POLITENESS IN AMERICAN ENGLISH AND PENINSULAR SPANISH:
A COMPARISON

by

Lizbeth Ann Heath

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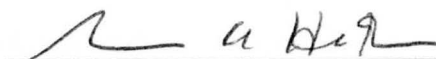**YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY**

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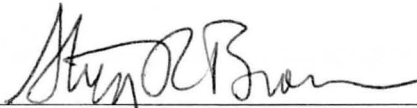Signature: _____   4-20-05
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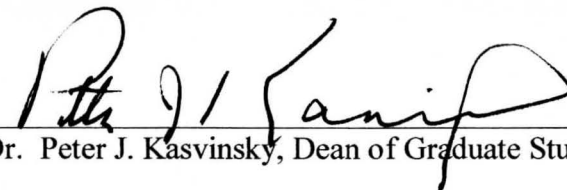Dr. Steven Brown, Committee Member   Date

_____   4-20-05
Dr. Servio Becerra, Committee Member   Date

_____   4/22/05
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ABSTRACT

Much of the previous politeness research on the English and Spanish languages has been carried out with small, feature-specific corpora. These studies have also centered mostly on how or why certain politeness characteristics are exhibited; few studies have focused on the actual frequency of linguistic-politeness utterances occurring naturally in the languages. This paper investigates how frequently American English and Peninsular Spanish speakers employ the politeness strategies presented by Brown and Levinson (1987) as evidenced in two large, natural-language corpora: the MiCASE (Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English) and the CREA (Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual). Conventionalized, courteous phrases from the two languages, both positively and negatively polite, are represented in the study. Previous investigations have shown that Spanish-speaking societies are typically positively-polite cultures, while English-speaking cultures are usually characterized by their negatively-polite exchanges. Cross-cultural politeness research comparing Spanish and English has usually yielded the same results: English speakers are more distant and deferent than their solidarity-based Spanish-speaking counterparts. However, the outcome of this study indicates that both cultures -- Spain and the United States -- tend to employ most politeness strategies, both positive and negative, with the same frequency, at least in the case of conventionalized, polite language.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

1 Introduction

The study of linguistic politeness has become a major focus of investigation[1] over the last few decades and studies in cross-cultural politeness are no exception[2]. However, most politeness research -- whether centering on one language or on the comparison of more than one speech community -- has not involved large corpora of natural-language use. In many cases, researchers prefer not to use a large, natural-language corpus because the amount of samples of a particular politeness strategy cannot be controlled; when the researchers' aim is to study in depth a certain feature of politeness, this kind of corpus offers no guarantees that a specific strategy will appear repeatedly. Due to this problem, investigators often create role-play situations or surveys to elicit requests, rejections, invitations and the like from their subjects. Especially difficult is finding corpora to meet the investigators' needs when conducting a comparative pragmatic study -- a fact that has often been noted[3]. If a corpus exhibiting desired features is hard to come by when studying just one culture's speech habits, finding two corpora with specific characteristics is doubly difficult. These created corpora come about because many studies aim to discover *how* politeness is used and sometimes even *why*. This investigation will focus on *how frequently* varied types of polite language are used in natural speech in different cultures; therefore, using large, unregulated corpora will not be an obstacle, but an advantage and a necessity.

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[1] See DuFon, et al (1994) for a comprehensive bibliography on politeness and also EDICE (2005).

[2] For some examples of recent cross-cultural analyses, see Chodorowska (1998), Hickey and Stewart (2004), Bravo (1996), Márquez-Reiter (2000), Fukushima (2000), Félix-Brasdefer (2002), Bayraktaroglu and Sifianou (2001), Sifianou (1992), Dumitrescu (2002), García (1991), Delgado (1995), Palma Fahey (2005), and Haugh (2004).

[3] "In comparative pragmatic studies, natural data can suffer the following limitations mentioned in Cohen (1998): 1) the variables of gender, age, level of education and level of proficiency are difficult to control; 2) it's difficult to detect high frequencies of the pragmatic phenomenon in question; and, 3) the collection and analysis of the data takes too much time" (Félix-Brasdefer 2004: 288). The translation here of this quote is mine (original in Spanish).

I aim to answer the following questions in this study: How often do conventionalized courteous-language phrases appear in undirected dialogue? Which politeness strategies are favored? Which cultures use more and what can we assume from those findings? More concretely, I will examine the frequency of use of several of Brown and Levinson's (B&L 1987) positive and negative politeness strategies in Peninsular Spanish and American English using large corpora -- the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MiCASE) and the Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA). Chapter 2 presents and reviews several politeness models and defends the choice of the B&L system for this particular project; past research on politeness in English and Spanish will also be explored briefly. Chapter 3 gives the background and results from earlier pilot studies conducted for this study. In chapter 4, a description of the MiCASE and CREA corpora as well as the methodology are treated. Chapter 5 offers the results from the corpora search and includes a "micro-discussion" for each strategy. Afterwards, a "macro-discussion" will follow in chapter 6, examining the findings on a larger level. Finally, a conclusion in chapter 7 addresses implications for future study as well as important applications for the results of this investigation.

2 Literature Review: Politeness models, the case for Brown and Levinson (1987), and background on politeness in English and Spanish

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the background for several well-known politeness models, both large and small scale. I will argue that the Brown and Levinson (B&L) approach to the analysis of politeness is appropriate for this investigation. Criticism of this model will be also be addressed. In the second part of the chapter, I will review findings from previous politeness studies on English and Spanish.

2.2 Brown and Levinson

In the text *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage* ([1978] 1987), Brown and Levinson offer "an ethnographic tool of great precision for investigating the quality of social relations in any society" (57), which, of course, rely heavily on politeness.

They form their assertions by observing three drastically different languages and cultures: English, both American and British; Tzeltal, a Mayan language spoken in a village in Chiapas, Mexico; and Tamil, a South Indian language spoken in a small town in the Coimbatore District of Tamilnadu. B&L argue that there are many universals concerning the employment of politeness, no matter the culture – "the degree of detail in convergence lies far beyond the realm of chance" (59). From their observations they have created a terminology for widespread politeness phenomena as well as a framework for the reasons why speakers choose certain politeness devices in certain situations.

2.2.1 Face: positive and negative

B&L's politeness theory is based on observing the interactions between two speakers -- MPs, model persons -- that are "rational agents... competent, adult members

of a society" (61). Rational agents "choose means that will satisfy their ends" (59). All of these MPs also have "face,"[4] which they define as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (59). This face is further specified as having two variants: a "positive face" and a "negative face." This negative face is defined as "the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others" and the positive face is characterized as "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others" (62). Even though this model is of universal nature, it must be considered that the concept of face will differ from culture to culture. Brown and Levinson address this problem when they discuss a formula to assess the seriousness of a face-threatening act; an important component of this formula is "R," which stands for how much of an imposition that face-threatening act would be in a specific culture. This would account for the expected differences between various cultures' use of courtesy as well as why that use might vary. Face-threatening acts as well as this formula are described in detail below in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.2.3.

B&L assert that in many instances what a speaker (S) wants entails the cooperative acts of others. This means that S must try to preserve the face of the addressee(s) (or H, for hearer) to encourage cooperation; conversely, it also interests H to maintain the face of S to persuade the speaker to continue the preservation of H's face as well. So, according to this model, politeness is the vehicle for saving the face of those involved in the interaction.

2.2.2 Face-threatening acts or FTAs

When an act by either party -- S or H -- threatens the face of the other, it is termed a "face threatening act," or FTA (60). Politeness, in an FTA situation, can be chosen to

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[4] See Goffman (1967) for the original concept of "face" in interaction.

act as damage control, as will be addressed later in the text. If one decides to commit an FTA, he/she can do so "on record" or "off record." If a speaker wishes to go off record with their FTA, their speech will be ambiguous and therefore cannot be challenged as the FTA is merely hinted at. An example of an off-record, face-threatening act would be S commenting to a new friend, H, who is hosting a party at his/her home, "wow, that looks like an amazing bottle of scotch!" The aim of S may be to get a taste of the scotch from H, but the message is so ambiguous that if H wishes to not interpret S's statement as a request for a drink, he/she may do so. If H thinks that the request is out of line and he/she accuses S of making a rude request, S can defend him/herself by simply stating that the aim of the utterance was not to ask for a drink, but merely to compliment H on his bottle of scotch. It can be a face-threatening situation, but is so ambiguous that it leaves both S and H "off the hook." There are several strategies for going off record when committing an FTA. Some that B&L cite include hinting, using irony, asking rhetorical questions, and simply being vague (211-227).

On-record, face-threatening acts are different; they are not ambiguous nor merely hinted at. If one goes on record with an FTA, he/she can choose to do so "baldly, without redress" – this would concern the most direct and imperative of statements: "give me a drink of that scotch!" – or with "redressive action" (69). Redressive action involves S's recognition of H's hopes that his/her face wants are met during the interaction. S shows this by modifying or making additions to a message to show that he/she does not wish in any way to threaten H's face wants. When using redressive action, both S and H employ politeness, choosing between positive or negative politeness depending on the aspect – whether negative or positive – of the other's face that is potentially being threatened.

