodological approach. We next report, in section 4, on our comparative analysis of criticisms in initial interactions amongst Taiwanese speakers of Mandarin Chinese versus criticisms in initial interactions amongst Australian speakers of English. Building on this comparative analysis we argue, in section 5, that while these criticisms may have similar sequential properties, they nevertheless have distinct indexical properties. In short, we claim that while the criticisms are delivered and responded to in similar ways by the participants in both languages, from an emic (i.e. cultural members') perspective the evaluative and relational import of these criticisms is not the same for speakers of these two languages. We conclude by briefly discussing the implications of our study for cross-cultural (im)politeness research.

## 2. Prior research on criticisms

The act of criticism involves pointing out some kind of fault (i.e. weakness, failing, misdemeanour or mistake) for which a party is presumed to be responsible, and expressing disapproval of that fault (Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online 2019; Oxford English Dictionary Online 2019). In short, "to negatively evaluate a person for some act or quality for which that person is deemed responsible" (Pillet-Shore 2016: 54). In some cases, the speaker also implies that the criticised target should do something to remedy or address that fault (Nguyen 2008: 45; Pillet-Shore 2015: 375).

Researchers have often studied criticisms together with complaints, accusations, reproaches, and the like without differentiating between them (e.g. D'Amico-Reisner 1983; House and Kasper 1981; Malle, Gugliemo & Monroe 2014; Morris 1988). However, conflating these acts is arguably problematic. From a speech act theoretic perspective, while all these different actions constitute assertions of some kind of fault — or offence, transgression or wrongdoing etc. — on the part of the referent, they can nevertheless be distinguished on semantic grounds (Vanderveken 1990; Wierzbicka 1987). From an interactional perspective, participants in interaction can be shown to display investment in discerning between these acts as well. Pillet-Shore (2016), for instance, points out that one can criticise without complaining, and draws attention to systematic ways in which participants may orient to this distinction in parent-teacher interviews.

In (im)politeness research, criticisms have generally been treated as a face-threatening act (Brown & Levinson 1987: 66), which can thus be used as an impoliteness strategy (Bousfield 2008; Culpeper 2011, 2015)[2]. For that reason, criticisms are claimed to be prototypically delivered via off-record strategies, including through hints, presuppositions, understatements, tautologies, contradictions, irony, rhetorical questions and over-generalisations (Brown & Levinson 1987: 213—226). They also note, in passing, that criticisms can be implied through soliciting accounts or reasons for some state of affairs for which the addressee is held responsible (pp. 128—129; cf. Bolden & Robinson 2011). The focus in (im)politeness research has largely been on criticisms that are delivered to prompt some kind of action or change on the part of the target. Brown and Levinson (1987) claim, for instance, that "the construction of hints for other FTAs not requiring H[earer] to perform some act — for indirect criticisms, for instance — involves complex processes beyond the scope of this paper (and, indeed, beyond our present understanding)" (p. 215).

[2] Criticisms can, of course, be delivered within a non-serious or joking key or frame, in which case they are regarded as a means of showing solidarity or intimacy (Brown & Levinson 1987; Leech 1983).

A survey of empirical work on criticisms to date suggests that little has changed in that respect. While there have been a number of studies of criticisms that are designed to suggest or even require that the fault in question be redressed, we still know very little about criticisms where the aim is to insult or wound the target (Tayebi 2018). Empirical studies have focused for the most part on examining criticisms in institutional contexts, including in appraisal meetings in which supervisors are evaluating work performance (Asmuß 2008; Copland 2011; Schuer 2014; Tracy & Eisenberg 1990/91), in feedback sessions where academic work is being evaluated (Li & Seale 2007; Nguyen 2008), or in parent-teacher interviews in which students' work is being reported upon (Pillet-Shore 2015, 2016). In such contexts, criticisms are licensed by the roles of participants in those settings. However, while criticisms may be licensed in such settings, they are nevertheless invariably treated as sensitive, dispreferred and face-threatening social actions. Participants have been shown to orient, for instance, to the fact that criticisms can cause hurt feelings (Copland 2011), convey expectations that the target will do something to remedy the fault (Pillet-Shore 2015), pass (unwelcome) moral judgment on others (Asmuß 2008), or display claims to have expertise or knowledge about the target that may be resisted by the latter (Pomerantz 1984).

Less frequently, criticisms have been examined in interpersonal, everyday contexts (e.g. Lang 2018; Tayebi 2018; Tracy, Van Dusen & Robinson 1987), although such studies have relied, for the most part, on fictional data, field notes or diary reports, with the exception of early work by Pomerantz (1984) on assessments in naturally occurring conversations. The latter notes that in everyday conversation criticisms are typically delivered with a dispreferred action or turn shape (if at all). To the best of our knowledge, then, there are very few studies that have examined how criticisms arise and how they are responded to in everyday, interpersonal interactions, and even fewer that attempt to compare criticisms across languages and cultures, despite Brown and Levinson (1987) acknowledging that the extent to which criticisms are considered face-threatening can vary across cultures.

In the following sections, we attempt to begin to redress that gap through reporting on a case study in which we compared criticisms arising in initial interactions amongst Taiwanese speakers of Chinese with those arising in initial interactions amongst Australian speakers of English.

## 3. Data and method

Our collection of criticisms was assembled drawing from two different corpora. The first is the Australians Getting Acquainted (AGA) corpus, a collection of eighteen audio-recordings and associated transcripts of initial interactions amongst Australian speakers of English (approximately five hours in total) (Haugh 2011). The second is a subset of the Mandarin Conversation Dialogue Corpus (MCDC), a collection of ten audio-recordings and associated transcripts of initial interactions amongst Taiwanese speakers of Mandarin Chinese (approximately eight hours in total) (Tseng 2004, 2008). Ten conversations were selected from AGA in order to match the gender and age pairings in the ten conversations taken from MCDC. The 10 interactions from each corpora consisted of the same sets of gender pairings (4 same-gender; 6 different gender pairings), and the same sets of age pairings (7 similar age; 3 different age pairings). Both corpora employed the same protocol implemented by Svennevig (1999): it was explained to voluntary participants that they were being recorded for the purposes of studying communication, but no specific topics to talk about were given to them.

Our analysis began by jointly identifying putative instances of criticism in the comparative dataset in cases where we agreed that a negative evaluation of the other interlocutor was readily inferable. This was accomplished through listening to the entire recording of every interaction. For the purposes of this exercise we define a criticism as an instance in which a speaker negatively evaluates the conduct or character of their co-present interlocutor, that is, indicates disapproval of the conduct or character of the addressed recipient (Pillet-Shore 2016: 54)[3].

In excerpt (1), for instance, Natalie assesses Gary's enunciation as unclear in lines 201—202 (the turn in question is marked with an arrow in the transcription below).

(1) AGA09: 7:10

```
200 G:   they'll hate me HA HA ha [ha    ha]
201 N: →                          [we:ll I-] you weren't really
202      enunciating very clearly there I have to sa(h)y°he he°
203      (0.8)
204 N:   .hh [but ]
205 G:       [what] did they want us to do
```

Assessments are defined as "utterances that offer an evaluation of a referent with a clear valence (e.g. as good, bad, outrageous, tragic, or funny)" (Stivers & Rossano 2010: 9; cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 283). In other words, assessments are positive or negative evaluations of a person, third party, external object or situation arising through current or past participation in joint activity (Goodwin & Goodwin 1992; Pomerantz 1984). Assessments can implement a range of different actions depending on the target and valence of the assessment, including compliments, self-praise, self-deprecations and criticisms or reproaches (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018; Edwards & Potter 2017). In the above case, the assessment implements a criticism as Natalie is negatively evaluating Gary's current enunciation, and shows disapproval (due to the trouble this will cause for those who will be later transcribing their conversation)[4]. She orients to the sensitivity of this criticism through interpolated aspiration and laughter at the end of the turn in question (Shaw, Hepburn & Potter 2013).

After identifying potential instances of criticism, we then closely examined the sequential environments within which these criticisms arose through reviewing the recordings, and closely transcribing the instances in question using conventions from conversation analysis (Jefferson 2004). In the case above, the (serious) other-criticism

[3] Criticisms can be other-directed or self-directed. As the term self-deprecation is commonly used in the literature to refer to self-criticisms, we use the term criticism here in the way it is normally used by researchers to refer more specifically to instances of other-criticism, unless it is important for our analysis to draw attention to that distinction.

[4] Just prior to this excerpt they have been talking about how their conversation will be boring to listen to for the transcribers (data not shown).

in question arises in response to a (joking) self-criticism by the prior speaker. However, we found through detailed sequential analysis of our set of candidate examples that criticisms in initial interactions are more typically implemented via barbs or teases, rather than through explicit negative assessments.

A barb is a criticism in which a negative evaluation of other is implied, rather being explicitly delivered through a clearly valenced adjective (e.g. wonderful, good, awful, boring, unclear). In other words, the criticism is made available through inference to the recipient rather than through what is explicitly said. Prior to excerpt (2), Natalie has been prompting Gary to ask her some questions. He responds by claiming he has no questions to ask her.

(2) AGA09: 8:00

```
346 G:   U:M I haven't got any questions to ↑ask you
347      actually.
348      (1.1)
349 N: → ↑you must be fun at parties. Hhh
350 G:   #don't like parties#
```

Natalie responds, in turn, by assessing Gary as someone who must be "fun" at parties (line 349). In this case, however, it is clear that she is being sarcastic and implying the opposite, namely, that he would not be fun at parties. In so doing she implies that he is a poor conversationalist, and possibly a boring person. The implied criticism here thus consists of a barb about his character. Notably, Gary responds to this barb by claiming he does not like parties (line 350), thereby undermining the relevance of Natalie's barb for him (cf. Haugh 2011: 178—179)[5].

A tease is an (ostensibly) playful or jocular mocking jibe or taunt directed at another party. It is thus another way of criticising others, albeit one in which the teaser can disclaim responsibility for this criticism through claims to have been "just kidding", "only joking", "just teasing" and so on (Haugh & Pillet-Shore 2018). In excerpt (3), Gary is talking with Emma about how traditional Chinese culture has been pushed aside in modern China

(3) AGA03: 7:14

```
176 E:    so: um (0.5) <yea:h> (.) any of the old (0.9)
177       ↑any of the old ways any of the intuitive #stuff#
178       (0.3) they've pretty much got rid of. (0.5) and
179       looked at all the scientific si:de of it. (.)
180       which I think is a real tragedy.
181       (2.8)
182 G:    (oh) °just move o:n° (.) you know °hh hh hh hh°
183 E: →  °°hh hh hh°° °ha ha ha ha° .hhh YOU'VE BEEN AROUND
184       TOO LONG=
185 G:    =AH HA HA ha ha ha ha ha ha
186 E: →  hah .hh HAH .hhh you've been around t- for too
187       many li:feti:mes.=
188 G:    =ah ha ha ha (0.3) .hh I think you're right
```

Gary describes this as a real tragedy (line 180). However, after a gap in which Emma does not affiliate with his assessment (line 181), he subsequently suggests they

[5] This is subsequently developed by Gary into an account (see example 10).

"just move on" (line 182). This occasions a tease in lines 183—184 by Emma that Gary has "been around too long" (i.e. that he's overly jaded or cynical), which prompts shared laughter (lines 185—186), a repeat of the tease by Emma (lines 186—187), and subsequent laughing agreement from Gary (line 188). In this case, the criticism that Gary is overly jaded is treated, ostensibly at least, as non-serious by both participants.

## 4. Comparative analysis of criticisms in initial interactions

A number of key findings emerged from our comparative case study of criticisms in initial interactions amongst Australian speakers of English and Taiwanese speakers of Mandarin Chinese. First, despite being characterised as an inherently face-threatening act (Brown & Levinson 1987), criticisms were nevertheless found to arise in initial interactions amongst both Australian and Taiwanese participants. However, only instances of barbs were found to occur across both datasets. It was also evident that criticisms are treated as dispreferred actions in initial interactions by both Australian and Taiwanese participants. Second, there were two formats through which criticisms are commonly delivered: assessments and account solicitations. Third, criticisms can target either the character or the conduct of the other party. We now move to discuss, in turn, each of these findings in more detail.

### *4.1. Criticisms and responses to criticisms in initial interactions*

Criticisms in initial interactions were delivered off-record through barbs or teases rather than through explicit negative assessments. This is not surprising given earlier claims that explicit criticisms threaten the positive face of hearers (Brown & Levinson 1987: 66) or are treated as dispreferred (Pomerantz 1984: 78). These findings are summarised in Table 1. The number outside of the bracket refers to the frequency of occurrence in each dataset, while the percentage inside the brackets refers to the proportion of interactions in which they occurred.

*Table 1*

**Criticisms in Australian and Taiwanese initial interactions**

| | Australian (AGA) | Taiwanese (MCDC) |
|---|---|---|
| Explicit negative assessment | 2 (10%) | 0 |
| Barb | 7 (20%) | 6 (30%) |
| Tease | 12 (70%) | 0 |

While there only two instances of explicit negative assessments (see examples 1 and 10), barbs were found across both corpora: six barb sequences across three interactions were identified in the Taiwanese initial encounters, and seven barb sequences across two interactions were identified in the Australian dataset. While criticisms are relatively low frequency occurrences in initial interactions, they are nevertheless more frequent than one might expect, given that barbs were identified in five out of the twenty initial interactions we examined. A notable difference, however, was that there were no instances of criticisms delivered via teases in the Taiwanese dataset, while twelve tease sequences were found across seven interactions in the Australian dataset.

A recurrent pattern in responses to criticisms also emerged in the course of our analysis. We found that barbs invariably occasioned accounts from the target (Chang forthcoming), that is, overt explanations of the reasons, motives or causes of one's conduct or character (Heritage 1988). Teases, in contrast, recurrently occasioned laughter (Haugh & Pillet-Shore 2018). The fact that accounts regularly follow barbs provides data-internal evidence that the participants were indeed orienting to the prior turn as implying criticism.

It appears, then, that criticisms in initial interactions are treated as dispreferred actions. The evidence for making this claim is two-fold. First, other-criticisms are delivered through implicated conclusions or implicated premises rather than being made through explicit negative assessments. Second, the targets of those barbs invariably respond with accounts that undermine the relevance or aptness of those criticisms, rather than with denials that directly disagree with them.

### *4.2. Formats of criticisms in initial interaction*

A second finding was that criticisms are delivered through two key formats across both sets of initial interactions. The first vehicle involves assessments through which speakers implicate negative evaluations of the character or conduct of the other interlocutor.

We have already seen an example of this format in the Australian dataset (see example 2). The same format was also found to occur in the Taiwanese dataset. In the following example taken from MCDC, Wang and Chang have been talking about how the latter gets to work. Excerpt (4) begins with Wang asking Chang whether he knows if a particular famous village is near where the latter works.

(4) MCDC25:01: 2:35

```
49 王:    >耶你們那邊是不是< 有一個叫
50        ○○-○○村 (.) 還是什麼村=
51 張:    =呃:::[我不大-       ]
52 王:          [>你有沒有聽過<]
53 張:    熟=
54 王: → =不大熟,你只 [知道你的上班地方  ]
55 張:                [我每天就上班的地點]這樣
56        >[來來回回]來來回回<
57 王:     [對啊  喔]

49 W:    eh, is there a village called XX village >or
50        what nearby your< workplace?
51 C:    =we::ll, [I am not quite-          ]
52 W:             [>have you heard about it<]
53 C:    familiar=
54 W: → =not familiar, you only [know    your    workplace          ]
55 C:                           [everyday I only go from my workplace]
56        [>back and forth] back and forth<
57 W:    [right,   oh    ]
```

Chang responds that he is not familiar with it (lines 51, 53), while Wang follows up in overlap with an epistemic check about whether Chang has heard of that village (line 52). Wang then confirms through a partial repetition that Chang is not familiar with the village before going on to offer an assessment that Chang's knowledge is limited to his workplace (line 54). In assessing Chang as only knowing his workplace, Wang implies that Chang only thinks about his work and is unaware of interesting things outside of it. The latter amounts to a barb about his character: that he concentrates too much on his workplace, and consequently is a boring person. The negative evaluative import of this assessment is evident from Chang's subsequent account as to why he is not familiar with the village in question (lines 55—56). In short, by providing an account, Wang orients to the way in which he is being held accountable by Chang for not knowing about this famous village which is near the former's workplace.

The second format for delivering barbs involves questions designed to solicit accounts. Notably, although account solicitations can imply criticism (Robinson & Bolden 2010), since these criticisms are delivered off-record, they are readily deniable by the speaker (Brown & Levinson 1987: 128—129). We term these presumptive questions, as a common feature of these questions was that they presupposed a negative evaluation of some aspect of the character or conduct of the recipient.

Prior to excerpt (5), which is taken from AGA, Chris has asked Emma why she decided to take up acupuncture as a career. Emma has been explaining that it was because she was experiencing poor health and was exploring alternative approaches, including Chinese medicinal approaches.

(5) AGA02: 14:14

```
558 E:   and I uh- I also tried acupuncture and Chinese herbs
559      and they didn't wo:rk (0.6) but(0.3) um
560      (0.2)
561 C: → so even after not working you sor- thought
562      (0.2)
563 E:   [↑we:ll]
564 C: → [gee I ] could pursue this as a career
565 E:   ↑yeah ↑n↓o I ↑liked the ↓wa:y (.) when I went
566      to the acupuncturist I like that (.) she worked
567      and how (1.1) u:m (0.3) nice she was
```

After claiming accupuncture did not work for her (line 559), Chris goes on to solicit an account through a *so*-prefaced question that returns to the question of why Emma took up acupuncture in the first place (lines 561, 564). In this case, the question is designed to draw attention to a seeming contradiction, the fact that Emma took up acupuncture as a career even though it did not actually work for her personally. Embedded in this question, then, is an implicated premise that he is critical of her reasoning with respect to her choice of career, and thus potentially of her capacity for logical reasoning. The negative evaluative import of this presumptive question is evident from Emma's *well*-prefaced (line 563), and subsequent *yeah no*-prefaced account (lines 565—567), which attends to the different inferences made available through Chris's question.

A barb about the character of the other participant is also delivered through a presumptive question in excerpt (6), taken from MCDC, between Yeh and Lee. Preceding this excerpt, Lee has sought an account from Yeh as to why he has not yet travelled overseas. He begins his account by saying that it costs a lot of money (relative to what he earns each month).

(6) MCDC02:10: 0:54

```
28 葉:   一個月一年一個月一年你才多少薪水
29 李:   嗯[嗯嗯]
30 葉:      [然後]你扣掉平常那個 (.)
31        消費然後你還要存下來我以後少想對不對=
32 李:   =嗯=
33 葉:   =那-想-所以說你會-會很珍惜每一-每-
34        >每一個<資源啊 (.) 你會-
35 李: → 你-你-你平常是很省的人嗎?
36        (0.2)
37 葉:   呃::, 也許吧(hhh)
38 李:   也許?=
39 葉:   =>然後< 嗯那-我-我-我-因為有-就像-
40        (.) 因為我又不知道女孩子的想法

28 Y:   think about how much you earn every month and every year.
29 L:   mm [mm mm]
30 Y:      [then ] you deduct your daily expenses (.)
31       and then you have to save up, right?=
32 L:   =mm=
33 Y:   =then- want- so you cherish each- each-
34       >every< resource right? (.) you-
35 L: → you- you- you- are you the person who likes saving up?
36       (0.2)
37 Y:   we::ll, maybe (hhh)
38 L:   maybe?=
39 Y:   =>then< I am like- I- I- I- because there is- just like-
40       (.) because I don’t know what girls are thinking
```

Yeh goes on to make a generalised claim that everyone wants to be careful about what they spend (lines 30—34). However, rather than agreeing with this claim, Lee asks, in line 35, whether Yeh is a person who likes saving up and economising, as opposed to spending his money. Embedded within Lee’s question, given it latches on to the account provided by Yeh, is the presupposition that he has not travelled because he prefers to save his money. In so doing, she implies that he is stingy. The negative evaluative import of this presumptive question is evident, in line 37, from Yeh’s *well*-prefaced assent, and subsequent disfluently delivered account for his focus on saving rather than travelling, namely, he does not know what girls want (lines 39—40).

### 4.3. Targets of criticism in initial interactions

A third finding was that barbs may target either the character or the conduct of the co-present interlocutor. We have seen instances, in excerpts (2) and (4—6) above, of barbs targeting the character of the recipient. In the following two examples, taken from AGA and MCDC respectively, the barbs in question target the in situ conduct of the recipient.

Prior to excerpt (7), taken from AGA, Natalie has been talking for some time about the pressure of doing an honours degree. Notably, Gary has not initiated any topics by asking Natalie any questions up until this point in the conversation.

(7) AGA09: 4:16
```
167 N:   but (0.5) yea:h >going through it<
168      was horrendous.
169      (0.5)
170 N:   horrible year
171      (1.6)
172 N:   ↑that finished well, so that was okay.
173      (2.0)
174 N: → so y- (.) feel free to ta(h)lk HA HA ha ha
175      [.hhh   heh   heh   heh ]
176 G:   [what are we supposed to] talk about
177 N:   .hhhh
178      (0.3)
179 G:   I thought we'd get topics of something
180      >you know what I mean<
```

Typical of a storytelling sequence (Stivers 2008), Natalie is winding it up with assessments of the year as "horrendous" (lines 167—168). Following a beat with no affiliative response from Gary, Natalie redoes a sequence-closing implicative negative assessment of the year as "horrible" (line 170). Following a longer gap where there is no affiliative response from Gary, she next offers an alternative assessment, which modulates the valence to the more positive "finished well" (line 172). A long gap follows in which Gary does not affiliate with that assessment either (line 173). This series of lapses is indicative of topic withering (Haugh & Musgrave 2019). Natalie suggests that it is now Gary's turn to say something (line 174). This metapragmatic comment not only points to the prior trouble they have just experienced in sustaining their conversation, but implies that Natalie is laying the blame for this topic withering on Gary, criticising him for not carrying his fair share of the conversational load by asking her some questions. Natalie orients to the evident sensitivity of this barb by modulating it through interpolated aspiration and turn-final laughter (Shaw, Hepburn & Potter 2013). The negative evaluative import of Natalie's laughing suggestion is also evident from Gary's subsequent account as to why he is not talking more, namely, he had expected they would be given topics (lines 176, 179—180). This implies the fault lies with the researcher who arranged their initial encounter rather than Gary, thereby deflecting blame away from him.

A similar pattern emerges in the next excerpt taken from MCDC, in which Wu initiates a new sequence, following brief self-introductions, about what Zhang was doing prior to their meeting. An important point to note is that Wu had been left waiting by Zhang, who arrived late.

(8) MCDC09:01: 0:15
```
06 巫:     妳剛才是從哪裡來 >不然妳還-<
07         妳不是開車還要下高速公路
08 張:     哦我今天早上到板橋去=
09 巫：    =°↑哦°=
10 張:     =到:那個朋友那邊(.)找他喝咖啡=
11 巫: →   =°哇: (.) 這麼[閒 hhh°]
12 張:                  [那我本來]想說很快就可以到這邊來的啊
```

```
13          (.) 可是沒有想到我要上中和交流道嘛 (.)
14          啊那邊在施工[啊:     ]
15 巫:                  [°喔°:::]

06 W:       where did you come from just before? >you drove-<
07          didn't you drive? you had to go through the highway?
08 Z:       oh I went to Banchiao this morning, I went=
09 W:       =°↑oh°=
10 Z:       =to: my friend's place (.) to have a coffee=
11 W: →     =°wow (.) so [free hhh°  ]
12 Z:                    [I originally] thought I could get
13          here in a short time (.) but I didn't know there was
14          roadwork when I got up to the highway [ri:ght ]
15 Wu:                                            [°o:::h°]
```

Rather than initiating the sequence with an open question (e.g. what have you been doing this morning?), however, Wu offers a candidate account that Zhang was late because of traffic (lines 6—7). Zhang responds that she went to her friend's place to have a coffee (lines 8, 10). Wu initially responds, in line 9, with a softly delivered news receipt particle that displays surprise (Wilkinson & Kitzinger 2006), before going on in line 10 to offer an assessment of Zhang as "so free" (in the sense of idle, i.e., not making good use of her time). Given that this is followed by an implicit account solicitation as to why she was late, Wu thus implies that Zhang did not have a good reason to be late, thereby criticising her conduct[6]. The negative evaluative import of this assessment is evident from Zhang's subsequent account in which she claims she was late due to roadworks (lines 12—14).

Overall, then, the sequential pattern across both languages appears to be remarkably similar. On a standard cross-cultural analysis this would suggest that there is no significant difference between these two sets of speakers. It would appear that criticisms are treated as equally dispreferred, and thus potentially impolite, by both (Australian) English and (Taiwanese) Mandarin Chinese speakers. In the following section, however, we suggest that reaching such a conclusion would be premature.

## 5. Sequential and indexical properties of criticisms in initial interactions

Criticisms are typically considered to be sensitive, dispreferred and face-threatening actions. In short, criticising the other persons seems, at first glance, to be an impolite thing to do in an initial interaction. This raises a puzzle as to why they occur so readily, especially given the emphasis typically placed on avoiding disagreement in such contexts (Haugh 2015a; Flint, Haugh & Merrison 2019). One possibility is that criticisms can be a means of inviting intimacy, particularly if they are construed by participants as teasing or playful (Dayter & Rüdiger 2018; Haugh & Pillet-Shore 2018; Hambling-Jones & Merrison 2012). However, our view is that in order to better understand what the

[6] It also potentially constitutes a criticism of her character, but through her subsequent account, Zhang orients to it specifically as a criticism of her just prior conduct (i.e. being late).

apparently serious criticisms we have examined here accomplish in initial interactions, we need to not only carefully examine the interactional positioning and sequential development of criticisms in initial interactions, but the underlying cultural premises that participants bring to bear in interpreting them.

As we noted in the introduction, cross-cultural studies can consider interactions from the perspective of participants or as cultural systems. In the former case, we can formally distinguish between the understandings of cultural members (emic) and cultural non-members (etic). In the latter case, we can formally distinguish between culture-internal (emic) or culture-comparative (emic) orientation. However, maintaining such distinctions in theory is one thing; operationalising them in practice is another. In this section, we propose that it becomes easier to disentangle these inevitably intertwined perspectives if we maintain an analytical distinction between the sequential and indexical properties of social action. This proposal builds on earlier work by Sanders and Fitch (2001), in which they proposed two ways in which actions acquire social meaning: through their interactional positioning and through shared cultural premises.

Meaning arises, on the one hand, through the interactional positioning of turns of talk (Sanders & Fitch 2001; see also Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Schegloff 2007). Whether something counts as a criticism, for instance, depends, as we have seen, both on what has preceded the turn in question and what follows it. Indeed, as Brown and Levinson (1987) pointed out, criticisms may be implicated through a series of acts rather than being attributable to any single utterance: "a higher-level intention to issue a criticism can be conveyed by a series of acts (and responses) that are not themselves FTAs [face threatening acts], or are not the particular FTA in question" (p. 233). It is clear, then, that social actions, including criticisms, have particular sequential properties through which they are made recognisable to participants.

On the other hand, meaning also arises through the shared cultural premises "about rights and obligations, and ascribed meanings and motives, of interacting persons of particular kinds in particular situations" (Sanders & Fitch 2001: 265; see also Garfinkel 1967). In other words, particular social actions are indexical of particular culturally relevant meanings for members. Brown and Levinson (1987) attempted to capture this idea in their claim that the extent to which criticisms are considered a face-threatening act varies across cultures (what is designated by R in their formula for estimating the degree of face threat of a particular speech act). For instance, they claim that "criticisms may be very big FTAs in 'shame' cultures'", but may be lessened in middle-class European arguments (Brown & Levinson 1987: 247).

To illustrate what we mean by sequential and indexical analysis, we will now move to consider the broader sequential environment of the barb we examined in excerpt (2) ("you must be fun at parties"), and how through what precedes and follows it, the participants shape the sequential and indexical meaning of that turn. We previously noted that through this ostensibly positive assessment, Natalie was in fact implying criticism of Gary for having no questions to ask her. Our claim is that this criticism is readily inferable because of what has been said prior to this particular turn.

While space precludes us from undertaking a detailed analysis of the excerpt below, we would like to draw attention to the way in which excerpt (9) begins with Gary once again bringing up the question of what they are supposed to be talking about (cf. excerpt 7).

(9) AGA09: 7:18

```
303 G:   what did they want us to do did they want
304      us- we're s'posed to be speaking naturally
305      aren't we?=
306 N: → =it's a con- he he yeah it's a conversation
307 G:   is it now
308      (0.5)
309 N:   mm (0.3) it's meeting people and I think studying
310      forms of address and (0.4) [ways of ] speaking=
311 G:                               [oh right]
312 N:   =an'=
313 G:   =oh okay
314      (1.0)
315 N: → so have you not just had two other [conver]sations
316 G:                                      [YEA:H ]
317 N:   mm
318 G:   mm couldn't forget
319      (0.2)
320 N:   A HA HA
321      (0.5)
322 G:   with me.
323 N:   hhh right, a he he .hh
324      (.)
325 N: → ↑feel free to ask me some questions now.
326    → [that's the way  £conver]sations work£
327 G:   [can I just- you should-]
328      (.)
329 G:   you should talk to the other interviewers #actually
330      cos#=
331 N: → =I'm not the interviewer. this is supposed to be a
332    → conver[sation  ]=
333 G:         [OH RIGHT]=
334 N: → =you are (.) as free to ask me any [que]stions?
335 G:                                      [.hh]
336 G:   who said [(     )]
337 N:            [I'm not] part of this ex[periment I'm-  ]
338 G:                                     [it'd be good if-]
339      you get (.) y- get together and just discuss your
340      [(      )]
341 N:   [no I did] last time
342 G:   oh good cos yea:h I'm hoping they get a good report
343      somehow
344      (0.9)
345 G: → U:M I haven't got any questions to ↑ask you
346      actually.
347      (1.1)
348 N: → ↑you must be fun at parties. hhh
349 G:   #don't like parties#
350 N:   no: I can imagine hh HEH
```

Natalie responds by first offering her understanding, before going on to implicate a series of increasingly pointed criticisms of Gary's lack of understanding about "the way conversations work" (lines 306, 315, 326, 331—332), and her expectation that he reciprocate the questions she has asked him by "asking her questions" (lines 325, 334). Gary's response that he does not have any questions to ask her (lines 329—330) takes on new meaning in light of repeated exhortations by Natalie that he engage in proper (read "polite") conversation by asking her questions. It is also clear that what is implied by Natalie's sarcastic positive assessment in line 348 is not simply that Gary would not be fun at parties, but that this is because he is a poor conversationalist. It also serves as a reproach of his response to her prior request that he has no questions to ask her[7].

What follows this barb also subsequently shapes the meaning it takes on, as we can see in excerpt (10), which follows on from excerpt (9). Immediately following Gary's claim to not like parties is an upgraded barb in which Natalie suggests "parties", which metonymically stands for "people" here, "probably don't like you either" (line 351).

(10) AGA09: 8:04

```
348 N: → ↑you must be fun at parties. hhh
349 G:   #don't like parties#
350 N:   no: I can imagine hh HEH
351 →    >parties probably don't like you either< hh
352      (0.6)
353 G:   I guess so. ↑OH NO. (0.8) people always like
354      someone they can saddle up to:
355      (2.1)
356 G:   talk to, there's at least someone in the corner
357      they can talk to °(you know)°
358      (1.5)
359 N: → ↑generally men I would think. (0.4) uh >women generally
360 →    do the listening and men don't (0.2) men do the talking=
361 G:   =that's exactly it
362 N:   often at par[ties (         )]
363 G:               [it's always men ]
364      (0.2)
365 N:   hm[m: ]
366 G:     [who] come up and talk to me
```

While Gary initially agrees with Natalie's explicitly negative assessment, he then backtracks with an account that there are always some people at parties who like "someone they can saddle up to" or "someone in the corner" they can talk to (lines 353—357). Natalie indicates she understands this to mean Gary is claiming to be someone who is quiet, and thus a good listener, by making a more general complaint about it normally being women who do the listening, while men do the talking (lines 359—360). Gary emphatically agrees with this complaint (line 361), and then proceeds to upgrade it in line 363 through an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz 1986). What started out as a criticism of Gary's conduct in the interaction, and of his character, has morphed into a complaint about men in general, a complaint with which Gary himself appears to strongly agree.

A sequential analysis of criticisms does not, however, on its own warrant claims about "impoliteness". In order to analyse the potential "impoliteness" value of these criticisms we need to consider the indexical value of these criticisms from an emic per-

[7] See Haugh (2015b: 160—164) for discussion.

spective. In other words, we need to tease out the cultural premise these participants are likely to bring to bear in interpreting their indexical value. One key observation we can make is that the target of judgment has shifted from criticising a co-present interlocutor to complaining about non-co-present third parties. In this way, the two interlocutors are evidently taking the heat out of a sequence in which *both* parties are open to evaluation as "impolite" by the other. An evaluation of Natalie as "impolite" by Gary is licensed by the way in which criticisms indicate, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), that the speaker "doesn't like/want one or more of H[earer]'s wants, acts, personal characteristics, goods, beliefs or values", and so indicates s/he "does not care about the addressee's feelings, wants, etc." (p. 66). In other words, Gary could legitimately claim Natalie is being "impolite" ("rude", "discourteous" etc.), given the general "constraint against criticism of others", a constraint which was noted in passing by Brown and Levinson (1987: 37), and formulated more formally as a preference principle by Pillet-Shore (2015, 2016; see also Pomerantz 1984: 78). It is worth noting, however, that this potentially "impolite" criticism is occasioned by conduct — not returning questions in a setting in which one expects them to be reciprocated (Haugh & Carbaugh 2015) — which Natalie is construing as "impolite" through this series of barbs directed at Gary. In other words, Natalie's "impolite" barbs may well be licensed by Gary's "impolite" refusal to reciprocate by asking her questions.

The key point to note here is that the indexical value which can be legitimately attached to these barbs is shaped by a set of cultural premises that are presumed to be shared amongst Australian speakers of English. These include normative assumptions about how we should conduct ourselves in initial interactions (e.g. we are expected to reciprocate questions about the other) (e.g. Haugh & Carbaugh 2015; Svennevig 2014), as well as normative constraints on the extent to which we are licensed to criticise (or more broadly judge) others in different settings (Brown & Levinson 1987; Pillet-Shore 2015, 2016; Pomerantz 1984). These cultural premises underpin the oft made claim that other-criticisms threaten the "positive" face of recipients. We would suggest that criticisms also amount to a claim of moral authority, that is, an entitlement to judge others, by the speaker. For those reasons, criticisms are not only treated as dispreferred, but as acts that are clearly open to evaluation as "impolite" in initial interactions.

The question from a comparative perspective, then, is whether the same cultural premises about criticisms that we can see at work amongst Australian speakers of English in initial interactions also hold in the case of Taiwanese speakers of Mandarin Chinese. Our view is that they do not. We claim that while from a sequential perspective criticisms do indeed work in similar ways across the two languages, the cultural premises attached to those criticisms are different from an indexical perspective, and so the culturally relevant meanings made available by them also differ.

In the following excerpt taken from MCDC, for instance, Chang has been talking about the various after-school activities his sons are involved in[8].

[8] We have used italics in the translated version to indicate utterance-final particles in this excerpt that are difficult to translate directly into English (specifically, *la, ye, a,* and *o*).

(11) MCDC09:07&07: 2:42:

242 張:　他現在上課就是游泳啦::
243 王:　hhe-[hehh]
244 張:　　[畫畫 ]啦:: (.) 然後那個什麼-
245 王: →當你的兒子也很<u>累耶</u> (.) [我覺得啦]
246 張:　　[所以我就]覺得
247　他們很累啊=
248 王:　=<u>嘿啊</u> (.) <u>其實</u>很多<u>其實</u>都是父母給他的,
249　因為你們就- 就會有那種觀念啊
250　(.)
251 王:　[不過也是, 栽培啦, 也是栽培啦: ]
252 張:　[不過有些東- 有些東西我是- 我是會比較]
253　像游泳, 他們這一次他們, 他們就拒絕,
254　學:游泳=
255 王:　=哦他們沒興趣[喔: ]
256 張:　　[但是] 我- 我要- 我跟他們講,
257　我可以同意他們不學游泳,
258　但是一個條件=
259 王:　=嗯=
260 張:　=就是一定要 (.) 能夠游一百公尺以上
261　[我]才能夠同意=
262 王:　[哦]
263 王:　=**哼**

242 C:　the lessons he takes now are swimming
243 W:　hhe- [he heh ]
244 C:　　[painting] *la*:: and then-
245 W: → being your sons is also tiring *ye* (.) [I think *la*]
246 C:　　[hence I ] think
247　they are tired *a*=
248 W:　=right (.) actually, a lot are given by parents,
249　because you- there is that kind of mindset
250　(.)
251　[but it's also, preparing for, also preparing for *ya*:]
252 C:　[but there are some thing- some things I- that I will
253　be more] like swimming, this time they are,
254　they refused to le:arn swimming=
255 W:　oh they are not interested [*o*: ]
256 C:　[but] I- I need- I told them,
257　I can agree that they don't learn swimming,
258　but there is one condition=
259 W:　=mm=
260 C:　=they must be (.) able to swim more than one hundred
　metres
261　[((then)) I] can agree=
262 W:　[ oh]
263 W:　=hmm right

The excerpt begins at the point Chang starts listing these after school activities, which include swimming and painting (lines 242—244). The barb in question arises in line 245 when Wang suggests that it must be tiring to be Chang's sons, followed by a turn-final epistemic marker (*la*) that indexes a claim to epistemic authority by Wang (Endo 2013). The inference made available through that assessment is that Chang is an overly pushy parent. Chang responds, however, by redoing Wang's assessment as an upshot (lines 246—247), thereby resisting Wang's claim to epistemic authority by claiming first-hand knowledge of his own sons, and marking his son's tiredness as already known to his though a turn-final *a* particle (Wu 2004: 224). The negative evaluative import of Wang's initial assessment in line 245 becomes apparent in Wang's subsequent account in lines 248—251, in which she references a more general discourse about parents who see the need to prepare their children to compete in society through learning lots of different things, and Chang's account, in lines 252—261, in which he paints himself as a father who insists on his children learning things for their own good (in this case being able to swim a minimum distance).

However, while both participants appear to orient to Wang's initial assessment as implying a criticism of Chang's parenting style, what this criticism indexes here from an emic perspective is different to how it might be interpreted in Brown and Levinson's account, in which it would be treated as a threat to the recipient's positive face. Instead, we argue that what is indexed through Wang's implied criticism is a claim to knowledge about Chang. In presuming this knowledge about the other, Wang indexes familiarity with Chang, thereby projecting relational connection, as well as claiming epistemic authority (Chang forthcoming). With respect to the latter, by offering an assessment of how Chang's sons must feel, Wang is presuming knowledge not only about the state of Chang's sons, but also about Chang's parenting style. Previous research has indicated that displays of knowledge in a Chinese cultural context allow the speaker to "gain face" (Ho 1976; Kinnison 2017). The "face" that is gained is not positive or negative face in the sense outlined by Brown and Levinson (1987), however, but rather the emic notion of "mask/image face", that is, "one's façade to impress others" (Kinnison 2017: 32). In others words, through criticising I claim that I know something about you, and in the Chinese cultural context, showing you know things allows one to lay claim to "face" (*mianzi*). It follows, then, by implying criticism of Chang, Wang is not so much claiming moral authority to judge Chang, thereby threatening Chang's "positive" face, so much as she is laying claim to epistemic authority, and thereby making a claim to "face" (*mianzi*) on her own part, as well as indexing familiarity with Chang.

In sum, while criticisms clearly impact on face in interactions amongst both Australians and Taiwanese, the different cultural premises underpinning the indexical value of those criticisms means we are not just dealing with different cultural instantiations of face, but very different indexical values. In the case of criticisms amongst Australian speakers of English they index threats to the positive face of the recipient, and claims of moral authority by the speaker. In the case of Taiwanese speakers of Mandarin, in contrast, criticisms index displays of familiarity or relational connection with the recipient, and claims to epistemic authority and "mask/image face" by the speaker.

## 6. Implications for studying (im)politeness across cultures

In this case study, we have seen that barbs are treated as dispreferred in initial interactions, and that they recurrently occasion accounts (indeed, in every case we have examined). However, we have also seen that although criticisms arise and are responded to in similar ways in interactions amongst Australian speakers of English and Taiwanese speakers of Chinese, the evaluative and relational import of these criticisms is not the same across these two languages. In other words, while from an etic perspective they look similar, from an emic perspective the indexical value of those criticisms, and the relational work accomplished through them differs.

Haugh and colleagues have argued in ongoing work that a distinction can, and should, be maintained between *emic* understandings and *participant* understandings in analysing (im)politeness and related phenomena (Haugh 2009: 5; Haugh 2011: 262; Haugh 2012: 122—127; Haugh 2018: 161—162; Haugh & Chang 2015: 396—397; Kádár & Haugh 2013: 86—96). They propose that an *emic* understanding is properly grounded in the perspective of a cultural insider or member (in the ethnomethodological sense), and can be contrasted with the *etic* perspective of cultural outsiders or non-members, while a *participant* understanding is properly grounded in the footings of users in their instantiation of turns at talk (and in responses to prior talk and conduct), and can be contrasted with the perspective of *observers* of interaction. In formal terms, we can summarise the underlying set of distinctions as in Figure 2.

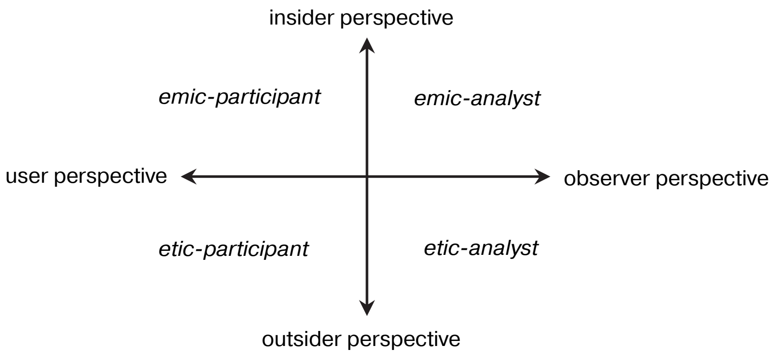


**Figure 2.** Emic-etic versus participant-analyst perspectives on talk and conduct

The analysis of criticisms in initial interactions in this paper indicates that this set of distinctions is one that is well worth maintaining: without taking into account the emic perspective of cultural insiders or members, we run the danger of missing important cross-cultural differences in the evaluative import of speech acts (i.e. their indexical properties), despite being interactionally accomplished in similar ways across different languages (i.e., their sequential properties). Our claim is that while criticisms are delivered through similar formats and responded to in similar ways through accounts by both Australians and Taiwanese, and thus have similar sequential properties, their evaluative and relational import are different, and so they have different indexical properties.

In the former case they are treated as threats to positive face (of the recipient), and index moral authority (on the part of the speaker), while in the latter they are interpretable as displays of familiarity (with the recipient), and index epistemic authority (on the part of the speaker).

Our aim here has been to illustrate an emic-participant perspective on these criticisms through our respective emic-analyst lenses[9]. A significant challenge facing analysts, however, is that in practice participants are typically treated as members (of a particular cultural network), and so these two perspectives are, for all intents and purposes, very often laminated or fused together. Our proposal here has been that one way of operationalising the distinction between participant understandings and emic understandings is for analysts to focus on the sequential and indexical properties of social action, respectively. To analyse the sequential properties of social action one needs to build collections and identify recurrent patterns or procedures by which those social actions are interactionally accomplished. To analyse the indexical properties of social action one must identify links between locally situated meanings and the broader cultural premises which they invoke. Conversation analytic studies clearly prioritise the former, while discourse analytic studies tend to prioritise the latter. We argue that both perspectives need to be carefully integrated in order to undertake comparative analyses of speech acts across cultures. However, this raises some methodological challenges for (im)politeness researchers. For instance, how can we study the indexical properties of social action in systematic ways? Our view is that claims about these sorts of cultural premises need to be licensed themselves through much more in-depth ethnographic work about particular social actions across different interactional settings (Haugh 2007).

(Im)politeness researchers have tended to focus on differences in the linguistic forms or sequential structures by which different social actions are accomplished. Our aim here has been to draw attention to the fact that while there may be similarities in forms and sequential structure across languages, these can mask important cultural differences that are not readily apparent unless one undertakes an emic analysis of the indexical properties of social actions. While indexical analyses must be grounded in close sequential analyses of the social action in question, they also require recourse to an understanding of the cultural premises available to those participants. Cross-cultural studies of (im)politeness should, in our view, not only focus on differences in the forms or strategies by which speech acts are accomplished, but remain alert to the possibility that what is ostensibly the same speech act, may in fact be interpreted in different ways by members of different cultural groups.



[9] A notable, perhaps contentious, assumption we are making is that Brown and Levinson's notions of positive and negative face are not legitimate etic categories for analysing "face" across languages and cultures, but rather represent emic categorisations relevant to Anglo-English speakers (Haugh 2006).

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Research Article

# Indirectness in the Age of Globalization: A Social Network Analysis

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**Abstract**

Indirectness has traditionally been viewed as commensurate with politeness and attributed to the speaker's wish to avoid imposition and/or otherwise strategically manipulate the addressee. Despite these theoretical predictions, a number of studies have documented the solidarity-building and identity-constituting functions of indirectness. Bringing these studies together, Terkourafi 2014 proposed an expanded view of the functions of indirect speech, which crucially emphasizes the role of the addressee and the importance of network ties. This article focuses on what happens when such network ties become loosened, as a result of processes of urbanization and globalization. Drawing on examples from African American English and Chinese, it is argued that these processes produce a need for increased explicitness, which drives speakers (and listeners) away from indirectness. This claim is further supported diachronically, by changes in British English politeness that coincide with the rise of the individual Self. These empirical findings have implications for im/politeness theorizing and theory-building more generally, calling attention to how the socio-historical context of our research necessarily influences the theories we end up building.

**Keywords:** *default indirectness; weak network ties; African American women; compliment responses; Chinese; English historical (im)politeness*

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Научная статья

# Косвенность в эпоху глобализации: анализ сетевых связей

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**Аннотация**

Косвенность традиционно рассматривается в связи с вежливостью и объясняется желанием говорящего избегать воздействия на адресата. Несмотря на эти теоретические предпосылки, в ряде исследований отмечаются функции косвенности, направленные на выражение солидарности и формирование идентичности. На основе анализа данных исследований был предложен расширенный взгляд на функции косвенности (Terkourafi 2014), в котором подчеркивается роль адресата и важность сетевых связей между собеседниками. В данной статье рассматривается вопрос о том, что происходит, когда в результате процессов урбанизации и глобализации сетевые связи между коммуникантами ослабевают. Опираясь на примеры из китайского языка и афроамериканского английского, автор утверждает, что эти процессы приводят к необходимости большей ясности в ущерб косвенности. Данное утверждение подтверждается также диахроническим анализом изменений в британско-английской вежливости, которые совпадают с усилением индивидуального Я. Полученные результаты имеют значение для теории вежливости в целом и подтверждают необходимость учета социально-исторического контекста при разработке теоретических положений.

**Ключевые слова:** *косвенность по умолчанию, слабые сетевые связи. афроамериканские женщины, ответы на комплимент, китайский язык, английская (не)вежливость*

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## 1. Introduction

By several accounts, ours is the age of globalization. Google's Ngram Viewer, an online search engine that charts the frequencies of words in printed sources from 1500 to 2008 using several text corpora, provides us with a first indication of this. As Figure 1 shows, starting in the 1980's, use of the term sky-rocketed, reaching an all-time high in the early years of the 21st century.


**Figure 1.** Frequency of use of terms for "globalization" in Google's database of English books

(s/z spellings shown separately; retrieved from https://books.google.com/ngrams/ on 23 September 2019)

Despite its recent popularity, the term "globalization" is actually almost a century old, having been introduced in the 1930's in the field of finance to describe "the development of an increasingly integrated global economy marked especially by free trade, free flow of capital, and the tapping of cheaper foreign labor markets" (OED, *s.v.* globalization). This meaning is still found in economics textbooks, where globalization is defined as "[t]he phenomenon of growing economic linkages among countries" (Krugman

& Wells 2013: 128). The recent expansion of the term beyond economics is not unrelated to these macroeconomic processes. In combination with technological advances such as satellite communications, the advent of the internet, and the availability of multiple means of cheap travel, which have in turn enhanced transnational mobility, and enabled mass-scale travel and tourism, these processes are jointly responsible for the unprecedented interconnectedness of our lives in the early 21st century. This expanded understanding of the term is reflected in definitions of globalization as "an ever-increasing abundance of global connections and our understanding of them" (Barker 2012: 156) and as "the extension, intensification, and acceleration of consequential worldwide interconnections" (Sparke 2013: 3).

This increased interconnectedness has distinct cultural consequences. These consequences have been variably described as homogenization or even Americanization — when globalization is seen as a one-way influence from US American models to the rest of the world — but can also involve the creation of new cultural resources, artistic trends, and language varieties emerging from the dialogue of the global with the local (Terkourafi 2010a). In whatever way one thinks of globalization, one thing is certain: the average person in most parts of the world today connects with more people and with more diverse people than ever before — whether one is geographically mobile oneself or not, social media and the transnational movement of people and goods can be counted on for this.

This exponential increase in the number and diversity of people with whom we interact can also affect the quality of our interactions with them. More contacts between people can also mean shallower contacts, especially if we subscribe to the idea known as "Dunbar's number", after the British anthropologist who proposed it. According to Dunbar (1992), there is a cognitive limit to the number of people with whom we can maintain stable social relationships, and this number is around 150. Most of us have more than this number of "friends" in our Facebook accounts! This raises the distinct possibility that the new connections enabled by globalization are qualitatively different from the dense and multiplex ties of the social networks of the past. The change in the structure of our social networks brought about by globalization plays a central role in the argument developed in this article.

Briefly, the argument goes as follows. While we may as a result of globalization connect with more people, these people are scattered across communities and we tend to know each person in one capacity only. This means that our social network ties with them are distinctly weak. This weakening[1] can result in a shrinking of the common ground necessary to support indirect modes of communication, resulting in a shift toward more explicitness in conversation.