2.2.2.1 On-record FTAs that threaten the hearer's face

Acts that threaten the negative face of H are among those in which:

1. S attempts to persuade H to perform an action.
2. S expresses a desire for something H possesses.
3. S offers something to H – thus putting H into the possible position of debtor (65-66). In some cultures the debt of having to return a favor can be very serious.

There are FTAs that affect the positive-face wants of the hearer as well. These

can include:

1. S shows some kind of disregard for the particular wants of H.
2. S evaluates or criticizes something about H – this type can include disagreement.
3. S implies indifference for H's wants and feelings:
    a. S shows cruelty, disrespect with acts or mentioning of things H disapproves of.
    b. S interrupts or disregards H's speech.
    c. S employs an inappropriate address when speaking to H (p. 66-77).

2.2.2.2 On-record FTAs that threaten the speaker's face

The speaker can also be threatened in an exchange. The FTAs that affect S's

negative face can consist of:

1. S gives thanks to or accepts something from H (S becomes debtor).
2. H thanks or apologizes to S and S feels compelled to accept it.
3. S makes an excuse because of a criticism from H.
4. S reluctantly promises a future favor to H.

FTAs that threaten S's positive face exist as well in the form of:

1. S apologizes to H.
2. S accepts a compliment.
3. S shows a lack of physical or emotional control in the presence of H.
4. S makes an admission of guilt (pp. 67-68).

2.2.2.3 Assessing the seriousness of a face-threatening act

Brown and Levinson offer a formula for figuring the weightiness of an FTA

within any given culture. The variables that need to be considered are: **D**, the social

distance between S and H, **P**, "the relative power" that each S and H has, and **R**, "the absolute ranking of impositions in that particular culture" (74). However, B&L acknowledge that these variables are only used as they are understood between those involved in the interaction, not as they can be measured sociologically from outside an interaction. Recognizing this fact means that a linguist cannot unwittingly superimpose his/her own cultural view of courtesy on an observed situation; in order for the B&L model to be effectively applied in a universal manner, cultural shifts in attitudes and beliefs towards politeness must be taken into consideration.

Their formula:

$$Wx = D(S,H) + P(H,S) + Rx$$

Wx here symbolizes the weightiness of the face-threatening situation. D(S,H) is the social distance between the speaker and the hearer. P(H,S) stands for the amount of power that H is perceived to have over S; and finally, Rx shows the strength that the imposition would carry in that culture. Brown and Levinson argue that if each item were assigned a numerical value for a particular situation, that the weightiness of the particular FTA in question could indeed be measured to some degree (76).

D depends on the degree of similarity between all those taking part in the interaction. If someone present does not speak the local language or does not pertain to the particular culture group of the others, then social distance is great. P's value may be high if the hearer is influential for some reason – Brown and Levinson give us "a prince, a witch, a thug or a priest" as powerful Hs in interactive situations (76). R's value is determined by the strength of the "threat" that is occurring; what is being sought in an

exchange – be it goods or services – have to be taken into account as well as whether the negative or positive face of an agent is being threatened during this imposition[5].

2.2.3 Negative politeness

Brown and Levinson's negative politeness is similar to the folk definition of politeness: it distances speaker and hearer both from each other and from the FTA; it is "avoidance-based" and "characterized by self-effacement, formality and restraint." The FTAs that go along with negative politeness are full of "apologies for interfering or transgressing," including all manner of deference, hedging, and "outer softening mechanisms that give the addressee an 'out,' a face-saving line of escape," allowing the hearer to believe that his/her response is not forced. In sum, negative politeness attempts to satisfy H's negative face and assure H that his negative face wants are very respected (70). Returning to the scene of the party, S might say, "I'm sorry to bother you and I don't want to impose, but may I please try a little tiny bit of this scotch? You're probably saving it for something...; it looks really good, though."

Brown and Levinson discuss indirect requests and statements, indirect speech acts, as belonging in the realm of negative politeness. One of the ways in which people make a statement/request more indirect is to manipulate a verb further away from the indicative, present tense. They say, "where [the speaker] is trying to be maximally negatively polite," he will use certain types of utterances. The most negatively polite utterances all contain past modals; those that are still considered negatively polite but

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[5] In this investigation I will not examine social distance, power, and weight of imposition as 1) the large corpora do not lend themselves to it; and, 2) I wish to focus on the frequency of use of B&L's strategies in two different cultures in a global fashion and not on what is transpiring at the micro-level of conversation.

somewhat less negative contain present modals. Finally, those that are the least negatively polite are presented as imperative statements (142-143).

The authors hypothesize as to why verbs are used in this way to show deference/negative politeness. Several negative politeness strategies are explained; the one that best fits the use of distance in verbs is called: "Be pessimistic" (173). When requesting something from someone in a situation in which one must appeal to the hearer's negative face, the speaker should ask as if it may not be possible to get the requested item or information. This says to H that S understands H's right to refuse and that the refusal is probable -- even if it is really not probable. All the negative politeness strategies that Brown and Levinson list are:

1. Be conventionally indirect.
2. Question, hedge.
3. Be pessimistic.
4. Minimize the imposition – the "R" factor in their formula for measuring the weightiness of an FTA.
5. Give deference.
6. Apologize.
7. Impersonalize S and H – create distance.
8. State the FTA as a general rule – S makes it clear to H that S recognizes the FTA he/she is committing.
9. Nominalize.
10. Go on record as incurring a debt, or not indebting H (129-210).

The negative politeness strategies are explained in detail below in chapter 5.

2.2.4 Positive politeness

Positive politeness, on the other hand, works to address the positive face of the hearer. This technique shows "that in some respects, [the speaker] wants [the hearer's] wants (e.g. by treating him as a member of an in-group, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked)." The force of a face-threatening act is lessened here as S reassures the listener that their desires are similar. S implies that those

in the exchange share sameness, with "in-group rights and duties and expectations of reciprocity, or by the implication that S likes H so that the [FTA] doesn't mean a negative evaluation in general of H's face" (70). When employing positive politeness, a speaker may say, "let's drink some of that fantastic scotch together," appealing to the solidarity H may feel with S.

As mentioned above, displaying solidarity – sameness -- plays a very important role in showing positive politeness. Some strategies mentioned by Brown and Levinson that encourage solidarity are gossiping – sharing secrets would make H feel included and "in-the-know;" avoiding disagreement -- accomplished by using token agreement, white lies and hedging opinions, and using in-group jargon, dialect or slang. S can employ many of these tactics to show H that his/her wants are in fact the same as S's – and therefore expect great compliance from H.

The positive politeness strategies cited by B&L are:

1. Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods).
2. Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H).
3. Intensify interest to H.
4. Use in-group identity markers.
5. Seek agreement.
6. Avoid disagreement.
7. Presuppose /raise/assert common ground.
8. Joke/use humor.
9. Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants.
10. Make offers and promises to H.
11. Be optimistic.
12. Include both self and H in the activity.
13. Give (or ask for) reasons.
14. Assume or assert reciprocity.
15. Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation) (101-128).

The strategies for positive politeness are discussed in detail below in chapter 5.

2.2.5 Brown and Levinson's politeness theory: The base for other politeness studies

Numerous studies since 1978 have used B&L's politeness theory as a basis for their own work in the area of courtesy. Linguistics encyclopedias and texts that review politeness models cite Brown and Levinson and spend comparatively more time giving background on their particular model than to any other without fail[6]. Lorenzo-Dus (2001) calls their text an "insightful account of the various ways in which linguistic politeness can be conveyed" (108). Stewart (2003) calls Brown and Levinson's work "influential" (193). Chen (2001) builds a model of "self-politeness within the framework of Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory" (88). Another study carried out by Zajdman (1995) bases its work upon the FTAs offered by Brown and Levinson. The organization EDICE (2002)[7] published papers given during the conference; virtually all of the articles included cite Brown and Levinson's work[8]. Reliance on B&L is widespread, these examples being but a few.

2.2.6 Criticism of Brown and Levinson's model

Although B&L is touted almost everywhere as a landmark, essential theory, there has also been widespread criticism about certain aspects of this model. First and most widely cited as problematic in their theory is the claim of universality. Many critics comment that it is too biased towards Western cultures – the idea of face – especially that of negative face -- implies a sense of individuality that certain non-Western cultures simply do not have. Lorenzo-Dus asserts that it is difficult to apply it in some instances when studying courtesy in "less individualistic cultures, such as the Chinese or the Japanese" (2001, 108). Many Asian cultures are more focused on the interdependence of

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[6] See Eelen (2001) and Kasper (1998).
[7] Group for "Estudios del discurso de cortesía en español".
[8] See Bravo (2002).

community and on communicating according to strict norms than according to a

particular individual's face wants. Kasper (1998) reports Ide's remark that the reason for

courtesy in Japanese is not driven by the desire to save or appeal to someone's negative

or positive face, but to "mark place, i.e., to appropriately index social relationships"

(190). Others remark that this focus on face, on a disconnected self, causes B&L to focus

too much on the concept of a face-threatening act in their model (Leech, forthcoming,

section 2.1). Spencer-Oatey (2000) proposes work on rights-threatening acts rather than

on face-threatening acts to avoid this focus on face. If the concept of face is not

universal, how can the face-threatening acts that generate the need for politeness

strategies be universal?

Another idea that troubles some critics is B&L's assertion that the more indirect

an utterance is, the more courteous it will be. Blum-Kulka's (1987) findings in her

studies with Jewish-Israeli cultures deny this. She contends that sometimes directness is

valued as more polite over certain types of indirectness, depending on the situation.

Being direct can often be taken as more sincere, and thus more courteous.

The idea that power, social distance and the ranked size of an imposition of a face

threat – P, D, and R respectively -- will affect the severity of a face threatening act is also

under criticism. As far as social distance is concerned, Wolfson's (1989) work with an

American middle-class community shows that speakers who are very familiar with each

other will use the same amount and same types of politeness strategies among themselves

as strangers do with other strangers. In fact, she found that those using the most

politeness among themselves are co-workers, acquaintances and others who share equal

status on a social level. As far as power is concerned, age and gender play a major role,

but the criticism of B&L lies in that the power that both variables carry can change as the

situation or particular culture is changed. The social distance and power then is said to

not be the unwavering constant that B&L present it to be. Le Pair (1996) comments that

"estimates of power, social distance, situational setting, and degree of imposition may

differ from culture to culture, and that the proportions in the choices between more direct

and more indirect strategies are culture-specific" (654).

Yet other bits of negative commentary appear in various articles. In Meier's

(1995) work, he calls the concepts of B&L "both too undifferentiated and too limited"

(381). Jary (1998) states that as B&L are operating from the point of view that courtesy

is something communicated, as if it were – or were part of – a message, their ensuing

claims cannot be correct. Why? Because some further studies have shown that people

either anticipate politeness in speech, whether it is there or not or merely do not notice

offerings of politeness at all, so it is something that is not really communicated. If we

either imagine courteous speech or do not notice it, how can we study it as a message as

B&L propose to do?

Other criticisms of B&L's work exists[9]; the above summary contains the most

frequent criticisms researchers offer about the model.

2.3 A Summary of other important politeness models

2.3.1 Grice, Lakoff, and Leech

2.3.1.1 Grice's Cooperative Principle

Although Grice (1975) does not specifically offer a model for politeness, he

presents some basic notions of human conversation that some linguists use to create their

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[9] For more examples of criticism on the B&L model, see Bravo (2004), Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004), Escandell-Vidal (1996), Culpeper (1996), Carrasco Santana (1999), Hernández-Flores (2003), Meier (1995) and Watts (2003).

own politeness theories. His well-visited Cooperative Principle (CP) states that those

involved in an exchange will speak in such a way that will work towards the goals of that

particular interaction; in other words, speakers will cooperate to fulfill any

communicative expectations during a conversation. He proposes several "maxims" that

act as rules in conversation:

    1. The Maxims of Quality – there are two:
        a. say what you believe to be true, and
        b. say only that for which you believe you have evidence.
    2. Maxim of Relation/Relevance: what you say should be relevant to the situation.
    3. Maxims of Quantity – there are two:
        a. be as informative as necessary, and
        b. do not be more informative than necessary.
    4. Maxims of Manner – there are four:
        a. avoid being obscure with your expressions;
        b. avoid being ambiguous;
        c. be brief, and
        d. be organized in your expression.
    The maxim of manner one can be summed up as: be clear.

Whenever a speaker violates or "flouts" one of the above maxims, we can suspect

good reason -- this speaker wants to implicate something other than – or something in

addition to -- what is actually said. Politeness models that use Grice's ideas as a building

block enter into play in such situations.

2.3.1.2 Lakoff

Lakoff (1973), in her article "The Logic of Politeness, or Minding Your P's and

Q's," uses Grice's Cooperative Principle as a springboard for her ideas on politeness.

Although Lakoff agrees with Grice's assertions and his widely-cited principle, she states

that when someone varies from those maxims of cooperation that it is normally for

reasons of courtesy. She proposes a "politeness rule." She claims that when a person's

goal is to "navigate among the respective statuses of the participants in the discourse

indicating where each stands in the speaker's estimate," a speaker's aim will not so much

to be clear and informative as to be simply polite (296). Her politeness rules are as

follows:

1. "Don't impose."
2. "Give options."
3. "Make [hearer] feel good, be friendly" (298).

When a hearer cannot find the speaker clearly following Grice's maxims, he/she

can look to Lakoff's politeness rules for clarification and reasons for the apparent

digression. For example, if S wants a drink of H's scotch, following Grice's CP maxims

could prove very rude indeed. S, in order to be true to the maxims of "be relevant," "be

clear," and "be brief," might say, "I want some scotch. Give me some." But, as Lakoff

asserts, in many cultures this would be perceived as rude and few would probably do it in

a social situation. Looking to Lakoff's rules, S does not want to "impose," wants to "give

options," and wants H to "feel good" and self to appear "friendly." The probable choice

of words for S trying to get a drink of scotch would be something more akin to: "I know

this is terrible to ask and I'm sure you're saving this for something else (don't impose,

give options for why H could say no), but I'd love to try your scotch you have there on

the bar. Would it be too much to ask for a taste (be friendly, making H feel important by

deferring to him/her)?"

Importantly, Lakoff points out that the weight of the focus on each of the

politeness rules will vary from culture to culture. Some cultures will focus more on

distancing oneself – such as European cultures – and will employ more often rule 1.

Some are more oriented toward rule 2 with their deferential attitudes, as are many Asian

groups. Yet, certain cultures – as in North America -- are most interested in being friendly, focusing more on the solidarity of a group, and invoke rule 3 more often.

2.3.1.3 Leech

Leech (1983) also uses Grice's CP as a building block for his own "Politeness Principle" (PP) in certain chapters of his text *Principles of Pragmatics*. Like Lakoff, he claims that when a speaker violates one of Grice's maxims within the CP, the hearer can suppose that it is for reasons of politeness. H then must look to the PP's maxims to understand why Grice's Cooperative Principle maxims have been disregarded. Conversely, he also asserts that when the PP's maxims are not employed by a speaker that it is because the communicative situation somehow warrants the use of the CP over the courteous PP.

In his studies on politeness, Leech wants to draw a distinction between semantics and pragmatics – semantics of course dealing with the basic, abstract meaning of an utterance and pragmatics with the actual communicative meaning of that utterance -- what two speakers will understand a spoken text to really mean socially. So, Leech calls the social implications imbedded in the message part of "interpersonal rhetoric," a kind of social common sense, and the construction of that message "textual rhetoric." Both of these factors belong under the realm of pragmatics and affect each other.

Leech mentions two kinds of politeness: absolute politeness and relative politeness (forthcoming, section 3.2). Absolute politeness has to do with measuring courtesy out of context -- we can say that "Can I have a drink of your scotch?" is less polite than "If you don't mind, would it be terribly possible to have a taste of your scotch?" However, Leech says although politeness can at times be scaled this way,

sometimes it does not offer the same sense as one would expect. Relative politeness

explains this; in certain situations using an ultra-courteous utterance would seem

sarcastic. For example, one would usually not ask for a drink of scotch with the latter

example above from his/her spouse. The less polite, the former, would seem more polite

in this kind of intimate relationship.

Another idea that Leech addresses in his text is that of the sometimes-conflicting

illocutionary goals and social goals. If the speaker compliments the hearer, the linguistic

goal is the same as the social goal -- to maintain "good communicative social relations"

(forthcoming, section 3.3). However, if S requests something, say a drink of scotch, the

linguistic goal is to procure the drink; the social goal is still to maintain good relations

with H so extra care must be taken to be very polite so that both goals might be reached.

Leech creates a framework to highlight the six maxims that belong to his

Politeness Principle. They are as follows:

> 1. Tact maxim – "minimize cost to other. Maximize benefit to other."
> 2. Generosity maxim – "minimize benefit to self. Maximize cost to self."
> 3. Approbation maxim – "minimize dispraise of other. Maximize praise of other."
> 4. Modesty maxim – "minimize praise of self. Maximize dispraise of self."
> 5. Agreement maxim – "minimize disagreement between self and other.
> Maximize agreement between self and other."
> 6. Sympathy maxim – "minimize antipathy between self and other. Maximize
> sympathy between self and other" (1983, 132).

Each of these maxims is chosen and then employed to varying degrees depending on the

situation of the speakers. Leech cites that there are four situations: competitive,

convivial, collaborative, or conflictive. Stating that in collaborative or conflictive

situations that courtesy is more or less irrelevant, Leech asserts that competitive –

interactions in which one might give orders or ask for something – and convivial –

someone may offer something to H or thank H for something – situations are those that

warrant the use of politeness. Leech also adds "scales" to describe the degree of

politeness that S might employ in such situations and for each maxim. For example,

there are five scales for the Tact maxim:

> 1. Cost-benefit scale: showing the cost or benefit of an interaction to S and H.
> 2. Optionality scale: denotes the amount of options allowed S and H by the linguistic interaction.
> 3. Indirectness scale: the amount of "inferencing required of the hearer in order to establish intended speaker meaning."
> 4. Authority scale: shows relationship of relative power between S and H.
> 5. Social distance scale: deals with the amount of familiarity between S and H (1983, 123).

 Therefore, for each PP maxim S may choose, there are several scales that S can employ

to discern just how to get that "interpersonal rhetoric" across to H.

Leech states that the PP helps to explain the strange phenomena of courtesy.