[1] "Weakening" is not meant to suggest that the same network ties were strong and became weak but rather refers to the overall picture that emerges from the three case studies analyzed below. As all three studies refer to both an earlier state in which strong ties were in place and a later state in which social network ties are weak, what emerges can be characterized as a weakening over time although that does not concern the same networks or the same individual's networks.

The article is structured as follows. Section 2 introduces the idea that, further to its strategic uses, indirectness can function recognitionally among members of a group. This notion of indirectness "by accident" is central to the argument developed in this article. Section 3 then goes on to outline the principles of social network theory from the field of sociolinguistics, highlighting how globalization can be one way of bringing about a weakening of social network ties. Section 4 lays out in more detail the hypothesis to be explored, while sections 5, 6 and 7 explore this hypothesis with reference to three case-studies from the existing literature on indirectness. These case-studies are drawn from different cultural and historical contexts: African American women's use of indirectness, Chinese responses to compliments, and the rise of conventionally indirect requests in British English in the 19$^{th}$ c. These three case studies were chosen because they each involve a weakening, in different ways, of social network ties and allow us to observe the impact of this weakening on conversational styles. Compared with using studies from a single lingua-culture, the fact that these case-studies come from different cultural, linguistic and historical contexts yet still exhibit similar trends toward increased directness motivates us to seek a unified explanation for the observed changes, and is thus an asset of this meta-analysis. Finally, section 8 draws some implications of this analysis for the study of variation and change in pragmatics more generally.

## 2. Indirectness

Indirectness in pragmatics has generally been defined as meaning something more or something different from what we say. This typically involves generating an *implicature* by violating or flouting one of Grice's conversational maxims (Grice 1975). Indirectness thus understood is thought to be effortful for the addressee and used strategically by the speaker to achieve certain ends, which can include politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987), deniability (Pinker et al. 2008), expressing formality (Lakoff 1973), or stylistic prowess (Leech 1983). Note that this definition of indirectness is a *formal* rather than psychological one: it includes all those instances where what the speaker means is different from what her words mean (the literal meaning of an expression or 'what is said')[2], irrespective of whether what she means is immediately transparent to her listener(s) (e.g., because of convention or habit).

The above definition of indirectness has been claimed to capture only a small part of the full range of functions of indirectness in discourse (Terkourafi 2014). An expanded view of indirectness would also include "accidental" as well as "enabling" uses, with the latter capturing instances where indirectness might be the only option for the speaker, such as need-statements which are found among children's earliest directives yet are formally indirect, or metaphors used to describe physical or emotional pain, for which there is often no literal counterpart (Figure 2).

[2] The notion of what is said is an especially thorny one and it is unfortunate that the classic notion of implicature is defined in relation to it. For a summary of some dominant positions about what is said, see Terkourafi 2010b.

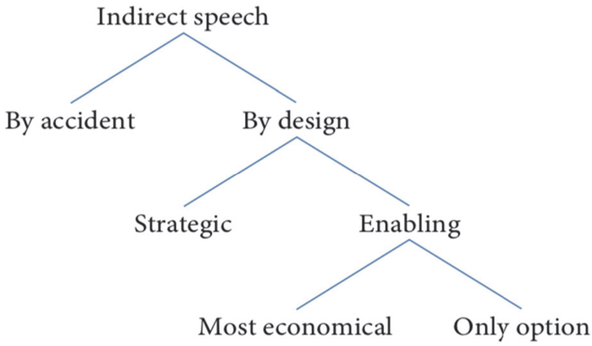



**Figure 2.** Proposed nomenclature for indirect speech (from Terkourafi 2014: 66)

Of particular interest to the hypothesis explored in this article is the notion of indirectness "by accident" (see Figure 2), which refers to an utterance that becomes indirect 'in the ears of the listener,' so to speak, irrespective of what the speaker intended by it or was trying to achieve. This kind of indirectness has more to do with community and situational norms than with the speaker's intention and occurs when community members are attuned to reading more into each other's words than what is literally there. Hall (1976) defines such cultures as "high context cultures". In such cases, indirectness becomes an interpretative reflex, or the default, expected state in conversation.

While rationally based indirectness, the type of indirectness calculated according to the Gricean maxims as explained at the start of this section, is an individual-level phenomenon, indirectness as default is a community-level phenomenon. It is not (always) intentional or agentive but rather an element of the *habitus*, which Bourdieu (1990) describes as follows:

> The genesis of a system of works or practices generated by the same habitus (or homologous habitus, such as those that underlie the unity of the life-style of a group or a class) [...] arises from the necessary yet unpredictable confrontation between the habitus and an event that can exercise a pertinent incitement on the habitus ***only if the latter snatches it from the contingency of the accidental*** and constitutes it as a problem by applying to it the very principles of its solution. (Bourdieu 1990: 55; emphasis added)

In the three case studies analyzed below, the event that "exercise[s] a pertinent incitement on the habitus" is indirectness, which, to the extent that it is automatically read into speakers' utterances by listeners, can produce amplified interpretations that are taken for granted by speakers as well as listeners and can, in their mundanity, serve as a 'secret handshake' ensuring mutual recognition between them as cultural insiders.

It is this type of indirectness "by accident", which presupposes socialization and functions as cultural credentials of community belonging, that is likely to be affected — or rather, has no opportunity to develop — when social network ties become weakened, as can be the case under globalization (see the next section). Although this type of indirectness as communicative style has often been talked about in national-ethnic terms (e.g., Tannen 1981 for Greek, Hall & Hall 1990 for Germans, the French and Americans), the relevant "communities" in today's world may be best understood as Communities of Practice (Lave & Wenger 1991) bound together by practices rather than pre-conceived attributes. As Terkourafi (2019) writes,

> As national cultures are [... being...] redefined on new grounds (Pew Research Center 2017), variables other than country of origin, such as generational cohort, political affiliation, or professional expertise are gaining momentum in generating shared understandings and like-mindedness among people. The importance of these other factors explains at least in part why it is difficult to extrapolate from group norms to individual behaviours since "any results found [by aggregating data at the nation-level] cannot be applied to individuals living within these nations" (Fischer 2011: 5). An enactment view of culture provides an answer to this problem. In the practice-based understanding of culture advocated here, group-belonging is not presumed based on external attributes (e.g., nationality) but rather built from the bottom up, through specific behaviours *and* their having been interpreted in particular ways. (Terkourafi 2019: 1203—1204, original emphasis)

Indirectness "by accident" as defined above and exemplified in the case studies that follow can be one among many practices that bind a community of practice together, making a tightly knit social network part and parcel of this particular type of indirectness.

## 3. Social network theory

In social network theory, as applied to sociolinguistics by Lesley Milroy (1987) and further developed by, among others, Fagyal et al. (2010), our patterns of interaction with people we know form our social network, whose strength can be measured along two dimensions. Social network ties are dense in case the people we know also know each other, and they are multiplex if we interact with the same person in several different capacities (e.g., the same person is our neighbour, our co-worker, someone we socialize with, and a member of our family). Figure 3 provides diagrammatic representations of these two different measures of network strength.


**Figure 3.** Diagrammatic representation of an individual X's social network ties

Black lines indicate ties between individuals. Blue arrows on the left are used to show that the individuals that X knows also know each other, so X's network ties on the left are dense. The red dotted lines on the right indicate that X's tie with Z is multiplex (X and Z know each other in many capacities)

As these definitions make clear, the sheer number of people we know and the frequency with which we interact with each of them are irrelevant to the density and multiplicity of our ties. Spending a lot of time with the same person in the same capacity does not make our tie with that person a multiplex one, nor does knowing a lot of people who do not know each other make our social network ties denser. And although if a tie is multiplex this can result in increased frequency of contact, the opposite is not necessarily true: increased frequency of contact between two people, if it is always in the same capacity, does not increase the multiplicity of their tie.

Social Network theory maps speakers' patterns of interaction at a certain moment in time from an external observer's perspective rather than the participants' own. Thus, the fact that traditional network ties such as those of family or locality may now be conducted online and facilitated by the internet and social media does not mean that these ties are strengthened by becoming denser or more multiplex. They have simply been transferred to a new medium but this does not necessarily affect their strength, as this is measured in social network theory through the constructs of density and multiplicity, because these require different things: they require that the people we know also know each other and that we know each one in several different capacities. On the other hand, the possibility to meet new and more diverse people through both transnational movement and the internet does have specific consequences for the strength of these new ties. To the extent that these new acquaintances do not also know each other and that interaction with each of them remains limited to one rather than multiple capacities, the ties forged are distinctly weak.

Social network theory aims, centrally, to explain language change. It does this by using patterns of interaction between people to explain differences in the distribution of linguistic variants among groups which are otherwise hard to explain because the groups are indistinguishable in terms of the abstract macro-social categories to which they are assigned by the researcher (e.g. differences between groups of working-class people, or between groups of women). Clearly, not all working-class people speak in the same way, nor do all women. Early sociolinguistic work, however, could not do justice to this within-category variability. Social network theory claims, in this regard, that the stronger one's social network, the more vernacular norms they will display in their speech. Conversely, individuals whose social network ties are weak will not display a high proportion of vernacular norms in their speech but will tend to gravitate outward, toward more standard speech norms. The hypothesis forwarded in this article is inspired by this claim and applies it to a pragmatic phenomenon, the use of indirectness "by accident".

## 4. The interface of social network ties and indirectness

This article explores the impact of globalization on conversational resources and styles of interaction and specifically the extent to which conversational styles may be shifting toward increased directness in response to the weakening of social network ties caused by globalization. The particular hypothesis I wish to explore is that, when social network ties become less multiplex and less dense, the common ground between interlocutors correspondingly shrinks and this can have an adverse effect on the use of indirect modes of communication. A shift can then be expected to occur toward more explicit modes of communication because the common ground necessary to support indirectness is now missing.

The relevant notion of common ground is taken from Clark (1986), who uses this term to refer to all the beliefs we can reasonably expect to share with others; in other words, what both parties in conversation, rightly or wrongly, take it that the other also knows. Common ground is a necessary prerequisite for communication and includes both personal common ground, that is, information we share with a particular person because of our direct personal experience with that person (as between friends), but also communal common ground, that is, information we share with someone (whom we may have never met before) because we take them to be members of a cultural community, where cultural communities are identifiable by their shared expertise. Because shared expertise is graded, ranging from central (assumed to be shared among all insiders) to peripheral (assumed to be shared by only some insiders), the contents of communal common ground also range from information about human nature (which we all have) through communal lexicons and information about cultural facts, norms, procedures (which can still be explained to an outsider as knowledge ‘that’) to ineffable background information, which is knowledge ‘how’ that cannot (easily) be explained to an outsider but must be experienced directly many times. This is characterized by Clark (1996: 110) as the “ultimate inside information” and it is the ‘know-how’ that only community insiders can be expected to have. The type of indirectness “by accident” introduced in section 2 falls under this type of knowledge.

The idea that a weakening in social network ties can lead to a decrease in this type of indirectness is theoretically interesting because it is diametrically opposed to what received views about indirectness would have us expect. According to such views, as encapsulated for instance in the first-wave of politeness studies (Lakoff 1973, Leech 1983, Brown & Levinson 1987), under circumstances of weakened social network ties (e.g., increased Distance between interlocutors), indirectness, as a face-saving strategy affording interlocutors a convenient ‘out,’ should be prized and expected to increase. Contrary to this, the hypothesis now put forward is that indirectness is disabled and less available as an option among interlocutors who do not know each other well. Nevertheless, these two predictions are not necessarily at odds. Clearly, what are concerned are two different types of indirectness — individual-level or “strategic” vs. community-level or “by accident” — and once the differences between them, as explained in section 2, are understood, both may capture different aspects of the same complex phenomenon. Thus, while this hypothesis is in contrast with the face-saving understanding of indirectness in first-wave politeness studies, which perceived indirectness as exclusively strategic, it is in line with more recent analyses that highlight the variability in interpretations of indirectness across cultures and emphasize that understanding it as the ‘safest’ strategy is valid only for a narrow socio-cultural bandwidth of primarily Anglo speech styles (Grainger and Mills 2016).

A similar argument about the impact of social network structure has been made regarding not language use but language structure. In recent work, Raviv et al. (2019) investigated whether user group size affects the systematicity of a language, with linguistic structure being explicitly defined as encoding a meaning consistently via the same form rather than variably via different forms. It emerged that smaller groups could afford more complex, less transparent (one-to-many) mappings of meanings to forms because their members got to know each other better. As the number of people with whom one uses a language grows, that complexity is lost and the mapping from form to meaning in that language becomes more transparent (or systematic). In other words, the language gains in transparency of form-to-meaning mappings when it is spoken between more people, who correspondingly interact less frequently with each other. Considering that indirect speech reduces the transparency of form-to-meaning mapping, these findings are in line with the hypothesis presented here.

Before proceeding to present the empirical evidence for this hypothesis, two caveats are in order. First, it should be made clear that the claimed weakening in social network ties does not concern all of our network ties (as noted in section 3, the strength of some ties may remain unaffected), nor is globalization the only way in which such a weakening can come about. Globalization is just one way in which a weakening of social network ties can come about; urbanization is another, and there may be others. As such, what we are concerned with in this article is what happens to conversational styles when network ties are weakened in general and not only as a result of globalization. Indeed, of the three case studies discussed below, only one (Chinese compliment responses) can be seen as related to globalization, while the other two relate rather to the weakening of social network ties in the face of urbanization in the recent and more distant past. My goal, then, is not to provide definitive evidence for the specific hypothesis that globalization can result in increased explicitness in conversation but merely to establish this as a plausible hypothesis by showing how a weakening of network ties in general has led to a similar loss in indirectness in other contexts. This is not the final but rather the first step in that process, while the specific hypothesis concerning globalization clearly remains to be further investigated by means of empirical studies designed specifically for this purpose.

Furthermore, while it will be argued that, as a result of a weakening of social network ties, increased explicitness can be expected, it is not thereby also argued that this is incontrovertibly the result of *either* parallel but internally-motivated cultural responses to increased interconnectedness of people and ideas *or* of the spread of mainstream American models in a dichotomous fashion. In view of the fact that increased explicitness is also a feature of the more 'inductive' — as opposed to 'deductive' — conversational styles associated with the US (or a generalized 'West'; Scollon & Scollon 1995), it is possible that the shifts toward increased explicitness documented below are, at least in some cases, a cultural borrowing from mainstream American-dominated discourses. As globalization has been used to refer to both processes — the spread of American ways of doing things and the creation of new cultural resources in response to the needs of life in an interconnected world — this possibility does not weaken the hypothesized relationship between globalization and increased explicitness in conversational styles. On the contrary, to the extent that the two processes are facets of globalization that operate in tandem, being aware that they can lead to similar effects only adds to our reasons to expect that these effects will occur. In other words, the present article is open to a multiple causality account of the relevant phenomena.

## 5. Younger and older African American women's indirectness in 1970's Chicago

For close to a decade, between 1974 and 1982, Morgan (1991) studied the conversational styles of three generations of African American women aged 18—72 living in Chicago, focusing on two types of indirectness, both potentially confrontational, identified in previous studies of African American discourse. Baited indirectness occurred when a speaker said something general which was taken by the audience to be specific or addressed to a specific person because of contextual clues. Pointed indirectness, on the other hand, occurred when a speaker said something to someone which appeared opaque or irrelevant in the current context and involved a 'sham receiver' different from the intended target, who could in turn be identified based on contextual clues.

An example of baited indirectness occurred between two friends, when one invited the other over for a meal saying:

(1) "if you're not going to be doing anything, come by. I'm going to cook some chit'lins. (rather jokingly) or <u>are you one of those Negroes who don't eat chitl'ins[3]?</u> (cited from Morgan 1991: 427—428)

to which the other responded rather indignantly that she had had enough of this "soul food" in her life and was only going to eat better quality food from now on. As the speaker's subsequent discourse after the recipient had left the room made clear, this indignant response was taken by her as evidence that the recipient had read the underlined part of her utterance as an indirect criticism, an interpretation she was prepared to own up to *despite not having intended her utterance in this way*.

An example of pointed indirectness, on the other hand, is given in (2):

(2) A woman chose to wear an overly bright shade of lipstick to a party. She overheard a[nother] woman say, "Oh, I thought your mouth was burst." to a man whose lips were in perfect order. (cited from Morgan 1991: 429—430)

In this case, the woman's utterance was clearly not referencing her male addressee and it is this incongruency between her utterance and the physical reality of the addressee that led the overhearing woman to interpret the utterance as a criticism of herself. This is an example of what Morgan calls "if the shoe fits": what matters is not so much whether the speaker intended her utterance as a criticism as the fact that it was so interpreted, suggesting that it touched a chord with the overhearing woman who took it that way.

In both examples (1) and (2) interpretation prioritizes community norms: what the audience understands counts as the utterance's meaning that stays on the conversational record, irrespective of what the speaker may have meant by her utterance. Such uses of indirectness, according to Morgan (1991; see also Morgan 2010), constitute a distinct African American identity; they are part of the oral tradition of signifying through which speakers construct — both by performing and by recognizing it — their belonging in this community. As such, the goal that these uses serve is not primarily informational but rather an identity-related one.

[3] A contracted form of "chitterlings," a type of food made from the cheaper parts of an animal, such as the small intestines of a pig.

Even more interesting for our purposes is the fact that these intuitions were not uniformly distributed across the three generations of African American women that Morgan studied. As part of her project, she showed adaptations of actual stories like the exchanges above containing baited and pointed indirectness to African American women of different ages and to white women and asked them questions about what the speaker meant and the target of her remarks. African American women in their 40's or older recognized both types of indirectness and were open to ambiguity and communally attributed interpretations of the speaker's utterance, similar to the interpretations of the participants in the examples above. By contrast, African American women younger than 25 rejected these communally attributed meanings, despite recognizing them. As one of these younger women put it, she didn't like to be responsible for "...anybody who comes along accusing me of saying something I didn't actually say" (Morgan 1991: 440). In this respect, these younger African American women behaved more like the white women in Morgan's sample, who likewise prioritized what the speaker herself meant. However, as Morgan is quick to point out, a crucial difference exists between the younger African American women and the white women from the same community: the white women focused exclusively on what the speaker meant and were unable to locate any further implicated meanings; the younger African American women, on the other hand, perceived the indirectness but resisted it.

According to Morgan, the difference between African American and white women's systems of communication is that the latter give priority to what the speaker means and find it permissible to reconstruct speakers' intentions. For African American women, however, speaker intentions are much less prominent and responsibility encompasses not just those meanings which a speaker wishes to be credited with but also those which her audience attributes to her words — whether she intended those meanings or not. Speakers must choose their words carefully because they carry responsibility for everything their words can be understood to mean — speakers can't turn around and deny their words later. Younger African American women fall somewhere in between. Notably, their interpretations, like those of white women, prioritize the speaker's intention and speaker intentionality as the ultimate arbitrator of what an utterance means.

This case study of women's speech in the 1970's in an urban setting shows community-specific modes of indirectness being rejected by the younger generation and a rise in individualism going hand in hand with a preference for speaker-based interpretations. That these were community-specific modes of indirectness is shown by the fact that white women living in the same area did not recognize them. And that their demise was a result of a weakening of social network ties in the sense of a loss in density and multiplicity is suggested by the answer of the young woman, who, despite recognizing the indirectness, refused to be held accountable for it. Her emphatic defense of her individuality is typical of those less connected to the core of their communities, who have correspondingly less to lose by distancing themselves from community norms[4].

[4] One may recall how, in Milroy's (1987) study of three neighbourhoods in Belfast, it was those with the strongest social networks (denser and more multiplex ties in their community), whether they were men or women, that were vernacular norm enforcers.

Morgan allows for this possibility when she writes that "another explanation for the young women's responses to the survey is that [they…are] opting for the non-African American system. They may perceive their role and relationship to society as one where "hidden" forms of discourse are unsuitable" (1991: 441)[5]. Morgan leaves it open whether contact with white women, which would imply a weakening in the younger women's social network ties as they would now be interacting with members of different communities who did not mutually know each other (loss in density), and potentially only in some capacities (loss in multiplicity), was a factor in this development but her analysis certainly suggests so.

## 5. Chinese Compliment Responses

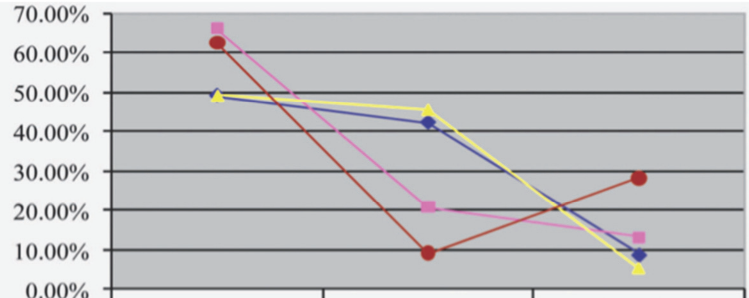
A loss of more indirect ways of communicating can be incurred not only by urbanization but also by globalization. This is shown by our second case study, which involves Chinese responses to compliments. Compliment responses pose a well-known problem for politeness theorists, which can be formulated as follows within Leech's maxim-based framework (Leech 2014). In this framework, politeness generally involves giving value to Other while withholding value from Self. To Agree, then, with the compliment is to elevate Other's assessment (and hence be polite) but also to elevate Self (and hence be impolite); while to Reject the compliment is to lower Self (which is polite) but also to lower Other's assessment (which is impolite). In other words, responding to a compliment creates a clash between the two components of politeness, raising Other and lowering Self, which cannot both be satisfied at the same time. Different cultures resolve this clash differently: Anglo-cultures tend to Agree, Chinese cultures tend to Reject.

Of these two strategies, the Reject strategy is indirect, since the speaker who uses this strategy is trying to communicate not disagreement *per se* but rather, through this disagreement, modesty. In other words, the recipient of the compliment doesn't reject it out of disagreement with the speaker (which would amount to lowering Other and hence be impolite) but in order to appear modest (which amounts to lowering Self and is polite). Only if the complimenter recognizes the disagreement as 'fake' and motivated by modesty can the Reject strategy be perceived as polite. The Agree strategy, on the other hand, simply accepts the compliment and does not communicate this additional layer of meaning. As a compliment response strategy, then, Agree is not indirect.

Compliment responses are a widely studied phenomenon in Chinese that has attracted scholars' attention for some time (see, e.g., Chen 1993, Wang & Tsai 2003, Chen & Yang 2010, He 2012, among others). These works have identified three response strategies to compliments in Chinese: (i) Acceptance, (ii) Rejection, and (iii) Amended acceptance, which amounts to reformulating the compliment before accepting it. Generally, up until 2000 studies of Chinese compliment responses find an equal split between the Accept and Reject strategies or alternatively a preference for the Reject strategy (for instance, this was 95% in Chen 1993). This preference, however, shifts from 2010 onwards, when the Accept strategy begins to overtake the other two. Figure 4 charts the results of three different studies (Yuan 2002, Chen & Yang 2010, and He 2012),

[5] The other explanation Morgan considers is incomplete socialization (1991: 440).

showing, in the case of He using an apparent-time methodology that compares younger to older generations, a shift from the Reject strategy to the Agree strategy[6]. Using a range of methodologies including Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs), corpora, spontaneous observation, and exit interviews, different researchers have argued for a shift from the Reject strategy in older generations (before 1980) to the Accept strategy in younger ones.




| | Acceptance | Rejection | Amended Acceptance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-OCPG | 48.98% | 42.18% | 8.84% |
| Post-OCPG | 66.04% | 20.75% | 13.21% |
| Yuan (Observation 2002) | 49.21% | 45.55% | 5.24% |
| Chen & Yang (DCT 2010) | 62.60% | 9.13% | 28.27% |

**Figure 4.** Comparison of Compliment Response Strategies in three studies
(from He 2012: 46; pre-OPCG and post-OPCG stand for pre-One-Child-Policy-Generation and post-One-Child-Policy-Generation respectively)

The Reject strategy in Chinese compliment responses, which was analyzed above as indirect, has been attributed to the Chinese norm of modesty, reflecting Confucian ethical norms. On the other hand, Accept has been attributed to a rise in individualism by some researchers (He 2012), to which others add foreign (American) influence (Chen & Yang 2010). Lin, Woodfield & Ren (2012) found a similar increase in compliments overall (both implicit and explicit), as well as a predominance of compliments about appearance, and went on to associate both trends with Western influence. Still others urge caution in interpreting these findings pointing out that the presence of third parties seems to make a difference (the Agree strategy is hardly ever used in the presence of third parties) and that methodology also has an effect: specifically, DCTs may boost acceptance (Xia, Yin & Lan 2017). Clearly, a closer look at a greater range of data from both bipartite and multi-party exchanges and using different methodologies is needed to settle this.

Meanwhile, several researchers have suggested that a rise in individualism and self-confidence in generations from 1980 onwards goes hand in hand with the aban-

[6] Pre- and post-OPCG are the terms used by He (2012) to refer to the older and younger generations in her data, using the introduction of the one-child policy, which required parents (with some exceptions) to have only one child, by the Chinese government in 1979 as a conventional cut-off point.

donment of an indirect strategy (Reject), which was dictated by and interpretable within community norms, in favor of a more transparent one (Agree), possibly under Western influence and as a result of exposure to foreign norms. As He (2012) writes,

> The finding that the post-OCPG [one-child-policy-generation] are much more likely to accept a compliment is an indication that their norms of politeness have deviated from those observed by the older generation. And it seems to indicate that, perhaps due to the dual influence of Western cultural values (cf. Chen and Yang 2010) and China's emphasis on individual aspirations and attainments under the reform policies, the younger generation have become more concerned about presenting a new self-image and identity by displaying self-confidence and individualism through accepting compliments. (He 2012: 47)

Taking these comments about an increase in self-confidence and individualism to reflect a weakening of social network ties, as it is hard to see how these traits could have occurred in the context of Chinese society without such a weakening, we can link the observed loss of indirectness in the retreat of the Reject strategy to a change, specifically a weakening, in social network structure. While more should be known about the networks of the subjects in He's (2012) and Chen & Yang's (2010) studies to confirm this, this interpretation gains some traction from a comment about the subjects in Chen's earlier study, namely that since the subjects in his 1993 study lived in a place that was relatively closed to the outside world, they "probably represented the traditional social values such as modesty" (Chen & Yang 2010: 1959). This comment links the indirect Reject strategy with the stronger social network ties that tend to exist in a place "relatively closed to the outside world", leaving open the possibility that once a community opens itself up to the outside world, a loss in communal norms of indirectness can be expected to occur.

## 6. From discernment directives to conventionally indirect requests in English

The opening sentence of Leslie Hartley's 1953 novel 'The Go-Between' reads: "The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there"[7]. This sentence is an apt reminder that similar shifts in conversational styles to those noted above, which are attributable to contemporary processes of urbanization and globalization, have also occurred in previous historical periods that underwent a loosening of network ties.

The transition from the medieval to the modern period in England offers an example of this. Medieval England was characterized by a fixed social hierarchy, geographical immobility and strong community belonging. As Jucker (2012: 177) notes, "belonging to the network of the society and having good relations in this network were central values." By contrast, "the idea of an individual's psychological wants [was] not relevant" in this socio-historical context (Culpeper & Demmen 2011: 52). This was then a period of strong social network ties. According to Jucker (2012: 424), three types of politeness

[7] Credit goes to Larry Horn, who brought this sentence to my attention.

systems can be distinguished universally, of which a language may instantiate only some at a particular place and time. The first type is discernment politeness, which is not concerned with face-threat mitigation but relates to socially appropriate behavior guided by socio-cultural conventions. The second type is deference politeness, which relates to the use of titles and honorifics and thus overlaps with the discernment type; while the third type is non-imposition politeness, which employs strategies that give the addressee a choice and explicitly express non-intrusion and non-coerciveness on the addressee's wishes. Based on honorific use during this period, Jucker (2012: 184) argues that Medieval England is characterized by 'discernment' politeness. Researchers have identified four different forms of Old English directives that were used during this period: directive performatives such as "I ask you to..."; constructions with a second person pronoun plus *scealt/sculon*; constructions with *uton* (= let's) plus infinitive; and impersonal constructions with *(neod)þearf* (= it is necessary for x) (Jucker 2012: 179). Of these, the first two were used by those in a position of authority over their addressees, while the last two were common among those not in a position of authority, for instance, in religious contexts where humility and obedience discouraged the display of authority. By indicating one's place in the social hierarchy, discernment politeness (as also proposed by Hill et al. 1986 and Ide 1989) thus reinforces the social hierarchy that it reflects.

Things began to change from the 16th century onwards. Initially, the rise of the bourgeoisie (and concomitant notions of courtly behavior or *curteisie*) and a loosening of the grip of religion and fatalistic acceptance of one's place in the world led to social mobility (Terkourafi 2011). Then, as technological progress took hold, industrialization and urbanization accelerated geographical mobility. Both types of mobility led to a breakdown of established social networks. During this period, the older speaker-based forms that foregrounded the speaker's authority or sincerity as grounds for granting the request began to be displaced by addressee-based forms (*if you please*) that foreground the listener's right to non-imposition (Jucker 2012: 188). Supporting this claim, Culpeper and Archer (2008) found that *if you please* requests were among the most frequent in a corpus of English texts from 1640—1760.

By the 19th century, under the influence of Romanticism, political, and economic liberalism, individualism became a positive value and was actively pursued in Victorian England. According to Culpeper and Demmen (2011: 61), "as social ties became weakened, the notion of privacy became stronger, and acquired positive value in the Victorian period. Th[is] notion is … of course related to negative face". It is during this period that the conventionally indirect request forms *Can you/Could you …?* prevalent in present-day English started gaining ground. In written records, these occurred first in trial contexts in the 19th century and spread from the 1900's onwards (Culpeper & Demmen 2011). These requests are arguably less indirect than the Old English forms which foregrounded the speaker's authority or sincerity as grounds for granting the request. This is especially true of requests by those not in a position of power, who in previous times would have used either inclusive ('let's') or impersonal ('it is necessary') forms for their requests leaving implicit the identity of the person(s) responsible for bringing about the content of the request. *Can you/Could you…?* forms, on the other hand, specifically reference the addressee and make explicit that this responsibility lies with them. They are therefore more transparent in this regard.

The rise of the *Can you/Could you …?* request forms signals a shift from deference politeness to non-imposition politeness in (British) English. Like requests using *please* during the previous period, these ability requests orient to people's individual abilities and rights to non-imposition, reflecting the period's emphasis on the individual, which was a distinct outcome of the socio-historical conditions in 19th century England. This third case study, then, provides a further example where an attested weakening in social network ties (always in the sense of a loss in density and multiplicity) is accompanied by a shift toward less indirect, more transparent ways of speaking, this time from a historical perspective.

## 7. Summary and theoretical implications

The three case studies reviewed in the previous sections — African American women's indirectness, Chinese responses to compliments, and the rise of *can you/could you*...? requests in Victorian England — show community-specific conversational norms reflecting discernment being displaced by more transparent forms reflecting (and respecting) interlocutors' individualism. Researchers have explained these shifts as the outcome of forces of urbanization and globalization affecting the relevant communities at a specific time. In social network theory, urbanization and globalization can be accounted for in a unified way as a loosening of network ties, which, I hypothesized, promotes increased explicitness in conversational styles. The three case studies discussed in this article support this hypothesis.

This social network explanation for the shifts in pragmatic strategies noted above aligns pragmatic change (change in conversational styles) with other types of language change, that have been shown to be affected by social network structure. Specifically, researchers have posited that peripheral members in a network ('loners') are needed to introduce new forms and central members ('leaders') to diffuse them and help stabilize the use of some forms over others (Fagyal et al. 2010). That in the case of the shifts in pragmatic strategies discussed above it is specifically indirect forms that are replaced by more explicit and transparent ones is an interesting addition to this framework from the perspective of pragmatic change. This suggestion seems reasonable if we consider that peripheral network members, that is, those with weak ties to their networks, are also those who have the least opportunity to develop common ground with other members of the network. As common ground is necessary to support default or "by accident" (rather than calculated, strategic) indirectness, our ability to read through others' lines can become curtailed if our social network ties are weak, as can happen under the impetus of globalization. Although we are becoming members of an increasing number of networks, we remain peripheral members of those networks and thus do not get the chance to develop the common ground with other members of the network that would allow us to engage in default indirectness with them.

Clearly, a lot more empirical work is needed to test and further elaborate this hypothesis with new empirical evidence specifically from the point of view of globalization. An interesting question in this regard is whether the hypothesis presented here can help explain prevailing modes of directness or indirectness found in digitally mediated communication. Contrary to the received view that digitally mediated communication (DMC) is characterized by anonymity and hence limited mutual availability of common ground between interlocutors, it is probably more accurate to acknowledge that common ground in DMC can be domain specific and is often interest-driven, as shared among, for instance, members of a fraternity, leisure or professional group: members of an online group of amateur car mechanics or baby-wearing[8] moms can share a lot of common ground specifically about the activity that brings them together, while coming from different walks of life and being different in many other respects. How does that affect the emergence of default indirectness online and our capability for inference in online environments more generally? A reasonable prediction here is that the existence of domain-specific common ground will enhance chances of default indirectness and our ability for more accurate inference *pertaining to that domain only*, while if we shift to a new domain the interactional advantages afforded by this common ground are lost. This is a prediction that can be empirically tested in future research.

The analysis presented here also has some implications for theory building which are worth highlighting. Commenting on their corpus findings from 19$^{th}$ c. British English, Culpeper and Demmen (2011: 51) argue that: "the individualistic emphasis of Brown and Levinson is not simply a synchronic cross-cultural peculiarity of English but a diachronic cross-cultural peculiarity within the history of English". Their comment is reminiscent of an earlier remark by Goffman (1971), who noted that:

> If we examine what it is one participant is ready to see that other participants might read into a situation and what it is that will cause him to provide ritual remedies of various sorts [...], then we find ourselves directed back again to the core moral traditions of Western culture. And since remedial ritual is a constant feature of public life, occurring among all the citizenry in all the social situations, we must see that the historical center and the contemporary periphery are linked more closely than anyone these days seems to want to credit. (Goffman 1971: 184—5)

The lesson to be learnt from all this is that the surrounding socio-historical context of our own research inevitably influences the theories we end up building: like language use itself, theory-building is also situated. Brown and Levinson's theory, which has been criticized for its emphasis on face as an individual's wants, was rooted in a Foucauldian way in the cultures of its proponents. This is not to deny that they also analyzed cultures other than their own but simply to highlight that in doing so they analyzed them through the lens of their own cultures rather than through the lenses of those cultures themselves. In our quest for theoretical generality, our best line of defense is to analyze empirical data from different parts of the world in close conjunction with their socio-historical

[8] Baby-wearing refers to carrying a baby in a sling or other fabric carrier attached to one's body.

contexts as a way of widening our theoretical toolkits and the frameworks we can use them to build. If our goal is to study human nature in all its possible expressions, emic explanatory analyses by analysts who are themselves practitioners of the practices they analyze are sorely needed.

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Research Article

# Politeness Pressure on Grammar: The Case of First and Second Person Pronouns and Address Terms in Korean

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**Abstract**

Grammar is constantly emergent as an aggregate whole of discourse tendencies that are present in language use between interlocutors, hence the notion 'emergent grammar' (Hopper 1987). These tendencies are formed by diverse discursive needs, including the need to signal politeness, which is assumed to be universal (Brown and Levinson 1987). This need is particularly important in Korean, in which politeness is highly grammaticalized, i.e., the politeness marking is not only a pragmatic but grammatical issue. The two areas where the speaker's decision is most clearly visible are the choice of sentence-enders, modulated up to six levels, and the choice of personal reference, e.g., pronouns and address terms. This study is a diachronic investigation of the personal reference system in Korean, exploring the effect of pressure of politeness. Despite the high level of grammaticalization of politeness marking, the personal reference system is a highly unstable paradigm, i.e., it has not undergone a high level of 'paradigmaticization' (Lehmann 1995 [1982]). Since personal reference terms are highly variable, the speakers often avoid using them for fear of the addressee perceiving that the choice is of insufficient honorification or that the very act of using reference terms is impolite when they could be omitted. Furthermore, personal reference terms with the [+Honorific] feature constantly deteriorate through frequent use. Therefore, a look into Korean reference terms shows that [+Honorific] terms are constantly innovated to upgrade the diminishing honorification effect and the first-person reference terms are constantly innovated to strengthen the [+Humiliative] meaning.

**Keywords:** *Politeness, Pronoun, Address Term, Honorific, Humiliative, Renewal, Grammaticalization*

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Научная статья

# Воздействие вежливости на грамматику: личные местоимения первого и второго лица и формы обращения в корейском языке

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**Аннотация**

Грамматика постоянно развивается под влиянием дискурсивных тенденций, проявляющихся в использовании языка, что отразилось в понятии «эмерджентная грамматика» ‘emergent grammar’ (Hopper 1987). Данный процесс обусловлен различными дискурсивными потребностями, включающими, в том числе, и необходимость сигнализировать о вежливости, которая считается универсальной категорией (Brown and Levinson 1987). Эта потребность особенно важна в корейском языке, где вежливость грамматикализирована, то есть маркировка вежливости получает не только прагматическое, но и грамматическое оформление. В корейском языке отношение говорящего к собеседнику наиболее четко проявляется: (1) при выборе завершающей предложение частицы, сигнализирующей о степени вежливости (из шести возможных уровней), и (2) выборе формы номинации, например, местоимения и формы обращения. В данной статье представлены результаты диахронического исследования системы форм номинаций в корейском языке, изучающего влияние вежливости на грамматику. Несмотря на высокий уровень грамматикализации маркеров вежливости, система номинаций является крайне нестабильной парадигмой, то есть она не подверглась высокому уровню «парадигматизации» (Lehmann 1995 [1982]). Поскольку корейские формы обращения разнообразны и строго дифференцированы, говорящий нередко избегает их использования, опасаясь, что адресат воспримет его выбор как недостаточно вежливый (почтительный) или что сам акт обращения является невежливым в ситуации, когда обращение можно не употреблять. Кроме того, форма обращения, сопровождающаяся формой почтения (Honorific), из-за частого использования постепенно утрачивает свою значимость. Результаты проведенного диахронического исследования корейских форм обращения выявляют две тенденции: термины обращения [+ Honorific] постоянно обновляются, с тем чтобы компенсировать снижающийся эффект почитания, а формы номинации первого лица обновляются для усиления эффекта самоуничижения [+ Humiliative].

**Ключевые слова:** *вежливость, местоимение, форма обращения, форма почтения, форма уничижения, грамматикализация*

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## 1. Introduction

The system of personal pronouns in Korean has not received much attention among linguists, except for discussions on the syntactic enabling factors for reflexive pronouns. There is a body of literature addressing synchronic states of pronominal systems in the history of Korean. Notable exceptions include Lee (1978), Kim (1995, 2001), Kim (1998), Song (2002), Heine and Song (2012), and Koo (2016). A diachronic investigation of the system, however, reveals interesting aspects of grammaticalization of lexical expressions into personal pronouns as well as on-going fluctuation within the paradigm.

Studies on the role of culture in shaping linguistic structures (Wierzbicka 1992, Enfield 2002, Sharifian 2017, Rhee 2019) lend insight to diverse linguistic puzzles that cannot be easily explained otherwise. Following this line of research, this paper explores the role of culture in the grammatical system of personal reference, especially focusing on constant innovations of terms of address throughout history. The objectives of this paper are twofold: (i) to show the notable characteristics of the Korean personal pronominal system, and (ii) to show how new forms arose and how references shifted, from a grammaticalization perspective with a special focus on the sociocultural need of politeness marking on the pronominal system. The present discussion, however, largely focuses on the singular forms only, because Korean plural forms are derivationally formulated with the PL suffixes *-들 (-tul)* or *-네 (-ney)* or in combination of the two, *-네들 (-neytul),* with one notable exception, i.e., 1PL *우리(들) (wuli(tul)),* which is not morphologically related to 1SG *나 (na).* This situation is unlike certain European languages where plural pronouns are developed independently from singular forms (e.g. *I* and *we* in English, *yo* and *nosotros* in Spanish, *je* and *nous* in French, *ich* and *wir* in German, etc. for first person).

The historical data for analysis was collected from the Sejong Historical Corpus for diachronic investigation. The Sejong Historical Corpus is a 15 million-word, historical section of the Sejong Corpus, a 200 million-word corpus developed as part of the 21st Century Sejong Project by the Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the National Institute of Korean Language (1998—2006). The texts in the historical section date from 1446 through 1913.

This paper is organized in the following manner. In section 2, some preliminary remarks are presented to facilitate the discussion, focusing on politeness and honorification as reflected in grammar and the paradigm of personal pronouns in Present-Day Korean (PDK; 2000~present). In section 3, the grammaticalization processes are described from Old Korean (OK) through PDK[1]. In section 4 some select issues that bear theoretical import are discussed. Section 5 summarizes the findings and concludes the paper.

## 2. Preliminaries on Korean

### *2.1. Politeness and Honorification*

Korean is a head-final language with a relatively free word order even though the canonical order is SOV (Sohn 1999, Song 2005, Yeon and Brown 2011). The verb occurring at the sentence-final position, by virtue of its being a finite verb, must be marked with verbal morphologies such as tense, aspect, mood, and modality. An important aspect of verbal morphology is that intersubjectivity marking is obligatory

[1] The following abbreviations are used in this paper: BEN: benefactive; COND: conditional; COP: copula; CSL: causal; D: demonstrative; EMK: Early Middle Korean; EMoK: Early Modern Korean; EMPH: emphatic; END: sentence-ender; FUT: future; HON: honorific; HUM: humiliative; IMP: imperative; LMK: Late Middle Korean; MoK: Modern Korean; NEG: negative; NOM: nominative; OK: Old Korean; PDK: Present-Day Korean; PL: plural; POL: polite; PROM: promissive; PST: past; RFL: reflexive; SFP: sentence-final particle; SG: singular; TOP: topic; VOC: vocative. The Korean data are romanized following the Extended Yale Romanization System (Rhee 1996), an extended and modified version of the Yale Romanization System (Martin 1992).

in Korean. Most prominently, Korean sentences, properly ended, should be marked with the speech level, depending on the relative social hierarchy between the speaker and the hearer, known as the honorification system, marking the speaker's deference to the addressee (see Brown 2015). This system is complex and variable with four to seven different levels of honorification. It includes corollary rules of deference-marking, and pervasively applies to first-, second- and third-person references. Another area to which honorification applies involves the relative hierarchy of the referent as compared to the speaker, known as the subject honorification or referent honorification. This is marked with the morphological marker *-시 (-si)* on the verb.

In Korean politeness and honorification constitute the two major determinants of speech levels. Politeness is marked with *-요 (-yo)* at the ultimate position, whereas honorification has many different grammatical manifestations (see 2.2 below).

### 2.2. Personal Pronouns in Korean: The Status Quo

One of the notable characteristics in Korean is that the pronominal system as a grammatical paradigm is not well developed in the sense that the extent of paradigmaticization is limited and the paradigm boundary with the lexicon is not rigid. Thus, there are many members in the paradigm and the internal cohesion among the members is necessarily weak.

As noted above, the levels of honorification are fine-grained and strongly tied to the grammatical system. Honorification, for its inherent nature of other-directedness, is not applicable to 1SG, as it is an act of referring to someone with deferential attitude (cf. Nam and Ko 1993). Dishonorification, as an act of referring to someone with humiliative attitude (cf. Koo 2004), can be applied to all persons, and self-dishonorification is a strategy for politeness, as is thought to be universal in politeness research (Levinson and Brown 1987). Dishonorification of one discourse participant/referent may result in relative honorification of the other(s). Honorification in pronominal reference is grammatically encoded by choosing (i) a polite form for 1SG (Humiliative/ Humble; HUM, e.g. *저 (ce)*), (ii) an honorific form for other persons (e.g. *그대 (kutay), 당신 (tangsin), 댁 (tayk),* etc.), (iii) a non-honorific form for a person other than the addressee (when the addressee is a social superior to the person being referred to), known as honorification suppression (e.g. *형* (*hyeng*) 'older brother' instead of the HON-suffixed *형님* (*hyeng-nim*), when speaking to his father about him), or (iv) a combination of any or all of them.

Another issue closely related to the pronominal system involves terms of address, the latter often regarded as encompassing the former. Since the pronominal reference system is not well developed in Korean, nominal address terms are widely used in lieu of pronouns (see 3.3 below).

The personal pronominal system in Modern Korean (MoK; 20th ~ 21st centuries; note that 21st century Korean is also called PDK) is fluid and shows variable perceptions of individual researchers. For instance, Song (2002) uses a three-level system, consisting of High HON(orification), Middle HON, and Low HON, and a more fine-grained level distinction is found in Sohn (1999: 207), as exemplified in Table 1 (note that D stands for a demonstrative, speaker-proximal *이 (i)* 'this', speaker-distal *그 (ku)* 'that', and mutually-distal *저 (ce) 'that'*).

*Table 1*

**Pronouns in Modern Korean (adapted from Sohn 1999: 207)**

| Person | Level | Pronoun |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | Plain | *나 (na)* |
| | Humble | *저 (ce)* |
| 2SG | Deferential | *어르신 (elusin)* (rare) |
| | Blunt | *당신 (tangsin), 그대 (kutay)* (obsolete), *댁 (tayk)* |
| | Intimate | *자기 (caki)* |
| | Familiar | *자네 (caney)* |
| | Plain | *너 (ne)* |
| 3SG | Adult-Polite | *D-분 (D-pwun)* |
| | Adult-Blunt | *D-이 (D-i)* |
| | Adult-Familiar | *D-사람 (D-salam)* |
| | Child | *D-애 (D-ay)* |
| RFL | Deferential | *당신(자신) (tangsin(-casin))* |
| | Neutral | *자기(자신) (caki(-casin))* |
| | Plain | *저(자신) (ce(-casin))* |

*Table 2*

**Pronouns in Modern Korean (adapted from Nam and Ko 1993: 81—83)**

| Person | Pronoun | Use Context |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG | *나 (na)* | basic form; addressee's status is equal or lower |
| | *저 (ce)* | addressee's status is high |
| | *짐 (cim), 과인 (kwain)* | speaker is the king |
| | *본인 (ponin)* | in public speech |
| | *소생 (sosayng)* | in letter writing (disappearing) |
| 2SG | *너 (ne)* | among youngsters; old speaker to young addressee |
| | *자네 (caney)* | addressee is younger but old; among old close friends |
| | *당신 (tangsin)* | in literature, with Hon.; among spouses |
| | *댁 (tayk), 노형 (nohyeng)* | (disappearing) |
| | *어른 (elun), 어르신 (elusin)* | HON |
| | *그대 (kutay)* | in poems |
| | *귀형 (kwihyeng), 귀하 (kwiha)* | in letters (disappearing) |
| 3SG | *D-애 (D-ay)* | referent's status is lower; no HON |
| | *D-이 (D-i), D-사람 (D-salam)* | referent's status is lower; mildly HON |
| | *D-분 (D-pwun)* | referent's status is equal or higher; mildly HON |
| | *D-어른 (D-elun)* | referent's status is higher; highly HON |

As noted above, the level distinction is subject to considerable variation by individuals, and the distinction in Table 1, elegant as it is, is not intuitively straightforward for many speakers. The fluidity of the system is well illustrated by the fact that Sohn (1999: 207) indicates that *elusin* for deferential 2SG is "rare", which might be true at the time of writing (i.e., 1990s). However, it is now one of the most frequently used deferential 2SG in PDK three decades thereafter (see below). This state of affairs of fluidity is reflected in the systems proposed by other researchers, who, instead of preset levels, use contexts, which may seem ad hoc, e.g., Nam and Ko (1993 81—83), as shown in Table 2 (in which D also stands for a demonstrative).

As noted above, the inventory of personal pronouns varies across time as well as by researcher. According to a corpus search based on a section of the 21st Century Sejong Corpus (805,606 words, spoken, dated from 2001—2015), the frequency of each pronominal form in the descending order is 1SG *나 (na)* 5,486; 3SG *D-애 (D-ay)* 2,234; 2SG *너 (ne)* 1,630; RFL/2SG *자기 (caki)* 1,500; 1SG.HUM *저 (ce)* 1,226; 2SG/RFL *당신 (tangsin)* 124; 3SG *D-분 (D-pwun)* 117; 2SG *어른/어르신 (elu(si)n)* 68; 2SG.HON *자네 (caney)* 24; 2SG.HON *댁 (tayk)* 7; and 2SG.HON *그대 (kutay)* 5. Certain forms such as 1SG *소생 (sosayng)*, 2SG *노형 (nohyeng)*, 2SG *귀형 (kwihyeng)*, 3SG *D-이 (D-i)*, 3SG *D-사람 (D-salam)*, etc. are not attested, which suggest that they are becoming, or already have become, obsolete in PDK.

## 3. Grammaticalization of Personal Pronouns

### *3.1. A historical survey of personal pronouns*

The contemporary writing system of Korean, known as *Hankul* (or *Hangeul*), was invented in 1443, the landmark year that divides Early Middle Korean (EMK; 10th c. ~ Mid-15th c.) and Late Middle Korean (LMK; Mid-15th c. ~ 16th c.). With the invention of the alphabetic script *Hankul,* unambiguous interpretation of the historical Korean data was made possible. Before its historic invention, Chinese characters were used for their sound value (phonogram) or semantic value (semantogram), and thus interpretation of the pre-*Hankul* data has been often controversial. Thus, the historical depth of the data is relatively shallow and the available data sources are not rich in styles and genres for complete analyses. However, the available data sources provide sufficient evidence to support the following analysis.

Historical documents from the Old Korean (OK; ~ 9th c.) and EMK periods show that 1SG pronoun was *나 (na)* and 1PL *우리 (wuli)*; 2SG was *너*(*ne)* and 2PL *너들 (netul)* (and its variants) (Park 1997, 2005, Kang 2004)[2]. There seem to have been no 3SG or 3PL pronouns for human reference at this time, and for non-human object reference,

[2] Kang (2004: 459) claims that the OK/EMK semantogram 我 was read as [uri] and was used for both 1SG and 1PL references. Park (1997) argues that the OK/EMK phonogram 矣 /ij/, originally a genitive marker, was used for 1SG in order to avoid self-reference for pragmatic reasons.

demonstratives were used, i.e., the speaker-proximal *이(i)* 'this', the speaker-distal *그(ku)* 'that', and the mutually-distal *뎌(tye)* 'that'. The only 3SG human reference pronoun attested at this time is the indefinite 3SG *누기(nwuki)* 'someone' (Choi 1996: 188—189).