Some of these strange characteristics of politeness usage are as follows -- and all of them

appear to violate Grice's Cooperative Principle:

> 1. Indirectness -- violates Grice's ideas because they are "less informative, less clear, less truthful...." So, it's seemingly illogical to employ indirectness but for politeness' sake, it functions well.
> 2. Asymmetry of politeness -- the treatment of S and of H in a polite interaction is completely different -- asking for scotch causes S to diminish oneself but to exalt H in some way.
> 3. "Implicit interpretations of elliptical constructions relying on the Politeness Principle." This idea deals with one assuming most of the time that someone wishes to be polite. "I would love some of that scotch!" might be interpreted as polite even if it truly is not appropriate for that situation because Leech states that "speakers have a tendency to prefer polite interpretations to impolite ones."
> 4. Pragmatic "quasi-paradoxes" -- the employment of courtesy makes us behave irrationally. If S asks politely for a drink of scotch and H then offers S some, S might say, "no, no, I couldn't," before H offers it again and insists several times as S politely "refuses" before S finally says, "wow, are you sure? Well, okay, if you're really sure...." The illocutionary goal was being met, but S wants to appear very polite, and so this verbal paradox ensues.
> 5. Gradations of politeness -- this ties in with indirectness above; the more indirect in a polite utterance someone is, the more courteous S wishes to appear (forthcoming, section 3.4).

An example of a situation warranting politeness using Leech's model is likely more complex than one used for Lakoff's model. If one is in a "competitive" situation, wanting a drink of expensive scotch from a new friend, S has several variables to consider. First, S may want to use the Modesty maxim, and minimize "praise of self" and the Approbation maxim, maximizing the praise of H. Also, S will employ the Tact maxim and try to minimize the cost to H. "I know we just met and I have no business imposing like this... but you have the excellent taste of having bought that bottle of scotch and I'd really like to try some. Is there any way I could please just have a small taste? Or are you saving it for something else?" S here is modest and praises H, as well as tried to minimize cost to H with "a small taste...." S has also weighed the situation with the scales that Leech has offered. For instance, S has factored in the "social distance scale," citing that he/she recognizes how badly he/she is imposing; S also employs the "optionality scale," giving H the chance to say "no" for various reasons – H is saving it for the holidays; H cites their unfamiliarity with each other.

2.3.2 Some smaller-scale politeness models

Brown and Levinson, Lakoff, and Leech's models are widely familiar, but there are several smaller-scale models that are worthy of mention as well. Gu (1990), for example, even though he uses much of Leech's work as a springboard for his own, offers an important model. His work is based on Chinese politeness, or "limao," which would be described with difficulty using the models previously discussed in this chapter. He argues that strict social moral code generates politeness in Chinese society and that it is definitively prescriptive, not descriptive and hence, there is no choice to be polite or not. Again, like Leech, he describes some maxims for his particular Politeness Principle; they

include: Self-denigration, Address, Tact, and Generosity (1990). An interesting component that Gu adds to his model is that of the Balance Principle, which deals with the payment of "debts" after a favor is received or with reciprocating an invitation, et cetera.

Ide (1989) also offers ideas for analyzing the use of courtesy but based on interactions in Japanese culture. She terms the way that politeness is usually addressed – as a strategy that someone uses when they are trying to satisfy some personal desire – as "Volition." Where these previous models fall short is in the idea of what she calls "Discernment," a politeness that "does not depend on the speaker's free will but consists in socially obligatory verbal (grammatical) choices" (Eelen, 2001, 11). She reports that there are no socially-neutral ways of communicating in Japanese; either a speaker employs honorifics or he/she does not. For S to use honorifics is to show that he/she understands his/her place or rank in a situation. Ide offers four rules for this type of courtesy:

1. "Be polite to a person of higher social position."
2. "Be polite to a person with power."
3. "Be polite to an older person."
4. "Be polite in a formal setting [determined by several factors]" (Ide, 1989, 231).

As honorifics in language are inextricably intertwined with grammar and usage, such as in Japanese, the use of politeness is constant and has a lot less to do with the choices a speaker can make, but more with what the speaker socially must do.

Fraser and Nolen (1981) also offer their view of politeness: the "conversational-contract view." They assert that each participant enters a situation with a set of "rights and obligations" that change as a situation may change. Rational speakers and hearers assume their roles as they recognize the social contract – dependent upon the situation --

at hand. The rights and obligations of each speaker are decided by four factors: conventional, institutional, situational and historical factors. The conventional terms have to do with general speaking rules such as volume in speech or register concerning vocabulary choice. Institutional concerns are those that have to do with rules when participants are in specific places or situations – when to sit and stand during a church ceremony or only remaining silent during a court hearing exemplify this. Situational terms deal with the roles and status of the participants – students normally raise their hands to speak in a classroom or ask the teacher if they may leave the classroom and not the other way around. Historical factors have to do with the participants' previous interactions with each other – what had been established socially at those previous meetings function as a starting point for the present interaction. So, for Fraser and Nolen, being polite means being faithful to the current terms of the contract at hand. Not recognizing those terms, and/or not honoring them, results in impoliteness.

Gu, Ide and Fraser and Nolen are merely a few of the smaller-scale politeness models in the field. There are many others offered that are culture-specific, such as Blum-Kulka's (1987) model and studies done on courtesy Israeli-Jewish communities, that either add to or amend some of the strategies and ideas offered in the larger politeness frameworks.

2.4 Discussion of Brown and Levinson, Leech and Lakoff -- Which model is best for this study?

In the following chapters of this study, research will be presented on the use of conventionalized polite language by both American English and Peninsular Spanish speakers. Two large corpora, the MiCASE and the CREA, are searched for such phrases. In order to organize the analysis and then interpret the data collected, a politeness model

with specific criteria and descriptions of strategies must be chosen. Neither specific nor entire conversations and situations appearing in the corpora will be examined for nuance, distance, power or imposition; the purpose of this study is to locate certain courteous language chunks -- assuring that they are being used for courtesy's sake, note their frequency in both of the languages, and subsequently compare and contrast the use of politeness in these two cultures based on what these frequencies may imply. A simple, although more elegant, model may be appropriate for a more specific study with less data to examine, but this research requires a more sophisticated, detailed framework.

Several of the simpler models discussed are important, but not powerful enough for this large-scale investigation. Also, most of the models are culture-specific (Blum-Kulka, Gu, Ide), and as this study will be cross-cultural, a more universal theory must be considered. As B&L, Lakoff and Leech are those that claim universality, one of these must be selected.

Lakoff's model, although enterprising in the sense that it was one of the first modern politeness models to be described, is not strong enough as it lacks the detail necessary for a large investigation. B&L and Leech are the two remaining possibilities for this study. Despite the fact that criticism for both is rooted in their claims to universality, they cannot be ruled out as inappropriate for this study because of this criticism. Even though they are judged for being focused on Western cultural ideals, this does not pose an irreparable problem in this situation because both American English and Castilian Spanish share similar -- although of course not identical -- Western concepts of

face, of self[10] -- even though these ideas will of course vary in specific ways, hence the reason for interest in doing this study.

B&L will be used for the analysis of the findings in future chapters; Leech's model is not detailed enough for this study. B&L has not only been widely used to study politeness in English, but also in Spanish. Several texts concerning politeness in Spanish cite B&L and give recognition to their model and use it to carry out investigations[11]. Some mention is made of Leech, but far less than his counterpart. This is important because the study should be as accessible as possible to both English and Spanish linguistic researchers.

Also, B&L base their framework and claim to universality on the actual study of three different languages and cultures (see section 2.2, above). Leech cites some examples in various languages, but he does not base his Politeness Principle on the intense, continued study of several languages. Even though, as cited above, much criticism of B&L is based on their claims to universality, there is some basis to their assertions even if at times these assertions can be somewhat Anglocentric.

The most important reason to choose B&L over all the models reviewed here is the sheer volume of the strategies offered by the B&L framework. These specific and clearly-developed strategies create a substructure for this study; those courteous phrases chosen for the investigation are based on the criteria for each of B&L's negative and positive politeness tactics. In this way, the comparison of Spanish and English's employment of each strategy can be made and conclusions can be drawn. Without such clearly drawn criteria for politeness strategies, this large-scale study could not be

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[10] See discussion sections in chapters 5 and 6 for clarification on this generalization.
[11] See Moreno Fernandez and Haverkate.

possible. There would be no defined approaches to search for in the corpora, and we would be left to studying small bits of language without a common framework to tie the findings together. With these well-defined strategies, descriptions of the cross-cultural data can be more concise. The B&L framework facilitates the beginnings of this study as well as the discussions to follow. Within the discussion, some of B&L's universal ideas may be criticized -- but I must begin with B&L to even plan such a large-scale investigation.

2.5 Previous politeness research on English and Spanish

Several studies have been published on the kinds of courtesy used by English and Spanish speakers[12]. In this study I will only focus on American English; however, in this section some research on British English will be reported as well. Similarly, information about several varieties of Spanish will be reviewed, even though Peninsular Spanish specifically concerns me for this investigation.

Typically English speakers are found to employ more negatively-polite devices than Spanish speakers and Spanish cultures tend to show more positively-polite solidarity devices than Anglophone cultures. Despite this finding, this characterization is not absolute; both language systems also exhibit some features from the other type of courtesy. See below for a very brief discussion on both; chapters 5 and 6 will include several specific examples from previous research on both languages in their discussion sections.

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[12] See Ardila (2003), Blum-Kulka (1990), Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989), Bravo and Briz (2004), Bravo (2003), Boretti (2001), Chodorowska (1997) and (1999), Christie (2004), Curcó (1998), Fant (1996), García (1993), Harris (2000), Hickey (1991) and (2003), Holmes (1995), Marcén Bosque (1999), Placencia (1998), Piatti (2001), Rigatuso (1994), Woodward (1997). See also footnote 2 on page 1 for more studies.

2.5.1 English and politeness

English speakers have often been found to be negatively polite, and even more so when comparing their speech to that of speakers of certain languages. Even so, there is also evidence that English can also sometimes exhibit positive-politeness characteristics.

2.5.1.1 English as a negatively-polite language

In most investigations, the fact that English is generally seen as a negatively-politeness oriented language is highlighted. When describing their politeness model, B&L report that "in English ... conventionalized indirect requests are so common that it is rare to hear a completely direct request even between equals" (248). Being indirect is a politeness device that B&L rate as redressing H's negative face wants. B&L also comment that England is a society where preserving distance between speakers is very important in public encounters; it must be noted that in American English this distance not as pronounced. Fukushima (2000) agrees with this assertion that the British tend to create distance between S and H in public settings. Ardila (2003) reports what he believes should be obvious to researchers with any slight knowledge of the English and Spanish cultures: "el inglés, lengua de cortesía negativa, abunda en ellas [fórmulas corteses]" [English, a negative-politeness language, has an abundance of them [politeness forms]] (14). So, by virtue of having so many fixed structures for the carrying out of politeness, English is noted to be a negatively-polite society by many investigators.

Other studies concentrate on the negative politeness of English as well. Lorenzo-Dus (2001) finds that British speakers, when receiving a compliment, tend to question the honesty of S's statement, weakening S and H's bond by questioning "the relational solidarity of their complimenter" (113). This creates distance between S and H and

consequently causes a need for negative-politeness use. Félix-Brasdefer (2003) shows that English speakers apologize more frequently than Spanish speakers; apologies are a negative-politeness device. Also noted is the high frequency of the use of modals to show negative politeness; Youman's (2001) study on politeness modal use and Chicano Americans and Anglo-Americans yielded a disproportionate amount of "epistemic modals for non-evidential functions" used by the Anglo-Americans (60). She also states that educated English speakers mostly employ negative politeness, even to familiars such as neighbors. Hedges are also used frequently in formal settings in English, softening any statements or opinions S may have when communicating formally with an H.

2.5.1.2 English as a positively-polite language

There are cases in which English speakers employ positive-politeness devices as well. B&L state that when comparing the USA and Britain with Japan, the English speakers are more positively polite. Japan's speakers must use honorifics and are also part of a "debt-sensitive" culture; if S offers H something in Japanese, this is usually seen as a tremendous FTA and must be hemmed by a negatively-polite device. However, in England and the USA, an offer is not normally threatening and H would not require his/her negative face to be addressed at all. B&L cite comparison as important in determining such characterizations. English speakers in Western USA are sometimes seen to be very positive-politeness oriented, contrasted with their British counterparts.

There is some more research that supports that English speakers can be positively polite. A couple examples of this follow: Lorenzo-Dus (2001) finds that British students receiving compliments sometimes use humor to respond to the comment. Humor promotes solidarity and thus shows positive politeness in these instances. Bargiela et al

(2005) claim that English speakers, of any variety, tend to advance to using H's first name very quickly after meeting H. They report that this is likely S's attempt to promote solidarity by decreasing the distance between S and H -- very positively polite. However, when comparing this practice to that of speakers of certain other languages -- including southern European cultures (i.e. Spain) -- this can be seen as too familiar, showing that these certain cultures are more negative-politeness oriented at least in the context of addressing others.

2.5.2 Spanish and politeness

Spanish is normally seen as -- and proven to be -- a positive-politeness language. Sometimes, however, Spanish speakers will also employ elements of negative politeness. See below for a short discussion of each.

2.5.2.1 Spanish as a positively-polite language

Spanish is usually seen as a positively-polite language. Ardila (2003) states that Spain is a positive-politeness oriented culture: "el castellano, además de constituir un modelo de cortesía positivo, es en extremo parco con fórmulas corteses" [Castilian Spanish, in addition to constituting a model of positive politeness, is extremely conservative concerning [the use of] courteous forms] (14). Haverkate (2004) notes the same: using three pragmalinguistic parameters, discursive acts, paralinguistic acts and metapragmatic acts, he affirms that Spanish culture is positively polite; positive politeness "constituye el centro de gravedad" ["it constitutes the center of gravity"] (64). This observation pervades most politeness research.

More specific studies on Spanish speakers and their choice to be positively courteous can be found. Abelda Marcos (2004) affirms that Peninsular Spanish is quite

positively polite; Spanish speakers use exaggerated language to "interactively support" one another in conversation which promotes group solidarity. Félix-Brasdefer (2004) shows in his investigation that Mexican-Spanish speakers employ a great deal more question tags in their speech than American English speakers. The use of question tags helps H to follow S's discussion, lessening distance between S and H. Lorenzo-Dus (2001) finds that Spaniards, when receiving a compliment, will ask S for a repetition and an expansion of the compliment -- very positively polite. Also, Spanish males in the same study tended to use humor and "upgrade" the compliment given to them as a response to S. Spanish speakers have been shown to be more direct in informal situations than English speakers (Márquez-Reiter 2000). Briz, in a 2004 study, shows that Castilian Spanish speakers actually use more direct-speech acts than indirect ones. When S is direct with H in informal situations, this indicates a mutual trust between the two and thus also indicates solidarity. In another effort to create solidarity, Peninsular Spanish speakers often use *nosotros* in negotiation to promote solidarity between S and H (Stewart 2001).

2.5.2.2 Spanish as a negatively-polite language

Spanish speakers also use negative politeness on occasion, even though the language as a whole is not characterized by this type of courtesy. Félix-Brasdefer (2004) shows that Mexican-Spanish speakers use more hedges in formal situations than American-English speakers do. This shows their effort not to offend their distanced counterpart by softening their statements. Márquez-Reiter (2000) shows that Uruguayan Spanish speakers often use conditionals when making polite requests to show their negative-politeness side. This makes the likelihood that their requests will be satisfied

seem pessimistic and thus S is not seen as presumptuous but rather inoffensive and deferential. Bargiela et al (2005) report that southern European speakers are not comfortable with being addressed in an informal way shortly after meeting someone. They claim that such speakers prefer to use more formal ways of addressing each other until S and H are more familiar with each other. Finally, an obvious use of negative politeness is that of the V pronoun; Spanish speakers use *usted* and *ustedes* to indicate deference to H.

2.5.3 Spanish and English compared

If we compare the above information, what we see is that English speakers are typically seen as negatively polite and Spanish speakers are usually expected to be positively polite in their conversations. However, as very few studies have used large corpora and counted the actual occurrences of conventionalized politeness utterances and directly compared the two languages, it is difficult to predict what the results of this study will be based on prior research.

3 Pilot studies comparing politeness in English and Spanish

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents three small-scale pilot studies comparing the use of politeness in English and Spanish. The first study deals with courteous language chunks found in Peninsular Spanish -- with a small sample of Floridian Spanish -- and American English television programs in which speakers use mostly spontaneous speech. The second investigation offers findings on politeness devices interviewers use to elicit personal information from interviewees; again Peninsular Spanish and American English are studied. Finally, the third pilot study focuses on the use of certain verb forms and moods to show courtesy in political discussions. For the third study, American-English and Mexican-Spanish political conversations are examined. As in the larger study, these preliminary reviews employ Brown and Levinson's framework to analyze the occurrence of politeness in the various corpora.

3.2 Pilot Study I: A look at courtesy in natural language television programs

This study examines the differences in the use of specific politeness-oriented language chunks in American English and Peninsular Spanish, with one program using Floridian Spanish (the show is taped in the USA with speakers from a variety of Spanish-speaking backgrounds). The expressions of courtesy focused on in this study are as follows: *thank you, please, excuse (me)*, and *(I'm) sorry*; these are contrasted with *gracias, por favor, perdonar/disculpar* and *lo siento*, respectively in Spanish.

3.2.1 The corpora

Four hours of both Spanish and English talk-show style television programs, making a total of eight hours of programming, were analyzed for frequency and use of

politeness language chunks. Four Spanish and six English shows were selected. Programs were chosen based on their apparently natural and spontaneous language use as well as their varied subjects and formats.

3.2.1.1 Spanish language programs examined in the study

"Corazón corazón"[13],[14] is a program in which the lives of famous people are showcased with numerous short, spontaneous interviews[15]. "Operación triunfo" [16],[17] is a reality-show contest in which young Spaniards try to become famous singers and musicians. Unscripted dialogue is recorded both in the classroom and in social situations. "Esta es mi historia" [18],[19] is talk show offering polemic topics and discussions. An expert panel as well as several audience members have the chance to participate in the chaotic conversations. "Despierta, America" [20],[21] is a morning news and entertainment show. There are several interviews as well as short exchanges among the presenters of the show with a few humorous bits. This is Latin-American Spanish, so it differs slightly from the Castilian Spanish spoken in the previous three programs mentioned.