An investigation of the pronouns attested in the history of Korean reveals that there have been interesting changes, whereby the overall pronominal system has become increasingly complex through time. Individual pronouns cannot be discussed in detail (some select forms are discussed in 3.2 and 4.4), but overall representative forms attested in history can be presented as Table 3, in which the forms in **bold** denote newly emerged forms (excluding the variants); the <u>underscored</u> forms denote those with the HON feature; and the forms with an asterisk*, those with the HUM feature. D denotes a demonstrative. The rows are intended to reflect the relative degree of the HON feature, i.e., the higher the row in the cell, the greater the degree of HON[3].

*Table 3*

**Historical change of personal pronouns**

| | OK & EMK<br>(~ mid-15c.) | LMK<br>(mid-15c. ~ 16c.) | EMoK<br>(17c. ~ 19c.) | MoK<br>(20c. ~) | PDK<br>(21c.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | *na* | *na*<br>***(soin*)*** | *na*<br>***ce*, pwulcho*, soin*..*** | *na*<br>*ce*, soin*…*<br>***sisayng* soynney*…*** | *na*<br>*ce** |
| 2SG | *ne* | ***<u>kutuy</u>***<br>*ne* | ***<u>tangsin,</u>*** *kutAy*<br>***<u>caney</u>***<br>*ne* | ***<u>imca</u>, <u>tayk</u>,*** *(kutay)*<br>*caney, tangsin…*<br>*ne* | ***<u>elun</u>, <u>elusin</u>, <u>sensayngnim</u>…***<br>*<u>tayk</u>, (kutay)…*<br>*caney, tangsin…*<br>*ne,* ***caki*** |
| 3SG | *i, ku, tye* | *i, ku, tye* | *i, ku, tye* | ***<u>tangsin</u>***<br>*i, ku, ce …* | ***<u>D-pwun</u>, <u>D-elu(si)n</u>,*** *<u>tangsin</u>,*<br>*ku,* ***kunye, D-ay, D-i, D-salam..*** |
| RFL | *ce* | ***<u>cAkya</u>, <u>tangsin,</u>***<br>*ce,* ***caki, cAkuy, caney*** | *<u>cAkya</u>, <u>tangsin</u>*<br>*ce, cAkuy* | *<u>tangsin</u>*<br>*ce, caki* | *<u>tangsin</u>*<br>*ce, caki* |

Based on the development of pronouns in history we will discuss some issues from the grammaticalization perspective, such as lexical sources, shifted reference, the indistinct lexis-grammar boundary, and grammaticalization parameters.

[3] In EMoK, diverse Sino-Korean 1SG terms came into the system such as *소인(soin)* 'small person', *소자(soca)* 'small son, small person', *소생(sosayng)* 'small student, small person', (all involving the Sino-Korean *소 (so)* 'small'), and *불초 (pwulcho)* 'one who falls short of the parents' virtues, an incompetent person', etc. (see 4.4 for more discussion). The first occurrences of *소인(soin)* are 24 tokens in two texts dating from c. 1517, i.e., LMK, in the form of *syozin* and 小人 in Chinese characters. But since they seem to have been interchangeable with *나 (na),* it seems that *soin* lacked the HUM feature in LMK and acquired the HUM meaning only in EMoK (Kim 2001: 12—13). In MoK and PDK, numerous nominals, prominently kinship terms and status nouns, are used in lieu of pronouns (see 3.3 and 4.1 for more discussion).

### *3.2. Lexical Sources*

In their crosslinguistic studies on grammaticalization of pronouns Heine and Song (2010, 2012) and Song and Heine (2016) present the following common conceptual sources of personal pronouns:

(1) a. Nominal concepts
b. Spatial deixis
c. Intensifiers, reflexives, identifiers (= identitives)[4]
d. Plurification (= Pluralization)
e. Shift in deixis

The historical development of personal pronouns in Korean shows that even though the lexical sources of old forms, i.e., *나 (na)* (1SG)*,* *너 (ne)* (2SG) and *저 (ce)* (RFL)*,* are unknown, all five sources are attested indeed[5]. They can be listed in part in (2):

(2) a. Nominal concepts: **[person]** *어른 (elun)* 'adult, senior' (2SG.HON), *어르신 (elusin)* 'honorable senior' (2SG.HON), *애 (ay)* 'child' (2SG, 3SG), *이 (i)* 'person' (3SG), *사람 (salam)* 'person' (2SG, 3SG), *분 (pwun)* 'honorable person' (3SG), *임자 (imca)* (2SG) 'owner', *아줌마 (acwumma)* 'aunt' (2SG, 3SG), *아저씨 (acessi)* 'uncle' (2SG, 3SG), *어머니/어머님 (emeni(m))* 'mother' (2SG), *아버님 (apenim)* 'father' (2SG), *자기 (caki)* 'self's body' (2SG, 3SG), *당신 (tangsin)* 'the body concerned' (RFL, 2SG), etc. [**spatial]** *그듸 (kutuy)* 'that place' (2SG), *cAkya* 'self's house' (RFL), *댁 (tayk)* 'honorable house' (2SG), etc. (see also 3.3 and 4.4 below)
b. Spatial deixis: *이 (i)* 'this' (3SG), *그 (ku)* 'that' (3SG), *뎌 (tye)* 'that' (3SG), *저 (ce)* 'that' (3SG), *그듸/그대 (kutuy/kutay)* 'that place' (2SG), all D-forms (3SG)
c. Intensifiers, reflexives, identifiers: *당신 (tangsin)* 'the body concerned' (RFL, 2SG), *cAkya* 'self's house' (RFL), *자기 (caki)* 'self's body' (RFL, 2SG), *자네 (caney)* (2SG) 'of self' (Suh 2000, cf. Kang 2010 in plurification below)[6]
d. Plurification (= Pluralization): *자네 (caney)* 'persons like you' (2SG) (Kang 2010, cf. Suh 2000 in Intensifiers above)
e. Shift in deixis: *그대 (kutay)* 'that place' to 'you.HON' (2SG) ['that' > 'you'], *저 (ce)* (RFL to 1SG) ['self' > 'I.HUM'], *당신 (tangsin)* (RFL to 2SG) ['self' > 'you.HON'], *자네 (caney)* (RFL to 2SG) ['self' > 'you.HON'], *자기 (caki)* (RFL to 2SG) ['self' > 'you']

[4] Identifiers, also called identitives in Heine and Song (2012: 12), are expressions such as English *the same*, German *dieselben* 'the same ones', *der-selbe* 'the same (masculine)', Basque *ber-* 'same, -self', etc. (Heine and Song 2010: 127—129).

[5] Incidentally, *저 (ce)* (RFL in OK & EMK and 1SG.HUM since EMoK) and *저 (ce)* (3SG from MoK) are homophones, with the latter developed from the demonstrative *뎌 (tye)* 'that' through palatalization of the alveolar stop before the palatal glide /j/, i.e., *tye* [djʌ] > *ce* [ʤʌ].

[6] Suh (2000) hypothesizes the origin of *자네 (caney)* as having the locative particle *-에 (-ey)* with the possessive function, thus 'of self', whereas Kang (2010) hypothesizes the origin as having the plural marker *-네 (-ney),* thus 'persons like you'. Historical data, however, do not render conclusive evidence to support either hypothesis.

There are two noteworthy aspects concerning the sources in Korean. The first is that many words of the Chinese origin are recruited into the pronominal paradigm (see also 4.3). The other is that diverse kinship and status nouns are used to such an extent that the boundary between the lexis and the grammar is indistinct, i.e., such kinship and status nouns are still used as fully lexical nouns and instances of use of such forms cannot be easily distinguished between lexical usage and pronominal usage. We now turn to a discussion of this latter issue.

### *3.3. Indistinct Lexis-Grammar Boundary*

As indicated in the preceding exposition, the pronominal system in Korean is fluid and nouns constitute the most common source category of pronoun grammaticalization, a state of affairs in line with the so-called "the noun-to-pronoun channel" (Heine and Song 2010: 122). Numerous referring terms with diverse levels of honorification are used in MoK and PDK, most of which are full-fledged nouns, and most of those nouns are kinship terms and status nouns. Only a small number of defective nouns are used, e.g., *님 (nim)* 'honorable person', *녁 (nyek)* 'side', *곳 (kos)* 'place', *것 (kes)* 'thing', and *쪽 (ccok)* 'side'. The following is the list of such nominal forms used for personal reference in MoK and PDK, some of which have fallen into disuse[7]:

(3) a. 2SG (general): *선생님 (sensayngnim)* 'teacher' (for any adult, mostly for male), *사장님 (sacangnim)* 'company president' (for adult male), *사모님 (samonim)* 'teacher's wife' (for adult woman), *학생 (haksayng)* 'student' (for youth), *총각 (chongkak)* 'bachelor' (for young male), *처녀 (chenye)* 'maiden, virgin' (for young woman), *언니 (enni)* 'older sister' (for young female, often in service encounters), *이모 (imo)* 'maternal aunt' (for adult woman, often in service encounter), *어머니/어머님 (emeni(m))* 'mother' (for aged woman), *아버님 (apenim)* 'father' (for aged man), *아줌마* (*acwumma*) 'aunt' (for a married woman, often avoidable), *할머니 (halmeni)* 'grandmother' (for an old woman, often avoidable), *할아버지 (halapeci)* 'grandfather' (for an old man, often avoidable), *고객님 (kokayknim)* 'honorable patron' (for a client), *N-님 (N-nim)* 'honorable [name]' (for anyone, mostly in service encounter), *그쪽 (kuccok)* 'that side' (for anyone), *그편 (kuphyen)* 'that part' (for anyone), *그곳 (kukos)* 'that place' (for anyone), *거기 (keki)* 'that place' (for anyone) ...

b. 2SG (spouses): *CN* '[child.name]' (for child's parent, mostly in vocative), *CN-아빠 (CN-appa)* '[child.name] dad' (for husband), *CN-엄마 (CN-emma)* '[child.name] mom' (for wife), *PN-댁 (PN-tayk)* '[place.name]-house' (for a married woman whose former home is in PN), *여보 (yepo)* 'Look here!' (bidirectional), *자기 (caki)* 'self' (bidirectional), *오빠 (oppa)* 'older brother' (for boyfriend/husband), *안사람*

[7] The three kinship-based 2SG forms, *아줌마* (*acwumma*) 'aunt' (for a married woman), *할머니* (*halmeni*) 'grandmother' (for an old woman), and *할아버지*(*halapeci*) 'grandfather' (for an old man), are often avoided since the addressee may take offence for being regarded as an old person.

*안사람 (ansalam)* 'inner (quarters) person' (for wife), *바깥양반 (pakkathyangpan)* 'outer (quarters) nobleman' (for husband), *이녁 (inyek)* 'this side' (for self or spouse), *주인양반 (cwuinyangpan)* 'owner nobleman' (for husband), *안주인 (ancwuin)* 'inner (quarters) owner' (for wife) ...

c. 3SG (general): D-Noun, where Noun = *어른 (elun)* 'senior' (for an elderly person), *어르신 (elusin)* 'honorable senior' (for an elderly person), *분 (pwun)* 'honorable person', *양반 (yangpan)* 'nobleman' (for adult male), *애 (ay)* 'child' (for child), *사람 (salam)* 'person' (for an adult), *남자 (namca)* 'man' (for adult male), *여자 (yeca)* 'woman' (for adult female), *것 (kes)* 'thing' (for anyone, Pejorative), *치 (chi)* 'person' (for anyone, Pejorative), *자 (ca)* 'person' (for anyone, usually male, potentially Pejorative), *놈 (nom)* 'fellow' (for male, Pejorative), *자식 (casik)* 'offspring' (for male, Pejorative); fossilized D-nouns of the *그 (ku)* 'that' origin, e.g., *그쪽 (kuccok)* 'that side/direction' (for anyone), *그편 (kuphyen)* 'that part/side' (for anyone), *그곳 (kukos)* 'that place' (for anyone), *거기 (keki)* 'that place' (for anyone) ...

As shown in (3), many regular nouns are used for person reference and many of these terms form complex nominals in combination with demonstratives for 3SG reference. Such complex forms exhibit differential degrees of internal fusion, i.e., a process of morpho-syntactic bonding between the words in the phrase, in which some phonological reduction may also occur. Korean orthographic rules require interlexemic spacing, according to which a phrase consisting of a demonstrative modifier and a head noun must include a space between the two words. However, the spacing is variably regulated in orthography and variably written by individuals, even though certain forms invariably occur without a space, which indicates that they have undergone grammaticalization to a great extent. For instance, 3SG *그 사람* (*ku salam*) 'the person' should be written with an interlexical space according to the orthographic rules, as shown here, but many Koreans write the phrase without a space, i.e. *그사람 (kusalam),* thinking that it is no longer a phrase denoting 'the person' but a monolexemic pronoun denoting 's/he'. Most phrasal nominals used for person reference are placed somewhere on the continuum between the two polar extremes, which suggests that the levels of grammaticalization of these nominals are variable. This state of affairs is schematically presented as (4) with some representative forms:

(4) Written WITH space ⟷ Written WITHOUT space
*yangpan, salam...* *ay, kes...* *chi, ca, nom, kos, ccok...*

### *3.4. Grammaticalization Parameters*

A number of grammaticalization parameters have been proposed, notably the six parameters by Lehmann (1995[1982]), i.e., attrition, paradigmaticization, obligatorification, condensation, coalescence, and fixation; the five principles by Hopper (1991), i.e., layering, divergence, specialization, persistence, and decategorialization; and the four parameters by Heine and Kuteva (2002), i.e., extension, desemanticization, decategorialization, and erosion, among others. Of these, we will see if the pattern displayed in the grammaticalization scenarios in Korean conforms to those parameters proposed by Heine and Kuteva (2002).

The parameter of extension, i.e., using a form in a different context, is usually actualized through 'context-induced reinterpretation' (Heine et al. 1991). For instance, an addressee interprets RFL *ce* 'self' as referring to the speaker himself/herself 'I', based on the contextual and situational context, leading to the functional extension of *ce* RFL to *저 (ce)* RFL and 1SG. The extension pattern is evident in Figure 1, a modified version of Table 3 with arrows added to indicate the referential extensions. As shown in Figure 1, the pronouns for 1SG and 2SG extended from RFL, e.g., *저 (ce)* to 1SG, *당신 (tangsin)* to 2SG and 3SG, *자네 (caney)* to 2SG, and *자기 (caki)* to 2SG, retain their RFL usage, thus these are the instances of true extension rather than shift or switch-reference. Furthermore, there are instances of extension observed with nominal-based pronouns. For instance, *소인 (soin)* 'small person' to 1SG, *그대 (kutay)* 'that place' to 2SG, *임자 (imca)* 'owner' to 2SG, etc. are all instances of extension since the form with the original meaning are still in use (thus 'divergence' Hopper 1991). This extension is observed in most, though not all, nominals listed in (3) above.

| | OK & EMK<br>(~ mid-15c.) | LMK<br>(mid-15c. ~ 16c.) | EMoK<br>(17c. ~ 19c.) | MoK<br>(20c. ~) | PDK<br>(21c.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | *na* | *na*<br>***(soin*)*** | *na*<br>***ce*, pwulcho*, soin*..*** | *na*<br>*ce*, soin*…*<br>***sisayng* soynney*..*** | *na*<br>*ce** |
| 2SG | *ne* | ***kutuy***<br>*ne* | ***tangsin,*** *kutAy*<br>***caney***<br>*ne* | ***imca, tayk,*** *(kutay)*<br>*caney, tangsin…*<br>*ne* | ***elun, elusin, sensayngnim…***<br>*tayk, (kutay)…*<br>*caney, tangsin…*<br>*ne,* ***caki*** |
| 3SG | *i, ku, tye* | *i, ku, tye* | *i, ku, tye* | ***tangsin***<br>*i, ku, ce …* | ***D-pwun, D-elu(si)n,*** *tangsin,*<br>*ku,* ***kunye, D-ay, D-i, D-salam..*** |
| RFL | *ce* | ***cAkya, tangsin,***<br>*ce,* ***caki, cAkuy, caney*** | *cAkya, tangsin*<br>*ce, cAkuy* | *tangsin*<br>*ce, caki* | *tangsin*<br>*ce, caki* |

**Figure 1.** Extension of pronominal reference

The parameter of desemanticization (also called 'attrition', Lehmann 1995 [1982]; 'semantic bleaching', Sweetser 1988; 'generalization', Bybee et al. 1994) is also attested in Korean. For instance, expressions making use of 'house', 'body', 'place', etc. have lost such lexical meanings and now they simply denote the persons metonymically associated with the place, who are significant in the discourse situation.

Decategorialization refers to the loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical forms. This parameter is also observed by many forms of personal reference grammaticalizing in Korean. For instance, some of the forms involving a demonstrative, e.g., *그대 (kutay)* 2SG (< *그 (ku)* 'that' 대 (*tay*) 'place'), have developed such strong internal cohesion that they cannot be interrupted by a modifier, thus **그 가까운 대 (ku* *kakkawun tay)* [that near place] (only interpretable non-pronominally as 'the place nearby', in which case *tay* also changes to *tey*) but *가까운 그대 (kakkawun kutay)* 'intimate you'. However, since many nominal-based pronouns are still in the periphrastic stage, the loss of the primary category properties is often limited. For instance, some can take modifiers, some can function as an autonomous independent form, and many can take the PL suffix *-tul* to be pluralized. All these are indicative of the fact that many Korean nominal-based pronouns still carry lexical properties (see also 3.3 above for variable degrees of fusion).

Erosion refers to a loss of phonetic substance. The oldest pronouns in Korean, e.g., 1SG *나 (na),* 2SG *너 (ne),* 3SG *이 (i), 그 (ku),* and *뎌 (tye),* and RFL *저 (ce)*, are simple in form (e.g., monosyllabic and without a coda), and their longer counterparts have not yet been identified. Therefore, there is no way of confirming if erosion occurred to these old grams. As for the newer pronouns, phonetic erosion is either absent or minimal (note that nouns used as a personal pronoun typically lose phonetic salience and thus are rarely stressed). Again this is an indication of the low level grammaticalization of pronouns as a paradigm. Incidentally, this situation is not uncommon for a large number of pronouns across languages (Heine and Song, 2010: 120).

## 4. Discussion

In the preceding section we have seen how the paradigm of pronominal reference emerged in the history of Korean (3.1 and 3.4). We also noted that the paradigm is nearly open-ended by virtue of using diverse nominals such as kinship and status words (3.2 and 3.3). We now turn to the discussion of our major focus, addressing such questions as (i) why the pronominal system in Korean has not been well developed into a paradigm with high paradigmaticity; (ii) why 2SG is often not explicitly expressed; (iii) why the pronominal system is fluctuating in references and honorification levels; and (iv) why the pronominal system becomes increasingly complex with new forms. From these inquiries we will see how the pressure of politeness constantly pushes the language users to innovate the personal reference terms.

### *4.1. An "Unsystematic System"*

As noted in the exposition above, the Korean pronominal system is in flux. The consequence is that numerous forms proliferate in the paradigm, which in turn makes its inventory controversial. Even though there is a limitation in the available data sources in that those texts do not use 1SG and 2SG for stylistic reasons, e.g., written narratives, religious commentaries and poems, it is clear that Korean in OK and EMK had a simple, crude pronominal system, one for each person, notably without HON forms, and a 3-way 3SG distinction by distance, i.e., with the speaker-proximal *i* 'this', speaker-distal *ku* 'that', and mutually distal *ce* 'that'.

One of the reasons for the absence of a strong, well-established pronominal system is the Korean discourse-pragmatic idiosyncrasy that in discourse nouns (and names) are simply repeated, without having to be replaced with pronominal forms. The following is a good example, taken from the 1447 data, one of the earliest extant *Hankul* documents (the long excerpt is given without a morpheme-by-morpheme interlinear gloss, and the repeated names are given in bold)[8]:

(5) 世尊이 象頭山애 가샤 龍과 鬼神과 위ᄒᆞ야 說法ᄒᆞ더시다 龍鬼 위ᄒᆞ야 說法ᄒᆞ샤미 부텻 나히 셜흔 둘히러시니 穆王 여ᅀᅳᆺ찻 ᄒᆡ 乙酉ㅣ라 부톄 目連이ᄃᆞ려 니ᄅᆞ샤ᄃᆡ 네 迦毗羅國에 가아 아바닚긔와 아ᄌᆞ마닚긔와..

***<u>seycon</u>**i sangtwusaney kasya yongkwa kwisinkwa wihAya selpephAtesita. yongkwa kwi wihAya selpephAsyami **pwuthye**ys nahi syelhuntwulhilesini mokwang yesuschas hAy ulyuila. **pwuthye**y moklyenitAlye nilAsyatAy ney kapilakwukey kaa apanimskuywa acAmanimskuywa...*

'**Buddha** went to Mt. Sangdu and preached for the dragon and the ghosts. Preaching for the dragon and the ghosts was when **Buddha**'s age was thirty-two, which was the Ulyu year, the sixth year of King Mok. **Buddha** said to Moklyen [= Maudgalyayana] "you go to the Kapilavastu Kingdom and (say greetings to) father and uncle..."' [note: *seycon* = Buddha] (1447, *Sekposangcel* 6:01).

In example (5), the terms for Buddha, i.e., *seycon* and *pwuthey*, are simply repeated without pronominal substitution. *Seycon* literally meaning 'the venerable of the world' is synonymous with Buddha, originated from the Sanskrit word, meaning 'the awakened one' (cf. *Phyocwun Kwuke Taysacen,* web-searchable ed. accessed August 15, 2019). This kind of practice is not specific to this text, but is a general writing style in LMK. In other words, the pronoun replacement for co-referential nouns was not a discourse convention in LMK. As a matter of fact, it is not a robust discourse-syntactic rule even in PDK.

Another reason for the absence of a well-established pronominal system is that vocatives are frequently used, and then the use of pronouns can be often dispensed with, as shown in (6):

(6) a.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 말라 | 舍利弗아 | 다시 | 니르디 말아ᅀᅡ ᄒᆞ리니 |
| *mal-la* | *salipwul-a* | *tasi* | *nilu-ti.mal-azahA-li-ni* |
| stop-IMP | [name]-VOC | again | say-NEG-must-FUT-CSL |

'No, Salipwul [= Sariputra], since (you) must not say it again...'
(1447 *Sekposangcel* 13:40)

b.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 쥬ᅀᅵᆫ하 | 밋디 | 몯ᄒᆞ거든 |
| *cyuzin-ha* | *mis-ti* | *mothA-ketun* |
| master-VOC | trust-NF | cannot-COND |

'Master, if (you) cannot trust (us)...'
(1517, *Penyeknokeltay* I:21a)

As shown in (6), when a vocative is used, the sentential subject may not occur since it is contextually recoverable. This omissibility of arguments has been a syntactic idio-

[8] *Sekposangcel*, a commentary on Buddhist scriptures, dating from 1447, is among the earliest extant Hankul documents along with another commentary *Welinchenkangcikok* and the poems *Yongpiechenka* (1447), following the very first Hankul document *Hwunmincengum Haylyey* (1446), an introduction to the new writing system after the 1443 Hankul invention. The interlexical spacing was not conventionalized as part of orthographic rules until the early 20th century, but the quotation in (5) is given with spacing following the MoK convention.

syncrasy in Korean. In PDK, the most common vocatives in interaction as a replacement strategy is the kinship terms, e.g. *acwumma* ‘aunt’, *acessi* ‘uncle’, *halmeni* ‘grandmother’, *halapeci* ‘grandfather’, *enni* ‘elder sister’, *oppa* ‘elder brother’, *imo* ‘maternal aunt’. It is to be noted that these are all upward kinship terms. Downward kinship terms are not employed for this purpose. Even though they are upward kinship terms their use is not restricted to addressing a social superior, i.e., it can be used toward a social inferior. For instance, an older client may address a younger attendant at a restaurant as *enni* ‘elder sister’. Such kinship term usage is exemplified in the following constructed, but commonly used examples:

(7) a.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *언니* | *여기* | *물* | *좀* | *주세요.* |
| *enni* | *yeki* | *mwul* | *com* | *cwu-sey-yo* |
| elder.sister | here | water | please | give-HON:IMP-POL |

‘Ma’am, please give me (a glass of) water.’ (Lit. ‘Elder sister, give water here please.’)

b.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *아줌마* | *이거* | *아줌마 거예요?* |
| *acwumma* | *i-ke* | *acwumma-ke-y-e-yo?* |
| aunt | this-thing | aunt-thing-COP-END-POL? |

'Ma'am, is this yours?' (Lit. 'Aunt, is this aunt's thing?')

c.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *아저씨* | *뭐* | *떨어뜨리셨어요.* |
| *acessi* | *mwe* | *ttelettuli-sy-ess-e-yo* |
| uncle | something | drop-HON-PST-END-POL |

'Sir, you dropped something.' (Lit. 'Uncle, (you) dropped something.)

During the MoK a large number of status nouns and titles entered the system for personal reference. Constant emergence of such nouns is an ongoing process in PDK. In PDK this is arguably the most common strategy for personal reference, in the sense that whenever a person is known to have a title the most convenient way is to address him or her with the title. This is well illustrated in the following constructed examples:

(8) a.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *부장님* | *그건* | *부장님이* | *시키셨잖아요.* |
| *pwucangnim,* | *kuke-n* | *pwucangnim-i* | *sikhi-sy-ess-canhayo* |
| director | it-TOP | director-NOM | make-HON-PST-EMPH.SFP |

'Director, that's what you asked me to. (Lit. Director, that's what director asked me to.)'

b. (Child to her mother)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *엄마,* | *엄마가* | *해줘.* |
| *emma,* | *emma-ka* | *ha-ycw-e* |
| mom | mom-NOM | do-BEN-END |

'Mom, you do it for me.' (Lit: Mom, mom does it for me.)'

c. (Mother to her child)

| | |
|---|---|
| *엄마가* | *해 줄게.* |
| *emma-ka* | *ha-ycw-ulkey* |
| mom-NOM | do-BEN-PROM |

'I'll do it for you. (Lit. Mom will do it for you.)'

As shown in (8), the status nouns are used instead of the pronouns, and further, (8b) and (8c) involve empathy or identity shift. For this reason, *emma* ‘mother’ in (8b) is the child's mother, the addressee, whereas, *emma* 'mother' in (8c) is the first person, the speaker[9]. Empathy is common in speech for children but it is unidirectional, i.e., downward empathy (the mother using the child's term to the child) is acceptable whereas upward empathy (the child using her mother's term to her mother) is not[10].

### 4.2. Avoidance of 2nd Person

Another important factor in the (non-)development of a well-established pronominal system in Korean is the weight of sociocultural norms with respect to positioning. Positioning in discourse, according to Davies and Harré (1990: 48), is "the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines" (see also Locher 2008, 2018, for discussion of the close relationship between identity construction and politeness concerns). In the context of pronominal development, the concept of positioning as proposed in Song and Heine (2016: 4) refers to "defining the social role relation between speaker and hearer". Positioning is highly complex in the Korean society along such variables as age, occupation, year of college matriculation, year of initiation/affiliation with an organization, gender, etc., many of which are not immediately identifiable. Pinpointing (or identifying) the referent explicitly is burdensome as it may violate decorum. Thus, the need for an avoidance strategy (Heine and Song 2010) is strongly felt. This situation may well have led to, or contributed to, the underdevelopment of the pronominal paradigm.

Furthermore, identifying the referent explicitly is often unnecessary because of the honorification of the verbal predicate (for sentential subjects) or sentential ending (for addressees), as shown in (9):

(9) a. *바쁘세요?*
*pappu-seyo?*
be.busy-HON.POL
'Are (you) busy?' (the addressee being honorified, and being treated politely)

b. *오시면* *말해.*
*o-si-myen* *malha-y*
come-HON-COND say-END
'If (he) comes, tell me.' ('He' being honorified, the addressee not politely treated)

As shown in (9), the presence and absence of the HON verbal suffix often unambiguously identifies the subject because in a given context who would and would not be honorified is often straightforwardly clear. This system of honorification would have contributed to the non-use of explicit sentential arguments and consequently that of pronouns as well.

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[9] An anonymous reviewer comments that (8c) is an instance of baby-talk rather than that of empathy. But this type of identity shift is not restricted to baby-talk but is widespread. For instance, it is customary for a grandfather to ask his aged daughter about his wife by referring to her as *emma* 'mother' rather than *nay anay* 'my wife', etc. The downward empathy is a norm.

[10] For similar states of affairs in Japanese, see Whitman (1999: 366) and Suzuki (1976). cf. A woman to a crying child, in Japanese, *Atasi doo si-ta no?* [I (girl) how do-PERF Q] 'What's wrong (little girl)?' in which *atasi* 'I' refers to the girl, the addressee, not the woman, the speaker.

### *4.3. Intra-systemic Fluctuation*

Another important aspect of the Korean pronominal system is that there has been intra-systemic fluctuation (see Figure 1 in 3.4). For instance, RFL forms are often recruited for 2SG. According to Heine and Song (2010) recruiting RFL for 2SG is a crosslinguistically common strategy. They note that "[t]he speaker avoids addressing the hearer directly and portrays him as being more significant or central vis-à-vis alternative referents" (Heine and Song 2010: 128). Similarly, Shibatani (1985: 837, as cited in Heine and Song 2010: 129) notes that the connection between RFL and honorifics lies in agent defocusing.

The reference shift (as part of reference extension, see 3.4 above) is attested in multiple instances. The [*저(ce)* RFL > 1SG.HUM] change, for instance, is a discourse-pragmatic strategy of presenting self as a third party. In this case referential identity is established through the addressee's inference, and the distance thus created helps the form acquire the HUM meaning. Similarly, RFL *tangsin* developed into 2SG and 3SG. The noun *당신(tangsin)* is a Sino-Korean word denoting 'the body concerned, the applicable body'. As noted in 3.2 above, a number of Sino-Korean words are involved in the development of pronouns in Korean, and such words of Chinese origin belonged to a high register in historical times since Chinese was the script of the literati (see also 4.4 below). The RFL *caki* that developed into 2SG is also a Sino-Korean word. The form in the 2SG reference is for endearment address, and the development is also an instance of adopting indirectness. Indirectness between spouses may seem strange but in traditional Korean the honorific and polite forms, not intimate forms, were used between spouses, a tradition still maintained in the old generation. This indirectness between spouses is also evident in such address forms as *여보(yepo)* 'Look here!' > 'Honey, Darling' and *CN-아빠/엄마(CN-appa/emma)* '[child.name]-dad/mom' > 'Honey, Darling'. Another RFL *자네(caney)* (< 'people like you' or 'of you') to 2SG.HON is also an instance of a RFL form developing into 2SG, a crosslinguistically common pattern.

Nothing displays the intra-systemic fluctuation more clearly than the pronoun *당신 (tangsin),* which started out its life as a RFL, developing into 2SG and 3SG. The series of changes of the form across the pronominal references as attested in the history can be diagrammatically presented in Figure 2. Figure 2 shows that *당신(tangsin)* began its life as a RFL.HON in LMK, and this HON feature is retained in the RFL function throughout history. The feature was also inherited when it extended its function to the 3SG reference. However, after it extended its function to 2SG reference in EMoK, the HON feature became bleached in MoK in certain usages. In PDK the 2SG reference function is variegated. The feature remains only in poetic and liturgical usage. It is used with the overtone of affection between spouses, but it is also used in completely neutral contexts, i.e., 'audience-blind' contexts (Koo and Rhee 2013a, Rhee and Koo 2017), such as textbooks and newspaper articles. However, the self-same form can be provocative when used between people who are not spouses[11]. For this reason, its acceptability is highly sensitive to the context in which it is used. The referential versatility is largely due to its source semantics 'the body concerned, the applicable body', because the interpretation of 'concerned' or 'applicable' varies by context.

[11] In PDK addressing a total stranger as *tangsin* is common when the speaker is picking a fight.

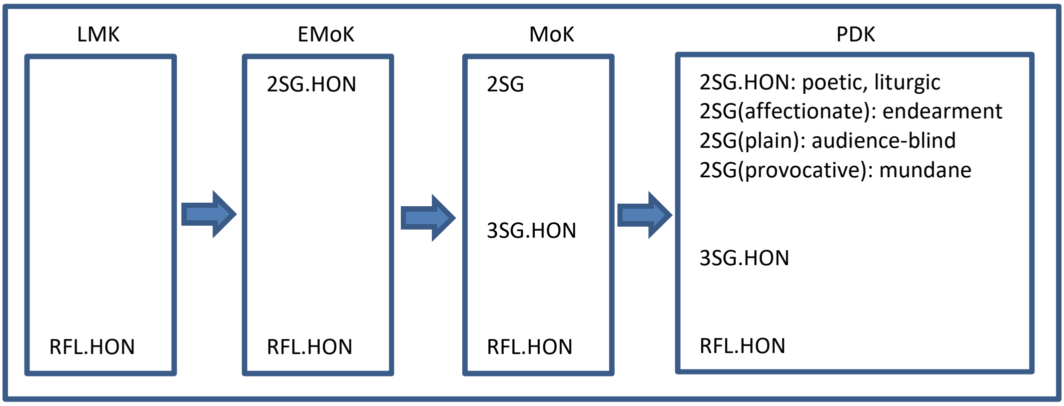


**Figure 2.** Referential change of *tangsin*

### *4.4. Emergence of Honorific and Humiliative Pronouns*

As was shown in Table 3 in 3.1, the earliest pronominal system in the OK and EMK period was a simple one without any form marked with the HON feature. Then the RFL.HON forms *cAkya* and *당신 (tangsin)* appeared in LMK. At this time 2SG.HON *그듸 (kutuy)* also appeared. In the EMoK period a number of HUM forms in 1SG came into existence and so did the HON forms in 2SG. In MoK, a number of new HUM forms entered into 1SG and so did the HON forms into 2SG and 3SG. The proliferation of HON forms in 2SG and 3SG is quite noticeable in PDK.

Innovation of HON forms involves certain strategies. The most prominent one is to use the Sino-Korean form, since Sino-Korean terms in general are more highly valued than their native-Korean counterparts, e.g., the synonyms for ‘an old person’ *늙은이 (nulkuni)* (native Korean) and *노인 (noin)* (Sino-Korean) and for ‘a woman’ *계집* (*kyeycip*) (native Korean) and *여자* (*yeca*) / *여성* (*yeseng*) (Sino-Korean), make a sharp contrast, with the former derogatory and the latter neutral or deferential (see Rhee 2011, Narrog et al. 2018, for more discussion). Such usage of terms of foreign origin is the characteristic of learned style used by the noblemen, and thus following the same pattern in the pronominal system is not surprising. The following is the list of some of such Sino-Korean forms that either were used in history or are being used in PDK for pronominal reference:

(10) a. *자기 (caki)* ‘self’s body’ (RFL, 2SG)
b. *cAkya* ‘self’s house’ (RFL)
c. *당신 (tangsin)* ‘the body concerned/applicable body’ (RFL, 2SG, 3SG)
d. *임자 (imca)* ‘owner’ (2SG)
e. *댁 (tayk)* ‘esteemed house’ (2SG)

Another strategy is to be indirect either by using metonymic references or by distancing the referent by using a form that has been in use for different references, notably RFL forms (see Table 3 for instances of RFL forms developing into 2SG and 3SG). Using the metonymic connection is the more common strategy, whereby metonyms such as ‘house’, ‘place’, ‘body’, etc. are used to refer to the person associated with them, as shown in (11)[12]. This strategy is also graphically manifest in the HON terms of address in Korean, as partially exemplified in (12), in which the physical distance is proportionate to the status difference, portraying someone in prostration under a building, etc.:

(11) a. *댁 (tayk)* 'honorable house' > 2SG.HON
b. *cAkya* 'self's house' > RFL
c. *그대 (kutay)* 'that place' > 2SG.HON
d. *그쪽 (kuccok)* 'that direction' > 2SG, 3SG
e. *그편 (kuphyen)* 'that side' > 2SG, 3SG
f. *그곳 (kukos)* 'that place' > 2SG, 3SG
g. *거기 (keki)* 'there' > 2SG, 3SG

(12) a. *폐하 (phyeyha)* 'under the stepping-stone' > 'Your/His/Her Majesty' (emperor/empress)
b. *전하 (cenha)* 'under the palace building' > 'Your/His/Her Highness' (king/queen)
c. *저하 (ceha)* 'under the mansion' > 'Your/His/Her Royal Highness' (prince, princess)
d. *각하 (kakha)* 'under the pavilion' > 'Your/His/Her Excellency' (president, minister)
e. *합하 (hapha)* 'under the palace gate' > 'Your/His/Her Excellency' (minister)
f. *예하 (yeyha)* 'under the lion's seat' > 'Your/His/her Eminence' (cardinal, monk)
g. *성하 (sengha)* 'under the holiness' > 'Your/His Holiness' (Pope)

Still another strategy is to use the Sino-Korean prefix *귀-* (*kwi-*) that denotes 'precious', 'valuable', etc., as shown in part in (13)[13]:

(13) a. *귀공 (kwikong)* 'precious officer' > for general use
b. *귀관 (kwikwan)* 'precious officer' > for an officer lower in rank
c. *귀측 (kwichuk)* 'precious side' > for general use
d. *귀하 (kwiha)* 'under the precious (person)' > for general use
e. *귀형 (kwihyeng)* 'precious older brother' > for general use

Still another strategy is shown in the development of *임자 (imca)* 'owner' > 2SG.HON. This is a strategy of deriving honor from ownership but since the addressee does not have the ownership, the speaker is attributing feigned ownership to the addressee. Even though Korean has only one such instance, other languages seem to have a similar pattern, e.g., Indonesian 2SG *tuan* from Arabic 'master', Japanese 2SG *kimi* from OJ 'emperor' 'lord' (Shibatani 1990: 371—372, as cited in Heine and Song 2012), English *sir* from the ME title of honor of a knight, a baronet, or a priest (Oxford English Dictionary, 2018 online ed.), among others[14].

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[12] This phenomenon is also found in Egyptian *pharaoh* (< *Pero* 'great house') and potentially related to *the White House, Kremlin,* etc. The Korean president is often represented by *the Blue House,* the head of the state's official residence and office.

[13] Prefixation of *귀-* (*kwi-*) is also common in HON non-personal reference, e.g., *귀사 (kwisa)* 'precious firm' for the addressee's firm, *귀교 (kwikyo)* 'precious school' for the addressee's school, etc.

[14] The use of 'yours' or 'your humble servant', etc. in letter closing in English-speaking countries is also relevant in the present context.

On the other hand, the simple and crude pronominal system of OK and EMK periods became a more elaborate one with the addition of HUM forms. For instance, the 1SG.HUM form *ce* appears in EMoK, an instance of functional extension from RFL. The speaker referring to himself or herself with RFL involves self-dishonorification and self-derogation, in the sense that the speaker is not asserting the self's presence explicitly.

Since politeness is a universal requirement in interaction (Brown and Levinson 1987), speakers often use self-derogating lexical expressions. Such self-derogating terms were prolific in the history of Korean, even though their use has declined in PDK. Some of such forms are as shown in (14) (also see 3.1 and footnote 3)[15]:

(14) a. general: *소인 (soin)* 'small person', *소생 (sosayng)* 'small person' *우생 (wusayng)* 'stupid person', *불초 (pwulcho)* 'one not fully inherited virtues from forefathers', *소제 (socey)* 'small younger brother', *우부 (wupwu)* 'stupid father', *우형 (wuhyeng)* 'stupid older brother', etc. (cf. Nam and Ko 1993: 82)
b. king: *과인 (kwain)* 'underqualified person'
c. court member: *소신 (sosin)* 'small subject'
d. Buddhist priest: *소승 (sosung)* 'small monk'
e. son (to parents): *소자 (soca)* 'small son'
f. daughter (to parents): *소녀 (sonye)* 'small daughter'
g. wife (to husband): *소첩 (sochep)* 'small wife'
h. woman (to an older person): *소녀 (sonye)* 'small woman'

Two interesting patterns become apparent from this state of affairs. First, the early data shows a simple and crude pronominal system, without honorification marking, but diverse forms were innovated through the passage of time. Thus, diachronically a 2SG honorifiable person was referred to as in (15). Note that OK *ne* was for general reference regardless of HON:

(15) *너 (ne)* (OK) > *그듸 (kutuy)* (MK) > *당신 (tangsin)* (EMoK) > *임자/댁 (imca/tayk)* (MoK) > *어른 (elun)*, *어르신 (elusin)*, etc. (PDK)

Secondly, the earliest system did not have a HUM reference pronoun for 1SG, but HUM forms were innovated through the passage of time. Thus, a polite speaker making humiliative reference to the self toward an HON addressee used the pronouns as in (16):

(16) *나 (na)* (OK, EMK, LMK) > *저 (ce)*, *불초 (pwulcho)*, *소인 (soin)*, etc. (EMoK) > *시생 (sisayng)*, *쇤네 (soynney)*, etc. (MoK)

In other words, continuous innovation for novel forms occurred for 2SG.HON and 3SG.HON and 1SG.HUM. The downgrading of the HON feature is noticeable particularly with 2SG. As the strength of the HON feature of an existing HON form becomes

[15] Grammaticalization of self-derogating lexical expressions into 1SG is attested in other languages, e.g. Japanese *boku* 'I' from 'slave', Indonesian *saya* 'I' from 'servant' (Heine and Song 2012), Persian *banda* 'I' from 'slave', Vietnamese *tôi* 'I' from 'servant' and Cambodian *kñom* 'I' from 'servant' (Haiman 1998: 71).

weakened, a new form with a stronger HON feature is innovated, and when the HON feature of this form becomes weakened a new form is innovated, thus continuing the innovation cycle. On the other hand, weakening the HUM feature with 1SG leads to the innovation of new forms with stronger HUM value. The cyclicity is also observed here.

The consequence of the change in the pronominal system is obvious, as shown in Table 4. The number of rows tends to increase (except for 1SG in PDK, see below for discussion); novel forms are added at the lowest row of 1SG and at the highest row of 2SG (the novel form cells are shaded for visual conspicuity). Furthermore, existing forms tend to climb up the row in 1SG, by being pushed up by the novel forms added at the bottom, whereas in 2SG, existing forms tend to go down the row, by being pushed down by the novel forms added at the top.

*Table 4*

**Innovation of 1SG.HUM and 2SG.HON**

| | **OK & EMK (~ mid-15c.)** | **LMK (mid-15c. ~ 16c.)** | **EMoK (17c. ~ 19c.)** | **MoK (20c. ~)** | **PDK (21c.)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | *na* | *na*<br>***(soin*)*** | *na*<br>***ce*, pwulcho*, soin*..*** | *Na*<br>*ce*, soin*…*<br>***sisayng* soynney*…*** | *na*<br>*ce** |
| 2SG | *ne* | ***kutuy***<br>*ne* | ***tangsin,*** *kutAy*<br>***caney***<br>*Ne* | ***imca, tayk,*** *(kutay)*<br>*caney, tangsin…*<br>*Ne* | ***elun, elusin, sensayngnim…***<br>*tayk, (kutay)…*<br>*caney, tangsin…*<br>*ne,* ***caki*** |

In this context, we can discuss the possible motivation behind this series of changes. Two factors are immediately identifiable, the routinization effect and the sociocultural effect.

Routinization has numerous effects in human life. It is well known that novelty wears out as familiarity increases. Linguistic forms tend to lose semantic content through frequent use, and forms that are intended to carry emotive forces tend to lose them through repetition (see Heine et al. 1991, Heine and Stolz 2008, Heine 2009 for discussion of role of creativity and expressivity in language change). Hopper and Traugott (2003:122) note that intensifiers are particularly susceptible to frequent renewal because the force of intensification tends to be rapidly lost. We can relate this general tendency to the frequent renewal of the HON and HUM pronominal forms. In other words, the frequent change of HON forms is due to the devaluation of HON as a result of frequent use, and the frequent change of HUM forms is due to the bleaching of HUM through repeated use. In this process of showing humiliative or honorific attitude toward the addressee and encoding such attitudes linguistically, speakers tend to 'overdo' it, since doing so is safer. This linguistically sumptuous behavior has often led to grammatical change. For instance, Koo and Rhee (2013b) show how this tendency of being 'over-polite' caused the emergence of polite imperatives from promissives. Similarly, Haiman (1994) shows repetition and ritualization are important mechanisms of grammaticalization. For this reason, linguistic forms are constantly being negotiated in discourse and thus grammar is constantly fluctuating and 'emergent' (Hopper 1987).

The sociocultural effect is a more global factor. The social stratification of the Korean society was not rigid until Confucianism became the national religion during the Joseon Dynasty (14th — 20th centuries). Confucianism stressed a social order based on hierarchy, and meticulous attention even to seemingly trivial matters was the preoccupation of the people. The lack of sophisticated HON and HUM pronouns until the 15th century (i.e., OK and EMK) is not coincidental; people had been less hierarchy-minded under the strong influence of egalitarian Buddhism. With Confucianism taking root in Korean society, the ruling-class intellectuals studied Confucian scriptures, written in Chinese, as their daily task from dawn to dusk. Adopting words of Chinese origin in the pronominal system mainly to encode HON is also not coincidental; literati attributed high values to terms of Chinese origin. Koo (2004: 118) shows that Koreans' special attention to hierarchy may have contributed to the grammatical and lexical coding of honorification and dishonorification. Similarly, Rhee and Koo (2014) show how the sociocultural environment influenced the prolific use of causatives and passives and how their strategic use led to their functional extension to stance-marking. Koo and Rhee (2016: 318) also show that 'honorification obsession' has influenced Korean grammar and lexis on a large scale. It can be said in general that as society became increasingly complex, so did the pronominal system in order to suit the complex social stratification.

One aspect that merits a mention in this context is the relative simplification of 1SG in PDK, only with the plain *나 (na)* and the HON *저 (ce)*. As shown in Table 4, the numerous HUM forms of the MoK period such as *소인 (soin), 시생 (sisayng), 쇤네 (soynney), 소생 (sosayng)*, etc. all fell into disuse in PDK. This again seems to be the result of sociocultural influences. The long-held noble vs. common distinction in social stratification was legally abolished in 1894 as part of modernization efforts, i.e., around the beginning of MoK. People seem to have felt that the use of excessively HUM forms, translatable as 'small person', was no longer necessary. It is not at all clear, however, why a democratic and egalitarian philosophy, i.e., modernization departing from rigid Confucianism, affected the HUM forms but not HON forms. It is possible that politeness simply concerns the addressee more strongly than the speaker's self. One relevant factor in support of this hypothesis is that the notion of 'intersubjectification' (Traugott 1982, Traugott and Dasher 2002) typically concerns the addressee rather than the speaker.

## 5. Summary and Conclusion

The Korean pronominal system is not well developed due to social factors and idiosyncratic traits of language use, i.e. extensive use of regular nouns and titles and pro-drop. Historically, Korean lacked HON and HUM pronouns in OK and EMK. In LMK new 2SG.HON and RFL.HONs came into existence and at a later time there occurred instances of switch references, as part of referential extension, whereby 1SG.HUM was innovated. The paradigm of pronouns has become more fine-grained with new innovations.

It is argued that as society became increasingly complex, HON pronouns and referential expressions were actively innovated throughout history by recruiting certain lexical and grammatical items such as regular nouns and demonstratives. Historical states of affairs reveal the cognitive strategies in discursive reference management as evidenced by the fact that most instances of innovation involved the upward modification for the second person pronouns and downward modification for the first person pronouns in terms of the honorification hierarchy.

This research focused on the politeness pressure on the development of 1SG and 2SG pronominal forms and the effect of sociocultural change on the system. Some recent analyses investigated the change in the address terms, e.g. Koo (2016) for address terms between spouses in the past 70 years, in the context of rapid sociocultural change in the post-colonial times. For better understanding of the Korean pronominal system, we need this line of microscopic research on various relation types and social variables on the one hand and more macroscopic, comprehensive studies on the pronominal system as a whole on the other.



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Research Article

# "Pedagogical" Agression in Russian Everyday Communication

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**Abstract**

The article is devoted to speakers' responses to inappropriate communicative behavior in Russian everyday communication. The analytic part of the article presents a short review of both classical and modern works on (im)politeness theories, which show that communicative strategies in response to the wrong communicative behavior in a particular context have not been investigated and described sufficiently in modern Politeness theories, investigating face-aggravating communication. The aim of this work is to describe a strategy that we define as "pedagogical aggression", which manifests itself in a variation of impolite answers whose purpose is to "punish" the interlocutor for a communicative error. This strategy is in contrast to what we call "empathy" strategy since — instead of trying to neutralize the interlocutor's error — "pedagogical aggression" emphasizes it by "teaching" the addressee to be more considerate in adhering to norms. The material for the research was collected in the Russian National Corpus and analysed by drawing on discourse analysis, pragmatics and (im)politeness theories. The study showed that "pedagogical aggression" is realized in three face-aggravating communicative tactics: (1) a pseudo-question (rhetorical question or a question to the assumptions of an interlocutor), 2) mocking citations from interlocutor's speech, 3) rhymed pseudo-answers. The last tactic was given special attention in the study. We grouped the pseudo-answers in four types corresponding to typical discourse situation. This tactic is based on an unspoken rule, according to which it is permissible to point out in a playful way a communicative error made by the interlocutor. In response to an inappropriate question with this or that interrogative pronoun (where, who, why, etc.), the speaker can allow himself or herself to "punish" the interlocutor with a pseudo-answer, so that he or she will be more careful, more attentive and will not repeat such mistakes. The considered tactic of rhymed pseudo-response is rooted in language with the help of formulaic phrases. The research contributes to (im)politeness theory and the study of communicative interaction.