3.2.1.2 English language programs examined in the study

"Dinner for Five" [22] is a natural-language show produced specifically for the Independent Film Channel. Five actors gather to have dinner together and talk aimlessly

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[13] 24-11-02, 3:50 a 4:15 pm, TVE-I, Spain (25 minutes)

[14] Direct translation: "Heart Heart." Shows or magazines "of heart" denote programs or publications that have to do with gossip about celebrities.

[15] The presenter's extremely brief introduction of each celebrity encounter, however, is scripted.

[16] 24-11-02, 6:40 a 8:00 pm, TVE-I (407), Spain (1 hour, 20 minutes)

[17] Direct translation: "Operation Triumph." It is the Spanish version of the popular North American show, "American Idol."

[18] 24-11-02, 8:55 a 10:40, TVE-I (407), Spain (1 hour, 45 minutes)

[19] "This Is My Story." It is similar to "Oprah" but with more invitees at a time and more audience participation.

[20] 25/11/02, 7:00 a 9:00 am, Univision (402), USA

[21] Direct translation: "Wake Up America." This is the Hispanic version of "Good Morning, America."

[22] 26/11/02, 10:30 to 11 pm, IFC (550), USA

and spontaneously about their careers. "A Baby Story" [23] features a family that is

expecting a new baby in each episode. The expectant family is followed with a video

camera and their lives before, during and after the birth of the baby are documented. "A

Wedding Story" [24] reports on the planning stages and the wedding day of an engaged

couple. Much like "A Baby Story," the couple is followed by a camera crew for these

events. "Judge Mills Lane" [25] is a TV court program that has Judge Lane presiding over

small-claims cases. The participants use unscripted language. "Kids Say the Darndest

Things" [26] is hosted by Bill Cosby. He interviews children without scripts on a live stage,

obviously with the idea that the children will say something strange or funny. "Celebrity

Profile – Sarah Ferguson" [27] is a show in which they interview a famous person as well as

this person's family members and friends. Sarah Ferguson is interviewed in this

episode[28].

3.2.2 Method of data collection and analysis

All programs are viewed and each occurrence of the chosen politeness chunks is

noted. Also recorded is the context in which each one is used. After the data is collected,

the utterances are counted and then analyzed using Brown and Levinson's model. Each

instance is examined for the type of Face Threatening Act (FTA) it corresponds to.

Later, the politeness chunks in Spanish are compared with those in English from a variety

of perspectives: frequency of each type of language chunk; distribution of the

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[23] 2/12/02, 9:30 to 10 am, TLC (280), USA
[24] 2/12/02, 10-10:30 am, TLC (280), USA
[25] 2/12/02, 10:30-11 am, TNN (325), USA
[26] 2/12/02, 11 to 11:30 am, TNN (325), USA and 2/12/02, 11:30 to 12 pm, TNN (325), USA
[27] 2/12/02, 12 to 1 pm, E! (236), USA
[28] contains some natural language use but also a few scripted background interviews.

occurrences of the language chunks across the natural-language programs; and the type of

Face Threatening Act (FTA) each courtesy language chunk attempts to soften.

3.2.3 Results and discussion of the study

Table 1 below addresses the difference in frequency of the politeness utterances

observed in the four hours of English and four hours of Spanish natural-language

television programs.

Table 1:

Politeness language chunk	Total number of times it occurred	Number of times occurring in Spanish	Number of times occurring in English
Thank you/Gracias	39	21	18
Please/Por favor	9	6	3
I'm sorry/Lo siento	10	6	4
Excuse me/Disculpar, Perdonar*	13	11	2
Total occurrences for all utterances	71	44	27

*Both *disculpar* and *perdonar* are formed in the imperative directed to the second-person singular *tú* and *usted*.

As the data indicates, the Spanish natural-language programs exhibit more

incidents of these particular politeness utterances. This was not expected at the outset of

this study as informal observation indicates that Spanish speakers do not seem to employ

these particular courtesy terms as often as English speakers. The occurrences of the use

of *excuse me* in Spanish and in English shows the largest disparity.

It is necessary to mention that the majority of the Spanish politeness-term

instances appear in only one of the shows. View table 2 below for the distribution of

courteous language chunks in these programs.

Table 2:

Program title	Gracias	Por favor	Lo siento	Perdonar/Disculpar	Total for show
Corazón corazón	0	0	0	0	0
Operación triunfo	2	0	3	1	6
Ésta es mi historia	13	6	3	9	31
Despierta América	6	0	0	1	7

As observed above, the program "Ésta es mi historia" is responsible for thirty-one

of the forty-four politeness utterances noted in the Spanish sample. Seventy percent of

the instances appear in this show. This is a talk show featuring controversial topics that

can breed arguments, and thus face-threatening activity can ensue. Do these FTAs

consequently necessitate the use of politeness terms to try to recover the face of all those

involved? Another important fact to be considered is that this program makes up forty-

three percent[29] of the total taping time for the Spanish programs.

Observe below the English program data in the same way in Table 3.

Table 3:

Program title	Thank you	Please	I'm sorry	Excuse me	Total for show
Dinner for Five	0	0	1	0	1
A Baby Story	7	0	0	0	7
A Wedding Story	6	0	0	0	6
Judge Mills Lane	2	1	1	1	5
Kids Say the Darndest Things	3	2	2	1	8
Celebrity Profile	0	0	0	0	0

The differences between the English-language shows concerning the occurrence

of politeness-utterance use are less marked than for the Spanish language shows.

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[29] This program accounted for 1 hour, 45 minutes out of the total 4 hours of the Spanish corpus.

However, there are some major distinctions to be noted and these can be compared and combined with the data from the Spanish programs as well.

"Celebrity Profile" and "Corazón corazón" do not show any incidents of the politeness-language chunks chosen. Both of these shows deal with famous people and the shows' format is somewhat formal in nature. A background voice, admittedly scripted, gives information about the famous person being reviewed. In "Celebrity," the only focus was Sarah Ferguson; in "Corazón," there were numerous people commented on; the interviewed famous person speaks, unscripted, in short bits so that there is little time for a back-and-forth style conversation to ensue. Without a chance to cause an FTA, there is little reason to interject courtesy words into one's speech.

"Despierta, América," "A Baby Story" and "A Wedding Story" all have high incidences of the use of *thank you/gracias*, with virtually no other terms used. Each of these shows are what we could term "feel good" programs – in "A Baby..." and "A Wedding..." everyone is very pleasant and happy due to the positive situation at hand. "Despierta, América" is a cheerful show with jokes and short, charming bits and street interviews. As most of the individuals in these situations are happy and really see no need for debate, the words *sorry/lo siento, please/por favor*, and *excuse me/perdonar, disculpar* are rarely employed.

The most varied use of the selected politeness terms appears in programs in which there is a potential for debate or for higher incidence of FTAs. "Judge Mills Lane," "Kids Say the Darndest Things," "Operación triunfo" and "Ésta es mi historia" are all shows where verbal altercation -- whether it be slight or severe -- is probable and encouraged. In the "Judge Mills Lane" piece, a very minor court case is tried –

unscripted. Some discussion, argument and negotiation are necessary to finish the task. The child guest-stars in "Kids Say..." answer Bill Cosby's questions most often in a scandalous way, much to their parents' dismay. In "Operación triunfo," the students' emotions run high and the professors are in a position to criticize and challenge them. These situations all end up in frequent, sensitive discussion. Finally, "Ésta es mi historia" – with its polemic topics, excitable celebrity panel and willingness to offer the floor to the audience – the debate and back-pedaling that follows in order to "save face" are dominant. The format for "Dinner for Five" seems as though it would also fit into this category as the dinner guests are free to argue, but the absence of courtesy markers renders it isolated from the other samples.

So, we can draw inferences from the data that show how the format and focus of the show can affect instances of politeness-term use, regardless of the target language. But what specifically causes a surge in courteous words in different situations? The context of each instance must be examined to understand these differences. Brown and Levinson's politeness model can be called upon to help do just that.

As referred to in chapter one of this study, an on-the-record, face-threatening act (FTA) can threaten either the positive or negative face of either the speaker or the hearer in an exchange. Positive-face wants have to do with the speaker or hearer's desire that "his wants be desirable to at least some others" in the exchange (B&L, 62). If a speaker disagrees with the hearer, this offends the hearer's positive face because his opinion is not shared, is not desirable by the speaker. The speaker's positive face can be wounded when he/she makes an apology to a hearer, showing that what he/she did was wrong shows a disparity in action or thought between the participants. Negative-face wants deal

with a speaker or hearer's desire that "his actions be unimpeded by others" (62). For example, if the speaker wants to persuade the hearer to do something, that may threaten the hearer's negative face because someone else is trying to influence, or impede, his/her actions. Something that could potentially threaten the negative face of the speaker includes the speaker's making of an excuse in response to a criticism from the hearer; here the speaker feels compelled – urged -- to make an excuse. In a conversation in which speaker or hearer threatens someone else's face – including their own, they use politeness to soften the threat.