**Keywords:** politeness, impoliteness, discourse, dialogue strategies and tactics, Russian language

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Научная статья

# «Педагогическая» агрессия в русской бытовой коммуникации

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**Аннотация**

Статья посвящена анализу и описанию реактивных стратегий говорящего лица в ответ на неправильное коммуникативное поведение собеседника. В аналитической части статьи дается краткий обзор как классических, так и современных работ по теории вежливости, который показал, что коммуникативные стратегии в ответ на неправильное поведение пока недостаточно полно исследованы и описаны в современных теориях вежливости, касающихся конфликтной и «ликоугрожающей» коммуникации. Целью настоящей работы является описание стратегии, которую мы определяем как «педагогическая» агрессия, проявляющаяся в вариации невежливых ответов с целью «наказать» собеседника за коммуникативную ошибку. «Педагогическая» агрессия как стратегия противопоставлена «эмпатийной» стратегии по отношению к сделанной собеседником ошибке. Выбирающий «эмпатийную» стратегию пытается нейтрализовать ошибку собеседника, а выбирающий стратегию «педагогической» агрессии акцентирует на ней внимание, чтобы научить собеседника быть впредь осторожнее и внимательнее. «Педагогическая» агрессия реализуется в трех тактиках невежливого поведения говорящего по отношению к совершившему коммуникативную ошибку собеседнику. Она предполагает использование: 1) ответных псевдовопросов (риторических вопросов, вопросов обращенных к презумпциям собеседника); 2) передразнивающих цитаций; 3) рифмованных псевдоответов. Наиболее детально в статье описана тактика использования рифмованных псевдоответов. Данная тактика опирается на негласное правило, согласно которому по отношению к совершившему коммуникативную ошибку собеседнику позволительно указать на это в шутливо-игровой форме. Говорящий в ответ на неуместный вопрос с тем или иным вопросительным местоимением (*где, кто, почему* и т.д.) может позволить себе «наказать» собеседника псевдоответом, чтобы тот впредь был осторожнее, внимательнее и таких ошибок не повторял. Рассмотренная тактика рифмованного псевдоответа укоренена в языке с помощью шаблонных формул. Работа вносит вклад в исследование области коммуникативного взаимодействия и дальнейшего изучения теории вежливости.

**Ключевые слова:** вежливость, невежливость, дискурс, диалогические стратегии и тактики, русский язык

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## 1. Введение

Начиная с 70-х годов XX века в лингвистике стали активно исследоваться принципы эффективной коммуникации, которые основаны на уважительном отношении собеседников друг к другу. Построенные для описания вежливости концепции с каждым десятилетием расширяют область применения, проникая в различные гуманитарные науки, связанные с социальным взаимодействием:

лингвистику, социологию, психологию, этнографию, кросс-культурную прагматику, гендерные исследования и т. д. Теория вежливости получила популярность благодаря работам ее «классиков», среди которых в первую очередь следует назвать Дж. Лича (Leech 1983, 2014), П. Браун и С. Левинсона (Brown and Levinson 1987), Р. Лакофф (Lakoff 1989). Обзор истории развития и становления теории вежливости дается в работе М. Лохэр (Locher 2015). Русский языковой материал, связанный с (не)вежливой коммуникацией, анализируется на основе теорий вежливости в работах Н.И. Формановской (1989, 2009), Е.А. Земской (1994), О.С. Иссерс (2002), Р. Ратмайр (2003, 2013), М.А. Кронгауза (2008), Т.В. Лариной (2009, 2013, 2015, 2017, 2018), Г.И. Кустовой (2011), Н.Г. Брагиной (2013), Ю.В. Щербининой (2013) и др. Вопросам вежливости и антивежливости посвящен специальный сборник статей «Вежливость и антивежливость в языке и коммуникации» (2018).

В статье рассматриваются этапы становления теории вежливости — «классический» и современный. Выявляется слабо исследованная в теории вежливости область дискурса — стратегия поведения говорящего как реакция на речевое действие собеседника, нарушающее тот или иной принцип коммуникации и вежливости. Предлагается выделить две стратегии построения ответной реплики: «эмпатийную» и «агрессивно-педагогическую». Основное внимание уделяется исследованию одной из тактик «агрессивно-педагогической стратегии», а именно использованию игровых псевдоответов.

## 2. История вопроса

В истории формирования теории вежливости можно выделить несколько этапов. В работах «классического» этапа (Leech 1983, 2014; Brown and Levinson 1987; Lakoff 1989) вежливость рассматривается через описание стратегий коммуникативной деятельности, направленных на бесконфликтное общение, через набор требований к говорящему, предохраняющих от экспансии в область интересов и комфортной зоны собеседника. Стратегии и максимы вежливости, описанные в (Leech 1983, 2014; Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987) были представлены, как универсальные правила бесконфликтного и эффективного речевого общения, что позволило изучать на их основе коммуникативные модели разных лингвокультур.

«Классические» концепции вежливости вызвали живой интерес, получили одобрение и стали активно применяться для описания коммуникативного взаимодействия. Однако процесс применения принципов «классических» теорий к реальной коммуникации продемонстрировал их относительную узость и недостаточность, в результате чего данные концепции стали объектом критического анализа (см. [Bousfield, Locher 2008, Culpeper 1996, 2011; Eelen 2001; Spencer-Oatey 2005; Watts 2003]).

Объектом критики «классических» теорий вежливости стали, в частности, статичность модели, на основе которой строятся постулаты и их универсальность, возможность применения к любой социальной ситуации и культуре. Критике подвергается тот факт, что в теориях вежливости как моделях коммуникативного поведения отсутствует эксплицитное описание невежливых стратегий, выразителей агрессии, грубости и т.д. (см., например, [Watts 2003]). По мнению Илен (Eelen 2001), рассматривающей различные формы грубого коммуникативного поведения, обнаружить адекватный набор критериев невежливости применительно к вежливости невозможно. С ней частично соглашается Калпепер (Culpeper 1996, 2011), утверждающий, что апофатические характеристики, основанные на отрицании положительного признака, представленного типом стратегии или максимой, малоинформативны. Некоторые невежливые стратегии не имеют хороших оснований для противопоставления вежливым стратегиям. Например, грубость и агрессивность очень слабо противопоставлены гармоническому общению, в вежливости отсутствует эмоция, противопоставленная гневу, и т.д. Ряд исследователей предлагает считать адресата высказывания, а не ее автора субъектом оценки высказывания как вежливого или невежливого, а саму оценку рассматривать с учетом всего социокультурного контекста (Watts 2003; Spencer-Oatey 2005 и др.).

В ряде работ исследователи на основании дискурсивного анализа текстов и опросов информантов отмечают, что адресаты речи могут, с одной стороны, оценить внешне нейтральные или вежливые реплики как грубые, обижающие, а с другой стороны, оценивают формально грубые, развязные высказывания как вполне уместные, не вызывающие у адресата отрицательных эмоций (см. обзор работ в [Locher, Watts 2005]). Иными словами, высказывание, вырванное из контекста, не может быть объективно оценено с позиций вежливости или невежливости. Акцент на анализе речевого поведения приводит некоторых ученых к идее исследования невежливости на основе дискурсивного анализа, на иных основаниях, не совпадающих с теми, которые были сформулированы в рамках теории вежливости (см., например, [Eelen 2001: 98—100; Mills 2003]).

Полемика с критическими нападками на теорию вежливости вдохновила Дж. Лича на обновленную версию своей теории (Leech 2014). В ней исследователь отстаивает общность принципов описания вежливых и невежливых высказываний. В обновленной версии представлена Главная стратегия вежливости, состоящая из 10 правил, общая идея которых — ставить собеседника и его интересы выше себя и своих интересов. Противоположная идея — идея невежливости — предлагается как зеркальное перевернутое отражение, постановка говорящего и его интересов выше собеседника и его интересов. Отсюда общий постулат обновленной теории вежливости Дж. Лича: соблюдение принципов вежливости приводит к мирному, бесконфликтному и успешному взаимодействию, а их ненамеренное или намеренное несоблюдение приводит к конфликту и нарушению успешности в коммуникативном взаимодействии, при этом внимание уделяется как языковой, так и социокультурной вариативности (не)вежливости (Leech 2014, Leech and Larina 2014, Larina 2015).

## 3. Вежливость в реактивных актах дискурса

Еще одной лакуной в теориях вежливости является, как нам представляется, отсутствие оценки возможных реакций на нарушение стратегий и максим вежливости и коммуникативного взаимодействия в целом. Оценка типовых реактивных стратегий для таких ситуаций с позиций теории вежливости, безусловно, необходима, поскольку нарушения стратегий и максим вежливости и коммуникативного взаимодействия в речи — частотное явление.

В работе Г.И. Кустовой (Кустова 2011) рассматриваются некоторые русские псевдовопросы, выражающие недовольство какими-либо «неправильными» (с точки зрения говорящего) действиями, например: *Кто тебе сказал такую ерунду?; Я-то откуда знаю?; Тебе какое дело?* и др. Цель таких псевдовопросов — научить человека максимально оптимизировать свое поведение, чтобы не мешать другим. Для объяснения распространенности и обоснованности использования таких реактивных фраз автор предлагает дополнить (или развить?) принципы кооперации П. Грайса «постулатами поведения». Данные постулаты передаются в статье в виде требований к говорящему. Перечислим некоторые из них: не запрашивай информацию, которой не располагает адресат; не задавай вопросов, ответы на которые избыточны или очевидны; не запрашивай информацию, на получение которой не имеешь права; не проси о том, на что не имеешь права; не будь излишне доверчивым и некритичным (Там же: 234).

Несоблюдение собеседником перечисленных Г.И. Кустовой постулатов ставит, как кажется, перед говорящим проблему выбора стратегии для ответной реакции на такое поведение. Нам представляется возможным выделить две полярные реактивные стратегии: «эмпатийную» и «агрессивно-педагогическую». При выборе «эмпатийной» стратегии говорящий ставит во главу угла уважительное отношение к собеседнику, ориентируясь на золотое правило нравственности: «Относись к другим так, как хочешь, чтобы относились к тебе». Истоки «эмпатийной» стратегии восходят к этическим представлениям, сформированным в русле религиозных и философских учений Востока и Запада. Например, в христианской этике жития святых описывают ситуации, когда святой нарушал пост, т.е. установленные правила, чтобы не обидеть ближнего, желающего разделить с ним трапезу. Основание для такого поведения находим в словах Апостола Павла в его Послании к римлянам: «Если же за пищу огорчается брат твой, то ты уже не по любви поступаешь... Не губи твоею пищею того, за кого Христос умер» (Новый Завет, Гл. 14). Подобным образом поступают иногда православные священники, когда неосведомленные в христианских правилах жизни люди из добрых побуждений пытаются угощать их во время поста.

Примером эмпатийного поведения может служить исторический анекдот о приеме королевой Великобритании Елизаветой II первого космонавта Юрия Гагарина. Рассказывают, что гость, выпив чаю, достал из стакана кусочек лимона и съел его. Это было очевидным нарушением принятого при дворе этикета поведения, однако королева немедленно повторила действия Юрия Гагарина, чтобы не смутить его. Вслед за ней так же поступили и все присутствующие на приеме.

«Эмпатийная» стратегия в ответ на поведенческие нарушения противопоставлена «агрессивно-педагогической» стратегии — поучению, напоминанию о необходимости правильного поведения, часто сопровождаемому нарушением максим вежливости. Перлокутивный эффект — напоминание или поучение — происходит за счет использования разного рода косвенных речевых актов, ломающих гармоничное общение и унижающих в той или иной степени адресата, например, псевдовопросов, о которых пишет Г.И. Кустова (Кустова 2011), а также целого ряда других средств. В русской бытовой коммуникации присутствуют обе стратегии, при этом «агрессивно-педагогическая» стратегия распространена и укоренена в виде шаблонных формул. В терминах Брауна и Левинсона данную стратегию можно рассматривать как один из видов «ликоугрожающих» актов (в данном случае — угроза позитивному лицу слушающего) (Brown and Levinson 1987).

На активное использование «агрессивно-педагогической» стратегии в русском коммуникативном поведении исследователи впервые обратили внимание в конце 80-х — начале 90-х годов прошлого века, анализируя речевое взаимодействие продавца и покупателя (см. [Yokoyama 1990, Николаева 1990, Земская 1994]). Т.М. Николаева пишет о специфической коммуникации-борьбе, в которой один участник стремится воздействовать на другого, навязать свой взгляд, оценку и при этом унизить собеседника.: *Вы еще работаете? — А вы не видели табличку: «Обед»?* Автор называет такое взаимодействие «коммуникативным саботажем», цель которого — поставить собеседника в униженное положение, «воспитать» его, заставить быть внимательнее и не отвлекать работника лишний раз ненужными вопросами (Николаева 1994: 225—227). Такая поведенческая стратегия имеет культурную специфику. По крайней мере, она контрастна тем стратегиям, которые приняты в европейский и особенно англосаксонских культурах. Фраза *Вас много, а я одна* превратилась в характеризующее советское время клише, в котором содержится модель общения продавец — покупатель:

> *После очередной командировки Лизавета задумалась, почему в любых учреждениях в той же Англии или в Штатах секретари и прочие клерки, включая полицейских, как правило, вежливы и предупредительны, а у нас встречают посетителей, как личных врагов. Отчего-то она решила, что все дело в лингвистике. Наши спрашивают: «**Что надо?**» И в самом вопросе звучит бессмертное, магазинное: **«Вас много, а я одна!»** Они спрашивают: «**Чем могу помочь?**» И уже в сам вопрос включено личное участие* (Е. Козырев. «Дамская охота»).

К «агрессивно-педагогической» стратегии можно отнести и упреки, о которых пишут Т.В. Булыгина и А.Д. Шмелев (Булыгина, Шмелев 1997а: 420—426). Авторы утверждают, что упреки используются для того, чтобы заставить собеседника понять свою ошибку, пробудить в нем угрызения совести.

## 3. Исследование

В ходе анализа существующих работ и исследования языкового материала нами было выделено три тактики «агрессивно-педагогической» стратегии, предполагающие использование: (1) ответных псевдовопросов (риторических вопросов и вопросов, обращенных к презумпциям собеседника, его исходным предположениям); (2) передразнивающих цитаций; (3) рифмованных псевдоответов.

Первые две тактики уже получали освещение в ряде лингвистических работ (см. [Арутюнова 1986; Кустова 2011; Ратмайр 2013; Шатуновский 2016; Брагина 2018]). Реферативный обзор перечисленных работ представлен в подразделах 3.1 и 3.2. В подразделе 3.3 представлены результаты описания третьей тактики — рифмованных псевдоответов.

### *3.1. Использование ответных псевдовопросов (риторических вопросов и вопросов, обращенных к презумпциям собеседника)*

Псевдовопросы находят выражение в качестве реакции на неправильно построенный, с точки зрения говорящего, речевой акт собеседника — вопрос или побуждение. Г.И. Кустова в работе, посвященной риторическим вопросам, заключающим в себе отрицательное утверждение, указывает, что данная тактика заставляет собеседника понять, что он совершил ошибку, нарушил негласные правила коммуникации, которые эксплицируются автором на основе анализа типовых диалогов (Кустова 2011). Ср.:

*— Они женятся. — Кто тебе сказал такую ерунду? / Что за ерунда? / Что за глупости?* (= Это ерунда, глупости).

*— Где Сережа? — Я-то откуда знаю?* (= Я не знаю и мне неоткуда об этом знать). /

*— Что ты меня-то спрашиваешь?* (= Не спрашивай у меня). / *— Что я, слежу за ним, что ли?* (= Я за ним не слежу).

В таких диалогах говорящий одновременно с риторически выраженным отрицательным утверждением коммуникативно «наказывает» собеседника, заставляя его тем самым быть осторожнее и внимательнее при построении вопроса или побуждения.

В работе (Брагина 2018) рассматривались ситуации неверного, с точки зрения говорящего, обращения к нему, которое приводит к использованию говорящим риторического вопроса, построенного по стереотипной фразеосхеме: *Как(ая)ой я тебе X?* Автор статьи рассматривает три коммуникативные ситуации:

Ситуация 1. Собеседник использует ласковое, фамильярное обращение. Говорящий не готов к сближению; оценивает такое обращение как неуместное:

*— Антоша… Это был точно голос Зои. Правда, она меня так никогда не называла. —* ***Какой я тебе Антоша?*** *— возмутился я. (А. Приставкин. «Вагончик мой дальний»)* (= Я тебе не Антоша).

Ситуация 2. Собеседник использует нестатусное обращение. Говорящий недоволен, подчеркивает свой статус, чтобы сохранить дистанцию между собой и собеседником:

*— Нет, хозяин! Я не в согласьи… —* ***Какой я тебе хозяин****! — поднял голос Пугачев. — Ты раб мой, а я твой царь… (В.Я. Шишков. «Емельян Пугачев»)* (= Я тебе не «хозяин»).

Ситуация 3. Собеседник использует родственное обращение к говорящему, который не является родственником и не согласен с указанием на возраст:

*— Дядя Миша, задымить е? —* ***Какой я тебе, к дьяволу, дядя?*** *Племянничек выискался! (Ф. Абрамов. «Дом»)* (= Я тебе не «дядя»).

Кроме риторического вопроса, содержащего в себе только отрицательное утверждение, в дискурсе встречаются также ответные вопросы, обращенные к презумпциям собеседника. Рассмотрим пример, который анализируется в работе (Шатуновский 2016). Автор рассматривает диалог:

*— Дайте «Огонек». — А где вы видите «Огонек»?*

И.Б. Шатуновский толкует ответный вопрос следующим образом: ≈ ‘Вы же не видите «Огонек», следовательно, его нет, поэтому я не могу дать вам его, и вообще, прежде чем спрашивать, надо посмотреть, что есть на витрине’ (Шатуновский 2016: 279). Говорящий вопросом побуждает собеседника самому убедиться в том, что его вопрос бессмыслен, что его исходные предположения о наличии журнала были ошибочны.

Использование риторических вопросов и вопросов к презумпциям, как кажется, стало постепенно уменьшаться под воздействием смены экономической модели общества и влиянием западной корпоративной вежливости (см. Ратмайр 2013). Однако это не означает, что они совсем ушли из бытового общения. Забавный пример вопроса к презумпции приводит в ленте Фейсбука лингвист Дмитрий Сичинава, потерявший как-то дорогу к поездам на вокзале:

> *Далеко идем, — сказала женщина в форме, сидящая на стуле. — Простите? — Далеко идем! — в тоне было что-то настойчивое. — Извините, я не понимаю. Кто и насколько далеко идет? Ее глаза медленно остановились на моем лице. С ужасом она смотрит на меня несколько секунд. — Вы что (с усилием), русского языка совсем не понимаете? — Русский язык я понимаю, но «далеко идем» нет. — Ну, идете, то есть, идете вы далеко, куда вы идете, молодой человек? — А. (Показываю над головой). Вот тут написано «к поездам». К поездам и иду. — А тут кроме туалета ничего нет. А туалет у нас (с ленинской усмешкой) платный.* https://www.facebook.com/mitrius?fref=search&__tn__=%2Cd%2CP-R&eid=ARB2nXxtyQ80CZ4d7abnL_9116tiCkIk8tPNfwTK7cgeIC4ERhdBRJeWGoJhSErdfJUzw2VHzArybahB.

Итак, неправильно построенный вопрос или торопливое побуждение собеседника может приводить к использованию псевдовопросов — риторических вопросов и вопросов к презумпциям, заставляющих собеседника смущаться, извиняться, чувствовать себя неловко. Говорящий при помощи такой агрессивной реакции «обучает» собеседника не пытаться изменить установленные границы в отношениях между ними.

### 3.2. Использование передразнивающих цитаций

Вторая тактика «агрессивно-педагогической» стратегии — реакции на реплику собеседника, при которых говорящий повторяет с другой интонацией услышанную реплику собеседника или ее часть для выражения неодобрения, протеста. По мнению Н.Д. Арутюновой, выражаемый таким образом протест говорящего «может быть вызван такими параметрами воспроизводимой чужой речи, как истинность, обоснованность, уместность, адекватность, корректность, ясность, стилевые характеристики, выбор слов, способ обращения и т.п.» (Арутюнова 1986: 50). Н.Д. Арутюнова анализирует и классифицирует разновидности передразнивающей цитации. Приведем иллюстрирующие примеры из ее статьи:

> *— Пускай уходит! — Пускай уходит! Это легко сказать — пускай уходит! Его сюда привели, чтобы вы сумели воспитать его человеком, а вы говорите — пускай уходит.*
>
> *— Учишь тебя, учишь, а все без толку. — Без толку, без толку. Заладил.*
>
> *— Я никуда не поеду. — «Не поеду», «не поеду». А что же делать с билетом?*

Использование тактики передразнивающих цитаций агрессивно воздействует на собеседника, с помощью этой тактики говорящий оценивает мнение или решение собеседника как торопливое и несерьезное, заставляя адресата речи впредь быть осторожнее и внимательнее при выражении мнения, выборе подходящего слова и т.д.

### *3.3. Использование рифмованных псевдоответов*

Тактика использования рифмованных псевдоответов — это особый способ воспитательного «наказания» собеседника, который выражается в игровом укоре при помощи коммуникативно неинформативного, абсурдно-игрового ответа. Как известно, вопросы с позиций теории вежливости являются обязывающими, и потому не очень вежливыми речевыми актами (Leech 1986). Особенно это касается вопросов, относящихся к личной сфере говорящего. Этим объясняется, например, несколько устаревающая в настоящее время в русской дискурсивной культуре «деликатная» тактика, требующая от спрашивающего оформлять вопрос менее определенно, использовать вместо частного вопроса общий вопрос (см. об этом, например, в (Булыгина, Шмелев 1997б: 270).

Вместо *Куда собрался?* задают вопрос *Далеко ли собрался?*

Вместо *Где живешь? — Далеко ли (отсюда) живешь?*

Вместо *Откуда приехали? — Издалека приехали?*

Вместо *Когда вы там были? — Давно ли вы там были?*

Вместо *Сколько у вас детей?* — Много ли у вас детей?

Вместо *Сколько вы за это заплатили? — Дорого вы за это заплатили?* и т.д.

Данная тактика дает собеседнику возможность выбора при ответе. Собеседник может, если сочтет задающего вопрос человека «своим», неопасным, достойным быть включенным личную зону и т.д., ответить конкретно *куда именно, где именно, сколько именно* и т.д., а может уклончиво подтвердить/опровергнуть предположение собеседника, выраженного в общем вопросе: *Да, далеко / Нет, не очень далеко* и т.д.

В случаях, когда собеседник, с точки зрения говорящего, слишком неосторожно вторгается в его личную зону, используя вопросы с вопросительными словами *где, куда, почему*, он может получить абсурдно-игровой рифмованный псевдоответ, например: *Откуда ты это знаешь? — От верблюда*. Часто псевдоответу предшествуют передразнивающие цитации — дважды повторенное вопросительное слово: *Где она? — Где, где… В Караганде.* Такие реплики имеют характер эпатажного уклонения от информативного ответа. Псевдоответ строится на фонетическом уподоблении вопросительному слову в высказывании собеседника. Это своеобразное «травестирование» инициирующей реплики, использование данной тактики ставит собеседника в позицию ребенка, которого необходимо воспитывать, учить тому, когда, кого и как можно спрашивать.

Распространенность таких ответных форм с их ритмической структурой может быть объяснена только популярностью рассматриваемой тактики в русской дискурсивной культуре. Сами рифмованные псевдоответы и их прагматические свойства привлекали внимание лингвистов, хотя детальный дискурсивно-прагматический анализ таких единиц пока не проводился. А.Н. Баранов и Д.О. Добровольский (Баранов, Добровольский 2008) относят рифмованные псевдоответы в особый класс фразеологизмов — речевых формул-ответов. И.А. Шаронов включает их в состав функционального класса коммуникативов — стереотипных ответных реплик диалога (Шаронов 2009, 2015). Данные единицы обобщенно рассматривались как манифестанты мнимого ответа, насмешливый отказ-дразнилка, балагурство в работах (Бондаренко 2004; Голев 2005; Мечковская 2009). Основной прагматической функцией ответных реплик этого типа исследователи считают поучающее указание собеседнику на неуместность его вопроса.

## 4. Анализ материала

В задачу исследовательской части статьи входит дискурсивный анализ рифмованных псевдоответов, используемых в бытовых диалогах. Анализ проводился на материале из Национального корпуса русского языка (НКРЯ) (www.ruscorpora.ru). Общий объем собранного материала составил более двухсот диалогов.

По способу выражения рифмованные псевдоответы можно разделить на два типа. Первый тип — это псевдоответы, выраженные соотносительными местоимениями, которые образуют парные конструкции с вопросительными местоимениями в инициирующих репликах. Вопросительное слово как бы продуцирует «отраженный» ответ: *Чего? — Того!; Когда? — Тогда; Зачем? — Затем!; Куда? — Туда!*

Второй тип — это псевдоответы, выраженные речевыми формулами. Такие формулы состоят из двух и более компонентов. Как минимум один из них является полнозначным словом: *Откуда? — От верблюда; Ну? — Баранки гну!* Формулы имеют непрозрачный смысл и как следствие — высокую степень идиоматичности.

Приведем несколько примеров, иллюстрирующих оба типа псевдоответов. Первый тип:

(1) *— Ну и чего? — **Того.** Возьмет он нас бригадой грузчиков — вот из любви к футбольному искусству, так сказать. Не сыр, конечно, в масле, жирком не заплывем, зато буханка в день железно* (С. Самсонов. «Одиннадцать»).

(2) *— Зачем президенту Ельцину учить эстонскую грамматику? — **Затем!** Иначе с работы погонят! — Послушай, ты что-то путаешь.* (В. Левашов. «Заговор патриота»).

(3) *— Куда? — **Туда!** Остонадоели!* (А. Измайлов. «Трюкач»).

Второй тип:

(4) *— Геннадий, откуда у вас самолет? — **От верблюда!** Вот этого! — с улыбкой отвечает Геннадий и показывает для рекламы пачку сигарет «Кемел».* (Г. Горин. «Иронические мемуары»).

(5) *— Есенин был запрещенный?.. Почему? — **По кочану**, — отшутилась она и строго сказала: — Мог бы, между прочим, и написать сочинение: <...> «За что я люблю свою Отчизну». Эпиграфы подсказываю. Сразу два. «Люблю Отчизну я, но странною любовью» и второй: «Кто живет без печали и гнева, тот не любит Отчизны своей»* (В. Крупин. «Закрытое письмо»).

В данной статье мы ограничимся анализом единиц второго типа — наиболее распространенных речевых формул, характеризующих невежливое речевое поведение. В корпусе они представлены с разной степенью частотности. Перечислим единицы вместе со стимулирующими их репликами, начиная от более частотных согласно НКРЯ (в скобках указано количество обнаруженных в корпусе ситуаций употребления каждой единицы), к менее частотным:

*Откуда? —* ***От верблюда*** *(42);*
*Почему? —* ***По кочану*** *(да по капусте) (25);*
*Кто? —* ***Дед Пихто!*** *(9) /* ***Конь в пальто*** *(10);*
*Где? —* ***В Караганде*** *(6) /* ***У тебя на бороде*** *(детск.) (2);*
*Ну? —* ***Баранки гну*** *(9).*

Дискурсивный анализ материала позволил выявить типовые ситуации использования рассматриваемых единиц, мотив и интенции автора ответной реплики, маркирующей его недовольство собеседником. На основании характера допущенной, с точки зрения говорящего, прагматической ошибки охарактеризована разная степень такого недовольства.

**Ситуацией** использования игрового псевдоответа является бытовой неформальный диалог, в процессе которого собеседник задает вопрос, который вызывает недовольство говорящего. В зависимости от используемого в инициирующей реплике вопросительного слова следует соответствующий рифмованный псевдоответ.

**Мотивом** для употребления игрового псевдоответа служит допускаемая, с точки зрения говорящего, ошибка, неправильное поведение собеседника: недогадливость собеседника, нарушение им социально-возрастных ограничений или личной зоны говорящего и др.

**Интенция** рифмованного псевдоответа зависит от степени близости собеседников и характера отношений между ними. Это может быть намерение говорящего более или менее мягко «наказать» собеседника за наивный вопрос либо же агрессивно запретить задавать вопросы, грубо прервать контакт.

Во всех случаях целью такого агрессивного акта является поучающее унижение собеседника, побуждение его впредь быть коммуникативно более внимательным и осторожным.

Анализ контекстов использования игровых псевдоответов позволил выделить 4 типа ситуаций. Основанием для такого выделения стал характер допущенной коммуникативной ошибки, которая вызвала у говорящего недовольство, что в свою очередь позволило прибегнуть к рифмованному псевдоответу. Рассмотрим последовательно каждую из выделенных ситуаций.

1. Недовольство по причине наивности, недогадливости собеседника.
2. Недовольство по причине нарушения социально-возрастных ограничений или неосторожного вторжения собеседника в личную зону говорящего.
3. Недовольство тем, что собеседник не понимает или делает вид, что не понимает причины раздражения говорящего.
4. Недовольство как форма выражения враждебного отношения к собеседнику в ситуации вынужденной коммуникации.

### *4.1. Недовольство по причине наивности, недогадливости собеседника*

(6) *Я: — Почему? Он: —* ***По кочану****. Вас что, в школе ничему не учили?* (М. Шишкин. «Письмовник»).

(7) *— Олька, ты откуда все это знаешь? — Женя аж напрягся. —* ***От верблюда****, — засмеялась я. — Мне сегодня сон приснился. Как будто я — девочка из будущего… И мне поручено спасти тебя.* (А. Жвалевский, Е. Пастернак. «Время всегда хорошее»).

(8) *Не падай, старик: он был стукачом! — Кто? — я совсем запутался в переплетениях карьер. —* ***Конь в пальто!*** *— рассердился Хлесталов. — Не Токарев же!* (А. Боссарт. «Повести Зайцева»).

(9) *Что сейчас за стольник толкают, я раньше в пять папиросок вколачивал! — Кто толкает? Есть где купить? — попытался уточнить Анзор. — Кто-кто.* ***Дед Пихто!*** *Барыги, кто ж еще?* (М. Гиголашвили. «Чертово колесо»).

(10) *Вообще очень хитро маскируются, гады. — Ну? — спросил Горик. — Что «ну»?* ***Баранки гну****! Если б мы взяли Володьку в пещеру, он бы проболтался отцу, и тот передал все сведения о пещере в германский штаб. А пещеры играют очень важную роль на войне. Ясно вам, лопухи?* (Ю. Трифонов. «Исчезновение»).

Данная ситуация представлена наибольшим количеством употреблений рифмованных псевдоответов. Собеседники — близкие люди, которые общаются неформально. В их диалогах возможны подшучивание, безобидная ирония, использование грубоватой лексики без негативных коннотаций. Рифмованные псевдоответы часто используют взрослые по отношению к детям. И говорящий, использующий ту или иную формулу псевдоответа по отношению к взрослому собеседнику, шутя низводит его до наивного ребенка. Показателен в этом отношении пример (6), в котором говорящий употребляет в отношении своего взрослого собеседника стереотипный встречный вопрос: *Вас что, в школе ничему не учили?* После «наказания» игровым псевдоответом говорящий может дать содержательный ответ или предложить сделать логический вывод, как в примере (8). Даная ситуация наименее агрессивна при использовании псевдоответов. Говорящий пытается научить собеседника не торопиться с вопросами, а самостоятельно найти ответ, который, по мнению говорящего, легко выводим из совместной области знаний обоих участников диалога.

### *4.2. Недовольство по причине нарушения социально-возрастных ограничений или неосторожного вторжения собеседника в личную зону говорящего*

(11) *— Большого Быка ты не трогай, — строго сказал Новый Маргарит. — Почему? —* ***По кочану!*** *— Стало быть, тайна? Стало быть* (В. Орлов. «Альтист Данилов»).

(12) *Я видела такой микроскоп в магазине случайных вещей — четыре с половиной тысячи! — Да ну? — Честное слово. Откуда он у тебя? —* ***От верблюда.*** *А с лисьей шубой разберемся, Маша, голой не останешься.* (Б. Кенжеев. «Из Книги счастья»).

(13) *Что ты натворил, а? Где ты есть-то? — Нигде, мам!* ***В Караганде!*** *Сиди спокойно там, не бойся. Я ничего не делал плохого, поняла? Все, деньги кончаются* (З. Прилепин. «Санькя»).

(14) *— Кто он? — спрашивает меня Катя. — Кто — кто,* ***дед Пихто****, — отвечаю я. — И мама молчит, как партизан, — говорит Катя, но я не лезу. Давно знаю: если чего-то не знаешь — значит, тому и не надо знаться* (Г. Щербакова. «Моление о Еве»).

(15) *— А кто тебе мешает? —* ***Конь в пальто****. Что тебе заказать? — Очень любезно, — наморщила она лоб. — Возьми мне пиццу с морепродуктами, мороженое и кофе* (В. Валеева. «Скорая помощь»).

Собеседники в данном наборе контекстов — также близкие или знакомые люди, которые общаются неформально. Однако между ними существует социально-возрастная иерархия, есть запретные тематические области, касающиеся личной зоны участника общения. Случайное нарушение в вопросе запретных тематических границ приводит к легкому недовольству говорящего, который псевдоответом не только обрывает развитие темы диалога, но и косвенно указывает собеседнику, что тот совершил коммуникативную ошибку и впредь должен быть осторожнее, чтобы не попадать еще раз в подобную ситуацию. Говорящий произносит реплику строго и делает паузу, передающую желание говорящего прекратить обсуждение темы как запретной. В примере (11) непонимающий собеседник задает еще один уточняющий вопрос — действительно ли тема под запретом, и получает утвердительный ответ. Стоит, однако, отметить, что, «наказав» собеседника, говорящий часто стремится восстановить отношения обещаниями и успокаиваниями, как в примере (12 и 13). Если же этого не происходит, собеседник может все же немного обидеться на бесцеремонность говорящего, как это видно из примера (15).

### *4.3. Недовольство тем, что собеседник не понимает или делает вид, что не понимает причины раздражения говорящего*

(16) *Остатки тиража пойдут под нож. — Почему? Что-нибудь случилось? —* ***По кочану!*** *Кто тебя тянул за язык?!* (Е. Чижов. «Перевод с подстрочника»).

(17) *Ну и что? Деловая встреча. — Да, знаю я такие деловые встречи. — Откуда? —* ***От верблюда****. — Ты чего такая дерганая?* (М. Трауб. «Не вся la vie»).

Как и в предыдущих типовых контекстах, собеседники — близкие или знакомые люди, ведущие неформальный диалог. Они находятся в латентном конфликте и могут испытывать раздражение друг к другу. По мнению говорящего, собеседник совершил серьезную ошибку, обидел его и должен это понимать. «Виновник», задавая вопрос о причине раздражения, получает от говорящего резкий рифмованный псевдоответ, за которым часто следует обвинение. В примере (14) собеседник обвиняется в неосторожности, приведшей к производственным проблемам, а в примере (15) становится объектом подозрений и ревности.

### 4.4. Недовольство как форма выражения враждебного отношения к собеседнику в ситуации вынужденной коммуникации

(18) *— Почему? — Ты мне надоел. — Почему? —* ***По кочану****. Иди спать. Я кладу трубку. Звони своей этой насчет свидания.* (Е. Белкина. «От любви до ненависти»).

(19) *Но веселая девушка уже назвала мне номер (достала, наверно, бумажку, где он записан). — Спасибо, — сказала я. Телефон был — Антона. — Эй! Эй! — завопила вдруг девушка. — А вы кто? —* ***Конь в пальто****, — сказала я и повесила трубку.* (Е. Белкина. «От любви до ненависти»).

(20) *Девочка схватила ручку и ловко попала струей в это самое место смыкания ног <...>. Девочка бросила чайник на пол и ушла из дома. — Где у вас аптечка? — кричал дядя. — Где... Где… — бормотала она, уходя. —* ***У тебя на бороде****.* (Г. Щербакова. «Мальчик и девочка»).

(21) *Раз он вскрикнул, уже в полупамяти от побоев: «Да где это я?» Услышал: «Где, где…* ***В Караганде****». И, не помня себя, взмолился: «Что же я вам сделал плохого?!» В ответ только рассмеялись* (О. Павлов. «Карагандинские девятины, или Повесть последних дней»).

(22) *Давай, по-быстрому встал, собрался и мы отсюда отскочим. Он все еще сидел на моей постели. — Вы кто? — наконец сказал я. —* ***Дед Пихто****, — ответил второй, входя в комнату. — Где твои кроссовки?* (А. Геласимов. «Год обмана»).

В данном типе ситуаций собеседники могут быть как хорошо знакомыми, так и абсолютно незнакомыми. Важно то, что они вынуждены вступить в диалог, при этом один из участников настроен враждебно ко второму, что и демонстрирует использованием псевдоответа. В примерах (18), (19) и (20) говорящий (женщина) данной фразой прерывает коммуникацию, выражая тем самым резко негативное и пренебрежительное отношение к собеседнику. Здесь уже отсутствует «воспитательный» компонент, говорящий просто срывает злость на собеседнике. В примерах (21) и (22) в диалоге участвуют бандиты и их жертва. Бандиты псевдоответами переводят диалог на язык команд, вынуждая собеседника к беспрекословному подчинению.

## Заключение

Настоящее исследование было выполнено в русле дискурсивного анализа. Была рассмотрена реактивная тактика, используемая в ответ на неправильное, с точки зрения говорящего, речевое поведение собеседника. Такую тактику мы называем «педагогической агрессией». Ее применяют в русскоязычной культуре в основном при неформальном бытовом общении.

Данная тактика оценивается носителями языка как невежливая, но возможная, поскольку существует негласная презумпция, согласно которой по отношению к совершившему коммуникативную ошибку собеседнику при неформальном общении позволительно агрессивно-воспитательное речевое поведение. Говорящий в ответ на неуместный, по его мнению, вопрос, выражаемый при помощи одного из вопросительных местоимений (*где, кто, почему* и т.д.), может позволить себе «наказать» собеседника псевдоответом с целью научить его впредь быть осторожнее, внимательнее и таких ошибок не повторять.

Рассмотренная тактика рифмованного псевдоответа укоренена в языке с помощью шаблонных формул. В тех случаях, когда отношения между собеседниками близкие, использование тактики может носить шутливый характер и не приводить к конфликту. Однако говорящий все равно должен при дальнейшей коммуникации как-то объяснить и загладить свой выпад против собеседника. При конфликтном диалоге стереотипные фразы псевдоответа используются для разрыва контакта или перехода на другой режим коммуникации, требующий от собеседника безоговорочного выполнения команд.

Таким образом, рассмотренный материал показывает, что невежливая коммуникация может градуироваться по степени и характеру воздействия псевдоответов на собеседника: от сравнительно слабого, игрового варианта до сильного, резко антикоммуникативного, ликоугрожающего акта. Это в значительной степени зависит от ранее установившегося характера отношений между участниками коммуникации.

Работа вносит вклад в исследование пока еще слабо описанной области невежливого коммуникативного взаимодействия и способствует дальнейшему углублению в изучении общей теории вежливости.



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Research Article

# Formal and Informal Russian Invitation: Context and Politeness Strategies

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**Abstract**

Invitation is a speech act which is perceived differently across cultures. Understanding the pragmatics of invitation requires knowledge of the notion of politeness and politeness strategies which comprise culture specific elements. Politeness is realized in various discourses, social contexts and speech acts. The purpose of the study is to identify politeness strategies in Russian invitation in formal and informal contexts in three age groups and see how they correspond to the understanding of politeness in Russian communicative culture. The empirical data for the study were obtained through discourse completion tests with 101 participants (issuers of the invitation) of different age and social status as well as through ethnographic observation. The research is based on Discourse Analysis and Politeness Theory (Brown & Levinson 1987; Larina2009, 2015; Locher 2006, 2013; Leech 2014; Mills 2003, 2017; Sifianou 1992; Terkourafi &Kadar 2017; Watts 2003, among others). We used discourse analysis to analyze the impact of the social and cultural context on the performance of invitation, the descriptive method which was used to analyze the pragmatic functions of invitation, as well as contextual interpretation of this speech act and the method of quantitative data processing. The study revealed some differences between a formal and informal invitation concerning politeness strategies and linguistic means of its expression. It also showed that in Russian culture issuing an invitation is not perceived as a face threatening speech act; in the analysed social contexts the preference is given to direct invitation, and the inviter's imposition, as a rule, is perceived positively. The results contribute to a better understanding of Russian politeness and communicative style and can be implemented in intercultural pragmatics, intercultural communication and SL teaching.

**Keywords:** Invitation, speech act, politeness, (in) formality, sociocultural context, Russian

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Научная статья

# Формальные и неформальные приглашения в русском языке: контекст и стратегии вежливости

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**Аннотация**

Приглашение часто считается угрожающим лицу речевым актом, однако оно воспринимается и реализуется по-разному в различных культурных контекстах. Для понимания прагматики приглашения требуется знание стратегий вежливости, которые имеют свои культурные особенности и содержат специфические элементы культуры, которые могут вызывать непонимание в процессе межкультурной коммуникации. Вежливость проявляется в различных дискурсах и социальных ситуациях. Цель данного исследования — выявить и описать наиболее продуктивные стратегии реализации речевого акта «приглашение» в формальном и неформальном общении в различных возрастных группах. Материалом исследования послужили ответы на вопросы дискурсивного теста 101 респондента, а также этнографические наблюдения. Теоретическая часть исследования основывается на теории дискурса и теории вежливости (Ларина 2009; Brown & Levinson 1987; Larina 2015; Leech 2014; Locher 2006, 2013; Sifianou 1992; Terkourafi & Kadar 2017; Watts 2003). Основными методами анализа послужили: дискурс-анализ, прагматический анализ, метод семантического описания и метод количественной обработки данных. Исследование выявило некоторые различия между формальным и неформальным приглашением в отношении стратегий вежливости и языковых средств его выражения. Оно также показало, как носители русского языка понимают вежливость и уместность приглашения на формальном и неформальном уровнях. Полученные результаты свидетельствуют о том, в русской лингвокультуре приглашение не относится к угрожающим лицу речевым актам: предпочтение отдается прямому приглашению, допускается воздействие говорящего на адресата, которое, как правило, воспринимается позитивно и не нарушает принципов вежливости. Результаты исследования способствуют лучшему пониманию русской вежливости и стиля коммуникации и могут быть использованы в межкультурной прагматике, межкультурной коммуникации, а также в преподавании русского языка как иностранного.

**Ключевые слова:** приглашение, речевой акт, вежливость, социальный контекст, формальное приглашение, неформальное приглашение, русский язык

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*— Приходи ко мне на день рождения.*
*Я родился — завтра. Не придешь — обижусь и ударю…*
*К моему приходу гости были в сборе.* (С. Довлатов)

## 1. Введение: постановка проблемы

Исследование проведено в русле дискурс-анализа, прагмалингвистики и теории вежливости. В отличие от формальных синтаксических исследований, в которых предложение исследуется как высказывание, вырванное из контекста общения, прагматика включает в круг рассматриваемых объектов адресата речи, ситуацию общения и прагматические компетенции говорящих, что значительно расширяет диапазон изучаемых проблем. С адресатом речи связаны, в первую очередь, проблемы понимания, интерпретации высказывания и те правила и принципы, которыми адресат руководствуется при выводе как поверхностных, так и скрытых или косвенных смыслов высказывания и подлинных целей говорящего, а также реакция адресата на высказывание говорящего (вербальная и невербальная, прямая и косвенная), т.е. перлокутивный эффект высказывания. Как отмечал Дж. Лич, задачей прагматики является объяснение отношений между смыслом (который часто описывается как «буквальное» или лежащее на поверхности значение) и иллокутивной силой (направленным речевым воздействием говорящего на слушающего) (Leech 1983: 30).

Необходимо отметить, что в литературе коммуникативным особенностям приглашений в русском языке уделено не так много внимания. Среди работ, посвященных этой теме, можно выделить статью А.А. Акишиной и Н.В. Формановской (1968 г.), в которой приводятся наиболее употребительные разговорные ситуативно-обусловленные формулы приглашений в русском языке, работы И.В. Кожуховой (2010, 2012), где рассматриваются структурно-синтаксические особенности оформления интеррогативных косвенных речевых актов, в рамках которых анализируется и приглашение. Т.В. Ларина и Е.Б. Щелчкова рассматривают русское приглашение в сопоставлении с английским, анализируя функционально-прагматические особенности приглашений в британской, американской и русской коммуникативных культурах и стратегии вежливости, используемые представителями этих культур (Ларина 2009а,б; Ларина, Щелчкова 2013; Щелчкова 2013, 2015).

С целью рассмотрения динамики исследования приглашения в русскоязычном поле мы провели анализ базы elibrary.ru на наличие публикаций, прямо или косвенно посвященных данному речевому акту. В поисковой задаче была обозначена формулировка «приглашение речевой акт», для актуализации исследования были установлены временные рамки — с 2015 по 2019 годы. Анализ публикационной активности, ограниченный поисковой задачей, выдает 14 результатов (по годам: 2015 год — две публикации, 2016 год — пять публикаций, 2017 год — две публикации, 2018 год — пять публикаций; за 2019 год информации еще нет). Обратим внимание, что в представленных работах русский язык практически не рассматривается (исключение составляет публикация Е.Б. Щелчковой (2015) по сопоставлению реплик отказа в приглашениях на русском и английском языках).

Англоязычный анализ проводился на ограниченном, но показательном ресурсе —*Journal of Pragmatics*. Косвенно темы приглашения за анализируемый период (2015—2019 годы) рассматриваются (упоминаются) в 132 статьях, однако, если посмотреть релевантные публикации, то увидим, что непосредственно речевой акт приглашения анализируется в статьях одного тематического номера журнала (выпуск 8) за 2018 год, “Invitations and responses: the formation of actions across languages”, в котором представлено 9 статей (рассматриваются приглашения на языке фарси, итальянском, китайском, финском; приглашения в телефонных разговорах, институциональном дискурсе). Славянские языки в данном выпуске не представлены.

Поиск по ключевым словам «invitation, Russian» в sciencedirect.com дает 23 результата, при этом полного совпадения названий статьи с ключевыми словами не наблюдается. В целом, мы видим, что русский язык довольно слабо представлен в исследованиях, посвященных данному речевому акту.

В статье мы определим место приглашения в системе речевых актов, а также рассмотрим функционально-прагматические особенности русского приглашения в различных социальных контекстах.

## 2. Речевой акт «приглашение» в системе речевых актов

Основополагающей теоретической концепцией прагмалингвистики является теория речевых актов. В качестве конвенционального определения речевого акта (РА) принято считать следующее: «Речевой акт — целенаправленное речевое действие, совершаемое в соответствии с принципами и правилами речевого поведения, принятыми в данном обществе; единица нормативного социоречевого поведения, рассматриваемая в рамках прагматической ситуации. Основными чертами речевого акта являются: намеренность (интенциональность), целеустремленность и конвенциональность. Речевые акты всегда соотнесены с лицом говорящего» (ЛЭС 1990: 413).

В речевом акте участвуют говорящий и адресат, которые выступают как носители определенных, согласованных между собой социальных ролей, или функций. Участники речевого акта обладают фондом общих речевых навыков (коммуникативной компетентностью), знаний и представлений о мире. Если попытаться найти место приглашения в системе речевых актов, предложенной Дж. Сёрлем, в которой он выделял ассертивы (репрезентативы), директивы, комиссивы, экспрессивы и декларативы (Searle, 1976), то, на наш взгляд, приглашение можно считать гибридным речевым актом.

Особенность речевого акта «приглашение» заключается в том, что он предполагает действие слушающего в его собственных интересах или в интересах всех участников коммуникации. По данным Большого толкового словаря русского языка приглашение — это «просьба, предложение сделать что-либо, принять участие в чем-либо, заняться чем-либо или письмо, записка с просьбой прийти, приехать куда-либо, принять участие в чем-либо» (Большой толковый словарь русского языка 1998: 690). В то же время посредством приглашения говорящий обязуется выполнить предложенные действия в будущем, а также обязывает слушающего принять участие в этих действиях. Таким образом, приглашение можно рассматривать и как *комиссивный*, и как *директивный* речевой акт. Как правило, действие приглашающего (например, приглашение на ужин) считается выгодным для приглашаемого. Успешное приглашение зависит от того, примет ли адресат предложение, а также от того, выполнит ли адресант взятое на себя обязательство, что может потребовать определенной работы как со стороны приглашающего, так и со стороны приглашаемого лица.

Исследователи различают два типа приглашений: явные (истинные, искренние) и неявные (ложные, неискренние) (Wolfson1981; Isaacs&Clark 1990; Bella 2009; Suzuki 2015). Когда приглашение является явным и искренним, оно, как правило, содержит конкретную информацию, такую, как указание времени и места, а также упоминание о планируемой деятельности, запрос информации о возможности адресата принять приглашение, его планах и намерениях. Считается, что если приглашение истинное, адресант может настаивать на нем, повторить приглашение в случае отказа, привести доводы для того, чтобы оно непременно было принято. Такое приглашение будет воспринято как подлинное. Неявное приглашение часто действует как показное приглашение (или ритуальное приглашение), которое кажется истинным, но на самом деле таковым не является. Такие приглашения не сопровождаются обсуждением деталей самого приглашения, подразумевается, что его не следует принимать всерьез. Поскольку цель показного приглашения фатическая, приглашающий и приглашаемый признают условность, даже если на первый взгляд приглашение кажется достаточно искренним. На прагматическом уровне такие приглашения представляют собой лишь выражения добрых намерений, и не более того. Их прагматическая функция — демонстрация симпатии говорящего в отношении собеседника.

С точки зрения теории вежливости приглашение часто рассматривается как угрожающий лицу речевой акт, однако его восприятие и реализация являются культурно специфичными. Приглашение может быть рассмотрено в рамках негативной и позитивной вежливости. Так, в английской лингвокультуре, для которой характерны стратегии негативной вежливости, приглашение является угрожающим лицу речевым актом: основная стратегия английских коммуникантов — сделать приглашение в максимально косвенной форме, не допустить прямого воздействия на собеседника, предоставить ему право выбора (см. Ларина 2009: 238—251). Этим обусловлено повсеместное использование в английском языке интеррогативных форм, не выполняющих функций вопроса. Подобная косвенность в приглашениях объясняется неприкосновенностью зоны личной автономии: настойчивость в английской коммуникации недопустима, так как она воспринимается как давление на собеседника и нарушение правил вежливости. Перформативный глагол *invite* используется крайне редко. Как пишет Дж. Томас, в английском языке нечасто встречается перформатив *I invite you (Я приглашаю тебя)* для выражения акта приглашения (Thomas 1995: 47). В английской лингвокультуре использование императива также строго ограничено и встречается в основном в приказах. В других директивах императив практически не используется, для них характерны интеррогативные и условные формы (см., например, Lakoff 1972; Ervin-Tripp 1976).

Следует отметить, что не во всех лингвокультурах наблюдается подобная ситуация. Например, А. Вежбицкая (Wierzbicka 1991) отмечает, что, в отличие от английского языка, косвенные приглашения, выраженные интеррогативными конструкциями (наподобие английского Would you like to...?), являются неестественными для польского языка и могут быть не поняты ими как приглашения. Автор также отмечает, что позитивная вежливость характерна для сербского, испанского и русского языков. Действительно, в русской коммуникативной культуре приглашения делаются настойчиво, допускается давление на собеседника, что демонстрирует большое желание увидеть его.

## 3. Материал и методы исследования

Материал для исследования был собран входе эксперимента, проведенного в виде моделирования диалогического дискурса. Нами ставилась задача выявить основные тенденции в реализации речевого акта «приглашение» на русском языке в разных возрастных группах и разных социальных контекстах (при равном и дистантном общении). Материалом исследования послужили ответы на вопросы дискурсивного теста 101 респондента. В эксперименте участвовали респонденты, относящиеся к трем возрастным группам: (1) «школьники» — учащиеся общеобразовательной школы[1] в возрасте 13—15 лет; (2) «студенты» — молодые люди в возрасте 19—22 лет, обучающиеся в высших учебных заведениях; (3) «взрослые» — работающие люди, имеющие среднее или высшее образование и средний или средне-высокий социальный статус. Данные о количестве анкетируемых приведены в табл. 1. По возрастному составу группа «взрослые» включает информантов 23—72 лет. Нижняя возрастная граница частично пересекается с группой «студенты». Разница состоит в том, что группа «студенты» опрашивалась в стенах вуза, а «взрослые» (по нижней возрастной границе) — на рабочем месте. При заполнении анкеты онлайн статус определялся информантом с ремаркой, что «взрослые» приравниваются к работающим информантам либо информантам пенсионного возраста. Гендерные характеристики респондентов на данном этапе не учитывались.

Результаты анкетирования, безусловно, не являются ультимативными, тем не менее, выявляют важные тенденции в формировании речевого акта «приглашение» в русском языке.

Как показал анализ существующих работ, в лингвистических речеактовых исследованиях еще не были представлены анализируемые нами группы в их совокупности.

*Таблица 1*

**Группа анкетируемых по разным возрастным группам**

| Группа анкетируемых | Количество (человек) | Абсолютное количество (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Школьники | 21 | 20,8 |
| Студенты | 37 | 36,6 |
| Взрослые | 43 | 42,6 |
| **Итого** | **101** | **100** |

Для исследования различных регистров речевого акта «приглашение» (равностатусное и разностатусное) анкетируемым предлагалось ответить на два вопроса (по формулировке опросника):

*(а) Представьте, что вы хотите пригласить друга / хорошего знакомого на вечеринку или день рождения. Сформулируйте свое устное приглашение и зафиксируйте его.*

[1] МАОУ «Образовательный центр «НЬЮТОН» г. Челябинска»

*(б) Представьте, что вы хотите пригласить начальника на мероприятие или день рождения. Сформулируйте свое устное приглашение и зафиксируйте его.*

Ситуация (а) характеризуется статусной и социально-психологической симметрией, ситуация (б) характеризуется наличием вертикальной и социально-психологической дистанции.

Анкеты заполнялись взрослыми либо в бумажном виде, либо посредством сервиса Surveymonkey.com. Со школьниками и студентами работа шла при непосредственном контакте в рамках классных/кураторских часов. Основными обще- и частнолингвистическими методами анализа полученного материала послужили метод дискурс-анализа, метод семантического (методика семантического описания, семантико-синтаксический анализ и др.) и прагматического анализа (непосредственная интерпретация речевого акта), экспериментальный, сопоставительный методы и метод количественной обработки данных.

Во время анализа полученных результатов особое внимание уделялось следующим аспектам: способу выражения, интенсификаторам/митигаторам, маркированной лексике, обращениям, а также дополнительным компонентам. Сводные результаты по каждому из рассматриваемых регистров приведены в таблицах в конце каждого раздела.

## 4. Результаты исследования

### *4.1. Неформальное приглашение*

#### *4.1.1. Школьники*

При всем разнообразии конструкций в группе «школьники» в рамках равностатусной коммуникации на первый план по частотности выходит использование приглашения в побудительной форме — 64%. При этом, кроме прямого императива, использовался императив совместного действия, ср.:

(1) *Привет, бро! Приходи на вечеринку!*

(2) *Привет, мой лучший друг! Пошли ко мне на вечеринку!*

В рамках императивной группы особо выделяются формы с окказионализмом *го*, который является калькой с английского *go* (зд. идем! пойдем!). Данную форму использовала почти четверть (24%) опрошенных:

(3) *Дарово! Го ко мне домой!*

(4) *Привет! Саш, го завтра ко мне на вечеринку!*

Из окказионализмов отмечаются также молодежные сленгизмы (*днюха, погнали*), в том числе американизмы типа *бро, хей*, являющиеся, на наш взгляд, маркерами внутригрупповой принадлежности, призванными сократить коммуникативную дистанцию и показать собеседнику, что «я свой»:

(5) *Погнали ко мне на вечеринку!*

(6) *Дороу, го на мою днюху.*

На вопросительные высказывания приходится 23% всех ответов, что, с одной стороны, говорит о высоком потенциале вопросительных конструкций как в равно-, так и в разностатусном общении, а с другой — показывает довольно большую вариативность при использовании вопросов, чего не наблюдалось в императивах:

(7) *Не хочешь ли пойти ко мне на вечеринку?*

(8) *Пойдешь ко мне на день рождения?*

(9) *Сможешь прийти ко мне на день рождения завтра?*

(10) *Сможешь ли ты заглянуть ко мне на вечеринку?*

Конструкции варьируются от уточнения общего желания идти на мероприятие (с частицей «не») до выражения общей модальности («сможешь», «сможешь ли»), а также минимизации коммуникативного давления за счет использования глагола с меньшим прагматическим весом — «заглянуть» (т.е. зайти на короткое время, мимоходом).

Небольшую группу (4,4%) составили высказывания в сослагательном наклонении, которые также смягчают воздействие на адресата, при этом сигнализируют о желании приглашающего:

(11) *Я бы хотел пригласить тебя.*

Перформативные высказывания также довольно редки (8,6%), что объясняется неформальностью общения:

(12) *Я приглашаю тебя на свою вечеринку.*

(13) *Я приглашаю тебя на мою вечеринку.*

Из дополнительных элементов можно выделить:

а) интенсификаторы, описывающие желание приглашающего видеть приглашаемого и создающие дополнительные мотивационные условия, спекулируя системой ценностей приглашаемого:

(14) *Привет, дружище! Приглашаю тебя на пижамную вечеринку. Обещаю, будет весело!*

(15) *Привет, Даш! У меня вечеринка дома, будет весело, приходи обязательно!*

(16) *Привет, Олег! Я бы хотел пригласить тебя на мой день рождения. Будет много газявы!*

б) отсутствие в анализируемых ответах маркера вежливости «пожалуйста», элементы вежливости либо включены в синтаксическое оформление приглашения, либо отсутствуют в принципе;

в) уточнение даты и места проведения — 28% респондентов.

Считаем важным отметить, что половина ответов содержала в себе прямую или имплицитную формулировку «приходи ко мне домой», в то время как обращает на себя внимание факт приглашения “не-домой” (кафе, парк, ТРК):

(17) *Хей! Привет, я приглашаю тебя на свой день рождения (дата) в пейнтбол, в парк Гагарина, в 15.30 там.*

#### *4.1.2. Студенты*

В данной группе также рассматриваются равностатусные приглашения. В половине случаев приглашение выражается прямым императивом (50%):

(18) *Приходи ко мне / Приходи сегодня / Приходи!*

Однако здесь на первый план выходит наличие вопросительной формы (не в самом теле приглашения, а в уточняющих формулировках) — 43% всех приглашений: *(ты) придешь? / Что думаешь? / Присоединишься? / Ты свободна? / Не хочешь прийти?*

Подобные формулировки имеют разный угрожающий лицу вес — от прямого вопроса «ты придешь?» до более пространной формулировки «что думаешь?».

Отметим также вопросительно-отрицательную конструкцию, традиционно ассоциирующуюся с повышенной вежливостью, но не находящую широкого применения в нашем материале. Частотным также является приглашение типа «описание ситуации + интенсификатор / императив / другой компонент (дополняющий элемент)»: *Я тут решила организовать / Я устраиваю / Слушай, мы хотим собраться... Буду рада видеть тебя там / Жду / Давай тоже!*

Использование перформатива единично (2%) («*Приглашаю тебя*»). 72% всех приглашений данной группы формулируется с использованием различных интенсификаторов: *очень хочу, чтобы ты пришла / буду ждать / отказ не принимается / приходи, будет интересно.* К интенсификаторам также можно отнести апелляцию к старой дружбе — *«мы так давно не виделись»*, интересам приглашаемого — *«как ты любишь»*, приятному времяпрепровождению — *«будет интересно»*, *«будет весело»*.

В данной группе, как и в группе «Школьники», выделяется использование сленгизмов. Наиболее частотными являются лексемы *го* и *по(чиллить)*, несомненно представляющие собой маркеры внутригрупповой принадлежности: *тупо почиллить / хэй, го тусить / подкатишь? / крутая идея / че, пойдем? / хаюшки / бро:*

(19) *Го ко мне.*

(20) *Тут туса намечается. Го?*

(21) *Слышь, го тусить?*

Среди маркеров внутригрупповой принадлежности на более частном уровне можно выделить обращения, употребляемые только в рамках данной группы, например, *принцесска* или *ребятки*. Данные случаи единичны.

### *4.1.3. Взрослые*

Результаты анализа данной группы существенно отличаются от предыдущих. 67% всех равностатусных приглашений в рамках рассматриваемой группы приходятся на перформативную конструкцию «Приглашаю тебя»:

(22) *Приглашаю тебя на праздник! Буду рада тебя видеть!*

(23) *Дорогой...! Приглашаю тебя в гости, чтобы отметить нашу 50-летнюю дружбу.*

(24) *Маруся, приглашаю тебя на свой праздник! Жду!*

На группу императивов приходится всего 28%:

(25) *Девочки, приходите ко мне в гости домой. Отметим мой день рождения.*

(26) *Вера, жду тебя в субботу в гости, ко мне домой, часов в пять. Приходи.*

(27) *Привет, Серега, приходи в гости!*

Развернутые высказывания окказиональны. Своей формулировкой они интенсифицируют речевой акт и показывают желание приглашающего увидеть приглашаемого:

(28) *Вася, друг! ...числа в…часов твое присутствие озарит нашу встречу. Уж я найду способ прекрасно провести время!*

(29) *Ирина, привет! Как дела, как детки? А у меня скоро день рождения. Мы с мужем решили собрать всех близких друзей на даче. Сможешь? 28 июня, часа в 2. С собой все приносят хорошее настроение! Как добираться — попозже договоримся. Как ты смотришь на такое приглашение?*

Вопросительные формулировки также единичны (5%):

(30) *У меня во вторник день рождения. Придешь?*

В равностатусных приглашениях обращают на себя внимание следующие детали:

в 54% случаев при приглашении с упоминанием времени время указывается неточное:

(31) *Приходи завтра вечером, поболтаем.*

(32) *Жду в пятницу после работы.*

(33) *Жду тебя в субботу в гости, ко мне домой, часов в пять.*

Вероятно, что при дальнейшем обсуждении деталей приглашения время будет уточнено, но в целом такой подход показывает достаточно расслабленное отношение к категории времени в равностатусном общении[2].

В обращениях женщина—женщина (мужчины — окказионально) обращает на себя внимание использование вокатива *дорогая* (*моя дорогая / дорогая подруга* / дорогая + имя):

(34) *Дорогая, чем занимаешься в субботу?*

(35) *Дорогой...! Приглашаю тебя в гости.*

(36) *Дорогая моя подруга! Приглашаю тебя к себе и жду с нетерпением, что ты придешь.*

Приглашающие таким образом подчеркивают определенную душевность и интимность отношений. На наш взгляд, подобное обращение не является частотным для устной речи. Данные дискурсивного теста зачастую могут показывать экстраполяцию элементов письменной речи в устную (см., например, [Кожухова 2019]). Тем не менее, именно данная подгруппа характеризуется подобной отсылкой к сердечности.

Резюмируем результаты в виде таблицы[3].

[2] Г.В. Елизарова отмечает, что сейчас происходит трансформация отношения ко времени — от «расслабленного» (полихронного) до «четкого» (монохронного) (Елизарова 2009).

[3] В таблице отмечены релевантные для исследования параметры.

*Таблица 2*

**Выражение приглашения в равностатусном общении**

| Параметр | Группа | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Школьники | Студенты | Взрослые |
| Императивные конструкции | 64% | 50% | 28% |
| Вопросительные конструкции | 23% | 43% | 5% |
| Сослагательное наклонение | 4,4% | 5% | Отсутствует |
| Перформативы | 8,6% | 2% | 67% |
| Интенсификаторы | 63% | 72% | 5% |
| Митигаторы | 4% | окказионально | окказионально |
| Уточнение даты/времени | 28% (из них 18% — желание дать письменное приглашение) | окказионально | 31% (указание на приблизительность времени) |
| Лексические особенности | американизмы, сленгизмы | сленгизмы, американизмы. Апелляция к длительности отношений, интересам приглашаемого, приятному времяпрепровождению/ Описательность ситуации | Обращения |

Анализ речевого акта «приглашение» в равностатусных приглашениях показывает превалирование побудительной формы (группы «Школьники», «Студенты») и активное использование перформативов в группе «Взрослые». Использование митигаторов не является частотным ни в одной из выделенных групп. Напротив, в проанализированных контекстах широко используются интенсификаторы, акцентуализирующие желание приглашающего, а не приглашаемого (*жду! / очень хочу тебя увидеть (у себя)! / твое присутствие обязательно / буду ждать с нетерпением / буду рада нашей встрече / отказ не принимается),* что говорит об отсутствии угрожающего лицу потенциала в равностатусных приглашениях. Отметим также маркеры позитивной вежливости, сленгизмы/американизмы как маркеры внутригрупповой принадлежности в группах «Школьники» и «Студенты», маркеры интимности — в группе «Взрослые». Широкое использование императивов, перформативов, интенсификаторов подтверждает нашу идею о том, что речевой акт «приглашение» в русской коммуникативной культуре не относится к угрожающим лицу.

## 4.2. Формальные приглашения

Формальные приглашения рассматриваются в тех же группах, что и неформальные, но при разностатусных отношениях, характеризующихся наличием вертикальной дистанции.

### *4.2.1. Школьники*

Разностатусные приглашения в группе «школьники» менее разнообразны по своим формам, 81% всех приглашений приходится на перформатив (с подлежащим и без подлежащего):

(37) *Мы приглашаем вас на фотовыставку!*

(38) *Я приглашаю вас на день рождения!*

Перформатив может дополняться деталями:

а) уточнение желания приглашаемого, служащее интенсификатором приглашения и представляющее определенную коммуникативную опасность:

(39) *Здравствуйте, Ирина Владимировна, приглашаю вас на мой день рождения, пойдете?*

б) уточнение возможности, смягчающее воздействие на адресата:

(40) *Здравствуйте, я приглашаю вас..., если вы, конечно, не заняты.*

Одинаковые по форме речевые акты (перформативные в данном случае), отягощаются дополнительными элементами с противоположным коммуникативным весом.

Считаем важным отметить, что 15% респондентов данной группы указывают на предпочтение письменного приглашения:

(41) Взрослым я бы передал письмо с приглашением: *Я хочу пригласить вас на праздник.* В этом приглашении я указал бы дату и время.

Любопытной, на наш взгляд, также является ремарка одного из респондентов: «*Домой я бы не пригласил*» — т.е. дом рассматривается как личная, приватная зона, куда допускаются только «свои» (= равностатусные). Данные факты могут быть интересны для дальнейших психо- и социолингвистических исследований.

Снижение коммуникативного давления, характерное для данного контекста, реализуется за счет вопросительно-отрицательных форм с частицами *бы* и *ли*. Митигативный эффект достигается также с помощью замещения глаголов *посетить/прийти* на глаголы кратковременного действия *зайти/заглянуть* (по пути, мимоходом):

(42) *Здравствуйте, не хотите ли вы зайти на мою фотовыставку?*

(43) *Здравствуйте, не хотели бы вы заглянуть ко мне на фотовыставку?*

Из дополнительных компонентов (некоторые частично отмечены выше), выделяются:

а) интенсификаторы *«буду очень рада»*;

б) митигаторы *«если вы, конечно, не заняты»*.

В целом отметим значительное преобладание перформативов, при этом почти половина перформативов (вариант «местоимение + перформатив») выражена во множественном числе и имеет форму «мы приглашаем», что указывает на разностатусность общения и относительную невозможность пригласить человека, с которым коммуникант находится в дистантных отношениях, на личное мероприятие (за счет конструкции «мы + перформатив» приглашающий защищает свое коммуникативное лицо). Лексическое и синтаксическое разнообразие в случае субординативных отношений сводится к минимуму: используемые глаголы стилистически нейтральны («*приглашать», «идти*»), лексически однообразны (исключение — глагол «заглянуть») и синтаксически инвариативны.

Отметим также, что результаты данного исследования не являют собой полную и объективную репрезентацию, так как очевидно, что данные итоги, скорее всего, не будут характерны для начальной школы и для старших классов. Тем не менее, для нашего исследования важна не только тенденция в выражении приглашений в разностатусной коммуникации, но и возрастная эволюция речевого акта.

### *4.2.2. Студенты*

В данной возрастной группе в разностатусных приглашениях предпочтение отдается конструкции с сослагательным наклонением (42%), использование перформативных (30%) и вопросительных конструкций (26%) распределяется примерно одинаково, употребление императивной конструкции единично (2%).

Приглашение с использованием сослагательных конструкций сводится к употреблению глаголов *пригласить/предложить/присутствовать/видеть* в формуле «Я + глагол в прошедшем времени + бы, чтобы...»:

(44) *Я хотела бы, чтобы вы присутствовали...*

Сослагательное наклонение говорит о желаемости действия, что, с одной стороны, интенсифицирует высказывание (говорящий говорит о своем желании), с другой — служит митигатором, так как желание выражено гипотетически, а не императивно. В целом следует отметить довольно низкое использование митигаторов в данной группе (17%).

Вторая по частотности группа приходится на приглашения с использованием перформативных глаголов (30%) по модели: «Уважаемый (имя) + (я) приглашаю Вас». Данная конструкция во всех случаях дополняется модификаторами: *если (с)можете / я думаю, вам может быть это интересно / будет ли у вас возможность прийти?* и др.

Также относительно частотными (26%) являются вопросительные высказывания, традиционно сопряженные с вежливыми, коммуникативно-дистантными отношениями: *Не хотите ли вы пойти / присутствовать / присоединиться?* В них использована стратегия вежливости дистанцирования: приглашающий не информирует о своих желаниях, а интересуется желаниями или возможностями приглашаемого, предоставляя ему таким образом выбор:

(45) *Не хотите ли Вы прийти на нашу фотовыставку?*

(46) *Сможете ли вы прийти?*

(47) *Будет ли возможность прийти?* и др.

Прямой императив, случаи употребления которого единичны, сопровождается дополнительным компонентом:

(48) *Приходите, будет интересно!*

Среди дополнительных компонентов приглашения, которые в целом были употреблены более половиной респондентов (51%), можно выделить те, что нацелены как на описание выгоды бенефицианта: *будет интересно / получите массу новых впечатлений! / ...вам должно быть очень интересно там / ...я слышал, вы увлекаетесь...я думаю, вам понравится,* так и на интенсификацию важности принятия приглашения для приглашающего *буду очень рад вас видеть / я буду очень рада / это было бы честью для меня! / мы вас ждем!*

Отличительной чертой данной возрастной группы является использование обращений (92%). Они имеют стандартную форму (имя + отчество) и являются инициальной частью приглашения. Обращение может сочетаться с приветствием (наиболее частотное — «Здравствуйте!»):

(49) *Здравствуйте, Светлана Анатольевна, мы хотели бы пригласить Вас на фотовыставку!*

Окказионально указывалась необходимость дополнить устное приглашение письменным (приводилось в скобках, после непосредственного приглашения). Данные дополнения также служат индикаторами субординативных формальных отношений.

Полученные данные говорят о том, что в формальных контекстах вежливость дистанцирования в целом реализуется за счет статусного обращения по имени-отчеству, частичной установки на интересы приглашаемого (создание дополнительной мотивации при описании выгоды). Однако наиболее характерными оказались перформативные конструкции, ориентированные на желания адресанта, модифицированные формой сослагательного наклонения, что дает возможность заключить, что и в асимметричных отношениях РА «приглашение» в русском коммуникативном поведении не является угрожающим лицу.

### *4.2.3. Взрослые*

В данной группе в разностатусных приглашениях наиболее частотным способом выражения является использование перформативных высказываний (65%), чаще всего представленных в модели «(гоноратив) обращение + (местоимение) + перформатив + интенсификатор (дополнительная информация)», где информация в круглых скобках опциональна:

(50) *Уважаемый Петр Иванович, приглашаю Вас на (мероприятие). Буду рад видеть вас среди гостей.*

Помимо перформатива, относительно частотными (19%) оказались условные конструкции с сослагательным наклонением «хотелось бы вас пригласить» / «хотела бы вас пригласить».

Наиболее продуктивными интенсификаторами являются высказывания, выражающие позитивные чувства приглашающего, подчеркивающие значимость для адресата принятия его приглашения.

(51) *Уважаемый..! Приглашаю Вас на..! Буду рад Вас увидеть!*

(52) *Приходите, буду очень рада.*

(53) *Была бы очень рада вас видеть!*

(54) *Нам очень важно ваше присутствие.*

(55) *Мне было бы очень приятно.*

(56) *Приходите, пожалуйста, ко мне.*

К единичным моделям относятся формальные приглашения:

(57) *Разрешите пригласить Вас.*

(58) *Позвольте пригласить Вас.*

(59) *Прошу Вас посетить.*

Заметим, что именно в группе «Взрослые» в обеих подгруппах наиболее ярко проявилось использование модификаторов при обращении — как в равностатусном (маркер сближения «дорогой»), так и в разностатусном (маркер дистанцирования «уважаемый»).

В целом, как мы видим, репертуар реплик довольно ограничен (безусловно, допускаем употребление более разнообразных конструкций в реальной речи, с другими информантами).

Резюмируем результаты в виде таблицы.

*Таблица 3*

**Выражение приглашения в разностатусном общении**

| Параметр | Группа | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Школьники | Студенты | Взрослые |
| Императивные конструкции | 1% | 2% | 7% |
| Вопросительные конструкции | 16% | 26% | 9% |
| Сослагательное наклонение | 2% | 42% | 19% |
| Перформативы | 81% | 30% | 65% |
| Интенсификаторы | 39% | 51% | 51% |
| Митигаторы | 12% | 17% | окказионально |
| Уточнение даты/времени | окказионально | окказионально | окказионально |
| Лексические особенности | нейтральная лексика, «мы»-приглашения | обращения, описание выгоды бенефицианта | обращения |

## 5. Выводы

Анализ трех возрастных групп (школьники, студенты, взрослые) выявил общие тенденции и частные особенности формулировки приглашений в равно- и разностатусном общении.

Равностатусные приглашения респондентов школьного возраста формулируются, в основном, прямым императивом и интенсификатором, либо императивом совместного действия. Отличительной характеристикой неформальности данной подгруппы является использование молодежного сленга как маркера внутригрупповой принадлежности (*бро, го, дороу, погнали* и др.). Разностатусные приглашения характеризуются использованием формулы *обращение+перформатив*, что свидетельствует о том, что в русской коммуникативной культуре перформатив не несет угрозы лицу и не ограничивает свободу действия. Субординативные отношения также показаны формулой обращения по имени-отчеству.

В группе «Студенты» равностатусные приглашения также формулируются с использованием императива и дополнительных элементов. Уточняющий элемент обычно следует в вопросительной форме и непосредственно уточняет возможность/желание (*Придешь? Ты свободна?*). В данной группе частотны описания ситуации перед непосредственно приглашением. Здесь также встречается использование молодежного сленга (*тупо почиллить, подкатишь?, хаюшки, хэй* и др.).

Анализ результатов группы «Взрослые» в целом подтверждает общую тенденцию использования императива для равностатусного приглашения и перформатива — для разностатусного. Тем не менее, в данной подгруппе использование перформатива носит более широкий характер и в бóльшей мере распространяется на равностатусное общение, чем в других равностатусных группах. В данной группе обращают на себя внимание элементы «сердечности» — в равностатусных приглашениях частотно обращение «дорогая», в разностатусных — эмфаза своего желания видеть приглашаемого (*буду рад Вас видеть! Нам будет очень приятно Ваше присутствие*).

Сопоставляя регистры организации речевого акта, видим, что для всех подгрупп (кроме группы ‘взрослые + равностатусные’) характерно широкое использование интенсификаторов, вопросительные/вопросительно-отрицательные высказывания более характерны для групп ‘школьники’, ‘студенты’. Перформативы наиболее часто используются в разностатусных приглашениях всех анализируемых подгрупп (и довольно редко — в группах ‘школьники + равностатусные’, ‘студенты + равностатусные’).

Результаты проведенного анализа показывают, что как в формальных, так и неформальных приглашениях широкое использование находят интенсификаторы; перформативные высказывания наиболее характерны для формальных приглашений, а для неформальных приглашений любой возрастной группы — императивные конструкции.

В целом полученные результаты позволяют заключить, что речевой акт «Приглашение» в русской лингвокультуре не является в той же степени угрожающим лицу, как, например, в британской или американской (см. Ларина, Щелчкова 2013; Ларина 2009 а, б; Щелчкова 2013, 2015 и др.). Эпиграф, приведенный в начале статьи, ярко иллюстрирует тот факт, что приглашение практически лишено показателей условности и неимпозитивности. Наши данные подтверждают ранее сделанные выводы (Ларина 2009 а, б; Larina 2015), о том, что в русской культуре, которая относится к коллективистскому типу (Larina et al. 2017 a, в), где ценятся общение и солидарность, предпочтение отдается прямому приглашению, допускается воздействие говорящего на адресата, что не нарушает принципов вежливости. Русские коммуниканты проявляют тенденцию к усилению приглашения, а не к его смягчению, предоставление выбора расценивается ими, скорее как неискренность (Leech & Larina 2014: 14—15).

Подтверждается также идея о том, что коммуникативное поведение говорящего обусловлено тем, к какой национальной культуре относится коммуникант, какие нормы и конвенции приняты в обществе, частью которого он является (Власян 2016; Ларина 2009б; Прохоров, Стернин 2016; Culpeper & Terkourafi 2017; Hofstede 2003; Samovar, Porter, McDaniel 2012; Vlasyan 2018; Wierzbicka 1991 и др.).

Результаты исследования носят ограниченный характер и не претендуют на полноту раскрытия материала в связи с ограниченной выборкой (группа «Школьники» представлена ограниченным возрастом, группа «Студенты» — студентами преимущественно гуманитарных специальностей, группа «Взрослые» состояла в основном из лиц, имеющих высшее образование), тем не менее они дают новые данные о выражении приглашения в русской коммуникативной культуре и способствуют лучшему пониманию русской вежливости и стиля коммуникации. Они могут быть использованы в рамках межкультурной прагматики, межкультурной коммуникации, в переводческой и преподавательской практике.



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Research Article

# Understandings of Impoliteness in the Greek Context

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**Abstract**

Interest in non-academic ways of understanding of im/politeness has so far been evident primarily in analyses of the sequential development of real-life interactions. However, understandings of im/politeness can be found in other sources such as related articles in on-line newspapers and their ensuing comments. The main aim of this paper is to contribute to this rather neglected area in im/politeness research, thus placing emphasis on the underexplored societal rather than individual level of im/politeness. The data to be investigated comes from two on-line articles and the comments they received. The articles appeared in a popular Greek free press on-line newspaper, LIFO, in 2014 and 2017 and were written by the same journalist. Both articles and ensuing comments express lay understandings of impoliteness and are discussed in the paper in terms of van Dijk's (1998, 2006a, b) ideological discourse analysis and 'ideological square' that revolves around positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. In exploring understandings of impoliteness in this context, we identified two emerging social identities, those of 'polite' and 'impolite citizen', dynamically co-constructed as binary opposites by the journalist and posters involved. Despite the fact that on-line newspaper articles and their accompanying comments reflect stereotypical thinking, they also depict pervasive views and are worth exploring because they concern the societal level of im/politeness.

**Keywords:** Impoliteness, lay conceptualisations, ideological discourse analysis, identity construction, on-line newspaper articles, Greek

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Научная статья

# Понимание невежливости в греческом контексте

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**Аннотация**

Анализ понимания (не)вежливости на бытовом уровне обычно проводится на основе исследований реального взаимодействия. Однако для данных исследований можно использовать и другие источники, например, соответствующие статьи в онлайн газетах и последующие комментарии.

Основная цель данной статьи — внести вклад в эту мало изученную область, сделав акцент на социальном, а не индивидуальном уровне (не)вежливости. Материалом для исследования послужили две онлайн-статьи и комментарии к ним. Статьи были написаны одним и тем же журналистом и опубликованы в популярной греческой онлайн-газете LIFO в 2014 и 2017 годах. Обе статьи и последующие комментарии выражают бытовое понимание невежливости и обсуждаются нами с точки зрения идеологического дискурс-анализа ван Дейка (1998, 2006a, b) и «идеологического квадрата», который вращается вокруг позитивной презентации себя и негативной презентации другого. Изучая понимание невежливости в этом контексте, мы определили две бинарно противоположные социальные идентичности — вежливого и невежливого гражданина, совместно сконструированные журналистом и авторами комментариев. Несмотря на то, что статьи в онлайн-газетах и сопровождающие их комментарии отражают стереотипное мышление, они представляют широко распространенные взгляды и заслуживают изучения, поскольку затрагивают социальный уровень (не)вежливости.

**Ключевые слова:** невежливость, концептуализация, идеологический дискурс-анализ, конструирование идентичности, статьи в онлайн-газетах, греческий язык

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## 1. Introduction

Discursive approaches to im/politeness have suggested a distinction between lay understandings of politeness or ‘first order’ politeness and politeness as a theoretical construct or ‘second order’ politeness. Despite the fact that over the years it has become clear that such a straightforward dichotomy is difficult to maintain, it has triggered academic interest in non-academic understandings of politeness and impoliteness which, as has been argued, should receive more attention in im/politeness research. Among various sources, such understandings can be found in articles and ensuing comments in on-line newspapers dealing explicitly with issues of im/politeness.

Despite the fact that the views expressed may reflect stereotypical and ideological thinking (Brown 2015, Culpeper 2011, Mills 2009, 2017), they are worth exploring because they concern the rather underexplored societal rather than the individual level of politeness. It is precisely to this neglected area in im/politeness research that our paper aims to contribute.

The data that will serve as the source of our discussion comes from two on-line articles written by the same journalist and dealing specifically with the issue of impoliteness, and the comments following these publications. In exploring lay understandings of impoliteness in this on-line context, we will be mainly concerned with the social group identities that the journalist and commenters appear to co-construct. From our analysis, impoliteness emerges from the system of social norms and values of politeness presumably shared by a group of citizens the identity of which is constructed explicitly in the discourse of both articles and ensuing comments. The group identity of ‘impolite citizen’ is presented as the binary opposite of another group identity, that of ‘polite citizen’, the identity of which is primarily constructed through implication and inference in the data examined.

The paper is structured as follows: We will start with a brief consideration of what lay conceptualisations of im/politeness involve and then add some key features of on-line newspaper comments and identity construction. We will then proceed with the data analysis and the presentation and discussion of findings.

## 2. Lay conceptualisations of im/politeness

As mentioned earlier, politeness researchers (e.g., Eelen 2001, Watts 1989, 2003, Watts et al. 1992) have drawn a well-known but also contested distinction between 'first order' (or P1) politeness and 'second order' (or P2) politeness, the former referring to 'folk' or 'lay' interpretations/understandings of im/politeness and the latter to a theoretical construct in a sociolinguistic theory (Watts 2003: 4). Although it has by now become evident that such a dichotomy can no longer be sustained (see, e.g., Haugh 2012, Haugh and Culpeper 2018, Kádár and Haugh 2013: 84, 104, Mills 2003: 8, Terkourafi 2011: 180), it has drawn scholarly attention to non-academic understandings of im/politeness which, as several studies argue, should receive more attention in im/politeness research (see, e.g., Culpeper 2011, Haugh 2012, Locher and Watts 2005: 16, Mills 2003, Watts 2003).

This distinction was the incentive for the emergence of research which analysed in detail examples from real-life interactions focusing on the assessments made by participants in the unfolding of these interactions. Despite their offering valuable insights into understandings of im/politeness, such assessments tend to emerge at textual moments of disagreement/conflict, are tied to a specific time and place and mostly reflect the heterogeneity of understandings (Davies et al. 2013: 275). Moreover, as Kádár and Haugh (2013: 199) and Locher (2013: 203) rightly point out, evaluations of im/politeness may not necessarily surface in interaction. Notwithstanding shortcomings, such interactional data is an appealing source for exploring understandings of im/politeness but one can also find understandings of im/politeness in on-line articles and ensuing comments dealing explicitly with issues of im/politeness. In the same way that non-linguists frequently talk about language issues, they also talk about im/politeness and what constitutes in/appropriate behaviour, talk which "comes under the umbrella of metapragmatics" which, as Kádár and Haugh (2013: 181) argue, is "of particular importance to the study of politeness" because it offers a broader perspective than interactional data. As Kádár and Haugh (2013: 202) note, a useful window into metadiscourses on im/politeness comes from analyses of comments or debates that arise in the media. Such sources have received some attention for instance in the work of Haugh (2010), O'Driscoll (2013) and Terkourafi et al. (2018) who analyse in-depth perceptions of the offensiveness of e-mails and tweets which received wide public attention. In such cases, judgements relate to evaluations of language as polite, impolite or offensive. Closer to our approach, in a very recent article, Locher and Luginbühl (2019) explore the competing understandings of im/politeness discussed in on-line commentaries by German and Swiss posters. In other words, in both cases the topic of the discussion is im/politeness *per se* rather than some other issue which developed into a conflictual heated discussion.

Thus, even though there is a plethora of publications on on-line reader comments and impoliteness, what, to the best of our knowledge, has not received much attention are metadiscourses that deal explicitly with the concept of im/politeness in both the articles and the comments and more specifically with the lack of politeness shown to (usually unknown) others in public encounters. Such impoliteness metapragmatic comments are "articulations of prescriptive rules concerning behaviours in the light of particular social norms" (Culpeper 2011: 73) "or more broadly ideologies" (Haugh 2007: 307). Mills (2009, 2017 and elsewhere) maintains that statements about im/politeness at a cultural level tend to be ideological, conservative and based on stereotypes. Despite such valid concerns, such data is invaluable and worth exploring because even though lay descriptions may be inaccurate and based on stereotypes and prejudices, they embody pervasive beliefs and attitudes (Pinto 2011: 218, drawing on Preston 2005). For their part, Niedzielski and Preston (2003: 323) advocate that "the nonspecialist views of topics which touch the lives of all citizens are worth knowing for their bearing on public life". Drawing on Jaworski et al. (2004: 3), Culpeper (2011: 73) maintains that the role of these metalinguistic representations is twofold: "on the one hand they are data for understandings, and on the other hand they become structured understandings. In other words, they both reflect thought and influence it". We would like to add here that these understandings are worth exploring since they concern the societal level which has been rather neglected in im/politeness research. As is well-known, core concepts in impoliteness research are those of 'face' and 'face-threatening' acts/behaviour and their impact on individuals. At the societal level, individuals are not concerned with each other's face protection so much as they most probably do not know each other, nor do they aim at constructing or establishing a relationship. As Davies et al. (2013: 271) contend "local negotiations of politeness and the identities they construct are important, but these negotiations are always played out against a backdrop of societal and cultural beliefs". Impoliteness at the societal level has to do more with the breach of social norms and conventions. Such norms constitute "authoritative standards of behaviour, and entail positive or negative evaluations of behaviour as being consistent or otherwise with those standards" (Culpeper 2011: 36). This difference is evidenced in that comments relating to impoliteness at the societal level are usually accompanied by other-condemning emotions, such as anger and contempt rather than self-conscious emotions such as embarrassment and shame which would be the result of violations of face wants (Culpeper 2011: 62). Lakoff (2005), Grainger and Mills (2016) and Mills (2017) contend that the term 'in/civility' could be used to describe im/politeness phenomena at the social level, since the term 'im/politeness' is better suited to describe such phenomena at the individual level. This is an interesting suggestion that has not been taken up in the relevant literature and, in our view, merits further exploration (but see Sifianou 2019). Such concerns can also be found in the in/civility literature expressed in the distinction between 'proximate' and 'diffuse' civility. Proximate civility is often equated with 'politeness' or its absence in interaction and covers both verbal and non-verbal communication. Diffuse civility involves a broader spectrum of behaviours which impact on others even without their presence (Fyfe et al. 2006: 855). Related is Boyd's (2006: 864) distinction between 'formal' and 'substantive' civility; the former is limited to manners, politeness, courtesies and other interactional formalities, whereas the latter "denotes a sense of standing or membership in the political community with its attendant rights and responsibility".

As it transpires from the above, exploring and encompassing (though not reifying) various lay understandings/theorisations of im/politeness in our quests is a promising perspective that should be considered. Therefore, in this paper, we will focus on lay understandings of impoliteness in Greek found in two on-line articles and ensuing comments referring to this topic and hope to show the significance of such understandings for the construction and maintenance of social group identities vis-à-vis im/politeness.

## 3. On-line newspaper communication and impoliteness

In their effort to encourage community dialogue, on-line newspapers offer public space for readers to voice their opinions through the comments they can post at the end of the articles written by journalists. Sometimes, these comments are civil, but research on on-line communication has raised serious concerns about the incivility in most such contexts. As Barnes (2018: viii) notes, even though the internet has brought new means of communication, "it is often the darker side of communication—incivility, abuse and harassment—that is synonymous with this new frontier" (see also Reader 2012, Upadhyay 2010).

This presumed dominance of impoliteness in the media is mostly attributed to the anonymity and the subsequent deindividuation afforded by on-line platforms. Dynel (2015: 338) contends that Internet users' anonymity infuses "a sense of impunity and lack of inhibitions" and these facilitate the occurrence of impoliteness (see also Bou-Franch and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2014, Hardaker 2010, Hardaker and McGlashan 2016, Lorenzo-Dus et al. 2011, Reader 2012, Thurlow et al. 2004). Research has indeed shown that incivility is more common in contexts where users can retain their anonymity (see, e.g., Oz et al. 2017, Rowe 2015, Santana 2014). However, most researchers agree that "there are multiple factors that influence online commenting culture" (Barnes 2018:114) such as the varying affordances of the platforms and the fact that they attract different types of audiences rather than anonymity alone. In addition, they contend that comments regarding morally loaded, sensitive topics (e.g., same-sex marriage) were more impolite than comments to less sensitive topics (e.g., technology). Thus the topic of the discussion appears to be a significant variable in exploring the quality of interaction (Berg 2016).

As can be gleaned from the above, some scholars argue that anonymity exacerbates aggressiveness and even hostility whereas others contend that anonymity has benefits as it encourages the expression of unconventional views and thus promotes a pluralistic dialogue, free speech and broader participation (see, e.g., Papacharissi 2004, Reader 2012, Scott, 2004). What is more relevant for us here is that anonymity may also lead to an increase in the salience of social identity since "deindividuated contexts are conducive to individuals constructing themselves mostly as members of relevant social categories, i.e. to social or collective identity construction" (Lorenzo-Dus et al. 2011: 2581). As we shall show below, posters construct their identities in relation to like-minded others and in opposition to others who are not members of this in-group.

As previously mentioned, impoliteness has been found to proliferate especially when contentious topics are involved (see, e.g., Bou-Franch and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2014, Mutz and Reeves 2005, Oz et al. 2017, Santana 2014). Im/politeness itself can be such a topic, not only because people have different views as to what it is and how it is manifested, but also because journalists and alarmists love to draw sweeping overgeneralisations that magnify what is seen as impolite and thus draw attention and instigate comments. Discursive approaches to im/politeness research have emphasised the inherent variability in evaluations of behaviour as polite, impolite and so on while at the same time stressing that these individual variabilities can be recognised in juxtaposition to more general societal norms. Yet there are contexts such as that examined here where, as we will see later, impressive homogeneity and unanimity dominate (cf. Locher and Luginbühl 2019).

## 4. Identity construction

The relationship between language and identity has been of concern to social scientists for years but they mostly viewed identity as based on stable relationships between linguistic and social variables. In recent years, this stability has been challenged not least because of large-scale sociocultural and political changes (see, e.g., Archakis and Tsakona 2012, Archakis and Tzanne 2009, Benwell and Stokoe 2006, Bucholtz and Hall 2003, 2005, Canakis 2007, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou 2017, Joseph 2004, Locher 2008). Researchers have shown how "we build images of ourselves through language, how society moulds us into different categories, and how we negotiate our membership of those categories" (De Fina et al. 2006). Johnstone (2008: 151) sees identity as referring "to the outcome of processes by which people index their similarity to and difference from others, sometimes self-consciously and strategically and sometimes as a matter of habit". In other words, identity work has been seen as both active and passive with the former referring to cases "when individuals are relatively aware of their self-constructions", and the latter to work which "occurs through more routine processes" (Wieland 2010: 507). The breadth and complexity of the relationships between identities and their discursive constructions has led to distinctions such as that between personal and collective or group identity (see, e.g., Hardaker and McGlashan 2016, Joseph 2004, Watson 2008, Wieland 2010), a distinction, however, which is not as clear-cut as it first appears (Joseph 2004: 6). As Joseph (2004: 5) explicates, one's "personal identity is made up in part of the various group identities to which you stake a claim". Moreover, as Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou (2017: 247, drawing on Hall and Du Gay 1996 and Mouffe 2005), point out, "identities are the product of difference and exclusion rather than unity, as it is only in relation to the *other*, to what one is not, that recognition is produced" (see also Joseph 2004: 46). As Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 605) argue "identities emerge only in relation to other identities within the contingent framework of interaction". The concepts of 'identity' and 'identity work' are highly complex and the literature diverse (see, e.g., Howard 2000, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013, Locher 2008, Locher and Bolander 2017) so it is impossible to paint an overall picture (Howard 2000: 387).

What is more, cyberspace has foregrounded issues of identity construction, making the social construction of identity more visible and in some cases at least more self-conscious (Luzón 2018, Marwick 2013). Given the mostly public nature of interactions, visibility has emerged as a core property of the system reinforcing posters' concern with identity construction, "an ongoing performance of identity" in order to connect with like-minded others (Zappavigna 2012: 38).

In this paper, we approach identity as dynamically co-constructed in social interaction rather than as a permanent and stable feature of individuals, differentiating between explicit and implicit identity construction (Bolander and Locher 2015) and showing that implicitness is often preferred over explicitness.

## 5. The data

As mentioned earlier, the data for this paper comes from two on-line articles and ensuing comments. Both articles appeared in one of the popular Greek free press on-line newspapers, LIFO, and were written by the same journalist. The first, entitled *Κομπλάροντας απ' την αγένεια...* 'Being intimidated by impoliteness...' (https://www.lifo.gr/team/apopseis/51270?comments_page=2&comments_order=o#comments) appeared in September 2014 and the second entitled *Ελληνική αγένεια: 10 πράγματα που σε σκοτώνουν σ' αυτήν την πόλη* 'Greek impoliteness: 10 things that kill you in this city' (https://www.lifo.gr/articles/health-fitness_articles/158512/elliniki-ageneia-10-pragmata-poy-se-skotonoyn-s-aytin-tin-poli) appeared three years later in September 2017. The first article is accompanied by a screenshot, most probably from a Greek film, depicting a young girl with her tongue sticking out in front of two elderly men. The second article is accompanied by a screenshot of the late, Harry Klynn, very popular Greek stand-up comedian and singer. The photo, drawn from the TV series *Made in Greece*, depicts him performing a very popular obscene gesture. In fact, one poster commented on this photo saying that the article is very good but the photo is even better.

The first of these articles received only 16 comments whereas the second one received 35 comments and was shared 265 times.[1] In both cases, all posters used nicknames. After downloading the articles and the comments, each post was coded as either an initial post, where the poster addressed the content of the article in a new "thread", or as a reply, where the poster directly addressed a comment from another poster, or another participant. The number of likes/dislikes a comment received was also recorded. All comments, with a couple of exceptions, as we will see below, endorsed the journalist's views and received many more likes than dislikes. We will not provide a detailed account of all of this, but instead restrict ourselves to a very brief overview and concentrate on the practices that relate to the construction of the 'im/polite citizen' identity.

[1] The numbers were accurate at the time of collecting our data but are slightly different today. There was no mention of shares for the first one.

### 5.1. The first article: "Being intimidated by impoliteness…"

In the first article (624 words), the journalist starts with two constructed examples through which she attempts to illustrate her general point that by being polite over the phone in an interaction with the public sector she failed to get through to her intended addressee whilst she managed to do so when she called back and sounded rather abrupt and determined. She then says that we all have various problems due to the financial crisis but the main problem is our bad mood which has developed into a tendency to be rude and cheeky both when we speak and when we write. She highlights that the view that you win by being polite and smiling is a joke. The journalist proceeds with a number of examples which indicate our verbal impoliteness such as the absence of greetings and of V-forms (indexing formality and politeness in Greek) to socially distant others. She adds that we draw delight in interrupting others (to say, usually, something stupid) and we feel confident that in order to be heard we have to shout which is evidenced everywhere. We think highly of ourselves and behave like donkeys when in tight corners, according to the author.

### 5.2. The second article: "Greek impoliteness: 10 things that kill you in this city"

The second article is longer (1574 words) and appears to be a kind of "revised and extended version" of the first one. The first article gravitates towards verbal im/politeness with few mentions of behavioural im/politeness whereas, in the second article, behavioural im/politeness takes precedence, with verbal im/politeness also being included. By behavioural im/politeness we mean non-linguistic modes of behaving mostly in public places and transport facilities which are deemed im/polite. This second article more clearly involves the societal level, assessing mostly public encounters between strangers in crowded places and the service sector, and embraces issues relating to etiquette, such as table manners. In our view, behavioural im/politeness is a significant aspect of im/politeness that merits our attention, given that existing theories are mostly preoccupied with linguistic behaviour (but see Fukushima and Sifianou 2017, Locher and Luginbühl 2019, Ogiermann and Saloustrou 2019, Sifianou and Tzanne 2010).

In this article, the journalist starts her long preface by saying that Greek people do not admit being extremely impolite perhaps for fear of the attacks that this statement will incite. According to the journalist, Greek people are deeply rude.

Very succinctly put, the things that infuriate the journalist in Athens include behaviour in the street, on pedestrian walkways and at crossings where people push and shove, obstruct others' movement and park in spots reserved for the less able. Similarly inconsiderate is behaviour on public transport where people push to get on, without waiting for others to get off, and reach a vacant seat first. In service encounters people are rude as they do not greet and ignore queues, protocols and rules. People interrupt others to say, usually, something stupid and pretend to be know-alls. They are noisy and speak loudly so they are heard by everybody at the restaurant and in the train compartment. Children are left to scream and shout and when people return home, they turn the television on full volume despite it being quiet hours. In public toilets, people litter, don't wash their hands and don't inform those waiting that there is a mess inside. They are inconsiderate with animals leaving dogs unattended, even tied to banging chains. People ignore the dress code and table manners. In case of both face-to-face and on-line disagreement, people will swear. They are indiscreet and will ask the most incredible questions so that they can gossip later but at the same time they are rather cowardly because if queried, they will deny everything or even go on the attack. For some unexplainable reason, people believe that they are better, smarter and more capable than most others. They believe they are never wrong, and if accused of being wrong, they accuse others of being unjust.

We should note here that all the data was and still is publically available so we believe there are no ethical issues in their use (see, e.g., Locher and Bolander 2019, Locher and Luginbühl 2019). However, to ensure anonymity we have removed all names and nicknames from the examples used as illustrations including that of the journalist. We have also retained the grammar and spelling of the original. We also deem significant to note that we do not assume that all citizens of Athens behave in this way or even share the views of the journalist and the posters. We offer our findings as a glimpse into some of the kinds of impoliteness that the journalist and some posters view as worth mentioning and bring them up in their discussion. As Kádár and Haugh (2013: 202) note, the interest in analysing such metadiscourses does not lie on their being objectively true but "on how they are perpetuated as dominant within societies, as well as on how they may be challenged or contested".

## 6. Constructing group identities vis-à-vis im/politeness

As mentioned earlier, views about im/politeness at a societal/cultural level tend to be stereotypical and ideological. According to van Dijk (2006a: 124), "[i]f ideologies are acquired, expressed, enacted and reproduced by discourse, this must happen through a number of discursive structures and strategies". Drawing upon Halliday's (1985) Functional Grammar and van Dijk's (1998, 2006a, b) ideological discourse analysis, in this section, we proceed with an analysis of the discourse of the two articles and the below-the-line comments in order to interpret the lexical and grammatical patterns of the texts in terms of their functions and the identities they help to construct.

Our findings will be discussed in the light of van Dijk's (1998, 2006a, b) 'ideological square' which posits that ideological discourse is polarised and features four strategies that associate all positive meaning with *Us*, the in-group, and all negative meaning with *Them*/the *Other*, the out-group. Even though the model was developed to explain anti/racist social ideologies, almost all categories proposed "are rather general resources that groups and their members acquire and use in order to account for and defend their ideas and social practices" (van Dijk 2006b: 739). Applying this model to the analysis of discourse that expresses social values and beliefs relating to im/politeness can further our understanding as to how being verbally aggressive, together with agreeing with, praising and complimenting the *Other* can become ideologically loaded indexes of identity construction in the case of im/polite citizens.