Below is an analysis of the contexts in which a speaker employs a courteous language chunk in the corpus. The situations are defined as follows: an FTA that threatens a hearer's negative face wants (HNFW), one that threatens a hearer's positive face wants (HPFW), those that threaten a speaker's negative face wants (SNFW) and those that threaten a speaker's positive face wants (SPFW). See Table 4 for a distribution of the situations in each television program[30].

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[30] Note, as the programs "Corazón corazón" and "Celebrity Profile" had none, they will not be referred to.

Table 4

	Which type of FTA (context) courteous words are trying to soften			
Program title	Gracias/Thank you	Por favor /Please	Lo siento/ I'm sorry	Excuse me/ Perdonar, Disculpar
Operación triunfo	SNFW 2		SNFW 2, HPFW 1	HPFW 1
Ésta es mi historia	SNFW 12 HNFW 1	HNFW 6	SPFW 3	HPFW 4 SNFW 5
Despierta América	SNFW 6			SNFW 1
Dinner for Five			SPFW 1	
A Baby Story	SNFW 6 HPFW 1			
A Wedding Story	SNFW 6			
Judge Mills Lane	SNFW 2	HNFW 1	SPFW 1	HPFW 1
Kids Say the Darndest Things	SNFW 2 HPFW 1	HNFW 2	SPFW 2	SPFW 1

As can be seen in the table above, the contexts for each of the politeness language chunks are similar across both languages. For example, when either English or Spanish speakers employed _please/por favor_, they did so for the same reasons, to save the negative face of the hearer. In each situation, the speaker was trying to control in some way the actions of the hearer – to get them to please listen, please sit down, et cetera. A similar result occurs in the use of _thank you/gracias_. It is mostly uttered to minimize the damage to the speaker's negative face wants: the speaker gives thanks to the hearer for something the hearer has done and now the speaker becomes a debtor of sorts. However, in both languages, this courteous language chunk is used sarcastically. In this instance the positive face wants of the hearer are threatened because the speaker has done something to potentially embarrass the hearer. Thus, to minimize the damage, the hearer retorts with a facetious _thank you_ to "stick up" for him/herself. The results recorded are

similar for the other politeness terms as well; both languages seem to employ the terms in the same contexts.

As mentioned, politeness-word usage may not be different across the languages, but across situations. The happy, upbeat, non-confrontational style shows -- "Despierta América," "A Baby Story" and "A Wedding Story" – all exhibit FTAs that threaten the speaker's negative face. No debate appears here; no one threatens the face of their partner in conversation, only their own. The other style of show in the study is that of the polemic: "Ésta es mi historia," "Operación triunfo," "Kids Say the Darndest Things" and "Judge Mills Lane." The FTAs shown in these programs include all four types of FTAs. Due to the discussion and argumentative format of this group, all manner of threatening occurs in their samples.

3.2.4 Conclusion of first pilot study

In conclusion, this set of data does not show that English speakers use politeness words more often than Spanish speakers. Spanish speakers, at least in the show "Ésta es mi historia," are shown to employ them more; however, program choice may have been a factor concerning the incidence of those particular courtesy words. Spanish and English television programs can be compared for the occurrence of face-threatening acts according to the programs' format and style. Where debate is encouraged, face is threatened and more politeness phrases are observed to lessen those threats. As the corpus is small, a larger study is needed to conclude whether Spanish or English speakers choose to use these particular courteous words more often.

3.3 Pilot Study II: Politeness used to encourage disclosure in personal interviews

This second small study, also using the tools and terminology created by Brown and Levinson's politeness model, attempts to explain what type of politeness -- whether it be positive or negative -- is used in cross-cultural television interviews with celebrities. How does a talk-show host go about unearthing private information in a socially acceptable way? And, does the manner in which such an interviewer encourages answers change from culture to culture? Transcripts from Spanish and American talk shows are examined for instances of politeness devices. The devices are then identified and the words dedicated to each type of politeness device are counted, then compared to see which language employs which devices and how often.

3.3.1 Corpora

Larry King Live, a North American program, and La noche abierta, a Spanish program, offer a mirrored format: one interviewer welcomes one celebrity for each airing of the show. The topic is nearly always exclusively the personal life of the famous guest; polemic topics for the sake of scandal are not the focus of these programs.

A corpus of 4,748 words has been collected – Larry King Live with 2,596 words and La noche abierta with 2,152. Only the utterances of the interviewers -- Larry King and Pedro Ruiz, respectively -- are represented and counted in the corpus. In the North American English sample, Larry King interviewed the former wife of the late Elvis Presley, Priscilla Presley[31]. The Spanish section of the corpus was compiled from two interviews[32] with the same celebrity, Joan[33] Manuel Serrat, a famous Spanish man, a singer. Only part of the second Serrat interview is included, done to increase the Spanish

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[31] CNN, February 11, 2003 at 9:00pm
[32] TVE-I (Televisión española internacional), March 31, 1999 and March 6, 2003, both at 10:30pm.
[33] *Joan* is a popular man's name in Catalan, similar to English's *John*.

portion of the corpus enough to compare it to the English component of the sample.

However, as the word count is still not exactly equal between the English and Spanish

parts of the corpus, percentages are later offered to facilitate the comparison of the

findings.

3.3.2 Method

Both halves of the corpus were read to identify and categorize the tactics that

Larry King and Pedro Ruiz use to encourage their guests to share information. Several

obvious categories emerged: the flattering of the guest; the making of factual statements

to be affirmed by guest; the use of direct questioning and question tags; the making of

directive statements to lead guest and audience through the interview -- including

repetition of what guest has said to encourage them to continue; the offering of personal

information of the interviewer; the use of empathy or sympathy for what guest says; the

self-humbling of the host; and finally, also obvious was the use of humor. A few other

minor aspects will be noted as the data is observed. These categories and the utterances

within them are analyzed for their politeness strategies found in Brown and Levinson as

well as in other studies.

After categorizing main tactics, the words that contributed to each strategy in

English and Spanish were counted and compared to each other to see which culture

favored which methods of courteous "extraction." Some inferences can be made about

each culture due to their choices of certain politeness techniques.

3.3.3 Results

As requesting personal information seems like an imposition on the hearer, ample evidence of negative-politeness use[34] was expected. Surprisingly, a great deal less negative politeness is used compared to positive politeness[35] in the corpus.

Several phenomena in the interviews evidence this use of positive politeness. Ruiz and King make solidarity – the capstone of positive politeness -- their primary tool for extracting information. They show informality, closeness, humor, caring and sameness to their hearer, their guest celebrity, in several ways. They use language and topics that will identify them as members of the same group that their guests are in. Some sympathy and empathy is used, as well as references to past acquaintances and meetings. These are all devices used for positive politeness in the Brown and Levinson model. There is barely any negative politeness at all -- and it is only hinted at.

Table 5 below shows the uses of positive politeness in both programs, including the number of words dedicated to each device for each program. Some specific examples and a discussion of the differences in the employment of this type of courtesy appear afterwards.

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[34] In review, it is similar to the folk notion of politeness: formality, distance and politeness markers are used.
[35] Again, it is based on showing familiarity between the speakers – "my wants are your wants" and vice-versa.

Table 5

Mode of extracting information (creating a situation in which someone will share information)	Number of words dedicated to each type of utterance/extraction and percentage of all words uttered	
	Larry King Live (2,596 words total corpus)	La noche abierta (2,152 words total corpus)
Flattery/compliments	126 4.8%	102 4.7%
Direct questioning (and question tags w/ statements)	805 31%	336 15.6%
Statements to encourage guest through interview	213 8.2%	204 9.4%
State "facts" -- get confirmation from guest	516 19.8%	732 34%
Host offers own personal information and feelings	27 1%	125 5.8%
Shows sympathy, empathy, emotional intimacy w/ guest	289 11.1%	85 3.9%
Host humbles self	12 .04%	46 2.1%
Host uses dialect or language of guest	- -	12 .55%
Host uses humor	18 .6%	102 4.7%

3.3.3.1 Specific examples of positive politeness found in the Spanish corpus

Pedro Ruiz offers a strong example of showing his in-group status in his conversations with Serrat. Serrat is from Barcelona and therefore speaks Catalan in addition to Spanish. B&L state that one may use code-switching to show that s/he forms part of the hearer's in-group (1987, 110). Even though the interview is conducted in Castilian Spanish, Ruiz inserts some phrases in Catalan to show solidarity. "Bona nit[36]," he says when he begins the interview. Later, he even shows his knowledge of Serrat's culture by making an allusion to a certain Catalan tongue twister, "los 'Setze judges'" ["The Sixteen Judges"]. Serrat, charmed by this question, rattles off the tongue twister and then translates it for the audience before answering the question. Ruiz also uses Serrat's first name in Catalan, Joan, instead of Juan part way through the exchange. The choice Ruiz makes in using Serrat's first names instead of his last names or no name at

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[36] "Good evening" in Catalan.

all show his positive politeness; "reference to persons in families, companies and other

social organizations also depends on the relative insider/outsider status of the speaker and

the addressee" (1996, 621). Pedro Ruiz obviously has insider status – in-group status –

with Serrat. Ruiz clearly gains the confidence of Serrat with his in-group tactics – only

.5% of his words are in Catalan, but they earn big points for Ruiz with his guest.