In the sections that follow, we argue that the discourse used by the journalist and the posters appears to construct explicitly and in detail the values, practices and norms that are associated with the identity of 'impolite citizen'. At the same time, it makes some explicit reference to, but mainly provides indications for, the implicit construction of the identity of 'polite citizen', which is generally considered to be the binary opposite of 'impolite citizen'.

### *6.1. Constructing the identity of 'impolite citizen'*

Beginning our analysis, the first point to be made is that the topic of both articles, foregrounded and noticeable already from the titles of the articles ("Being intimidated by *impoliteness…*" and "Greek *impoliteness:* 10 things that kill you in this city"), is impoliteness/rudeness. The lexical items *αγένεια* 'impoliteness' and *αγενής* 'impolite' are frequently repeated in both the articles and the comments, as are to a lesser extent the lexical items *ευγένεια* 'politeness' and *ευγενικός/ευγενής* 'polite'. A couple of posters also used the plural form *ευγένειες* *'politenesses' which is used ironically to indicate surface forms which lack substance. It is through this repetition and the lexical cohesion thus created that the identities of 'impolite' and 'polite citizen' emerge in the texts. Interestingly, the identity of 'impolite citizen' is constructed as a *social group* identity and the values of the group are outlined through the use of several discursive strategies creating meanings which "are not explicitly expressed, but presupposed to be known, and inferable from general sociocultural knowledge" (van Dijk 2006b: 739).

First of all, the pronoun 'we' is used extensively throughout both articles, culminating in the confrontationally playful subsection header (*Εμείς (και) τα ζώα* 'we (and) the animals') in the second article. In most occurrences, 'we' is the implied grammatical subject of verbs in the first person plural, while there are also cases where this 'we' is explicitly mentioned and capitalised possibly denoting shouting and anger, as, for instance, in *Θα σταθούμε μες τη μέση απολύτως χαλαροί, επειδή ΕΜΕΙΣ κάνουμε τη βόλτα μας* 'We'll stand in the middle [of the road] perfectly relaxed, because WE are out for a walk'. This pronoun is also used by some posters when they provide additional information as to what constitutes typical behaviour of an impolite Greek citizen.

Discussing the ideology of polarised social groups, van Dijk (2006a: 124) presents the pronoun 'we' as a discursive structure "typically used to deictically refer to the in-group of the current speaker". In this case, 'we' is to be taken as inclusive, referring to a group of people displaying similar verbal and non-verbal behaviours that emanate from shared values. Interpreted in this way, the extensive use of 'we' by the journalist and posters appears to signify their membership in the group of 'impolite citizens'. Before delving into the reason why these posters present themselves as belonging to a group related to impoliteness, we would like to turn our attention to the examination of the behaviours and values that are presented as related to this social group.

In the data, impolite citizens are presented as actors of many action processes that relate semantically to (physical) violence (e.g., *θα σπρώξουμε* 'we'll push' / *θα πατήσουμε* 'we'll tread'). Moreover, some of these actions are illegal (*θα περάσουμε σαν βολίδες από τη ΛΕΑ* 'we'll speed down the emergency lane') and generally deviant (*θα λερώσουμε* 'we'll throw litter', *θα παρκάρουμε στην αναπηρική θέση* 'we'll park in the disabled space'). In addition to material actions, impolite citizens are presented to be involved in many verbal processes that are viewed as inconsiderate and socially unacceptable (*κάνουμε θόρυβο* 'make noise', *διακόπτουμε* 'interrupt'). Most of these action and verbal processes are transactive ones, with the action passing on to some recipient who is in this case, the polite citizen and their surroundings/belongings (*θα αγνοήσουμε τον ποδηλάτη* 'we'll ignore the cyclist', *θα πάρουμε παραμάζωμα ό,τι βρίσκεται στην ακτίνα μας* 'we'll knock down everything around us'). Presenting polite people as the affected participants results in their victimisation which is also found in the recounting of polite people's personal experiences (see section 6.2).

Drawing on Bucholtz and Hall (2005), Locher (2008: 513) states that "*agency* in identity construction should not be understood as a fully rational and always conscious process since there are undoubtedly aspects that are habitual" (emphasis in the original). We believe that presenting actions such as the above in the simple present tense stresses their habitual nature and implies that these acts constitute persistent behaviour of impolite citizens (*φωνάζουμε* 'we shout'). In addition, in terms of modality, that is the author's attitude towards the truth of their statements, the use of simple present (*δεν χαμογελάμε* 'we don't smile') or future tense (*θα αφήσουμε τα παιδιά μας αμολητά* 'we'll let our children loose') aids to present these actions as categorical and general truths (cf. Verschueren 2012: 99), thus presenting journalist and posters as belonging to the group that has the truth (van Dijk 2006a: 125).

That these actions depict general truth is also reinforced by the extensive use of 'we' in the data, the function of which appears to be the "enhancement of persuasion". As Temmerman (2014: 251) argues, with the use of generic 'we', that is, with an indefinite agent, the highest degree of objectivity and generalization is produced, which obscures the subjectivity of the argument. In this way, speakers overshadow their presence and present their argument as a general truth.[2] In our case, the journalist's and posters' use of inclusive 'we' leaves no room for exceptions. The readers will thus be predisposed to accept these views as being the only correct ones. Such generalisations as the ones discussed above are not uncommon and reflect ideologies about politeness and appropriate civil behaviour (Mills 2017: 52).

Concerning the features and related values of 'impolite citizen', several negatively loaded lexical items are attributed to the group, such as *θρασύς* 'audacious', *αδιάκριτος* 'indiscreet' *αγράμματος* 'uneducated', *βλάκας* 'unintelligent'. One poster in full agreement with the journalist uses a number of these attributes saying that 'modern Greeks are a mixture of uneducated, uncivilised, uncouth, self-centered human beings$_{\mathrm{DIM}}$ who cannot understand that they are not the centre of the universe' (*ο νεοέλληνας είναι ένα κράμα απαίδευτου, ακαλλιέργητου, άξεστου, εγωκεντρικού ανθρωπάκου που αδυνατεί να συλλάβει ότι δεν είναι το κέντρο του σύμπαντος*).[3] The group is also metonymically, derogatively termed *ελληνάρας* 'Greek$_{\mathrm{AUGM}}$', while, in a striking overgeneralisation, a commenter attributes modern Greek people the negative characteristics of *ανήθικοι* 'immoral' and *πανηγύρι* 'good-for-nothing'. Finally, through presupposition and implicature, 'impolite citizens' are characterised as *αγγούρια* 'stiff' (*όσο αγγούρια κι αν είμαστε*

[2] Generalisation is also one of the strategies discussed by van Dijk (2006b: 737) "typically used to formulate prejudices about generalized negative characteristics of immigrants".

[3] The diminutive is used derogatively.

'no matter how stiff we are') and shown to be wrong-doers (*αν μας υποδείξουν το λάθος* 'if people point out our wrong-doings').

At this point, it is interesting to note that, contrary to our expectations concerning the way in which *Us*/in-group is presented (van Dijk 1998, 2006a, b), in our data, *Us* is clearly presented in negative terms. This appears to come into sharp contrast with Eelen's (2001: 39) statement that "people never identify with impoliteness, but always see themselves as generally polite". The question that arises at this point is whether the journalist and participating posters do indeed consider themselves to belong to the group of impolite people outlined in the articles. The response to this question is located in the authors' use of 'we'. As Pavlidou (2014: 1, 2) states, "'we' is imbued with a kind of complexity that goes beyond the usual problems associated with person deixis and reference" and its "referent can only be retrieved on the basis of utterance and discourse context as well as shared knowledge". Evidence from the discourse of both the articles and comments examined confirms the complexity of 'we', as it leads to the conclusion that the journalist's and posters' 'we' is rather speaker-excluding, in the sense that neither the journalist nor the posters seem to position themselves in the group of impolite people they chastise.

In case the people involved did view themselves as belonging to the group of impolite people they described, they would be inflicting serious face damage on themselves and their social identity, since, as our analysis has shown, they strongly disapprove of and criticise harshly the behaviours they present. Aligning with people one severely criticises would go against the fundamental human desire to be evaluated positively by others, what Spencer-Oatey (2002: 540) calls 'quality face'. For his part, van Dijk (2006b: 739) identifies a "positive self-presentation (semantic macrostrategy)" according to which people will generally try to make a good impression or avoid making a bad impression. In addition, if the journalist herself belonged to the impolite out-group, she would probably not have noticed such behaviour and thus would not have written the article. The author becomes aware of the *Other's* impolite behaviour exactly because she positions herself in a different group of people who assume they are polite and are thus able to observe from a distance, recognise impolite behaviour when they see it and comment on it. On the other hand, the impolite *Other* her/himself most probably does not realise that s/he acts in an impolite and uncivil manner. As Smith et al. (2010: 12) note "rudeness comes into existence only when it is detected" and "is almost always a property attributed to others" (Eelen 2001: 39).

Close inspection of the articles and ensuing comments reveals that through the use of specific negative terms to characterise the impolite citizen (e.g., *εξυπνάκηδες* 'know-alls' / 'smart alecks'), certain modality markers such as evaluative adverbs *(Ευτυχώς, υπάρχουν ακόμη κάποια ριφλέξ για τις όρθιες εγκύους* 'Fortunately, there is still some consideration for pregnant women standing'), rhetorical devices such as irony *(Και τι υπέροχοι είμαστε στην ουρά!* 'and how wonderful we are when queueing!') and argumentation (in the second article, the journalist builds an argument justifying the occurrence of impoliteness only to refute it in the next paragraph), both journalist and commenters manage to express their *criticism against* and *disapproval of* the identity of 'impolite citizen'. In this way, they obviously dissociate themselves from the group of impolite citizens they describe and claim membership in the group of polite citizens that is implicitly outlined as the binary opposite (see section 6.2).

It is thus reasonable to argue that through the writers' implicit/covert disapproval and heavy criticism of the practices they describe as being typical of the *impolite Greek citizen*, 'we' becomes speaker-exclusive. Through this harsh criticism, journalist and commenters reject the identity of 'impolite citizen' and appear to endorse that of 'polite citizen', an identity outlined in broad, general terms, mostly implicitly in relation to the 'impolite citizen' identity. In other words, it appears that through strong criticism and disapproval of others' behaviours, and overall agreement with each other and the journalist, the posters co-construct the identity of the *Other* as impolite and their own, by extension, as polite. As Alexander (2006: 50) observes, "the civility of the self always articulates itself in language about the incivility of the other".

### *6.2. Constructing the identity of 'polite citizen'*

In this section, we present discursive strategies with which the journalist and several commenters construct through some explicit mention, but mostly implicitly, the identity of 'polite citizen'.

First of all, the identity of 'polite citizen' emerges through the recurrent use of the lexical items *ευγενής/ευγενικός* 'polite' and *ευγένεια* 'politeness' which outline the main feature of the group members. It is interesting to note that, to the mind of some commenters, these terms appear to be in binary opposition *(Εκεί είναι το στοίχημα με τον ευγενή εαυτό μας: να κάνουμε τον αγενή να καταπιεί την ίδια του την αγένεια.* 'This is where the steak with our polite self lies: to make impolite people swallow their own impoliteness'). In this case, 'we' are clearly the polite citizens, while 'they' are the impolite ones. The same binary opposition is implied in the statement of the same commenter, when they say that the only way to win the battle with impoliteness is to deal with it with humour and self-control.

Although the identity of 'polite citizen' is not expanded on or elaborated to the extent that the identity of 'impolite citizen' is, there are additional lexical items which attribute positive features to the group. For instance, a poster characterises their verbal behaviour 'civil', while another states that impolite behaviour in the form of jumping the queue is not a sign of intelligence or superiority (*δεν είναι ένδειξη εξυπνάδας ή ανωτερότητας το να τρως τη σειρά κάποιου στην ουρά*), which, by implication, may mean that the opposite (respecting the queue) is polite behaviour indeed associated with these positive features.

Intelligence is a feature that is implicitly, rather than explicitly, attributed to the identity of 'polite citizen', confirming Bolander and Locher's (2015: 106) claim in relation to Facebook status updates that "individuals tend to favor implicit means of constructing their identities over explicit ones". At the face of it, posters often attribute to the group of polite citizens the negatively loaded terms *βλάκας/ηλίθιος/χαζός* 'stupid'/'idiot'/'dummy', but the rhetorical means they use (e.g., metaphor/comparison *σαν χαζός/σαν βλάκας* 'like an idiot'), together with the use of subjective modality denoting low factuality (*με θεωρούσαν βλάκα* 'they considered me stupid') show polite citizens to be the intelligent ones by implication. This polarisation of values concerning the two identities culminates in the comment *Και μην αισθάνεστε ότι φαίνεστε "σαν βλάκας", το αντίθετο συμβαίνει.* 'And don't *feel* you *look 'like* an idiot', the opposite is true', with subjective modality and the rhetoric of comparison almost eliminating factuality (you are an idiot). To this should be added the attribute *γνήσιοι ηλίθιοι* 'true idiots' the journalist uses in her second article to refer to the group of impolite citizens.

In discussing politeness within the UK, Mills and Kádár (2011: 30) maintain that there is a clear association between politeness and class-based refinement and education, and it is the middle classes which are often referred to as 'polite society'. This association is also evident in Greek as the word for polite (*ευγενής/ευγενικός*) derives from *ευ* 'good' and *γένος* 'origin'/'descent'. Thus originally the term described someone of good origin, a member of the elite and then by extension one of refined manners who behaves according to societal norms and is ethically, intellectually and esthetically superior (*Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek* website). The etymology may not be of direct relevance to ordinary Greek speakers but may have reverberations. Thus some posters explicitly state their feeling of superiority towards impolite citizens (*νιώθω ότι υπερέχω* 'I feel superior') or assume a superior position of expertise and authority (cf. Eller 2017), believing that they can instruct others concerning what politeness means and how it should be practised. In this respect, polite citizens appear as truly knowledgeable, which is the exact opposite of 'know-alls', a negative term attributed to impolite citizens (see section 6.1).

Finally, 'polite citizens' appear to associate themselves with the negative attribute 'weak' both explicitly (*νιώθω αδύναμος* 'I feel weak') and implicitly by presenting themselves as victims of the impolite *Other*. A commenter writes *κάποτε τόλμησα να κάνω (κόσμια) παρατήρηση σε μηχανόβιο που μπήκε ανάποδα σε μονόδρομο και παραλίγο να φάω ξύλο* 'once I dared criticise (in a civil way) a motorcyclist going the wrong direction in a one-way street and got almost beaten up'. This comment is interesting in that the poster recounts a personal experience to lend support to their views and provide further evidence for the problems discussed (Eller 2017). This 'victimisation' strategy, according to van Dijk (2006b: 739), serves to emphasise the 'bad' nature of the *Other*, who is, in this case, the impolite citizen. The impolite *Other* is thus constructed as the agent of aggressive, illegal and socially unacceptable acts and the poster as the polite citizen who was (almost) the recipient of these acts. In this way, the *Other* strongly comes across as a person who deserves disapproval and criticism because of their impolite, unacceptable behaviour.

Examining the way polite people are presented to react to impoliteness, we observe that, in most cases, they appear as Sayers, that is, animate entities who initiate and become involved in verbal processes which are generally considered relatively harmless (*είπα σε μηχανάκι* 'I told a motorcyclist', *τόλμησα να κάνω κόσμια παρατήρηση* 'I dared criticize in a civil way', *συζητούσα το θέμα της αγένειας* 'I discussed the issue of impoliteness') as compared to action processes, especially violent ones, like the actions of impolite citizens (see section 6.1). In general terms, the impolite, disrespectful and aggressive behaviours delineated in the articles and comments may generate intimidation and cannot be tolerated as the journalist states in the concluding paragraph of her first article. The first poster to comment on this states that when s/he visits a public service or a shop and his/her greeting is not reciprocated, s/he asks an irrelevant, very rude question and thus intimidates the assistant who would like to respond in kind but cannot do so. Another poster agrees with reacting in kind to those who are rude and justifies this by saying that nobody is going to learn and change through your example in this context of anarchy; you will simply be the loser. The commenter mentioned earlier who feels superior to his/her compatriots is also in favour of being rude to those who are rude. As s/he says, *Δεν μπορώ να είμαι ευγενής με αυτούς τους ανθρώπους. Δεν καταλαβαίνουν από ευγένειες αυτοί, λυπάμαι. Τώρα που το σκέφτομαι, όχι, δε λυπάμαι.* 'I can't be polite with these people. They don't understand what politeness is, these people, I'm sorry. Now that I think of it, no I'm not sorry'. Thus rudeness is advocated but it is legitimised as being provoked by the rude *Other* and it is thus their fault. In other words, it is not *Us* who are rude, it is the *Other's* behaviour which needs straightening this way. This is the kind of rudeness that Kienpointner (1997: 266, 2018) calls reactive and its function is to restore the balance of power. He (1997: 271) further notes that it is legitimised because it is a reaction rather than an initiating action. The above comments echo theoretical discussions on the social norm of reciprocity which dictates that any prosocial, antisocial, etc. behaviour should be matched (Culpeper 2011: 37, reporting social psychological literature) and is seen as "fundamental to human interpersonal relations" (Ohashi and Chang 2017: 262). As Lodewijkx (2008) explains, the norm of reciprocity "calls for positive reactions to favorable treatment and for negative reactions to unfavorable treatment". Thus, reciprocity has both positive and negative aspects. In Perugini and Gallucci's (2001: 19) words "[r]eciprocity is in fact a powerful mechanism to shape others' actions by delivering rewards and punishment". Posters provide negative evaluations or react in kind when their conventionally polite behaviour is not reciprocated. However, what is emphasised more in the comments is its negative aspect, that is, the necessity for negative reaction to unfavourable treatment. Observing this norm, posters argue that one should be rude to those who are rude, a view that is consistent with findings of research on aggression, namely that verbal insults and taunts are reciprocated (Culpeper 2011: 205).

### *6.3. Claiming membership in the group of 'polite citizens'*

Quoting Kristiansen (2003), Georgalou (2017: 12) states that "[i]n using language, we portray ourselves in terms of both linguistic content (what we say/write) and linguistic form (how we say/write it)". In this section, we discuss the ways in which, reacting to the journalist's two articles, posters claim membership in the group of polite citizens. Aligning with this identity through their comments confirms Barnes' (2018: 30) claim that comments "could be viewed as a performance of self, used as a method of not only self-expression, but also identity construction".

Recent research claims that "the sections provided for reader response are certainly not intended as spaces for achieving and displaying consensus and peaceful harmony but rather constitute public arenas where debate is not only accepted but even valued" (Eller 2017: 369). Yet the opposite appears to be true in our data, since the comments we examined displayed admirable consensus and were almost all unanimous in their agreement with, and support of, the journalist's views. Specifically, almost all posters fully endorsed the journalist's unflattering views of the citizens she portrays as impolite in her articles (but see Locher and Luginbühl 2019).

Following the journalist's practice, commenters also used the inclusive 'we' (*ο τρόπος που οδηγούμε* 'the way we drive') with the same "persuasion enhancement" function discussed earlier (section 6.1) and levelled their criticism against the 'impolite citizen', thus implicitly aligning with the identity of 'polite citizen'. Posters not only agreed with the journalist but some added further examples of presumed impoliteness to the journalist's list, such as providing unsolicited advice as to how to raise your child, and the way cafés and restaurants occupy pavement space with tables and chairs, thus obstructing the passage of those who are physically challenged. It is notable that these endorsing posts are the ones which received the most likes. This is not surprising because, as Watts (2003: 5) notes, commentators on and participants in interactions tend to agree far more readily about what is perceived as being impolite rather than polite.

The one poster who expressed an overall different view received more dislikes (121) than likes (54), even though the disagreement was prefaced with a disclaimer in the form of an 'Apparent Denial' (van Dijk 2006b: 736) (*Δε λέω ότι έχετε σ' όλα άδικο, αλλά τελικά μάλλον ζω σε άλλη πόλη, περιμένω σε άλλες ουρές...* 'I'm not saying that you are wrong in everything, but I must be living in a different city, joining different queues...'). In addition, this was one of the few posts that received a comment directly attacking the poster: *Μάλλον δεν προσέχεις και πολύ γύρω σου. Το σίγουρο είναι ότι δεν έχεις ζήσει ποτέ σε ευρωπαϊκή πόλη.* 'You probably don't pay much attention around you. It's certain that you've never lived in another European city'. By accusing the other poster of being out of touch with social reality, s/he challenges his/her objectivity and thus the veracity of his/her views. When faced with an opposing view, people frequently revert to personal attacks, which tend to be seen as more impolite than issue-based attacks (Neurauter-Kessels 2011, Stryker et al. 2016, Upadhyay 2010). The other two posters who expressed disagreement were in overall agreement with the journalist and raised only one issue of contention each. The first argued that Greeks do care about the dress code (the 7th instance of impolite behaviour described in the second article), and the second that s/he is indeed superior to most of his/her compatriots (the 10th instance of impolite behaviour in the second article), as s/he does not behave in the impolite ways they do. It thus appears that even though it is true that impoliteness is "conspicuously a subjective and variable notion involving understandings of behaviours in context" (Culpeper 2011: 66), when it comes to metadiscourses at the societal level, unanimity can be found at least in certain contexts.

What is noteworthy is that no poster attempted to chastise either the journalist or any of the commenters for their hyperbole and rather impolite tone (cf. Neurauter-Kessels 2011). One poster provided a list of suggestions as to what could be done to improve the situation and ended their comment by congratulating the author on the article and on bringing the topic to readers' attention. For another commenter, the only way to achieve an improvement is through personal example, and s/he offered a list of his/her own "polite" behaviours which could function as a blueprint for others. This reflects the view that civility promotes the ideal by example (Sellers, 2003), since direct encounters with a social model appear "to reactivate the common behavioral norm of politeness", a kind of behavioural contagion (Moser and Corroyer 2001: 623, see also Culpeper 2011: 204). However, offering one's polite behaviours as examples also implies a certain degree of social and intellectual inferiority of the *Other* in that it presupposes their ignorance. Two other posters strongly endorsed this tactic, whereas another disagreed, calling this approach passive behaviour which is not going to help anybody change. This is one of the two contested issues between posters, the other being responding rudely to rude behaviours (see section 6.2).

Another poster attributes ignorance to the *Other* saying that unfortunately this excellent article which describes Greek reality accurately was read by those who did not really need to read it as they know how to behave, whereas it has almost certainly been ignored by people who should read it. This is the kind of awareness that Kádár and Haugh (2013) call 'metapragmatic awareness', that is, lay observers' awareness about the ways in which they interact with others and more specifically 'metadiscursive awareness' referring "to reflexive social discourses on politeness that are constituted (and contested) at a societal or cultural level" (Kádár and Haugh 2013: 269). As the authors (Kádár and Haugh 2013: 41) explain, speakers are consciously aware of the lay concept of politeness but may not be necessarily aware all the time of politeness in practice.

Extensive agreement between posters and journalist is coupled with several instances of congratulating (*Εξαιρετικό σχόλιο και άρθρο! Συγχαρητήρια!* 'Excellent comment and article! Congratulations!'), praising (*ΆΨΟΓΟ post* 'IMPECCABLE post!') or complimenting the journalist (*Αν αυτό το άρθρο ήταν λόγος σε ομιλία, θα χειροκροτούσα όρθιος!* 'If this article were a speech, I would clap standing!'). These communicative acts create and reinforce solidarity and contribute to the construction of an in-group (see Tzanne 2019) involving both journalist and posters. Using speech acts such as congratulating, complimenting and praising to presuppose 'Our' good things, and interaction strategies such as agreement to imply 'Our' good things (van Dijk 2006a: 126), commenters appear to fully endorse the journalist's views concerning impoliteness and to assume, like her, the identity of 'polite citizen'.

## 7. Discussion and concluding remarks

This study explored views of impoliteness as presented in two on-line newspaper articles and the ensuing comments. Such articles are not uncommon and as Mills (2017: 51) maintains "[n]ewspapers regularly comment on politeness norms and a supposed decline in civility". This supposed decline is neither a new nor a culturally-specific phenomenon. As Smith et al. (2010: 1) vividly elucidate: "Through the ages and across civilizations there has always been talk of poor public behaviour, of increasingly unruly streets and of the decline and fall of good manners". The authors add further that "[i]t is a current journalistic staple to document troublesome youth, identify emergent forms of disorder from 'road rage' to 'cell phone rage', and to conduct simple experiments or cheap stunts to demonstrate that common courtesies are no longer to be found in the urban jungle".

What is relatively new is that the media and the on-line version of newspapers have helped highlight and spread such views by offering individuals the opportunity to express their views and evaluate others' presumed politeness or more frequently impoliteness. Both journalists and posters tend to assume that it is possible to generalise about Greek (or any other for that matter) im/politeness and are mostly in agreement as to what it is and how it should (should not) be practised. This overall agreement is significant in our view because even though there is variability across individuals as to their perceptions of impoliteness (see, e.g., Eelen 2001), there are contexts where concurrence is high. This then affects the way we see the social world around us since such metalinguistic comments, especially when unanimous, influence our understandings, as mentioned earlier. In other words, our evaluations are not based solely on our personal experiences (cf. Eelen 2001: 39).

The views expressed in the two articles are very similar with the interesting difference that the first concentrates mostly on verbal / linguistic impoliteness whereas the second concerns itself mostly with non-verbal behavioural aspects of impoliteness. This is noteworthy in our view because it demonstrates that lay understandings of impoliteness are not confined to language which has been the playground of most politeness research but includes a wide array of non-verbal behaviours (Culpeper 2011, Fukushima and Sifianou 2017, Locher and Luginbühl 2019, Sifianou and Tzanne 2010). Moreover, these metapragmatic comments attest a difference between non-academic and academic views on what impoliteness is and how it is realised.

Some of the issues raised and the examples provided could be accounted for by the impoliteness strategies and their outputs proposed by Culpeper (1996), later modified and expanded (for an overview see Culpeper 2011), especially those relating to verbal behaviour. However, issues such as littering or mistreating animals, and the general disregard and intolerance described by the journalist and the posters do not seem to fit comfortably within existing impoliteness categorisations, unless one sees them as falling under a broad understanding of *ignoring or snubbing the other,* a strategy which can be highly impolite or uncivil (Mutz 2015: 7). As Lorenzo-Dus et al. (2011) show, lay assessments of impoliteness often relate to norms associated with civility. The relationship between im/politeness and in/civility is an issue that, with the exception of Sifianou (2019) has been mostly neglected in im/politeness research and deserves consideration. These metapragmatic comments attest a further difference between non-academic and current academic views on politeness and impoliteness. Current politeness research (see, e.g., Kienpointner 1997, Mills 2003) rightly argues that politeness and impoliteness cannot be seen as binary opposites. Interestingly, the lay understandings of im/politeness analysed here show that, to the mind of the journalist and posters, politeness and impoliteness do emerge as binary opposites. In this respect, our findings lend support to, and provide evidence for, Eelen's (2001) theoretical claim that popular views on im/politeness stand in binary opposition. From our data, a simple, albeit clear, opposition between politeness and impoliteness seems to emerge which facilitates and leads to the construction of two social group identities, those of impolite and polite citizens.

The analysis of our data shows that evaluations/complaints about impoliteness are intimately related to issues of identity construction. In particular, from the discourse of the articles and the ensuing comments, two social group identities emerge in a relation of polarity and opposition between in-group/*Us* and out-group/*Them*, involving polite and impolite citizens, respectively. In the data, the identity of the impolite citizen is painted in unmistakably bleak colours, which implicitly creates the exact opposite identity for the polite citizen. Criticising and disapproving of the impolite behaviours they discuss, automatically enables journalist and posters to align with the exact opposite polite behaviours, and, therefore, to ensure their membership in the group of polite citizens.

The two groups appear to be differentiated on the basis of the following features which are indications of the values the groups hold:

(a) *power*: polite citizens often report feeling weak in their social encounters with impolite citizens, thus showing the latter to have control over their course of action; however, the weakness they report emerges as a subjective feeling and not as factual evidence; moreover, by characterising impolite citizens as really/truly weak, they present their own group as powerful by implication;

(b) *knowledge*: impolite citizens are presented as know-alls, while the group of polite citizens presents themselves as being truly knowledgeable;

(c) *education*: impolite people are characterised as uneducated who need tutoring, whereas, by implication, polite people are the exact opposite who can undertake the role of instructor;

(d) *civilisation*: impolite citizens are characterised as uncivilised, while, by implication, polite citizens are civilised;

(e) *intelligence*: polarising groups on the basis of (lack of) intelligence is a common practice in discourses expressing ideologies (van Dijk 1998). In our case, the group of impolite citizens seems to fallaciously believe that they are intelligent and consider polite citizens to be stupid; however, the journalist and commenters characterise impolite citizens as 'smart alecks' and 'true idiots', while polite citizens such as themselves are presented as the genuinely clever ones.

Resulting from all the above, polite citizens consider themselves to be in a position superior to that occupied by the impolite ones; after all, when they report to be 'weak' in the presence of impolite citizens, they talk about an impression they have, and not about reality / factuality. Relatedly, they present themselves as intelligent, knowledgeable and educated people who can contribute to the public debate on the significant social issue of im/politeness.

Concerning anonymity and relationships among participants in this on-line context, we should at this point note that the posters who responded to the two articles on im/politeness are most probably not familiar with one another, nor do they aim at establishing or maintaining a personal relationship. Being on-line and anonymous, they appear keener on co-constructing a favourable in-group identity and secondarily a personal one as a member of a refined and educated group who has in addition a gate-keeping role to play. In this sense, it could be argued that the group of polite citizens here represented mostly by the journalist and commenters have undertaken the task to educate the 'uncivilised' *Other*, that is, the impolite citizen. They assume they can do this through their words or preferably through their deeds, as one poster says but also through imposing sanctions. By imposing sanctions and treating rudely those they perceive as rude they claim power and affirm their own worth (cf. Smith et al. 2010: 73).

In conclusion, despite the fact that on-line newspaper articles and ensuing comments reflect stereotypical thinking, they also depict pervasive views and are worth exploring because they concern the underexplored societal rather than the individual level of im/politeness. With our paper, we hope to have contributed to a better understanding of these views and of the social identities they help construct *vis-à-vis* im/politeness.



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Research Article

# Disagreement and (im)politeness in a Spanish family members' WhatsApp group

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**Abstract**

The present paper explores disagreement and impoliteness in a *WhatsApp* interaction within a Spanish family that took place during the 2018 International Women's Day. The conversation is linguistically examined using categories of disagreement strategies proposed by previous authors (Pomerantz 1984, Brown and Levinson 1987, Rees-Miller 2000, Locher 2004, Kreutel 2007, Malamed 2010, Shum and Lee 2013). Furthermore, multimodal analysis (Dresner and Herring 2010, 2013, Jewitt 2013, Bourlai and Herring 2014; Herring 2015) is used to consider not only participants' linguistic strategies for expressing disagreement, but also the function of multimedia elements and emojis (Dresner and Herring 2010, 2013, Yus 2014, 2017, Sampietro 2016a, 2016b, Aull 2019). The analysis is followed by an interview to better understand the participants' communicative intentions towards disagreements in relation to (im)politeness. A total of 427 instances of disagreement are identified, with the most common strategies being giving opposite opinions and emotional or personal reasons. This is to be expected since the group is divided from the very beginning into detractors and supporters of feminism, and they are also defending their opposite viewpoints by giving examples from their own life experience. Based on the participants' opinions, the most significant result is the fact that, although disagreement may lead to face-threat, and thus impoliteness in other contexts (Langlotz and Locher 2012, Sifianou 2012, Shum and Lee 2013), in this WhatsApp interaction, the Spanish family members did not consider it to be impolite, and it is even evaluated in positive terms by some of the participants (Angouri and Locher 2012).

**Keywords:** *disagreement, (im)politeness, WhatsApp, digital communication, feminism, Spanish*

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Научная статья

# Несогласие и (не)вежливость в общении членов испанской семьи в группе WhatsApp

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**Аннотация**

В статье рассматривается выражение несогласия и (не)вежливость в общении членов испанской семьи по WhatsApp. Материал, ограниченный конкретным событием и датой — Международным женским днем 2018 г., анализируется с использованием стратегий выражения несогласия, предложенных ранее рядом авторов (Pomerantz 1984; Brown, Levinson 1987; Rees-Miller 2000; Locher 2004; Kreutel 2007; Malamed 2010; Shum, Lee 2013). Для рассмотрения не только языковых средств выражения несогласия, но и мультимедийных элементов и эмотиконок (Dresner, Herring 2010, 2013; Yus 2014, 2017; Sampietro 2016a, 2016b; Aull 2019) используется мультимодальный анализ (Bourlai, Herring 2014; Dresner, Herring 2010, 2013; Jewitt 2013; Herring 2015). Для лучшего понимания коммуникативных намерений участников общения при выражении несогласия и его восприятия с позиций (не)вежливости применялся метод интервью. Всего выявлено 422 случая выражения несогласия, при этом наиболее распространенными стратегиями являются высказывание противоположного мнения и объяснение эмоциональных или личных причин. Такой вывод представляется обоснованным, так как группа с самого начала делится на противников и сторонников феминизма, и они защищают свои противоположные точки зрения, приводя примеры из собственного жизненного опыта. Наиболее значимым результатом является тот факт, что, хотя несогласие может угрожать лицу собеседника и восприниматься как невежливость в других ситуациях (Langlotz, Locher 2012; Sifianou 2012; Shum, Lee 2013), в данном контексте, исходя из мнений участников, оно таковым не является, а, по мнению некоторых, даже оценивается положительно.

**Ключевые слова:** *несогласие, (не)вежливость, WhatsApp, цифровая коммуникация, феминизм, испанский язык*

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## 1. Introduction

While it is true that the study of im/politeness and disagreement in digital communication is a growing field of research within pragmatics, most studies have focused on emails, social networking sites, discussion forums or blogs. Other digital means of communication, on the other hand, such as WhatsApp have received less attention. WhatsApp is the most popular mobile app for online dialogue among friends and family in Spain, with more than half a billion daily active Status users worldwide, up from 450 million global users in the second quarter of 2018, according to the website Statista[1].

[1] https://www.statista.com/statistics/730306/whatsapp-status-dau/.

Fundación Telefónica (2018) has reported that Instant Messaging (IM) tools such as WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger or Telegram are used twice as often as phone calls in Spain nowadays, with 95.1% of the Spanish population using them to communicate. 60% of the Spanish population send instant messages several times a day, while only 24% make mobile calls. In the Anglo-Saxon world, this is beginning to be known as 'Generation Mute', due to the preference for IM instead of traditional calls, a tendency that is even higher among Spain's young population: 96.8% of Spanish citizens between 14 and 24 years old use WhatsApp as their preferred means of communication with family and friends.

Consequently, WhatsApp is increasingly gaining popularity among researchers as an object of study. This paper aims to contribute to the current academic research on this IM tool by exploring disagreement and impoliteness in a Spanish family members' WhatsApp group. More specifically, the analysis focuses on an interaction about feminism that took place on 8th March 2018 (International Women's Day), beginning at 10.37 a.m., and ending on 9th of March at 1.47 a.m. The reason for choosing this specific sample is that it is expected to be a locus of disagreement, since the participants are divided into supporters and detractors of feminism from the very beginning of the conversation.

Multimodal analysis (Dresner and Herring 2010, 2013, Jewitt 2013, Bourlai and Herring 2014, Herring 2015) was used to consider not only the linguistic strategies used by the participants to disagree with each other, but also the function of multimedia elements and emojis (Dresner and Herring 2010, 2013, Yus 2014, 2017, Sampietro 2016a, 2016b, Aull 2019). Furthermore, a follow-up interview was carried out to better understand the participants' communicative intentions and perceptions towards disagreements in relation to (im)politeness.

The paper is structured as follows: firstly, a literature review on digital discourse (with special reference to WhatsApp), disagreement and impoliteness is presented. This is followed by an explanation of the methodology applied to the analysis of the corpus in section 3. Then, the results are presented and analysed in section 4 and, finally, the paper closes with some conclusions.

## 2. Literature review

### *2.1. Digital Discourse: WhatsApp*

WhatsApp, a mobile messaging service that began in 2009, accounts for a large proportion of typical daily smartphone usage in Spain. It is an IM application that, by means of an Internet connection, can be used to send messages, images, videos and audio files.

Researchers have focused on this application from different standpoints. Some have taken a sociological perspective (Church and Oliveira 2013, O'Hara et al. 2014, Rubio-Romero and Perlado Lamo de Espinosa 2015, Ándujar-Vaca and Cruz-Martínez 2017, Ersöz 2019), analysing the social effects of WhatsApp among its users, paying particular attention to its effects on students' learning and performance (Ahad et al. 2014, Bouhnik and Deshen 2014, Barhoumi 2015, among many others). In addition, WhatsApp use for healthcare communication has been analysed (Johnston et al. 2015, Kamel Boulos et al. 2016, Ganasegeran et al. 2017, among others).

From a linguistic perspective, researchers have centred on its multimodality (Calero Vaquera 2014, Sampietro 2016a, 2016b, Aull 2019), politeness (Flores-Salgado and Castineira-Benitez 2018), users' profile statuses (Sánchez-Moya and Cruz-Moya 2015b, Maíz-Arévalo 2018), the use of typographical variation (Sánchez-Moya and Cruz-Moya 2015a), the use of laughter as a resource to manage conversations (Petitjean and Morel 2017), its positive effects to increase phatic talk (Yus 2017) and the presence of conflict in WhatsApp interactions (García-Gómez 2018, Fernández-Amaya 2019). Like other kinds of mediated communication, WhatsApp digital interactions contain elements from both spoken and written varieties of the language (Crystal 2006, Baron 2008, Angouri and Tseliga 2010, Yus 2011, Jones and Hafner 2012, Pérez-Sabater 2012, 2015, Calero Vaquera 2014, Petitjean and Morel 2017). These characteristics include the use of emojis, words in other languages, lexicalization of vocal sounds and phonetic orthography, letter repetition, spelling and punctuation mistakes, abbreviations, acronyms, ellipsis, contractions, one-word transmissions, absence of openings and closings, short messages, and the possibility of having polylogal and convergent interactions, as well as asynchronous communication.

In spite of this increasing body of literature that has investigated the use of WhatsApp, there is no research on disagreement and impoliteness in this kind of mobile group interaction. The present study seeks to contribute to and increase the limited knowledge in this field.

### *2.2. Disagreement and impoliteness*

Disagreement has been widely studied from many different perspectives such as Speech Act Theory (Sorning 1977, Mehregan et al. 2013, Netz 2014, Bardovi-Harlig et al. 2015), Politeness Theory (Rees-Miller 2000, Edstrom 2004, Sifianou 2012, Dynel 2015) or Preference Theory (Pomerantz 1984, Sacks 1987), among others.

It was initially seen as a face-threatening act (FTA), a "dispreferred" second, closely related to impoliteness (Brown and Levinson 1987, Sacks 1987, Pomerantz 1984, Culpeper 1996). In these studies, disagreement is considered something negative, a face-threatening act that may damage the social relationship between the interlocutors and, therefore, needs to be avoided or mitigated. With time, these views are reversed, as Xu (2017: 682) summarizes:

> Fortunately, with the development of practical research, many scholars point out the non-inherent negativity of disagreement (e.g., Angouri & Locher, 2012, p. 1549; Zhu, 2014, p. 87). Disagreement is an unmarked, preferred act and even the norm on some special occasions, like the activities of problem solving, decision making and commercial meeting, etc. (Tannen, 1981, 1998; Gray, 2001; Tjosvold, 2008; Angouri & Locher, 2012), in which there needs to be thoughts in collision so as to improve scientificity or creativity of the solutions. Sometimes, disagreement can also be seen as a sign of intimate relationship or high social competence (Schiffrin, 1984, p. 311; Kakavá, 2002, p. 1562; Locher, 2004, pp. 280—281; Angouri & Tseliga, 2010, p. 66; Sifianou, 2012, p. 1554).

According to Locher (2004), there seem to be several factors that make disagreement preferred or not:

— culture: e.g., British indirectness contrasts with the predisposition to express opinions openly in Spanish (Hernández-López 2016);

— conversational style: e.g., high-involvement speakers versus high-considerateness speakers (Tannen 1984);

— the speech situation: this is directly related to the concept of genre, defined by Swales (1990: 58) as “a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes”. Recent studies, following Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2010), have emphasized this genre approach to account for specific linguistic choices (Fernández-Amaya et al. 2014, Hernández-López 2016; Hernández-López and Fernández-Amaya 2019). In this vein, whether the behaviour of speakers when expressing disagreement is perceived as impolite or not by the interactants may depend on the frames and norms relevant for the specific situation;

— participants’ age, status or gender: e.g., men appreciating disagreement more than women (Tannen 1990);

— topic: the more controversial a topic is, the riskier it is to express a different opinion (Kakavá 1993);

— a participant's topic engagement and familiarity: even interlocutors in the same speech situation and from the same background may have different expectations and a different tolerance level for disagreement (Kakavá 1993).

Disagreement can be a preferred response when a frame of argumentation is established and opponents are expected to defend their point of view, as is the case of the interaction in this paper. However, it is important to point out that, as Langlotz and Locher (2012: 1591) indicate, “conflictual disagreements are closely linked to negative emotional reactions, especially when one feels offended or treated rudely”. Therefore, knowing interlocutors’ opinions becomes crucial when interpreting a disagreement episode as impolite or not.

As a linguist, I am not only interested in the presence or absence of disagreement but in observing how it is enacted and achieved and what the effects of the different renditions may be. For this reason, it is against the theoretical background presented that this study of disagreement and impoliteness in WhatsApp interaction seeks to answer these two research questions:

1) What are the linguistic realizations used by participants to express disagreement?
2) How do participants judge impoliteness in disagreement?

## 3. Methodology

### *3.1. Data*

The corpus for this study is made up of a real WhatsApp interaction that began at 10:37 a.m. on the 8th March and ended at 1:47 a.m. on the 9th March (so slightly during more than 14 hours). The general topic of this conversation of circa 9,900 words in Spanish was feminism all the time. As was stated in the introduction, the reason for choosing this specific sample as an object of analysis is that it is expected to be a locus of disagreement, since the participants are divided into supporters and detractors of feminism from the very beginning of the conversation.

The contributors are 11 family members from a middle-class family in the South of Spain. One of the participants is the researcher but, since the interaction substantially predated any analytical intention, there was no observational pressure on any side. Although the WhatsApp group is made up of 13 members, 2 of them decided not to participate in this conversation.

*Table 1*

**Participants' information**

| PARTICIPANT | AGE | GENDER |
|---|---|---|
| Julio* | 32 | Male |
| Natalia | 26 | Female |
| Linda | 32 | Female |
| Berta | 34 | Female |
| Lola | 43 | Female |
| Ramón | 34 | Male |
| Dora | 56 | Female |
| Ana | 35 | Female |
| Isabel | 42 | Female |
| Félix | 27 | Male |
| Marina | 60 | Female |

*All participants' names are pseudonyms.

6 months after the interaction took place, all the participants were very briefly informed about my research aims and the fact that the data were going to be treated anonymously, giving their consent to the use of their interaction in the study. The relationships between the participants can be seen in Figure 1 below:

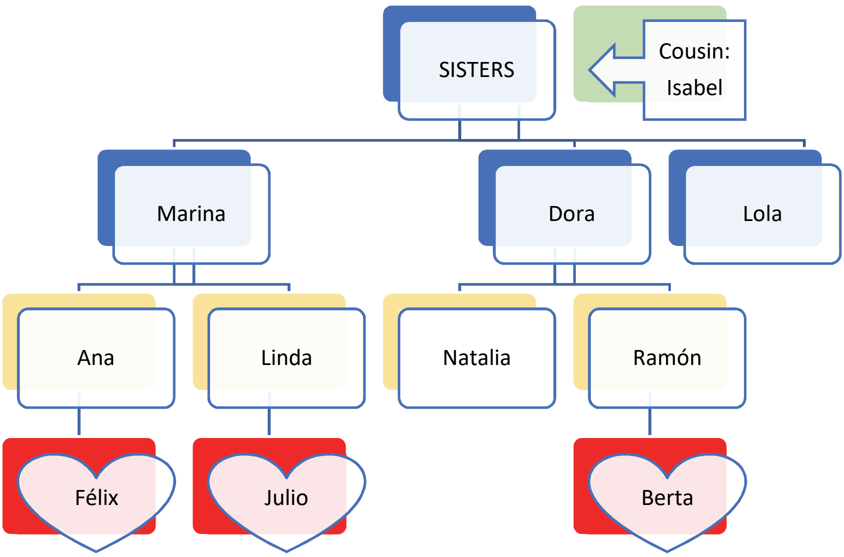
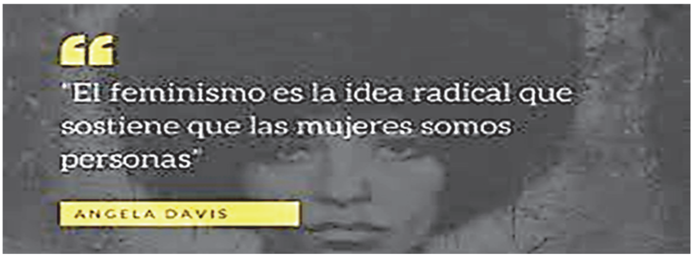



**Figure 1.** Participants' relationship

Apart from the two participants who decided not to contribute to the conversation, in this WhatsApp group there are 3 sisters (Marina, Dora and Lola) and their cousin Isabel. Marina has two daughters, Ana and Linda, who are married to Félix and Julio, respectively. Dora has a daughter (Natalia) and a son, Ramón, who is married to Berta. The relationship between all the participants is very close since they see each other frequently and they get along very well.

The interaction analysed here begins with the following two interventions made by Lola:

1) 8/3/18 10:37: Lola: 


2) 8/3/18 10:37 — Lola: Buenos días!! 💪💪 (Good morning!! 💪💪)

Lola posts a meme with a famous definition, wrongly attributed to Angela Davis: "Feminism is the radical notion that women are people". After that, she greets the whole group and uses two emojis of arms showing strength. By means of the double exclamation marks and the emojis, she is adding emotion towards the propositional content of this utterance, showing support to this idea of feminism and the need to fight for it on a day like the 8th of March.

Immediately, these 2 contributions divide the members of this WhatsApp group into two main opposing streams, related to the ideological positioning of participants: those who are in favour of feminism and consider it is important to participate in the demonstrations scheduled for International Women's Day in order to fight for women's rights (Lola and Linda), and those who are against it because they feel there is no need to demonstrate at all (Julio, Ramón, Berta). There is also a third group of participants that do not position themselves clearly at either of these two extremes because they change their viewpoint depending on the specific issue regarding feminism under discussion (Natalia, Ana, Dora) or because they do not express their opinion in an open way (Félix, Isabel).

Due to these antagonistic views, the interaction analysed here is characterised by a strong presence of disagreements used by participants in order to defend their position as supporters or detractors of feminism.

### *3.2. Analytical framework*

Following the discursive approach to (im)politeness, the identification of disagreement strategies in the corpus was based on a series of WhatsApp turns (at least two) while participants were interacting with one another. It is important to point out here that, in this analysis of a polylogue with 11 participants, comments may be misplaced (i.e. a participant's response may not appear just after the comment it targets) and agreeing with one person can imply disagreeing with another family member. For this reason, it was really important to pay attention to the content and addressivity to understand how messages were connected to each other (Bolander 2012, Bou-Franch, Lorenzo-Dus and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2012, Sifianou 2012).

It goes without saying that participants may opt for more than one strategy in a single WhatsApp message, as will be seen in the examples shown in the next section. In other cases, a single disagreement strategy was developed through several WhatsApp messages, sometimes even with other participants commenting at the same time. This is due to the possibility of having convergent interactions, as well as asynchronous communication that, as we saw in the previous section, are characteristic of this type of polylogal digital interactions.

Interlocutors' assessments of each other's interventions were crucial in this identification that was carried out using the following list of 16 disagreement strategies, taken and adapted from previous works (Pomerantz 1984, Brown and Levinson 1987, Rees-Miller 2000, Locher 2004, Kreutel 2007, Malamed 2010 and Shum and Lee 2013). The reason for choosing these strategies is that all of them relate, in some way or another, disagreement with considerations of politeness and/or relational work, as in the present study. All the examples from this list except for "Expressing regret" have been taken from the corpus and translated into English:

1. [UD] Using unmitigated disagreement: by means of bare negative forms (e.g. "no", "no way") or the performative (e.g. "I disagree", "I don't/can't agree").
2. [HED] Using mitigating expressions (hedges) (e.g. "I guess", "it seems").
3. [TA] Token agreement (e.g. "yes ... but").
4. [NC] Giving negative comments: the participant expresses what s/he thinks to be the right thing to do and compares with what s/he thinks is the wrongdoing of the interlocutor in a personalised way (e.g. "There are schedules that directly do not allow you to become a mother").
5. [VP] Using short vulgar phrases: the participant uses taboo words (insults, swear words, etc.) when disagreeing with the interlocutor (e.g. "today, instead of demonstrating, I went to the hospital to see my neighbour who is really fucked up").
6. [OAQ] Expressing objection as a question: the participant questions the interlocutor's previous claim (e.g. "do you really think so?").
7. [RC] Requesting clarification (e.g. "you are saying I am right, aren't you?").
8. [IS] Making an ironic statement: the participant says something insincerely (e.g. "Come on, now Diana Quer was killed for being a man").
9. [JOKE] Joking: avoiding a clear statement of disagreement but it may be understood as such (e.g. "have you been possessed by a spirit from the middle ages?").
10. [OO] Giving opposite opinions: the participant disagrees by giving an opinion that is contrary to what was said before. There is no intention of giving negative comments (e.g. "A: children are an obstacle to a woman's career. B: If a man has custody of his children, I doubt he can be promoted a lot").

11. [REW] Rewording: the participant shows disagreement by making minor changes to the interlocutor's original comments instead of repeating the utterance (e.g. "A: And you're still wondering why we are demonstrating?? B: I don't wonder why you're demonstrating.).
12. [EPR] Giving emotional or personal reasons: referring to personal experience to substantiate disagreement (e.g. "I am demonstrating for those who fought before and could not complete their work.")
13. [FAC] Giving facts: disagreeing using quotations, statistical information, pictures, videos, etc. to show a completely opposite view (e.g. "I know many women who, knowing they are protected by law, have reduced their work performance by 50% after giving birth").
14. [ER] Expressing regret (e.g. "I'm sorry but I don't agree").
15. [SUG] Making suggestions (e.g. "I would like you to demonstrate for all those women who fought, were forced to submit or died").
16. [REP] Reprimanding: the participant tells the interlocutor that his/her action/ behaviour/attitude is not approved (e.g. "if we all stay at home, we don't increase the problem's visibility").

### *3.3. Procedure*

The data analysis involved several steps. First, the interaction was forwarded from the mobile phone to an email account as an attachment, thus preventing transcription errors. After copying the text into a *Microsoft Word* document, all interventions were subjected to an anonymization process in which participants' names and other personal references were veiled.

Then, the interaction was analysed in search of the 16 disagreement strategies mentioned before. In order to establish coder reliability, the corpus was coded separately by the author and a research assistant and any discrepancies (less than 15% for each code) were resolved through discussion. Finally, since, as an analyst, I can only interpret what participants convey on the basis of their utterances, they were asked the following questions to ascertain their opinion towards disagreement and impoliteness:

1. Were you offended/upset by any of your interlocutors' comments? If so, can you indicate when and why? If not, why not?
2. Do you consider any of the comments to be impolite? If so, can you indicate which one(s) and why? If not, why not?
3. Have these comments had any consequences in your relationship with this person after this WhatsApp interaction?

## 4. Results and discussion

In the following sub-sections, the variety of disagreement strategies found is presented, juxtaposed with examples. Then, the participants' judgement of impoliteness is summarised.

### *4.1. Disagreement strategies*

A total of 427 disagreement instances were identified, with the strategy distribution presented in Figure 2.

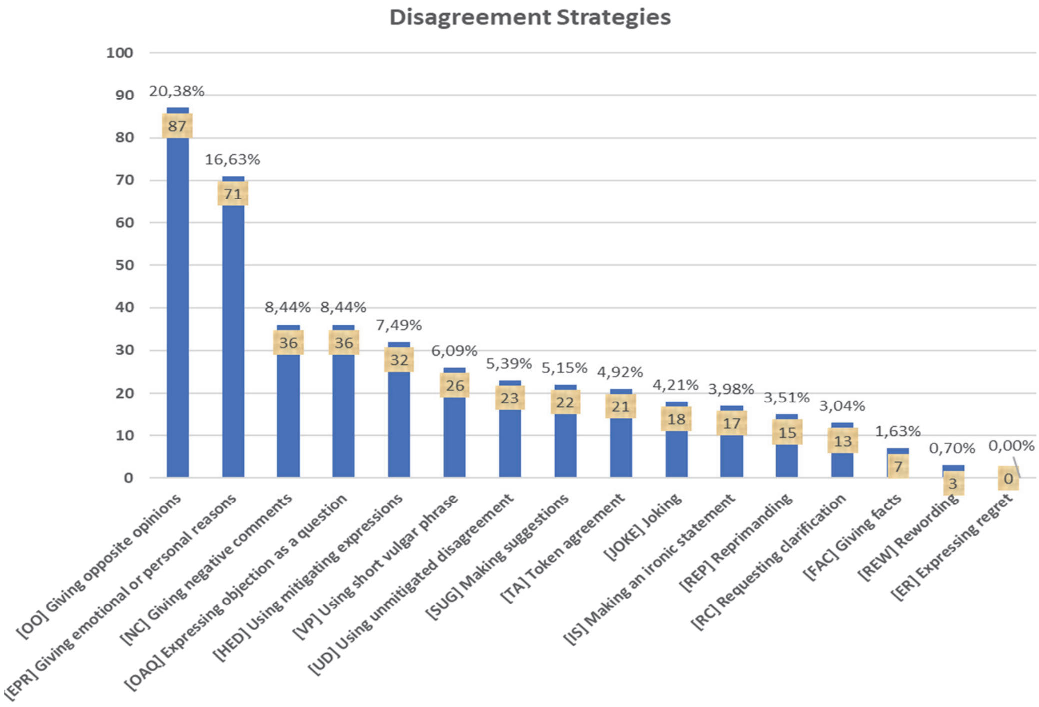



**Figure 2.** Disagreement instances (N = 427)

"Giving opposite opinions" and "Giving emotional or personal reasons" were the two most widely used strategies, employed on more than 37% of occasions. This is to be expected, bearing in mind that the group is divided from the very beginning into detractors and supporters of feminism, and they are defending their opposite viewpoints by also giving examples from their own experience.

The rest of the disagreement strategies were present with lesser frequency, although there was no instance of "Expressing regret" (e.g. 'I'm sorry but I don't agree'). One possible explanation could be that these kinds of expressions are typical of specific cultures such as British English, more oriented towards deference and negative politeness. However, this is not the case in peninsular Spanish, more oriented towards solidarity and positive politeness when it comes to family and friends' interactions.

Furthermore, the insignificant presence of the "Rewording" strategy, with only 3 instances, could be explained by the fact that participants are often so eager to express their opinion that they write at the same time and do not read each other's messages. Consequently, rewording is less likely to happen. These overlaps contribute to a more conversational and heated debate, as in an oral exchange.

Surprisingly, there was a low occurrence of the "Unmitigated disagreement" strategy, only used in 5.39% of the total amount. This contradicts previous findings that suggest "unmitigated disagreement can occur in contexts where it is more important to defend one's point of view than to pay face consideration to the addressee" (Locher 2004: 143). I expected a higher occurrence of this strategy, since the main purpose of this interaction was precisely that, and the familiar relationship between the participants also permitted the use of this strategy.

As we can observe in Table 2, almost 73.31% of the disagreement strategies are used by four participants, who are core members in the conversation: Julio and Linda, who form a couple, as well as Berta and Natalia. Thus, the participants, despite being in the same speech situation and having the same background, employ disagreement strategies in different frequencies. This might point to a difference in tolerance of disagreement (Kakavá 1993), as was stated in the literature review.

*Table 2*

**Disagreement strategies per participant***

| Disagreement strategy | Linda | Julio | Natalia | Berta | Ramón | Lola | Dora | Ana | Isabel | Félix | *n* = | % of strategy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [OO] Giving opposite opinions | 20 | 26 | 13 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 3 | | 1 | 87 | 20.38% |
| [EPR] Giving emotional or personal reasons | 15 | 7 | 10 | 21 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 2 | | 71 | 16.63% |
| [OAQ] Expressing objection as a question | 12 | 5 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | | | | 36 | 8.44% |
| [NC] Giving negative comments | 7 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 4 | | 1 | | 1 | 36 | 8.44% |
| [HED] Using mitigating expressions | | 8 | 11 | 5 | 5 | | 1 | 2 | | | 32 | 7.49% |
| [VP] Using short vulgar phrases | 5 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 4 | | 6 | | | | 26 | 6.09% |
| [UD] Using unmitigated disagreement | 8 | 5 | 3 | 4 | | 1 | | 2 | | | 23 | 5.39% |
| [SUG] Making suggestions | 3 | 4 | 8 | 2 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 22 | 5.15% |
| [TA] Token agreement | 6 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 1 | | 1 | | | 21 | 4.92% |
| [JOKE] Joking | 3 | 9 | | 2 | 1 | 3 | | | | | 18 | 4.21% |
| [IS] Making an ironic statement | 4 | 1 | 3 | | 7 | 2 | | | | | 17 | 3.98% |
| [REP] Reprimanding | 8 | | | | 1 | 3 | 3 | | | | 15 | 3.51% |
| [RC] Requesting clarification | | | 8 | | 3 | 2 | | | | | 13 | 3.04% |
| [FAC] Giving facts | 1 | 3 | | | | 3 | | | | | 7 | 1.63% |
| [REW] Rewording | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | 3 | 0.70% |
| [ER] Expressing regret | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0.00% |
| *n* = | 93 | 83 | 76 | 61 | 43 | 31 | 20 | 15 | 3 | 2 | 427 | |
| % of contribution per person | 21.77% | 19.47% | 17.79% | 14.28% | 10.07% | 7.25% | 4.68% | 3.51% | 0.70% | 0.46% | 100% | |

*Marina has not been included in this chart because none of her five contributions to the conversation is a disagreement.

Both Julio and Linda are very active participants in the chat from the very beginning and they keep on contributing with different interventions non-stop during the 14-hour conversation. However, although Berta and Natalia also participate in the morning, their involvement in the conversation increases when the demonstration has already taken place. This evening part of the interaction seems to be the moment in which the conflict is more heated. Lola and Linda have been posting photos, videos and comments showing what an awesome experience it has been for them participating in the demonstration. Although they are not specifically addressing anybody in the group, these comments seem to have threatened other participants' face, who deem it necessary to justify why they have not demonstrated. Thus, the participants make use of disagreement strategies in order to (dis)affiliate themselves from/with one of two social identities: supporters and detractors of feminism.

Regarding the kind of strategies used by each participant, we can see that the most frequent strategies used coincide with the general results: "giving opposite opinions" and "giving emotional or personal reasons". However, there are specific results that are worth commenting on. For example, Linda does not make use of any hedge at all, disagreeing bluntly with all participants. Furthermore, she is the participant who employs most often the strategy "reprimanding". This contrasts with Natalia's conversational style, for instance, who is the participant who uses the most mitigation and no reprimand. From the general content of the conversation, we can deduce that Linda is a strong defender of feminism and does not understand how other members of her family can be against it, even worse, female participants. However, Natalia's opinion towards feminism changes depending on the issue being dealt with, which may explain her use of hedges. Thus, as seen in the literature review, conversational style also influences the way in which disagreement is presented (Tannen 1984, Locher 2004).

Another result which is worth highlighting is Berta's use of "giving emotional or personal reasons". As can be observed in Table 2, she is the participant who uses this strategy the most. Berta seems to be threatened by other participants' willingness to participate actively in the defence of women's rights for equality. So, the high use of this strategy could be related to the fact that she feels the need of justifying herself for being against feminism, giving personal reasons for her decision.

Below are some examples taken from the analysis to contextualise how participants used these strategies. They are in time sequence and have been chosen because they illustrate different strategies very clearly in a single extract. All the examples have been copied verbatim without any corrections.

**Example 1**

1) 8/3/18 12:55 — Lola: https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/03/07/icon/1520426823_220468.html ("*Hoy te han dejado de niñera"*[2]*. 43 micromachismos que cometemos a diario*) ("Today you are babysitting": 43 sexist comments we make everyday)
2) 8/3/18 12:56 — Lola: *Me temo que en este grupo hay personas que hacen algunos de la lista y no quiero señalar pero empiezo por mi casa....* ☹ (I'm afraid there are people in this group who make some of those mentioned on the list and I don't want to point my finger at anybody but I am starting in my own home…☹)
3) 8/3/18 14:12 — Berta: *En mi casa no pasa na de ezo* (None of that happens at my home) **[Emotional or Personal Reasons]**
   [...]
4) 8/3/18 14:17 — Linda: *Que suerte miarma! Te has llevado una joya!!* (You lucky girl! You married a treasure!!) **[Ironic Statement]**
5) 8/3/18 14:18 — Marina: 🤣🤣🤣

[2] Although in English this expression is not gender marked, in Spanish "dejar de niñera" refers to a female. Thus, when applied to a man, it may have negative connotations implying that he is carrying out an action that is supposed to be done by a woman. That is why in the newspaper article this expression is considered sexist, since taking care of kids is no longer solely part of a woman's responsibilities.

6) 8/3/18 14:24 — Ramón: *Hay cosas extendidas en la lista pero habrá q hacer otra lista al revés.* (There are some things on the list that are widespread but there needs to be another list for things the other way around.) **[Token Agreement]**
7) 8/3/18 14:33 — Julio: *El 95% de los fallecidos fueron hombres* (95% of the deceased were men)
8) 8/3/18 14:33 — Julio: https://m.eldiario.es/economia/accidentes-laborales-sumaron-muertes-noviembre_0_729677194.html
9) 8/3/18 14:33 — Julio: *Tenemos los trabajos más precarios y peligrosos* (We have the most precarious and dangerous jobs) **[Negative Comments + Facts]**
10) 8/3/18 14:33 — Julio: *De esto no se habla* (This is not mentioned) **[Opposite Opinion]**
[...]
11) 8/3/18 14:37 — Julio: *En 1912 es verdad que no podían votar, pero si se hundía un barco, tenían preferencia* 😂 *Yo prefiero no votar y meterme en un bote salvavidas* 😂
(It's true they couldn't vote in 1912 but, if a ship was sinking, they were given priority 😂 I prefer not to vote and get into a lifeboat 😂) **[Joke + Emotional or Personal Reasons]**
12) 8/3/18 14:38 — Julio: *Fite el Leonardo di caprio, con el espacio que tenía en el trozo tabla la muchacha, yto pa ella* [Just look at Leonardo di caprio, with all the space the girl had on that board, and all to herself] **[Joke]**

In this first example, Lola posts a link to a newspaper article that contains a list of sexist comments people make every day. Then, she accuses, in general terms, the members from the chat of exhibiting this kind of sexist behaviour. This contribution immediately obtains a number of responses that disagree with this idea. The first one is by Berta (Line 3) who provides a simple denial of the propositional content of the FTA made by Lola, giving personal reasons to support her disagreement. Berta mitigates this potential FTA by means of positive politeness strategies, changing the spelling of "none" (*na* instead of *nada*) and "that" (*ezo* instead of *eso*), trying to give an informal tone to her message, making it more oral. This kind of unconventional spelling is also used by Ramón in line 6 (*q* instead of *que*) and Julio in line 12 (*fite* instead of *fíjate*, *to* instead of *todo* and *pa* instead of *para*). This is one of the characteristics of, not only WhatsApp interactions, but digital discourse in general:

> As shown by other work in the field (Crystal 2006), the use of repeated keystrokes and unconventional orthography has often been documented as an effort on the part of the interactants to compensate creatively for the effects of gesture and tone in the CMC context. (Angouri & Tseliga 2010, 70).

In line 4, Linda does not believe what Berta is saying and she disagrees using an ironic statement by means of which she says something insincerely, using double exclamation marks to strengthen her emotions. Ramón responds using a token agreement admitting there may be some logic to making the list but then offers an explanation that shows that he does not agree fully to it, since he links the need for such a list to a similar need for another list "the other way around" (line 6).

Julio expresses his disagreement with the feminist movement by posting a newspaper article in order to give facts related to his idea that it is men, not women, who are in a disadvantaged position. In an effort to support his argument, he moves from a personal identity to a group identity ("we have") and uses negative comments to describe men's jobs.

In line 10, he also gives an opposite opinion, i.e. an opinion that is contrary to what is said but without any intention of making negative comments. Then, he jokes in lines 11 and 12, a strategy by means of which he avoids a clear statement of disagreement, but may be understood as such.

The presence of the emojis is also worth pointing out, since in this case they help to add a friendly tone to the debate, trying to reduce face-threat (Maíz-Arévalo 2014). Julio uses them to signal he is joking, being one of the instances of bonding humour (Hay 2000, Schnurr 2010) present in the analysis, which creates and reinforces solidarity and common ground.

In the next two hours between when examples 1 and 2 took place, the discussion on feminism continues with some of the participants providing different arguments for (Lola, Linda) or against (Julio, Ana, Dora, Berta) it.

**Example 2**

1) 8/3/18 16:23 — Berta: *Yo los extremos no los q veo en ningun caso buenos* (I do not consider extremes to be good in any case) **[Hedge + Negative Comment]**
2) 8/3/18 16:24 — Dora: *Además de verdad* 👏👏👏 (You're so right 👏👏👏)
   [...]
3) 8/3/18 16:25 — Berta: *En mi casa ni en ninguna parte habra ni machismo ni feminismo, pq yo me encargare de educar a mis hijos asi, como me educaron a mi* (There will be no machismo nor feminism anywhere in my home, cos I'll take care of raising my children that way, as I was raised) **[Emotional or Personal Reasons]**
   [...]
4) 8/3/18 16:32 — Berta: *Pero a mi q no me.digan heteropatriarcado capitalista* (But don't talk to me about capitalist heteropatriarchy) **[Opposite Opinion]**
5) 8/3/18 16:32 — Berta: *Que no* (No way) **[Unmitigated Disagreement]**

In example 2 we see that Berta, who is against feminism, uses hedges and negative comments to show her disagreement with the members of the group who are in favour of it. This receives a positive response from Dora, who emphasizes her agreement with Berta's statement with 3 clapping hands emojis (line 2). Then, in line 3, Berta refers to emotional or personal reasons to support her disagreement.

Finally, in line 4, she disagrees by giving an opinion that is contrary to what is said and she ends using unmitigated disagreement by means of the bare negative form "no way". This way Berta is dissociating herself from those who are in favour of feminism, implicitly associating something negative with them.

After this extract, the discussion on feminism continues mainly between Lola and Linda, who are getting ready for going to the demonstrations, and Julio, who is all the time disagreeing with them by giving reasons against the need to fight for women's rights. Example 3 takes place after Lola has told how a friend of her has just received a sexist comment from the taxi driver who was taking her to the demonstrations.

**Example 3**

1) 8/3/18 18:44 — Lola: *Y aún os preguntáis por que nos manifestamos??* (And you still wondering why we are demonstrating??) **[Objection as question]**
2) 8/3/18 19:14 — Julio: *Yo no me pregunto porque os manifestais.* (I don't wonder why you're demonstrating.) **[Rewording]**
   [...]
3) 8/3/18 23:09 — Ramón: *Q leyes tienen q cambiar?* (What laws need to change?) **[Requesting clarification]**
   [...]
4) 8/3/18 23:10 — Dora: *Joder esto no se acaba, hacer cada uno lo q os salga del perrete* 😜😜😜 (Bloody hell, this is never ending, just do whatever the hell you feel like 😜😜😜) **[Vulgar phrase + Reprimanding + Suggestion]**

The rest of the strategies found in the corpus are seen in example 3 above:

— "Expressing objection as a question" (line 1). By means of this question, Lola is showing her disagreement with the members of the group who have stated that it is not necessary to demonstrate on the 8$^{th}$ of March to fight for women's rights.

— "Rewording" (line 2). In this case, the participant shows disagreement by making minor changes to the interlocutor's original comments. This strategy is used by Julio to disagree with Lola's previous statement.

— "Requesting clarification" (line 3). This question gives the interlocutor the possibility of explaining and clarifying their point to avoid possible disagreement. This is a common strategy used by Ramón, who is one of the members of the group against feminism.

— "The use of short vulgar phrases such as insults or swear words" and "Reprimanding", through which the participant tells the interlocutor that their action, behaviour or attitude is not approved, as seen in line 4. As stated previously, Dora is one of the members of the group without a clear-cut opinion for or against feminism. In this case, she disagrees with the general attitude of the conflictive interaction and tells the rest off for arguing for so long. Once again, here emojis help to reduce face-threat and add a friendly tone.

### *4.2. Participants' opinions*

In order to ascertain their opinion towards disagreement and impoliteness, participants were asked the following questions:

1. Were you offended/upset by any of your interlocutors' comments? If so, can you indicate when and why? If not, why not?
2. Do you consider any of the comments to be impolite? If so, can you indicate which one(s) and why? If not, why not?
3. Have these comments had any consequences in your relationship with this person after this WhatsApp interaction?

The questions were sent by email to the different participants together with the transcription of the interaction. At this stage it is important to address whether responses can be expected to reflect the feelings and reactions of the participants at the time, or whether there might be a positivity bias that would lead the answers to lean towards claiming that no face-threats occurred in order to maintain a positive image/face of the family as a whole. Given the fact that the author is a member of this community of practice, the participants were assured that their feedback was not going to be revealed to the rest of the members in the group (hence no names are given below), so that they could express freely what they thought and their responses could be helpful for my research goals. In fact, since they do not speak English and they are not scholars, they have shown no interest in knowing the results of the research carried out.

Regarding the first question, 10 out of 11 participants answered that they were not offended or upset by their interlocutors' comments. The explanations given justifying their answers include the following:

P1: *"Conozco a los integrantes del grupo y no lo hacen para ofender. Están expresando sus ideas y las respeto."* (I know the members of the group and they don't do it to offend anybody. They are expressing their ideas and I respect them.)

P2: *"No me ha molestado nada, cada uno puede pensar como quiera. Sí me ha sorprendido la reacción de algunas personas."* (Nothing bothered me, people can think what they want. But I was surprised by some people's reaction.)

P3: *"Sinceramente no me molestaron ninguno de los comentarios. Aunque no estaba de acuerdo con muchas de las cosas que se decían entiendo que no todo el mundo tiene un mismo pensamiento."* (Honestly, none of the comments bothered me. Although I didn't agree with many of the things that were said, I understand that not everyone has the same thought.)

Disagreement for these participants has no face-aggravating effects (Goodwin 1983, Schiffrin 1984, Georgakopoulou 2001). Despite dealing with a controversial topic (feminism), since they are in a relationship of solidarity and share interactional norms delimited by the specific genre, disagreement seems to be appropriate and does not violate relational boundaries.

In relation to the second question, none of the participants considered any of the comments to be impolite. Some of their explanations were:

P3: *"No creo que haya comentarios maleducados. Entiendo que se enmarcan dentro de la confianza que existe en un grupo de wasap familiar."* (I don't think there are impolite comments. I believe they are part of the mutual trust that exists in a family wasap group.)

P4: *"Para nada, creo que ha sido una conversación muy interesante y educadora."* (Not at all, I think it was a very interesting and educational conversation.)

In order to decide what is and is not polite, P3 refers to the set of community norms defined by the group of which he is a part. He explains that he does not consider the comments to be impolite because there is "confianza" (trust) among participants. This term has been used by different pragmaticians to account for the fact that, in interactions among friends and family in Spain, having this mutual trust allows participants to speak their minds. Thus, they can disagree with each other without any fear of offending their interlocutors (see, among others, Hernández-Flores 2003, Bernal 2007, Bravo 2008).

In the same vein, not only does P4 not consider the conversation to be impolite at any time, but she also sees disagreeing as an entertaining activity that may foster sociability (Georgakopoulou 2001, Sifianou 2012).

All the participants also answered the third and final question in a negative way. Among the explanations given were:

P4: *"Para nada!! Sigo exactamente igual con todos. De hecho deberíamos tener más discusiones en el grupo!"* (No way!! I am still on exactly the same terms with everyone. In fact we should have more discussions in the group!")

P2: "*No, pero opino que el WhatsApp puede dar problemas. No es lo mismo una conversación donde estás viendo a la persona y ves su reacción (gestos, miradas, ...) que imaginártelo."* (No, but I think WhatsApp can pose problems. It's not the same as having a conversation in which you see the other person and their reaction (gestures, expressions...) as imagining it.)

P1: *"Por supuesto que no. Respeto las ideas que cada uno tenga aunque no las comparta."* (Of course not. I respect their ideas even if I may not agree with them.)

From these answers, we can deduce that the occurrence of disagreement does not seem to threaten participants' relationships in this group. In fact, P4 sees it once again as an entertaining activity. P2 makes reference to the fact that the lack of non-verbal cues may make it more difficult to interpret the interlocutors' intention, as other researchers analysing (im)politeness in CMC have already stated (Graham 2007).

## 5. Conclusions

The present paper has contributed to the existing, limited research on WhatsApp interaction in languages other than English by analysing disagreement and impoliteness in an interaction within a Spanish family on the 8th March 2018. The main purpose of the analysis was to answer the two guiding research questions:

1) What are the linguistic realizations used by participants to express disagreement?
2) How do participants judge impoliteness in disagreement?

In relation to the first research question, the linguistic strategies proposed by different authors were present in the corpus with more or less frequency, with the most common strategies being "giving opposite opinions" and "giving emotional or personal reasons". This is reasonable since the group is divided from the very beginning, and the fact that participants (dis)affiliated themselves from/with one of two social identities (supporters and detractors of feminism) made disagreement the norm in this interaction.

It is worth noting there was no instance of the strategy "Expressing regret". As stated previously, this could be explained by the differences in politeness orientation between English and peninsular Spanish. This finding supports the need to analyse disagreement in languages other than English. Another remarkable result was the low occurrence of the strategy "Unmitigated disagreement", since the familiar relationship between the participants permitted the use of this strategy, as it is derived from the answers the participants gave after the interview. In my opinion, this may be related to the fact that the participants want to make it very clear which side of the conflict they are taking, developing their explanations and providing reasons for their disagreement.

The analysis has also revealed that it is important to examine how disagreement evolves across multiple turns, since it has not developed in a linear way, with different answers from various members, sometimes even writing at the same time, and with side sequences. Thus, it is necessary to approach the analysis of disagreement not only from a synchronic but also from a diachronic perspective.

Another issue that it is worth highlighting is the role played by multimodal elements and emojis with different functions related to disagreement, such as being the origin of disagreement itself (i.e. the first meme and the links to the news story in example 1), showing disapproval with others' opinions, intensifying disagreements to show emotion or trying to reduce face-threat and boosting group solidarity (as in example 3).

In relation to the second research question, as shown by the participants' opinions, the fact that they are family members and have known each other for a long time makes the impact of their disagreement different from that of speakers in antagonistic relationships. Therefore, in this case, although the topic is controversial it does not seem to be risky for the participants to express a different opinion, contradicting what previous authors have stated (Kakavá 1993, Locher 2004). In this context, disagreement is not considered to be impolite and is even evaluated in positive terms by some of the participants. Hence, the findings of this study are in line with the contemporary consensus that disagreement is not *a priori* a negative speech act (Angouri and Locher 2012). Thus, disagreement is not an inherently impolite act that should always be avoided or mitigated.



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Research Article

# Relational Work in Airbnb reviews

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**Abstract**

Peer-to-peer businesses such as Airbnb have recently given rise to new travel trends in which electronic word of mouth, in the form of online consumer reviews (OCRs, henceforth), is the main trust mechanism with a threefold purpose: to make informed decisions regarding accommodation, gain good reputation, and manage the relational component as continuity from the offline stage of the experience. In the light of the above, this study will analyse 120 reviews (60 positive and 60 negative) written by Airbnb travellers and linked to three different emotional orientations: delighted/satisfied, ambivalent/neutral, and dissatisfied/disappointed. Taking an illocutionary and stylistic domain perspective, the reviews will be examined to understand how users manage relational work (Watts 1989, Locher and Watts 2005, Locher 2006, Locher and Watts 2008), and to ascertain what is likely to be the 'norm' in this particular genre (i.e., OCRs) and for the particular Virtual Community of Practice (VCoP, henceforth) (i.e., guests and hosts interacting in Airbnb). The results show that being polite seems to be the norm (hence being politic), while being rude or offensive is the exception. The data also suggest that users tend to be politic/polite through very enthusiastic and friendly messages, while dissatisfaction and ambivalence are shown by means of a process of depersonalisation, with a tone based on formality and distancing from the host. Information is also obtained from what is not said, which creates the implicature of dissatisfaction. This seems to be implicitly understood by the members of this VCoP, who seem to perceive sociability as pivotal to assess their experience.

**Keywords:** *Online consumer reviews, Airbnb, relational work, politeness, impoliteness, face*

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Научная статья

# Работа над межличностными отношениями в отзывах на сайте Airbnb

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**Аннотация**

В последнее время на таких онлайн-площадках, как Airbnb, которые дали толчок новым туристическим тенденциям, онлайн-отзывы потребителей становятся основным механизмом доверия и имеют троякую цель: принятие обоснованных решений относительно размещения, приобретение хорошей репутации и управление межличностными отношениями как продолжение офлайн-общения. В свете вышесказанного в данном исследовании будут проанализированы 120 отзывов (60 положительных и 60 отрицательных), написанных путешественниками, воспользовавшимися сайтом Airbnb. Они передают три различных эмоциональных состояния: восхищение/удовлетворение, амбивалентность/нейтральность и неудовлетворение/разочарование. Акцент будет сделан на иллокутивном и стилистическом аспектах с целью понять, как ведется работа по выстраиванию отношений, или «реляционная работа» (‘relational work’) (Watts 1989, Locher & Watts 2005, Locher 2006) и выяснить, что может быть «нормой» в этом конкретном жанре (электронном отзыве потребителей) и виртуальном сообществе (т.е. гости и хозяева отелей, общающиеся на сайте Airbnb). Результаты показывают, что нормой является вежливость, а грубость или оскорбление — это исключение. Полученные данные также свидетельствуют о том, что пользователи склонны проявлять вежливость посредством восторженных и очень дружелюбных сообщений, в то время как неудовлетворенность и амбивалентность проявляются имперсонифицированно, через официальный стиль и дистанцирование. Имплицитно информация о неудовлетворённости передается также через умолчание о тех или иных моментах. Представляется, что это понимают и члены данного сообщества, которые, по-видимому, воспринимают сообщение информации как необходимое условие оценки.

**Ключевые слова:** *онлайн-отзывы потребителей, Airbnb, работа над межличностными отношениями, вежливость, невежливость, лицо*

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## 1. Introduction

Airbnb represents the most successful platform for accommodation sharing and experiences to date (Forbes 2018, Sundadarajan 2014), and is presumably the most popular platform for peer-to-peer accommodation in general. Its versatility (as it can be used as a communication tool with hosts, accommodation booking, search of experiences and posting of reviews, among others), popularity (established in many countries), social nature[1], and the features of its review system (e.g. anonymity is not allowed, travellers are also evaluated, and there is user-friendly communication system that enables online interaction, among others) are characteristics that favour both its own success and trust

[1] While it is true that many travellers renting apartments via Airbnb are not likely to meet the host (based on personal experience), travellers interested in meeting local people and attracted by the social appeal of this CoP usually decide to rent a private room at the host’s house, so that offline, interpersonal contact is possible during their stay. This study only focuses on the latter.

among users. However, while the business and marketing literature provides a great amount of information regarding this platform, studies regarding communication in Airbnb, as well as its review system from a pragmatic perspective are almost non-existent (but see Bridges and Vásquez 2016 and Hernández-López 2019). This study aims to explore OCRs in Airbnb to bridge this gap.

Previous research has shown that, while OCRs as a genre have characteristics of their own, every social platform will also constitute a separate Community of Practice (CoP[2]) (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992, Mills 2003), or VCoP (Dubé et al. 2005) with features that are not transferable to other types of OCRs. The literature has already pointed out the differences between product-oriented and experiential OCRs (Vásquez 2011, 2014), as well as between business-to-peer and peer-to-peer travel patterns (Tussyadiah and Pesonen 2015). Airbnb has also been identified as a community of travellers with interest in both practical aspects of the experience (Guttentag et al. 2017) and socialising with locals in the target destination (Ert, Fleischer and Magen 2016). That said, we believe Airbnb must be studied as a separate CoP where travellers constantly interact in both the online and offline worlds, and whose review system is constrained by the sense of community[3] its users have (Hernández-López 2019). It is precisely this social nature that makes Airbnb a platform of interest from a relational point of view, given that its review system has a threefold purpose: to make informed decisions regarding accommodation in a travel destination (guests), gain good reputation (both hosts and guests), and manage the relational component as continuity from the offline stage of the experience (both hosts and guests).

In the light of the above, this study will analyse 60 positive and 60 neutral and/or negative Airbnb reviews from an illocutionary and stylistic domain perspective. More specifically, this paper focuses on how Airbnb guests, who have shared some time and

[2] However, this CoP or VCoP is not among travellers themselves (who cannot interact via the platform) but among travellers and hosts. Despite this limitation, the notion of CoP is still relevant here in that the platform gathers individuals with similar interests, willing to share their knowledge about accommodation. Also, their interactions, both in the form of personal contact and OCRs, will have an impact on their knowledge and practice. It is through the process of sharing information and experiences with the group that members learn from each other, while they obtain information that will help them take decisions. VCoPs are usually found in the form of forums (Dubé et al. 2005). Airbnb provides the opportunity to post a review and answer to reviews that have been posted about each individual. See also footnote 3 for the notion of belonging in the platform.

[3] Due to the rapid growth of Airbnb since its foundation in 2008, its CEOs have made every effort to enhance the sense of community of this platform, as well as its users' sense of belonging. Apart from the versatility of the platform, which allows for communication among users (mainly guest-hosts), its advertising campaign enhances this sense of belonging ("belong anywhere") and has been labelled by business experts as a "global community", as in https://www.thebrandingjournal.com/2014/07/airbnbs-consistent-rebrand-focuses-sense-belonging-community/. Besides, hosts can also interact with each other in a related website (https://community.withairbnb.com), so that they can express their concerns and doubts, as well as explain their experiences via a public forum and private messages. So as to contribute to this sense of community, one of its CEOs, Brian Chesky (@bchesky) usually uses twitter to remind users that this is not an accommodation platform only to search a house, but a community of users with common interests seeking a home.

space with hosts (i.e., who rented a room at the host's house), manage relational work (Watts 1989, Locher and Watts 2005, Locher 2006, Locher and Watts 2008) in positive reviews, vis-à-vis lukewarm and negative evaluations, so as to know what is likely to be the norm of appropriateness in each case, and how guests manage polite, politic and impolite messages addressed to the host and other readers. By adopting a genre approach to relational work (cf. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2010 for a genre approach to the study of im/politeness) and by looking at the intersection between genre and the features of this CoP, we aim to understand how macro issues (e.g., previous contact, as mentioned in reviews) and micro issues of the interaction (e.g., wording in the reviews) will help ascertain what is the norm (i.e., expected, politic) and what is the exception in this review system.

This paper will be structured as follows: first, a literature review on Airbnb as a platform, an overview of politeness and OCRs, as well as relational work from a genre perspective, is provided. Next, the results, presented in three different subsections (1) delighted/satisfied users, 2) neutral or ambivalent users, and 3) dissatisfied users), and a related discussion about relational work, is provided. The paper closes with some conclusions.

## 2. Airbnb as a peer-to-peer marketplace

Airbnb belongs to the group of so-called peer-to-peer (P2P) marketplaces. Online P2P marketplaces refer to individuals (consumers) who interact directly with other users (sellers) who are non-employees, while the marketplace website is maintained by a third party (Botsman and Rogers 2011). Examples of P2P markets are eBay (online auction site) and Rent The Runaway (renting designer dresses), among many others. Within this group, those offering a particular service, rather than a product, are the most popular, in that users seek unique experiences in which social interaction is central (Ert, Fleischer and Magen 2016: 62). Some examples include food services (Eatwith, VoulezVousDiner), taxi services (Uber, BlaBlaCar), and accommodation services (CouchSurf, Airbnb, Vayable, Love Home Swap). This group of P2P markets has also been identified as collaborative consumption (Pizam 2014: 118), and its main trust mechanism is known as experiential OCRs (Vásquez 2011, 2014).

Airbnb defines itself as "a social website that connects people who have space to spare with those who are looking for a place to stay", with special emphasis on those interested in having a "personal, meaningful experience" (Airbnb website). Indeed, Airbnb's emphasis on its social appeal (Ert, Fleischer and Magen 2016) implies creating networks as a form of social capital (Burt 2000, Wong and Salaff 1998) in a system in which their members trade with a personal commodity: their living spaces. In this sense, each member's network capital is based on trust in others and self-built reputation (Rosen et al. 2011), with a twofold function: more opportunities to host other travellers and the construction of a sense of community within this network.

In line with social networks, each member creates a personal profile including age, gender, location, education, and any other personal details that they may want to let others know. Members may choose to be either host or guest, although combining both roles in the same profile is also possible. This fact is key to understanding the complexity of this dynamic system, as each member may be evaluated as a host (similar to business-to-peer platforms), but also as a guest. Guests will be allowed to read their host's review (and vice versa) on condition that they post their own review about the host. Thus, this system ensures that their opinions are not biased by the other parties' comments.

In line with business-to-peer platforms (B2P) such as TripAdvisor, guests use, on the one hand, star ratings to evaluate features of their listings (i.e. their properties), and experience (mainly cleanliness, location, veracity and communication), together with the written texts used to share their experience. However, personal interaction and the fact that the Airbnb experience is built among peers (and not between businesses and peers), make this platform have characteristics of its own, mainly because it is not only the room or apartment to rent that matters, but also personal interaction (Bridges and Vásquez 2016, Cansoy and Schor 2016), and it is precisely this personal interaction in the offline component of the experience that may have an impact on reviews.

## 3. Politeness, the genre of OCRs, and travellers' websites as VCoP

The emergence of online sites for communication, business and leisure has marked a shift from situated politeness to globalized politeness, in which it is the affordances of the system, together with culture and other sociological variables, that have an impact on interaction. Such is the case in OCRs; overall, they have been studied as a genre to understand how users manage face, politeness and other relational issues. A case in point is Vásquez (2011, 2014), who found that complaints in TripAdvisor are rather different from face-to-face complaints, in that prosumers (i.e., consumers who are also producers of online content) attempt to maintain public self-image or social identity, rather than the other's face. This is partly given by the system, as the experience under review is usually based on an institution (e.g., a hotel). Ho (2017) also studied experiential OCRs from the angle of the reviewed institution to understand how managers respond to complaints, with attempts to recover face and enhance rapport.

In the sharing economy business, Dayter and Rüdiger examined users' complaints in CouchSurfing and found that conflictive reviews are expressed in a way that balances "the obligation to write honest references" with "the desire to protect face" (2014: 194). The accumulation of social capital is also a motivation to avoid blunt criticism. Therefore, even when the complaint is obvious, the insertion of positive elements helps ensure both positive self-presentation and the reaffirmation of solidarity with the addressee (p. 207). In line with this, Bridges and Vásquez (2016) use the term "lukewarm" review to designate those evaluations that are not explicitly negative but cannot be classified as positive either, and explain the reasons for this positivity bias in Airbnb (host-guest social interaction or personal acquaintance, the reciprocity of the review system, the sense of mutual trust on this online community and lack of anonymity, which means that every contribution to the website is also a contribution to building host and guest identities).

One of the latest contributions to this area of research is Hernández-López (2019), who examined positive Airbnb reviews written by British speakers. The author found that 1) reviews in this platform have characteristics of their own, such as reciprocity, considering the host as part of the experience, importance given to the host's personal traits and identity, etc. 2) personal acquaintance with the service provider has an impact on the way reviewers write their evaluations, and 3) these reviews are, in fact, social reviews in that users take the opportunity to not only inform other readers but also contact the host and ensure a certain continuity in terms of the relationship established during the offline component of the experience.

The above-mentioned studies reveal two facts: 1) that the review genre is not homogeneous across platforms; and 2) that the affordances of the website, together with the pragmatic affordances (Virtanen 2017) of the review system constrain relational considerations (e.g. politeness, rapport, etc.). It is at this point that we see that, while genre (i.e., text genre) has been advocated as a useful unit of analysis in politeness studies (cf. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2010, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou 2019), the specific profile of each CoP must be taken into account as well. For the purpose of this study, therefore, the features of Airbnb as a CoP will be taken into account to understand its review system as a genre. The CoP found in Airbnb is that of a community of travellers and hosts with a sense of belonging[4], where guests, or travellers, are interested in accommodation offered by local people or peers, and are often attracted by the system's social appeal (Hernández-López 2019). Hosts, in turn, often show interest in offering accommodation with differentiating characteristics (e.g., unique experience, low price, very friendly hosts, or great location, among others). This review system, as a genre, involves mutual evaluations (guest and host), and is addressed to both a wider audience (i.e., other travellers) and the person that is being evaluated, be it the host or the guest. Users are not kept in anonymity and strive to gain good reputation in order to be shown as trustworthy and gain more users. It is by looking at the intersection of this CoP and this review system as a genre that relational considerations will be examined.

## 4. A genre approach to relational work

The abovementioned studies show that, while OCRs are not a new field of study in politeness studies, its paths of research are scarce and, in the case of peer-to-peer consumption, almost non-existent. In the case of Airbnb, given its social nature (Hernández-López 2019, Sthapit and Jiménes-Barreto 2019), we contend that a model within interpersonal communication that is wide enough to cover the versatility of the online milieu is needed. In this sense, politeness will be understood as

> a fundamentally discursive concept, that is, one which does not have an objective existence outside of the discourses in which it is oriented to or talked about by users and observers of (different varieties of) a language. (Haugh 2019: 201)

Something that can be deducted with certainty from this definition is that politeness is shaped in the ongoing dynamics of interaction, in line with the so-called 'third wave of politeness studies' (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou 2019). This third wave

[4] On the sociability of Airbnb, see footnote 3.

includes approaches such as Arundale's (1999, 2006) face constitution, Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2008) rapport management, or Watts' (1989) relational work (see also Locher and Watts 2005, Watts 2005, Locher 2006). Despite their differences in scope and approach, all of them consider that politeness is not an ever-present phenomenon but is given in specific situations, and that interlocutors need not be interested in being polite only. Thus, while rapport management (Spencer-Oatey 2008) acknowledges that there are at least four rapport orientations (rapport enhancement, rapport maintenance, rapport neglect and rapport challenge), relational work (Watts 1989, Locher and Watts 2005, Watts 2005, Locher 2006) also aims to cover the entire spectrum of interpersonal behaviour, from negatively marked behaviour (i.e., impoliteness or rudeness), via non-marked or politic behaviour, which involves being appropriate to the interaction in question, to positively marked behaviour (i.e., politeness) (Locher 2006: 250). Thus, depending on the interlocutors' intention, they may engage in face-enhancing, face-maintaining and face-aggravating relational work (Locher and Watts 2008, Angouri and Locher 2012).

Relational work is defined as "'the work' individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others" (Locher and Watts 2005: 10) and acknowledges that most of the time it is the unmarked form, rather than politeness or impoliteness, that is expressed and perceived in interaction. Also, appropriateness in interaction is subject to the specificities of the context in question. Thus, participants familiar with a particular CoP invest in appropriate degrees of relational work and are likely to share what they deem appropriate locally, at the same time as constantly negotiating what is and what is not appropriate, what is polite, impolite or over-polite[5]. While it is true that negotiation is not something new when it comes to research on politeness or the relational component in general (cf. Fraser 1990), what constitutes a fundamental shift of perspective is that much of the relational work will be assessed as non-marked ('appropriate' or just 'normal', a lay person may say), or behaviour that participants construct as being "appropriate to the ongoing social interaction" (Watts 2003: 276). Within this discursive approach (Locher 2006, but also Garcés-Conejos Blitivich and Sifianou 2019, among others), the researchers' main task should be to identify what is appropriate and the expected norm, while what is polite or impolite is also subject to participants' evaluations. This perspective is inclusive, given that politeness may include a variety of styles based on intentions and linked to speech style, such as friendliness, distance, respect, modesty, individuality or solidarity, to name a few (cf. for instance, Barros García and Terkourafi 2014, for a discussion regarding rapprochement and distancing contexts).

[5] Hernández-López and Fernández-Amaya (2019) also include the category 'very polite', as different from 'polite'. They requested a number of participants to rate their hotel experience as 'very polite', 'polite', 'neutral' or 'impolite', and explain why. The findings revealed that, while 'very polite' is linked to behaviour that goes beyond the travellers' expectations, 'polite' was marked when communication matched their (high) expectations and where interaction was considered appropriate. The category 'neutral' was associated with indifference, and impoliteness with a bad hotel service in general.

## 5. Methodology

### *5.1. Data*

The data of this study consist of a sample of 120 Airbnb reviews: 60 reviews with a positive valence (i.e., experiences that have been depicted in positive terms) and 60 reviews with a negative valence (i.e., reviews in which there is at least one negative comment).

The selection of the corpus responds to a series of criteria:

1. Any destination within the UK.
2. Any review written in English.
3. Travellers staying in a private room for two people at the host's house. This option has been selected because we understand that it gives more opportunities to interact with the host(s) than those cases in which whole apartments are rented. It is assumed that sharing some time and space with hosts will potentially give more opportunities to engage in interpersonal communication that may have an impact on the final write-up of the review.
4. Only experienced users (i.e, those with more than five reviews) were considered to ensure that they are knowledgeable of the underlying norms of behaviour of this CoP, and familiarized with the review genre. As expressed by Locher (2006: 253),

> interactants participating in the same speech event and being familiar with the norms of behavior established in this particular type of interaction over time will of course be more likely to have approximate evaluations than interactants who are newcomers to a particular community.

Finding positive reviews is easy in Airbnb, given that more than 90% belong to very satisfied users (cf. Bulchand-Gidumal and Melián González 2019). In this sense, and after considering the abovementioned selection criteria, the 60 positive reviews were selected randomly out of an initial selection of 230 positive reviews of accommodation in Bristol. In turn, and given the difficulty to find neutral/negative reviews in one single destination, the selection of this second group was not random, but the result of detailed reading of reviews at different destinations (Glasgow, Bristol, London, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Lancaster and Belfast). Those reviews that described any type of fault, disagreement, criticism or ambiguity were collected as part of this data set. At times, some reviews are ambivalent in meaning but include the reply of disappointed hosts. In these cases, we understand that the review has a negative valence as well. Regarding ethical considerations, all the reviews are open access in the platform. Examples in this paper have been anonymized.

### *5.2. Procedure*

The analysis of the data will be based on the computer-mediated discourse analysis (CMDA) perspective proposed by Herring (2004: 339), "grounded in empirical, textual observations" and "informed by a linguistics perspective". More specifically, data will be examined considering an illocutionary (i.e., the performance of certain speech acts) and stylistic (e.g. choice of tone or choice of genre-bound lexis) domain perspective to understand how travellers manage relational work.

Data will be organised attending to the users' emotional stance: (1) delighted or satisfied, (2) lukewarm or ambivalent, and (3) (very) dissatisfied. Whereas (1) and (3) will be reviews that are unequivocally positive or negative, (2) includes reviews that either mix positive and negative comments, or are ambiguous in tone and/or intention. In all three cases, the role of content, specific speech acts and tone, for instance, will be examined to determine the type of relational work reflected in reviews. Thus, this analysis will hopefully contribute to understand what constitutes appropriate or politic behaviour in this particular genre (experiential reviews) and CoP (travellers in the sharing economy).

Given that we do not always count on the addressee's replies (i.e., they are optional) and the interpretation of other readers, we are aware of the fact that it may be difficult to differentiate between lukewarm and negative reviews. For this reason, we consider that reviews have a negative valence when there is at least one negative comment or note of dispraise in the review (even when the rest of the information in it is positive). Within this group, lukewarm reviews are those that are ambivalent in tone and wording, or those with compensation strategies to minimize the expressed fault (e.g., "It was very noisy but [the host] was super friendly and understanding, and we would give it a second chance"). Clearly negative reviews are those with scarce mitigation or clear disappointment, as in "Not clean at all. I wouldn't recommend". We will consider that reviews have a positive valence when these are unequivocally positive, and their users' emotional stance is that of clear satisfaction, as in the following review: "The property was beautiful and I really felt the luxury of a top hotel. The hosts made every effort to print a map, knowing where I was going to meet friends later. Really kind. Thanks for a great stay. I would definitely book it again".

Following Locher (2006), we will deem a message as polite when there is "positive concern for the addressee" (251), and a message will be impolite when there is lack of concern for the addressee's face or reputation, or when there is the desire of the speaker to attack face or clearly damage the host's reputation. In order to classify reviews, the host's reply (if there is any) will also be taken into account to understand how the review has been interpreted. Besides, the sample was coded twice in order to ensure validity of these classifications.

## 6. Results

The vast majority of reviews present features that orient towards enhancing the relational component. Overall, users not only aim to express what they think but also try to not damage the relationship at hand (either by enhancing it or by avoiding damaging it). Besides, there are a number of reviews that shows dissatisfaction and scarce concern for the other's face. This group, which constitutes a minority, is oriented towards aggravating the relational component. Table 1 below summarizes the findings in numbers.

*Table 1*

**Classification of reviews according to the users' emotional orientation (delighted/satisfied, neutral/moderately satisfied and dissatisfied/disappointed)**

| Data sets | Reviews with a positive valence (60) | Reviews with a negative valence (60) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Emotional orientation | Delighted/ satisfied | Lukewarm/ ambivalent | Dissatisfied/ disappointed | Other* |
| Number of reviews | 60 | 36 | 23 | 1 |

*There was one review that did not seem to fit any of these categories. Due to space constraints, this 'other' category will be left out.

In what follows, the different types of reviews will be examined, attending to the users' emotional orientation (delighted/satisfied, neutral/ambivalent or dissatisfied). A number of reviews will be presented to illustrate the features of language in each of the groups presented in Table 1. The analysis will take a stylistic and illocutionary perspective to understand how this has an impact on relational work.

### *6.1. Delighted and satisfied users*

Airbnb has been characterised by its positivity bias (e.g., Bulchand-Gidumal and Melián-González 2019), in which almost everyone seems to be satisfied, and even delighted[6] with the Airbnb experience. Within this group, reviews are a good opportunity to enhance the relational work built with the host, inform a wide readership of potential travellers belonging to the same community and enhance self-face and reputation as ideal traveller. Also, the tone and intention of this group of reviews seem to be influenced by the presence of the host as main reader, given that the style echoes face-to-face interaction at times. Below, Review 1 and Review 2 are illustrative of this group of reviews:

**Review 1**
[The host][7] runs the best air BnB you could wish for — comfortable, stylish, great proximity to the city centre. It's better than most five star hotels we've been to! Sarah went above and beyond what we expected with the additional touches of drinks, snacks, toiletries & breakfast. Our stay in Brighton was totally made by how brilliant this air BnB was. We can't thank you enough or wait to stay again!

**Review 2**
'Wow' pretty much says it all!!!! [The hosts] are really lovely and couldn't be more perfect hosts. We arrived to tea/coffee & biscuits and maps and listings (restaurants/pubs/shops etc). The apartment is really beautiful and spotlessly clean, even with the 2 adorable cats & dog! ☺ The room is lovely with the most comfortable bed I have ever slept in. I can't rate this highly enough — if you stay here you will be thrilled! ☺

As can be seen in these reviews, from a stylistic and illocutionary domain perspective, this group of reviews includes constant hyperbolic language (such as "It's better than most five star hotels" or "Sarah went above and beyond what we expected"), extreme adjectives (such as "brilliant"), exclamation marks, positive emoticons, informal language (such as "wow"), and a number of expressive speech acts such as constant praise (e.g. "[the hosts] are really lovely" or "you will be thrilled!"), enthusiastic 'thank yous', wishes to come back ("we can't thank you enough or wait to stay again!"), and direct recommendations ("I can't rate this highly enough — if you stay here you will be thrilled! ☺"). Also, there are constant signs of emotional language (e.g., "wow") embedded in personal narrative. All the reviews in this group of positive evaluations include at least three of these characteristics, which point towards personalisation (by naming

[6] The hospitality and marketing literature differentiates between 'customer satisfaction' and 'customer delight', which refer to different degrees of satisfaction or happiness (cf. for example, Torres and Kline 2013).

[7] As indicated in the methodology section, the reviews have been anonymized. "The host" will refer to the hidden name of the host.

the host, or using 'you', for instance), as if they were semi-letters that show awareness of the readership (host and other users), denote that the host-guest relationship was positive and that there is the willingness to enhance the relational component and the host's face by means of this constant praise. This personalisation is common (to varying degrees) in the 60 positive reviews found.

These features are linked to a specific attitude and intention, and a type of relational work that may well be termed as 'enthusiastic friendliness'. In this sense, the way to show that the experience was very positive is through communicative involvement and informality, so as to leave clear that the experience was truly positive. By adding enthusiasm to the written message, users express their emotional orientation (i.e., their degree of (dis)satisfaction) and show that their message is reliable[8]. This constant friendliness and closeness has not been pointed out as typical in research on platforms of similar nature (e.g., TripAdvisor).

### *6.2. Lukewarm or ambiguous reviews*

Within this group, comprising 36 reviews, there are two differentiated sets: those that are apparently neutral or not very enthusiastic in tone (11 in total), and those that include information about faults, but users invest much effort in expressing that it was something minimal or that other aspects of the experience were very positive, instead (25 in total). What these two groups have in common is that they cannot be classed as either positive or negative in essence. They are likely to leave a similar impression on the reader: that the experience was somehow improvable.

#### *6.2.1. Reviews with neutral comments*

Something to note here is that, given the readers' interest in reading other reviews (i.e., finding successful experiences), anything that is not very positive may be interpreted as negative. In other words, readers in this CoP are likely to seek very positive reviews as guides to know which options are better for them, in a way that something that is not 'excellent' or 'very good' is likely to be improvable. This shows the review system's sensitivity to "attribute framing" (Levin et al. 1998, Kamoen et al. 2015). Attribute framing refers to a cognitive bias in which the brain makes interpretative decisions depending on whether the information is presented in either positive or negative terms. Thus, while 'good' and 'not bad' are semantically equivalent, in this CoP, 'not bad' creates the implicature that a) there was something that actually went wrong, or b) the experience was not so positive to be expressed in more enthusiastic, unequivocally positive terms. Thus, lack of enthusiasm or further explanations imply the perception that something negative happened. This was found in 11 reviews in our corpus. In sum, neutrality is semantic (i.e., the wording is neither too positive nor too negative). However, from a pragmatic point of view, these reviews are not likely to be understood as neutral

[8] It is worth remembering that the main trust mechanism in Airbnb is precisely the writing up of references, and therefore, they must sound reliable and honest in order to be useful (Rosen et al. 2011).

but as negative. In other words, enthusiasm implies that the experience is worth it, while lack of enthusiasm may imply that something went wrong. Review 3 and review 4 illustrate this group of reviews:

**Review 3**
OK place. The location is in walking distance to central Belfast. The house is fine, and we had no problems. We had to share a key with other guests whilst we were there but this was only temporary. [The host] wasn't there, but shared instructions for how to get into the flat and was contactable by phone.

**Review 4**
Room was big and clean. [The host] greeted us on arrival and showed us all we needed to know. Good place to stay if you just want a base to do your own thing.

Again, the stylistic domain may explain the emotional orientation of the user (i.e., lukewarm or ambivalent). To start with, this lack of enthusiasm denotes that users did not have the best of experiences. They also reveal that the relationship with the host was brief, disappointing or non-existent. Review 3, in particular, is very meaningful and illustrative of this seemingly neutral tone: the experience was not wonderful, but "OK", the house was not excellent, but "fine", and there were two aspects of the experience that were improvable (sharing the key and absence of the host). While it is not something that the guest may have expected, he acknowledges that the key sharing was temporary and that the host was easy to contact.

In review 4 there is a mixture of personalisation (as in "[The host] greeted us") and distancing from the host (as in "room was big and clean"). Here, relational work seems to be oriented towards neutrality in tone as well. In contrast to the previous group, these are depersonalised, with a special focus on the accommodation (and not the host). The lack of expressive speech acts (wishes, recommending, thanking, etc.) and the implicature created with the inclusion of 'just' in "if you just want a base to do your own thing" also informs readers of this lukewarm tone, so that what is not said (e.g., this place is not perfect if you expect constant sociability or and outstanding place) creates the implicature that the experience is improvable.

### *6.2.2. Dispraise with mitigation*

In line with those reviews that show semantic neutrality, there are 25 reviews in the corpus under analysis that present mixed features: fault is addressed, mentioned or somehow expressed, but users, at the same time, invest time and effort in mitigating the information provided and expressing that other aspects of the experience went as expected. In this sense, this group of reviews shows a clearer awareness of the importance of relational work, despite one-time dispraise. Review 5 and review 6 illustrate this group:

**Review 5**
Listing is accurate. Kitchen was a bit small and toilet had some troubles, but [the host] was helpful. The location was good and the listing affordable.

**Review 6**
The apartment was good just as seen in the pictures, but not as clean as expected. There were no towels for us and it took some time until we got them. I think we maybe had bad luck because after we left everything was cleaned up and taken care of. The check-in and

> out times were really flexible and especially the [SENSITIVE CONTENTS HIDDEN][9] were really friendly and helpful. It was quiet although the underground station is very close and you can get around quick to central London. All in all I would recommend the apartment because I think we just had bad luck with the circumstances and I would give it a chance again.
>
> > Response from [the host]:
> > I am very sorry to read that. As I was out of town for 3 weeks and therefore throughout your stay, I couldn't make sure that my high standard were followed as usual. I do hope that your holiday in London was not spoiled by these circumstances, thus do not hesitate to contact me in future, I will make sure your stay will be as great as it will ever be.

In line with the reviews that show semantic neutrality, this group of reviews shows a displacement of focus from the host to the experience in general (i.e., objectification of the experience), on the one hand, and with an attempt to mitigate fault by means of a sandwiched structure (i.e., alternating praise that enhances or saves face, dispraise that points towards the fault, and praise that shows some compensation for what has been said). This can be seen in review 5, where the guest explains that the toilet had some kind of fault, but "[The host] was very helpful". Justifying fault, as in review 6 ("we just had bad luck"), among other relational strategies, shows the high awareness of the users being read by the host, but, at the same time, the need to be honest in this CoP. In this sense, mitigating fault sometimes includes features found in positive reviews, such as recommending or wishes to come back, among others. However, and as corroborated by the host's reply in review 6, the review cannot be considered as positive, given the lack of enthusiasm and the complaint regarding cleanliness. From a relational work perspective, there is a tendency towards formalisation of the relationship, achieved by means of depersonalisation (i.e., not focusing on the person), objectification of the experience, and the use of more formal language (i.e., avoidance of friendly terms, as in positive reviews), with gradable adjectives and focus on descriptions, rather than emotions. Absence of the speech acts found in the previous group (thanking, wishes, recommending), as well as absence of emoticons[10] are also a feature of this group of reviews. The effect that is achieved is that the writer is, to say the least, not delighted.

In sum, these neutral reviews (semantically speaking) may create the implicature of negativity from a pragmatic viewpoint. This is so, mostly, because Airbnb is a review system in which satisfaction is expected to be expressed in very positive terms, with displays of the emotional orientation of the user and unequivocally positive messages addressed to both the host and other users. Also, and in line with Vasquez (2011), users may not want to appear as 'moaners', given that their reviews also contribute to building their own identity and reputation in the website. Not addressing the host, directing the focus of attention to features of the accommodation instead of the host, or justifying fault

[9] Capitalised phrase added by Airbnb.

[10] According to Chairunnisa and Benedictus (2017: 124) in their study on WhatsApp, users with negative emotions usually refrain from making an emoticon that shows their present emotion.

may create the implicature that the user is trying to communicate something else. Therefore, in terms of relational work, adopting a neutral tone is by no means related to being politic, first because neutrality involves negativity in the Airbnb context, and second, because the hosts, to whom these comments are addressed, do not seem very satisfied with the comment posted (see review 6) and may even feel that their reputation is being damaged.

### *6.3. Dissatisfied Users*

This group of reviews is characterised by the unequivocally negative tone and intention of their contents (i.e., expressing that the experience was dissatisfactory). In the data set under examination, 23 examples were found. Review 7 and review 8 illustrate this group:

**Review 7**

The room was unclean. We found used towels in bathroom, that was full of hairs. Nobody show up during our stay. For 79 euros we expected at least a clean place to sleep. We escaped early in the morning with more questions than satisfaction.

Response from [the host]:
I'm amazed!!! Firstly the house was clean for your stay like it is left for all the guests. When I'm not there myself I check with the housekeeper daily to ensure the bed, towels and room are clean and ready for the purpose. Please read their reviews of praise for the cleanliness!! The price is not 79 euros, it is 47 pounds, which converts to 67 ... were you at the correct house? I messaged you twice during your stay I got no reply. Regards, [the host].

**Review 8**

The room is not an ensuite. The flat is very loud and there's a constant coming and going of people until very late at night (2am in the morning). The flat is kept in extremely unhygienic conditions. I felt quite unsafe during my stay.

Response from [the host]:
The room was an (URL HIDDEN)[11] and the flat is very safe. I offered this woman everything and she said no. I offered to cook breakfast she said no. I didn't give you the keys because I didn't feel safe myself and I wanted to know when you cam in and out. I have a lot of reviews from other guest that says otherwise. I think if you have a lot of phobias u should stay away from Airbnb and book a hotel. If you don't like people stay from Airbnb. I had only a friend in the flat that came to visit and we were just watching tv. I think you are a paranoid and all what you said was absolutely bogus. I wish I didn't meet you anymore.

As can be seen in the two reviews used as an illustration of this group, users prefer to write in a more depersonalised, objectified style ("the room was unclean", "nobody show up"), with no mention of the host directly, and a tendency towards formality (e.g. passive voice), rather than informality (e.g., "Wow!", in review 2), with descriptive accounts of what went wrong (and no mention of positive aspects of the experience).

[11] Information hidden by Airbnb.

There is clear distancing from the host, as in "nobody show up", or "The flat is kept in extremely unhygienic conditions", with attempts to show objectivity in the guest's descriptions. As with very positive reviews, from a stylistic point of view there is a preference for extreme adjectives and adverbs, this time to show the negative side of the experience (e.g., "extremely unhygienic"). According to Edwards (2000), the use of these 'extreme case formulations' is motivated by particular intentions by the speaker, such as commitment and certainty. In the case of the data set examined, the intentionality behind these extreme case formulations may be communicating trust in what is being said, as well as leaving clear that the message is unequivocally negative (in this group of reviews) or positive (in the case of the first group analysed).

Besides, the use of exclamation marks is common in this group of reviews (in both guests' and hosts' reviews) in order to emphasize anger, disappointment or frustration. While positive reviews included details of how wonderful the experience was, this type of reviews tends to be shorter in form, focused on fault, rather than on the host, and with no mitigation. Clearly, the relationship with the host did not seem to go as well as expected. This supports previous findings that reveal that, when the relationship with the host is not good, the experience overall is rated as bad in Airbnb (cf. Sthapit and Jiménez-Barreto 2019). Besides, showing frustration was common here, as can be seen in the wording and tone (e.g. "I felt quite unsafe"). The absence of speech acts that are common in very satisfactory experiences (e.g., signs of gratefulness) also shows how little attention is paid to relational concerns when drafting the reviews in this group. Regarding face concerns, reviewers may have a twofold intention: they have written comments that are face-aggravating towards the host, and they warn other fellow travellers. Thus, they seem to be engaging in relational work with the other travellers (at least indirectly).

## 7. Relational work in Airbnb reviews: discussion

Overall, the findings suggest that users tend to enhance the relational component in Airbnb reviews mainly by showing friendliness and enthusiasm and by presenting their experience as highly emotional. This is likely to occur in the vast majority of reviews overall, as more than 90% of the reviews in this system are positive (cf. for example, Bridges and Vásquez 2016, Bulchand-Gidumal and Melián-González 2019). The features found to express positivity were common in all 60 reviews under examination (e.g., hyperbolic language, host-addressing, signs of gratefulness, constant praise, friendliness, etc.). This points to the idea that what seems to be the norm in the system is to be publicly and ostensively face-enhancing through effusive friendliness and informality. In this sense, being polite with the host is also being politic (i.e., as expected), and the way to be polite/politic is by means of displays of friendship, closeness, solidarity and informality.

In contrast, those reviews with a negative bias were of three types: those expressed in a neutral, lukewarm tone, those that included some dispraise combined with praise or positive comments , and those that involve face attack and were clearly negative.

The analysis showed that semantically neutral reviews are by no means related to being politic. As expressed in the results section, semantic neutrality creates the implicature of pragmatic rudeness, and this idea is reinforced by the host's reply (whenever there was any), usually offended by this seemingly neutral (and unfair?) evaluation. Interestingly enough, the way to express dissatisfaction to different degrees is by means of formality and distancing from the host, in a way that, while polite/politic behaviour in positive reviews is built on the basis of an effusive and friendly tone, impolite behaviour (if it can be considered impolite) is characterised by being formal, depersonalised and distant. Hence, respectful distance (a tone that is opposite to the one used in positive reviews) communicates dissatisfaction in this VCoP, and may be interpreted as face-aggravating towards the host. Other readers, however, may find it useful, given that negative reviews give them valuable information not only to help them take decisions, but also about the reviewer, who may have felt the moral obligation to be honest to other travellers.

This is revealing in that the dichotomy closeness-distance, or friendliness (which implies informality)-formality (which implies distancing from the addressee) needs not refer to two poles of politeness, but two different attitudes. Given that friendliness is the expected norm in this VCoP, moving away from said friendliness creates the implicature that the experience did not run smoothly. Lack of compensation strategies, but also lack of illocutionary enhancers such as 'thank you', illustrates how users neglect the relational component in order to show their frustration, for instance, in the face of what they had experienced. It is in this group of reviews that users try to save their own face (by demonstrating credibility, for instance), while the others' face is either disregarded or attacked.

Finally, those reviews that are ambivalent (i.e., those expressing fault but with mitigation and compensation strategies) seem to respond to two purposes: being honest with the other members in the same CoP and trying not to damage the relational component with the host in a way that more relational work is needed. Guests seem to engage in face-maintaining or face-enhancing relational work. These are cases in which the relationship was not bad, but users felt the moral obligation of expressing that there were some minor faults. Again, users wanted to express dissatisfaction while being politic and polite, in a way that self and other face are saved.

Something that these findings suggest is that, in a global environment such as Airbnb, the dichotomies closeness-distance and involvement-independence, are not only cultural orientations necessarily, as stated in previous studies (cf., e.g., Barros García and Terkourafi 2014), but are also subject to the users' milieu. Thus, each orientation will serve specific purposes: friendliness would be at the polite/politic end, while formality would be at the impolite, or face-aggravating, end of the continuum. In this sense, the tone and style of the reviews are likely to be the continuation of the relational work established during the offline stage of the experience. As a VCoP, the relationship comes first, and this is reflected in the positivity bias of these reviews as a genre.

The above-mentioned ideas are summarized in Figure 1.

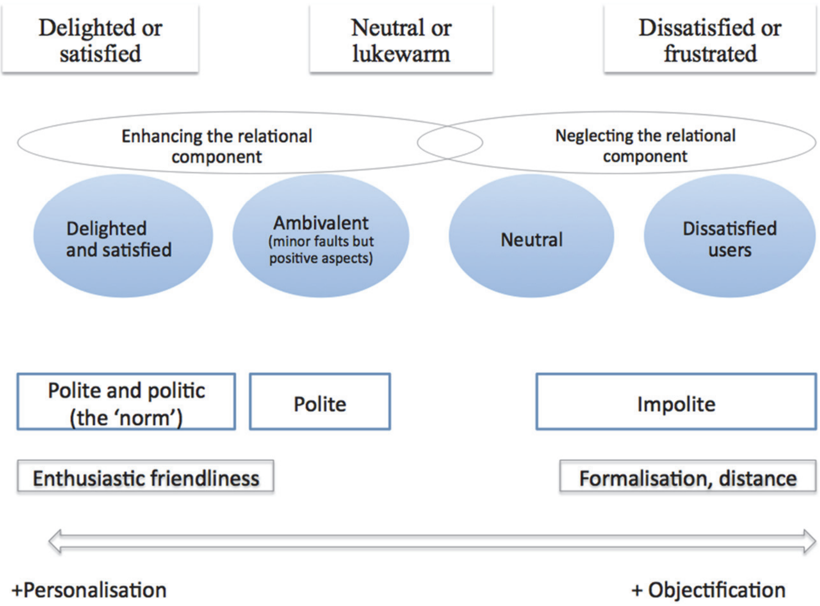


**Figure 1.** The relationship between polite/politic/impolite and satisfaction/dissatisfaction

The analysis developed in the previous section may bring about consequences in terms of what is considered to be polite, politic or impolite. While impoliteness/ rudeness may be present in reviews with a clearly negative bias, the boundaries between polite and politic are blurred, given that what is expected, the norm, is being polite in the form of effusive friendliness and closeness, echoing a letter structure that is more typical among friends than among almost strangers in an accommodation website. In turn, those that express some kind of fault but try to compensate for what is being said attempt to be polite with the host. They show concern about the relational component, despite minor faults. This form of politeness, however, is more related to routine formulae, formality and distance, a kind of depersonalisation or objectification, as it were. While delighted and satisfied users seek direct contact with the host as continuity of previous experience, (moderately) dissatisfied users seek the provision of information in a way that credibility does not become an issue, and therefore, their self-image is not jeopardised. Finally, very dissatisfied users prioritize in showing displays of frustration through messages that might be rude or offensive, but useful for their fellow travellers.

## 8. Conclusions

Despite the multicultural background that a globalised platform such as Airbnb involves, the reviews under examination present stable pragmalinguistic features that may be, in a way, conditioned by two constraints: first, as a genre, there is a stylistic pattern that is well-known by its users (experienced reviewers and travellers) that they want to follow. This is due to the fact that any deviation from the norm may have an impact on the users' role and identity in this community of practice (travellers who engage with peers). And second, the way the reviews are drafted greatly depends on the offline component of the experience, the relational work developed therein, and the importance given to faults, vis-à-vis the nature of host-guest relationship engaged.

In a review system with a strong positivity bias such as Airbnb, the norm, being politic, is in fact being polite, and more specifically, it is being friendly, informal in tone and lively in the way the experience is recalled. Thus, while it is true that this review genre includes the type of descriptions found in other reviews (e.g. TripAdvisor), the social awareness of this particular CoP has an impact on the way information is drafted, the importance given to im/politeness and the tone chosen. This may bring about consequences not only to shape the pragmatic features of this relatively new platform in the sharing economy (vis-à-vis business-to-peer platforms such as TripAdvisor), but also to be able to identify the meanings that lie behind what is (and is not) said.



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МАРИЯ ДЕ ЛА О ЭРНАНДЕС-ЛОПЕС преподает в Университете им. Пабло де Олавиде. Она имеет докторскую степень в области английского языка и лингвистики (университет Пабло де Олавиде) и степень магистра прикладной лингвистики (Биркбек, Лондонский университет). Работала в Гринвичском университете (Лондон, Великобритания), Европейской школе бизнеса в Лондоне, Университете Уэльбы (Испания). Ее исследовательские интересы включают кросс-культурную и межкультурную коммуникацию в офлайн и онлайн контекстах, (не)вежливость, управление взаимоотношениями, ведение переговоров и межличностное общение. В настоящее время она работает над онлайн-коммуникацией на платформах Airbnb и BlablaCar. Ее последняя публикация — *Technology Mediated Service Encounters* (John Benjamins, 2019).
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**РЕЦЕНЗИИ**
**BOOK REVIEWS**

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Book Review

# Review of Mills, Sara. (2017). *English Politeness and Class.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 9781316336922

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Рецензия

# Рецензия на книгу Mills, Sara. (2017). *English Politeness and Class.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 9781316336922

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The book “English Politeness and Class” is an extended essay on politeness in Britain, its nature and its construals in academic and popular sources. Offering a meta-analysis of the existing politeness theories and illustrating her points with examples from blogs and TV, Sara Mills proposes a materialist-discursive approach to analysing interaction which should deal with the deficiencies of earlier approaches. With such a broad scope, the title is somewhat misleading as the issue of class is only one among a plethora of cross-sections — cultural stereotypes, region, age, gender, race, historical period — that Mills examines in this book. Mills herself describes her aims as examining “the complex relation between culture and politeness” (p. 1) — a task which far exceeds the limits of class.

The volume consists of six chapters, a bibliography, and an index. The first chapter sets out the purpose of the book as well as the theoretical background, detailing the drawbacks of the existing scholarship that it aims to address. Mills takes a broadly discursive approach to politeness, drawing extensively on Agha’s (2007) notion of enregisterment, i.e. the idea that by force of repetition certain linguistic norms become associated with certain values or meanings. After describing traditional approaches to politeness, which are here represented by Brown and Levinson (1987), Mills turns to the well-known critique of this view: the assumption of universality, the confrontational take on all interaction, the equation of indirectness and non-imposition with politeness. It is especially this last aspect that Mills intends to examine in detail, as it is a fallacy that stems from Anglocentric research. The point of contention — that being indirect is not the same as being polite — will be well familiar to Russian readers, where the restrictions on directness are far less severe than in English (Larina 2015). Mills concludes her review of the second and third waves of politeness research with the promise to map out “a more complex approach to the analysis of politeness and impoliteness at a cultural, regional, CoP [Community of Practice] and individual level” (p. 20).

The second chapter is devoted to the survey of culture classifications that had been offered by the traditional approaches to politeness. These include sorting cultures into positive vs. negative politeness cultures, camaraderie vs. deference, discernment vs. volition, collectivist vs. individualist. Mills challenges these dichotomies on the grounds that no culture is completely homogenous: while they may foreground one or the other use of language, all cultures exhibit both tendencies (p. 35). Although this observation has been made before, e.g. by Wierzbicka (1999), or indeed is the subject of much of the variational pragmatics field, Mills argues that researchers nevertheless fall into the trap of viewing politeness simply as a reflection of underlying cultural norms. In her opinion, making generalisations about cultural groups is “profoundly ideological” (p. 43), and we need to describe those ideologies before we can begin analysing how the interactants draw on them to be understood as polite (or impolite). To proceed, Mills introduces Althusser’s (1984) concepts of ideology and interpellation, and Pizziconi and Christie’s (2017) indirect indexing. The applicability of these concepts is demonstrated using an example from an interview, an excerpt from a paper on politeness, and the UK government’s Respect Agenda.

The third chapter presents a meta-analysis of how English politeness has been characterised overall. For this purpose, Mills surveys three types of data: reports on politeness (both academic and popular), printed and online etiquette manuals, and questionnaires on stereotypical attitudes. On the basis of these, Mills outlines several "ideological characteristics of British-English politeness": preference for negative politeness, indirectness, use of 'sorry', self-deprecation, reserve and social awkwardness, and 'stiff upper lip' (pp. 61—70). All of these are illustrated by various examples from the data sources listed above. While quite entertaining, and undoubtedly familiar to those who have come in contact with middle-class Brits, these examples are not presented in a systematic manner and no information is provided concerning data collection. Without knowing the scope or principles of sampling, or the exact nature of the questionnaire, it is hard for the reader to appreciate how telling these results are.

In the remainder of the chapter, Mills observes how all of these stereotypical values in fact draw on middle-class behaviour, that further can be associated with the south of England. This means that, first of all, deviations from this politeness norm would have covert prestige in a different community (e.g. a group of Northerners or working-class youths), but also that speakers may choose to draw on these norms, or deviate from them, at will, depending on whether they want to align or disalign with a particular set of values.

Chapter four is devoted to the title subject of the book: politeness and class. Class, being a notoriously hard concept to define, has often been conflated or confused with other categories, such as ancestry or life style. Mills cites Savage's (2015) work as one example of trying to understand class on a more complex level than simply income. It takes into account individuals' social networks, income and capital, and their engagement with high culture. However, even this "dynamic and delicate view" (p. 82) does not touch on what Mills makes one of the central points of her analysis: how individuals orient to class in interaction. Using examples from popular culture, Mills demonstrates how different ways of speaking are tied in with the notion of class (traditional British politeness being anchored in nineteenth century middle class behaviour). Mills discusses the complex intersectionality of class-related politeness which relates to gender, region, ethnicity, and age. To illustrate this entanglement, she reproduces *25 Manners Every Kid Needs by Age 9,* a controversial internet post that first appeared as an article in Parent Magazine in 2011 and was penned by a disgruntled headteacher. It is ostensibly a list of behavioural norms that middle-class families would teach their children as polite and respectful. However, Mills demonstrates that many items on this list in fact represent age ideologies, for example, that adults' needs are superior to children's ("When an adult asks you for a favour, do it without grumbling and with a smile"). This example underscores Mills' point that an individual's linguistic choices concerning im(politeness) are always informed by larger social forces. Finally, in the section titled "The end of civilisation", she addresses the moral panics about the decline of politeness.

In chapter five, Mills puts forward her proposition for a new perspective on politeness: the materialist-discursive approach. In essence, it proposes that "an analysis would focus on the use that interactants make of politeness and impoliteness resources and the work that they seem to be doing with those resources. [...] on the reaction of others to those uses" (p. 113). She then tests her three-stage analysis blueprint by taking the ideologies outlined earlier in the book for British politeness, examining the indirect indexicality associated with the ideologies, and eliciting evaluations from recipients using questionnaires. The data for the analysis is the first 15 minutes of one episode of the *Great British Bake Off* TV show.

The first stage teases out the politeness devices held up in public discourse as national character traits: stiff upper lip, social awkwardness etc. (dealt with in chapter three). In the second stage, Mills analyses the transcript to show how self-deprecation and negative self-evaluation are indeed the resources on which the competitors draw to signal their moral stance in relation to others. For example, one of the competitors states to the camera, "I'm completely gutted. You can't make rookie mistakes in the quarter final". On the surface, such a self-demeaning stance rings false and has no place in the competitive context of the show. But since this resource is ideologically associated with Britishness, it also indirectly indexes niceness and friendliness.

Finally, stage three of the analysis relies on the questionnaire results from Mills' students. The questionnaire "asked interviewees to characterise the language of the participants and the judges, to assess why they chose these styles over others, and to evaluate whether these styles seemed to be particularly British or English" (p. 121). The findings confirm that the students recognise the occurrence of self-deprecation and self-criticism, and judge it to be representative of Britishness. Unfortunately, the lack of specifics on data collection and the method of analysis again is problematic. It would, for instance, make a great deal of difference to the recipient judgement of self-deprecation if the concept of self-deprecation was explicitly made the subject of the questions, or if it came up spontaneously in the answers. The background of the respondents would also be an important variable, since we do not know whether they are British or foreign, whether they had been familiar with the TV show before, whether they had studied linguistic politeness in an academic context, or, indeed, if they were required to watch the show or simply read the transcript.

To round off the book, in chapter six Mills sums up her conclusions and maps out a way forward for politeness research. In agreement with the earlier, 'second wave' work on politeness, she concludes that politeness is "far more complex and messy" than Brown and Levinson (1987) had posited (p. 130). She highlights again that politeness norms are not universally evaluated in the same way across one culture. Individuals can align themselves with or oppose the stereotypical norms. Therefore, "judgements about and definitions of politeness and impoliteness should be recognised for the function they have in establishing positions within a hierarchy" (p. 130).

Mills' book is an up-to-date contribution to recent work in theorizing im(politeness) with culture as a reference point. The volume is argumentative-theoretical and constitutes a reflection on the current state of politeness research and its challenges. Although Mills does make references to the studies that accompanied her work (distributing questionnaires, gathering blogposts and comments), no specific information is given on the empirical aspect. Thus, the book presents a reading of discourse instances by an eminent politeness scholar, informed by her expertise.

Another area of concern is the apparent disconnect between admitting the contribution of the 'second wave' to understanding politeness, and the way Mills counterposes her new (materialist-discursive) approach to Brown and Levinson's (1987) model throughout the book. For example, the relational work approach by Locher (2004) which Mills recognises for its attention to power in interaction, or Spencer-Oatey's (2000) work on rapport, would be a more logical place of departure. Instead, after a perfunctory mention of these approaches, Mills draws almost exclusively on Agha (2007). However, as it is impossible to do justice to the full depth and breadth of politeness research in 130 pages, it is inevitable that the sketch of existing research is only schematic.

Despite these reservations, "English Politeness and Class" is an impressive work, where Mills in her academic role teases out the ideologies that inform such examples, well known and well loved by the wide public, as the *Very British Problems* books, the Twitter feed, *What the British say and what they mean* meme, and *The Little Book of Chavspeak*. The book will be of interest to researchers who study the interrelations of politeness and culture, and can be used as a basis for discussion in graduate seminars.



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Book Review

# Review of Locher, Miriam A. (2017) *Reflective Writing in Medical Practice: A Linguistic Perspective*, Bristol: Multilingual Matters. ISBN: 978-78309-823-1

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Рецензия

# Рецензия на книгу Locher, Miriam A. (2017) 'Reflective Writing in Medical Practice: A Linguistic Perspective', Bristol: Multilingual Matters. ISBN: 978-78309-823-1

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In the context of medical education, and indeed medical practice, reflective writing is perhaps not what comes to mind as a core activity. Yet an increasing number of medical schools around the world use reflective writing as part of their teaching and learning toolkit (Kind et al., 2009) and it is a core part of what is known as 'narrative medicine' (e.g. Charon 2006). Recent years have also seen a flurry of reflective writing published by medical professionals either as memoires (e.g. Henry Marsch's 'Do no harm', Paul Kalanithi's 'When breath becomes air', etc.) or blogs, and editorials in medical journals (e.g. the 'On being a doctor' series in the Annals of Internal Medicine). Evidence suggests that such reflection can deepen learning, improve students' and professionals' understanding of the context of medical practice (Mann 2008), and teach medical students empathetic interactions with patients (DasGupta and Charon 2004). Against this backdrop, Miriam Locher takes a mixed-method linguistic angle on reflective writing in medical education and practice and explores just what these pieces look like, what influences them and what kinds of (relational) work they might do.

'Reflective Writing in Medical Practice: A Linguistic Perspective' (2017, Multilingual Matters) reports on the linguistic analysis of an approximately 340,000-word corpus of reflective writing texts. As described in the first chapter the study is an 'eclectic' discourse analysis situated within the field of medical humanities (to which narrative medicine, mentioned above, also belongs). The focus is explicitly on texts as products, rather than processes or practices, but Locher is keen to emphasize that — in line with the linguistic tradition — they are not taken at 'face value' but are examined for what they 'do'. The overarching methodology is described as qualitative, despite the use of some corpus analysis tools and other quantification, and draws on genre analysis (Bax 2011), relational work (Locher and Watts 2005) and linguistic approaches to identity construction (e.g. Bucholtz and Hall 2005).

The data collection and analysis was conducted as part of a large multidisciplinary project, 'Life (Beyond) Writing', funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation and Chapter 2 describes the genesis of this larger study before zooming in on the linguistic branch that is the ultimate focus of the book. The data under investigation is made up of reflective writing produced by medical students at the University of Nottingham (by far the largest sub-corpus), medical students at the University of Basel (the smallest sub-corpus), and medical professionals writing for two columns in different medical journals. All texts focus on an encounter with a patient that made a particular impression on the writer. In the case of student work, this focus is built into the design and instructions of the reflective writing task, which some complete for credit. In the case of texts written by practicing physicians only texts that have this focus are included in the corpus. The reflective texts from University of Basel students are written in German, while the rest of the corpus is in English. In addition to outlining such specific details of the three corpora under investigation, and the rationale for focusing on genre, relational work and identity, this chapter also provides a very clear illustration of how the best research projects develop out of serendipities between contexts, situations, people and their interest, and, of course, the availability of funding.

The subsequent analytical chapters each answer one research question in the linguistic branch of 'Life (Beyond) Writing'.

Chapter 3 addresses the question 'What do the authors of the texts choose to write about?' Qualitative close reading of all texts by 2—3 independent 'coders' leads to a pared-down set of 27 themes that capture what is written about throughout the corpus (e.g. communication strategies, cultural differences, history taking, emotions (the patients' and the authors'), patients being difficult, judgemental attitudes, textbook vs.

reality, etc.). These are grouped into four clusters: 1) focus on the context of the encounter, 2) focus on the patient, 3) focus on the student or expert physician, and 4) focus on the insights gained. While this grouping helps structure the discussion, I personally found the more detailed view of the actual themes (e.g. Table 3.6) far more revealing. The clustering runs the risk of over-simplifying the range of themes, potentially making it seem like the results could be explained by the instructions the medical students were given. Of the 27 themes, the following seven appeared in more than 10% of texts across the three sub-corpora:

1) the memorability of the encounter as a result of the particular 'communication strategies' involved
2) a focus on 'student/expert emotions' involved in the encounter
3) the memorability of the encounter as a result of the 'patient emotions' involved
4) the illness of the patient as 'special' in some way
5) the 'impact of illness on patient's life' as a key aspect of the encounter
6) the encounter as memorable due to a special 'setting' or setting issue
7) a focus on themes 'other' than ones that occur regularly across the corpus.

Some of these themes are not surprising and this first analysis chapter contains less by way of theoretical and practical insights than others. However, this kind of work provides an essential — and interesting — handle on the nature of the data under discussion. This initial overview of themes also underpins several of the research questions answered in subsequent chapters. For example, the emphasis on 'communication strategies' even in the expert texts, which were not written for communication skills courses, suggested that these were seen as crucial beyond medical education, and that it was important to explore exactly how these were discussed in the corpus. The prominence of emotions in reflective writing texts similarly merited further discussion.

Inspired by the results of Chapter 3, Chapter 4 explores the connection between the communication skills that medical students are taught and those that become core themes of the texts. A summary list of communications skills taught at Basel and Nottingham medical schools forms the backbone of the analytical categories, or codes, in this chapter, but other skills mentioned in the texts (but not part of training) also become part of the coding scheme in a bottom-up fashion. Locher demonstrates that medical students in particular are keenly aware of the complexities of communication as they don't tend to focus on just one skill in their texts: 70% texts in the Nottingham corpus mention three or more skills, and 53% of the Basel corpus focuses on two or more skills. At the same time, students overall appear most concerned with two main skills: creating rapport or building trust and demonstrating empathy (for the Nottingham corpus these are the top concern, for the Basel corpus, they come second). These are interpersonal as opposed to transactional skills making them potentially more difficult to teach in the often artificial environment of communication skills training. The clear significance of these skills for the students motivates the research question at the heart of Chapter 6.

The inspiration for Chapter 5 of 'Reflective Writing in Medical Practice' comes partly from the larger project that the linguistic analysis is part of and provides a description of the data set in terms of genre. Specifically, Locher draws on Bax's

(2011) cognitive approach to genre as a 'mental construct which we draw on as we create and interpret actual text' (44-45) and as guided primarily by function. The chapter begins to answer the questions 'What exactly is a 'reflective writing' text in our context? What other genres does this text type draw on?' by mapping the genres features, such as structure, layout, style, lexis, grammar (Bax 2011), of the corpus of texts. Initially, this summarises and expands on much of what previous chapters revealed about the texts but under the umbrella of genre. However, the chapter really comes into its own in the later parts of Section 5.3 and 5.4 where corpus methods are used to elucidate or elaborate on the general genre features. For example, Locher describes the grammatical composition of the texts in terms of Biber's (1988) six Dimensions and finds that the Nottingham corpus is most similar to the 'involved persuasive' text-type, while the expert corpus is most similar to 'general narrative exposition'. Similarly, the lexical composition of the texts is explored using keyword analysis. (Unfortunately, the tools used for this analysis do not cope with German, so we don't know how the Basel corpus compares.) Of course, the reflective writing tasks that student writers have to complete come with detailed instructions, which could predict (and partly do so) the responses to this chapter's research questions. Locher herself acknowledges the role of the 'assignment brief' in the findings. At the same time, a key message here is that one cannot or should not assume these things: as researchers, we should not assume that the way a task is set necessarily results in certain kinds of texts. Even in this case, where we do end up with texts that align with the instructions given and include reflection as part of narrative, writers achieve this in different ways. Some incorporate elements of the dramatic script, while others draw more on the genre of medical reports.

Chapter 6, as noted above, is inspired by the focus on interpersonal communication skills and emotion in the reflective writing texts established in Chapters 3 and 4. Drawing on the theoretical framework of relational work that Locher is so well-known for (e.g. Locher and Watts 2005, 2008), it addresses the question: 'How does the relational side of communication, as discussed in interpersonal pragmatics, surface in the texts?' 'Relational work' here refers to what individuals do to construct, maintain, reproduce and transform interpersonal relationships among each other (Locher and Watts, 2008: 96), via, for example, linguistic (im)politeness and emic judgements of behaviour as rude or polite. Understanding these processes sheds light on how medical students, in particular, recognise and develop the norms of a community of practice (e.g. Wenger 1998), i.e. how they learn to behave in particular ways in the relevant healthcare systems. By way of a case study, Locher and her team perform a close reading of 50 texts from the Nottingham corpus to identify metapragmatic comments on relational work. Examining these comments, they find that they relate to the value of rapport and empathy, the presentation of self, and the role of emotions once again, and show that these concerns tend to be intertwined. A take-home message here is that medical students demonstrate awareness early on in their training of how emotions colour all aspects of relational work (though they themselves don't put it in those terms). Armed with these results, Locher argues that medical programmes probably need to do more to help students develop strategies for handling their own as well as patients' emotions.

With self-presentation emerging as a key concern for medical students in the previous chapter, Chapter 7 continues with the thread of relationships and relational work and focuses on identity construction and the related process of positioning. As the relational work approach implies, there is a connection between negotiating interpersonal relationships and identity construction; linguistic choices reflect and influence the relationships that interactants have or wish to create and help to position people (or indeed characters in a narrative) in relation to one another. The research questions that guide this chapter are 'What evidence of relational work that results in identity construction can we discover? How do the students deal with the tensions that might arise when having to portray oneself in a negative or positive light in the past/present?' As in Chapter 6, the emphasis is once again on students (as the second research question also indicates), but examples from all three sub-corpora are discussed.

Reflective writers across the three data sets tend to position themselves in the following 12 ways:

1) medical students (vis-à-vis patients or other doctors)
2) communication skills students (vis-à-vis tutors and conversational partners)
3) doctors (vis-à-vis patients, the patients' relatives, or nurses)
4) academic/scientist (referring to research aspects)
5) mentor/educator (referring to educational aspects)
6) business person (referring to business aspects)
7) private individual (vis-à-vis the professional self)
8) cultural individual
9) gendered individual
10) individual in the past (vis-à-vis the narrative situation)
11) individual in the present (vis-à-vis the narrated encounter)
12) individual projecting alternative actions in past or future (vis-à-vis what really happened)

Some of these identities clearly apply more to the expert corpus (e.g. business person, academic/scientist, mentor/educator), while others are more relevant to the student data sets (e.g. medical and communication skills student). However, almost all the texts across the three sub-corpora contrast the self across different times. This positioning of the Self in Time X vis-à-vis the Self in Time Y is a key strategy that enables students and experts to manage face in a context where they sometimes have to describe being less than ideally skilful or professional. Locher argues that these texts, which reflect the struggle to make sense of potentially contradictory identities, might be truest to the purpose of reflective writing. She recommends that the possibilities of linguistic identity construction and positioning be explicitly taught in relation to reflective writing to enhance its efficacy.

The final chapter of the book summarizes what can be learned from this study overall, both in relation to reflective writing in medicine, but also in terms of genre, interpersonal pragmatics, and linguistic identity construction. Finally, Locher (drawing on discussions with her team) returns to the idea that this study is situated within medical humanities and elaborates on how the results could inform not just reflective writing classes, but also the practice of narrative medicine.

Overall, this is a thorough and meticulously conducted exploration of the nature of reflective writing with the processes and decisions of research discussed in rich detail. The excerpts throughout the volume are well chosen and fascinating to read. I found it a particular advantage that the study didn't just focus on English, and examples are, of course, also presented in the original language. For those familiar with Germanic contexts and settings, the examples in German yield additional colour and insights. That being said, the majority of examples and excerpts come from the Nottingham sub-corpus, which reflects its larger size, and the emphasis very clearly is on student writing, with less discussion devoted to the published texts by practicing physicians. The discussions of examples are detailed and insightful, but I would have also liked to see exactly which bits of text received what code, as most of the excerpts are used to illustrate multiple codes or findings. It might have yielded further insights to actually see the codes within the co-text of extended excerpts.

Clear structuring, frequent sign-posting, and detailed introductions and summaries make the volume easy to navigate and help readers keep the main points in mind even when the analysis chapters focus on quite distinctive aspects of the corpus. It also means that readers can more easily dip in and out of the book, as needed. Each of the analytical chapters builds on previously presented analyses, thus leading to a layering of understanding in relation to the data, while also illustrating how different analytical concepts are actually interrelated. For example, one of the findings of Chapter 3 — that students do not merely name communication skills in their reflections, but actually make them into the central themes of their texts — leads to the research question that is answered in Chapter 4: 'What is the connection between the communication skills that the students were taught and those that are mentioned in the texts?' This step by step presentation of analytical progress and research proceedings will be of particular value to newer researchers and students who benefit from seeing clearly how different analytical techniques and research questions fit and work together.



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Conference Report

# The 12th International Conference on (Im)Politeness (Cambridge, Anglia Ruskin University 17—19 July, 2019): A Report

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Обзор конференции

# 12-я Международная конференция по (не)вежливости (Кембридж, Университет Англия Раскин, 17—19 июля 2019 г.)

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It has now become widely accepted that human interaction is heavily dependent on norms, obligations, values and (tacitly held) assumptions. Given the fact that we live in different lingua-cultures, many linguists, sociologists, anthropologists, etc. have set themselves the task of closely examining these norms. In this respect, an important question would be, 'what constitutes (im)politeness?' As a direct consequence of this, the study of (im)politeness has recently become so popular in academia that there is a great need for further synergy in this field.

In response to the above need and given the 'elusive' nature of (im)politeness (Culpeper, 2013, p. 3), the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Anglia Ruskin University organised and hosted the 12th International Conference on (Im)politeness at its Cambridge Campus from 17—19 July 2019, continuing the tradition of successful conferences organised under the aegis of the Linguistic Politeness Research Group. Given the fact that those who study (im)politeness do not always adopt mainstream approaches to the topic, but rather are motivated to use more innovative theoretical and analytical perspectives, it was decided to organise the conference under the general theme of 'Within and Beyond Mainstream Approaches to (Im)politeness'.

In general, the many diverse papers which were received are testament to the fact that (im)politeness studies is undoubtedly an active line of inquiry which is being pursued via a variety of novel theoretical and analytical approaches. As chair of the conference, and having read each paper's abstract as well as personally attending many of the presentations, I observed the following developments in (im)politeness studies:

a. It appears that the study of (im)politeness, as found in historical data, has become an increasingly popular trend. This is a particularly welcome development because it enables researchers to make more informed comparisons between modern day norms and obligations, as opposed to those practiced in the past. Also, reconstructing the past is an endeavour that many scholars, in different fields of inquiry, have undertaken over the years. The (im)politeness researcher's take on the topic is a welcome addition to what is already known.
b. Many of the contributors examined online data, particularly data pertaining to the use of language on social media (e.g. Twitter). Given the fact that we would appear to be currently living in what Yus (2019, p. 1) calls the fifth phase of the Net, where "there is a presumption of physical-virtual congruence, since users do not turn into different people in either of the environments (offline/online)", the use of such data is welcome. Furthermore, some of the papers revealed that new platforms (e.g. Instagram, YouTube, etc.) provide their users with new affordances, thus enabling researchers to have unprecedented access to the interactional achievements of users by investigating their evaluative language (i.e. meta-language). This tendency has given rise to some interesting studies on the topic.
c. Another important insight revealed by a number of papers was that the study of aggressive language can reveal a great deal about human interaction and the corresponding hidden social values. As some of the studies revealed, the use of aggressive language has been increasing, particularly on the Internet, which is why its investigation has become popular. While there is great potential in all the topics discussed during the conference, given the importance and urgency of such issues as cyberbullying and trolling, there appears to be a need for further investigation of the language of cyberbullying.
d. Another fascinating aspect of the conference was the contribution made by some of the studies to conceptualising morality, an important feature of human interaction. Of course, the question of what is right or wrong has always arisen (see

Haidt, 2012); however, the study of the intersection between morality and impolite and aggressive behaviour is more recent, and has great potential to advance our understanding of the topic (Parvaresh, 2019).

e. In the case of impolite language, as many of the authors stipulated in their presentations, a clear distinction should always be made between the speaker and the hearer, or rather between causing offence (e.g. Bousfield, 2008; Culpeper, 2011) and taking offence (e.g. Haugh, 2015; Tayebi, 2016; see also Haugh & Sinkeviciute, 2019). The latter point pertains to the ever-increasing importance being placed on (im)politeness as a means of evaluation (Kádár & Haugh, 2013).
f. As many of the papers pointed out, the notion of (im)politeness continues to be investigated in a variety of discourse domains, including, amongst others, political language. This is understandable when it is considered that, with the current dramatic increase in the use of social media, there are few boundaries between politicians and ordinary people, hence resulting in the ubiquitous use of polarised language. Indeed the study of such polarised language can offer fresh insight into (im)politeness studies.
g. The investigation of the language used in conflict, defined as those interactive situations which are processed as "manifested in incompatibility, disagreement, or difference within or between social entities (i.e., individual, group, organization, etc.)" (Rahim, 2017, p. 370; cf. Kelly et al., 2019), has been attracting the attention of many researchers. This is understandable and very much welcome given the fact that conflict can potentially lead to, amongst other things, the use of impolite and/or aggressive language (see Kádár et al., 2019, for a theoretical discussion).
h. Speech acts (e.g. apology, refusal) continue to attract the attention of many researchers, including both established academics as well as research students, particularly when it comes to second language learning/acquisition. This is understandable because speech acts are suitable for comparative purposes, thus enabling researchers to compare two languages more conveniently. Of course, this line of research has, over the years, contributed a great deal to our understanding of (im)polite norms, as revealed by the many speech acts investigated. Even so, as was emphasised in one of the conference sessions, there appears to be a need for such speech act focused comparative studies to adopt more innovative frameworks, i.e. ones which enable researchers to take account of the actual dynamics of the situation. Adopting the notion of pragmeme, i.e. situational prototypes (e.g. Mey, 2001; Parvaresh & Capone, 2017) might be a solution.
i. Given the increase in the use of online data for research projects on (im)politeness, the issue of research ethics requires particular attention. During the 12$^{th}$ International Conference on (Im)Politeness I observed, on many occasions, the admirable practice of highlighting to the audience the ethical considerations and risks that were involved in data collection and how each author managed these risks. As Locher and Bolander (2019, p. 88) note, holding an "ethics-related conversation" should ideally be encouraged more, an endeavour which can "enhance the likelihood" that we "learn from best practices".

The conference also featured four plenary speakers, and on the first day of the conference Juliane House and Daniel Kádár performed this role. In their separate, but related, talks, Juliane and Daniel shared with the delegates the findings of their project, i.e. the use of what they termed 'Ritual Frame Indicating Expressions' (RFIEs). While Juliane's talk focused on how examples of these RFIEs are generally translated across languages, Daniel explored the use of some of these RFIEs in different corpora. Overall, Juliane and Daniel argued that, to compare languages in terms of (im)politeness, one should focus on comparable aspects of language and, according to the authors, RFIEs are one of the best candidates for this purpose as they are linked with the 'rights and obligations' which are at the heart of any interaction.

On the second day, Jonathan Culpeper conducted the plenary talk. He first provided the audience with some crucial information regarding the origins of (im)politeness studies. As Jonathan claimed, rather surprisingly, politeness studies date back to 1558 when Giovanni della Casa's *Il Galateo* was published. According to Jonathan, the book could be cautiously considered to be a "precursor" to some of today's classic politeness models. Jonathan also argued that politeness studies do not necessarily have a 'standard' theory or set of standard theories. Hence, as Jonathan suggests, despite its well-discussed flaws, Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory can still be used provided it is:

— "used critically and sensitively"

— "supplemented by other notions"

As far as data and methodology are concerned, Jonathan predicted that the dominance of qualitative methods is unlikely to change in the future, but a more systematic use of corpus and quantitative methods is likely to become more popular.

The final plenary talk was given by Andreas H. Jucker who explored the rise and fall of what he referred to as 'non-imposition politeness', which, in principle, "consists of the strategies that give the addressee a choice" (Jucker, 2012, p. 425).These strategies serve to highlight 'noncoerciveness', and thus help the speaker not to, or at least pretend not to, "intrude on the addressee's wish to remain free from imposition, as for instance in the polite request, 'Could you, please, open the window?'" (Jucker, 2012, p. 425). Adopting a genre-based methodology with an inherently bottom-up approach, Andreas's talk painted a very illuminating picture of how these non-imposition politeness forms, exemplified by request forms, were used throughout the twentieth century. Andreas explained how the study of non-imposition politeness increased rapidly during the second half of the twentieth century, but has since somewhat declined in recent years.

The $12^{th}$ International Conference on (Im)Politeness also marked the launch of a new journal, namely *Contrastive Pragmatics — A Cross-Disciplinary Journal*. Published by Brill Publishers and co-edited by Karin Aijmer, Juliane House, Daniel Kádár and Hong Liu, the journal, as the name suggests, seeks to attract contributions that compare and contrast languages used within different lingua-cultures.

All in all, I believe that the $12^{th}$ International Conference on (Im)Politeness was successful in achieving its aims. It served as a friendly venue for the discussion of recent findings in this field. A wide range of topics, data-sets and languages were discussed. The question and answer sessions were critical but constructive, enabling both the audience and researchers to engage in dialogue, which was further testament to the fact that (im)politeness research "is a dynamic and growing field" (Culpeper et al., 2017, p. 7).



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