The host of La noche abierta also shows solidarity with humor, light swearing and

bawdy topics. When Joan Manuel Serrat answers a question and inserts an expletive in

his utterance, Pedro Ruiz says, "me ha gustado el 'pero,coño'[37]". Ruiz points out the

expletive that Serrat used probably to highlight the relaxed atmosphere and for humor's

sake as well. Ruiz and Serrat share a laugh while talking about the strange venues that

Serrat has played. On one occasion, Serrat performed at a circus; several jokes,

encouraged by the interviewer as well, result from Serrat's comment that he learned a lot

from a female contortionist with whom he worked while at the circus. Also joked about

is when Serrat fell off a stage while singing during an important concert in Madrid.

Hay's (2000) study on humor states that teasing is "used in single-sex groups both to

create power and solidarity" (709). Ruiz is definitely creating solidarity with Serrat when

he teases him about his mishaps.

Another feature of the conversation on La noche abierta that shows positive

politeness is the choice of topics addressed. B&L offer that claiming common points of

view or knowledge shows solidarity (102). Pedro Ruiz asks several questions – and gets

thorough answers from Serrat – about family and normally seen-as-delicate topics. In

addition to talking about Serrat's marriage, they also talk about his children. Ruiz states,

awaiting clarification from Serrat, "cuando abrazas a tus hijos estás abrazando un trozo a

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[37] Translation: I like how you said "but, *&%#...." It could be translated as "Well, hell...."

tu madre y a tu padre."[38]. Ruiz and Serrat also discuss extensively their views on politics, and on feeling more Catalan or Spanish. These themes further prove an environment of closeness, of positive politeness.

Pedro Ruiz also shows his "sameness" to Joan Manuel Serrat by sharing some personal information about himself during the interview. The host comments on some pieces he's been reading and listening to lately, places he's been.... One of the most solidarity-raising things he mentions is a time when he and Serrat met previously when they were very young; he tells that the conversation they had that day about political power opened his eyes. Hay's (2000) study found that men are likely "to reminisce about shared experiences or highlight similarities to create solidarity" (709). This shows familiarity between Serrat and Ruiz because it is evidence that the two move or have moved in the same circles as well as have discussed profound topics in the past.

Pedro Ruiz uses both flattery and self-humbling to compliment Joan Manuel Serrat. Complimenting someone is also part of the realm of positive politeness. Haverkate (2002) reports that it enhances the positive face of the hearer and assumes solidarity (67). He gives Serrat several compliments; 4.7% of Ruiz's total words in the corpus are dedicated to flattery. One important example of this flattery is when Ruiz reports: "Un veinte por cien de las personas que se han sentado a charlar conmigo en estas temporadas han elegido canciones tuyas para anclar sus recuerdos en ellas.[39]" As this is a popular show, that is a gigantic compliment. Pedro Ruiz humbles himself by telling Serrat that he is giant, and that Pedro himself is nothing – which is not exactly true

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[38] Translation: "[You said that] when you hug your children you feel like you're hugging a piece of your mother and your father...."
[39] Translation: "20% of all the people that I've interviewed right here recently refer to your songs when they talk about their memories."

since he is also very famous. However, everything else about the exchange shows solidarity and is replete with positive politeness.

3.3.3.2 Specific examples of positive politeness found in the English corpus

Similarly, the host of <u>Larry King Live</u> exhibits many uses of positive politeness in the extraction of information from Priscilla Presley. An important show of solidarity comes from Larry King's displays of sympathy and empathy. B&L state that showing empathy is one of the many ways to "claim common ground" (102). While Presley discusses the difficulties in her marriage to Elvis Presley, King chimes in with statements such as "I could imagine a seventeen, eighteen-year-old might be a little thrilled at red carpets and paparazzi and..." as well as "you were an appendage." He listens to what she has to say and then reacts with kindness and understanding, encouraging her to divulge more. There are countless comments of this nature; 11.1% of all words uttered by Larry King during the interview make up phrases that deal with this focus – in the Spanish interview there was hardly any sympathy/empathy examples at all: total emotional comments by Ruiz were 3.9% of all his words uttered. However, this may be due to male-female gender roles in conversation on the set of <u>Larry King Live</u> instead of two males as in the Spanish interview. Perhaps it is also because Priscilla Presley has, in fact, had a difficult life and warrants sympathy. Or, it may be due to cultural differences in the arena of eliciting information from a hearer.

King and Presley show solidarity with the intimate topics they allow to be discussed. The host gets the guest to willingly share her difficulties in her marriage with Elvis, information about her children, her feelings, her work, her current love interest.... This is accomplished with King's "fact-giving" -- he appears to be an intimate expert on

Presley's life as he states fact after fact for her to affirm. Knowing this information makes him seem to be close to her; perhaps only a friend could know what he knows. Again, B&L address this as a claim to common ground -- having common knowledge shows similarity (102). "Okay, you married and almost a year later, you have a baby," and "But you were the tough mother and he was the soft father," King says, waiting for -- and successfully attaining -- additional information from his invited celebrity. His questions are also very personal, and Presley answers every one -- concerning her daughter, Lisa Marie, King asks "how did you handle when she got all that attention being married to Michael Jackson? How did you, as the mother, handle that?" The interviewer feels free to touch on these delicate topics without fear of redress. This tactic used by King gives the audience a feeling that these two are in the same in-group.

King, as Pedro Ruiz does, mentions his own personal bits, showing his comfort and certainty that his hearer cares about his points of view and experience. He comments on the last time he saw Priscilla Presley -- one of his few attempts at humor -- "I'll tell you how long ago that was. I was still smoking. I had had no heart problems." However, in his use of humor, he does not tease Presley at all. Perhaps this is due to what Hay (2000) discovered in her cross-gender study of humor: while teasing is used "in single-sex groups both to create power and solidarity, this behavior reduced markedly in mixed groups" (709). King only makes fun of himself and never of Presley. When discussing O.J. Simpson, Presley is an acquaintance of his from the set of "Naked Gun," they both talk of him as someone they know well. Having an acquaintance in common indicates "sameness." Presley and King talk about her acting in "Naked Gun" and he remarks, "I

still watch it and crack up." These interspersed personal perspectives and comments by King increase the feeling of solidarity between the two.

Flattery is also employed by Larry King on his talk show, but it "feels" different than the flattery of Pedro Ruiz. They compliment each of the stars about the same percentage of the dialogue, King uses 4.8% of his words to praise Priscilla Presley and Ruiz uses 4.7%. Presley receives compliments such as: "the very talented Priscilla Presley", "you were hysterical (in the movie 'Naked Gun')", "you have lead a singularly interesting life", "you're beautiful".... These short compliments are extremely flattering to Priscilla Presley, and they do create solidarity as B&L and Haverkate (2002) attest. Yet, they are less awe-inspiring for the audience than those uttered in the Serrat interview. Could it be because Larry King uses very little self-humility during this interview -- a lot less than Pedro Ruiz does? The amount of words he dedicates to lessening himself in the presence of Presley is .04%, a meager 12 words out of 2,596. Without the accompanying comments of self-modesty, the flattery doesn't make the audience feel the awe of Presley that we feel of Serrat. King's words of humility? "Your name is intimidating." This is repeated twice. Or perhaps, beneath the guise of solidarity, King really does feel distance from his guest. He can neither use too much humor nor too much self-deprecation.

3.3.4 Discussion

Obviously both programs -- both cultures -- use positive politeness to create an environment in which their celebrity guests are willing to share personal information. When observing how many words are dedicated to complimentary phrases, King and Ruiz have nearly identical scores: 4.8% and 4.7% of their total speech is given to flattery,

respectively. Concerning the statements and devices to successfully and comfortably guide a guest through an interview, Ruiz uses 9.4% of his words and King, 8.2%. As their task is similar, it does not seem strange that they end up even in those two areas.

There are many areas, however, in which King and Ruiz score very differently. King uses way more direct questions with Presley than Ruiz does with Serrat. A whopping 30% of everything King says is dedicated to the direct question or the question tag. Ruiz uses only 15.6% of his utterances for direct questions. When looking at the transcripts for both shows, there are some very striking visual differences that may speak to this questioning disparity: the <u>Larry King Live</u> transcript shows King and Presley giving short questions and short answers -- much like a tennis match. <u>La noche abierta's</u> transcript offers vast paragraphs where Ruiz talks and then inserts a question at the end which Serrat answers while musing for an extended time over several aspects of Ruiz's question. Díaz Plaja, as quoted by Haverkate says that the old saying "'el diálogo es un monólogo intercalado' ha nacido, probablemente, en España[40]" (2000, p. 70). It speaks to the long speech patterns of Spaniards. Larry King's direct questioning might also be more of a sign of committing a face-threatening act without redress -- meaning that he is being direct in the interest of time and getting "right down to" the questions.

As commented above in the "Results" section, Larry King uses more empathy and sympathy with Priscilla Presley than Ruiz does with Serrat. It may have to do with Presley's being a woman as well as truly having had a rough time in the spotlight all of her adult life as Elvis' wife. King uses 11.1% of his comments for this and Ruiz only dedicates 3.9% of his to showing sympathy or empathy.

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[40] Translation: "'A dialogue is a monologue inserted within another monologue' probably originated in Spain."

The next several device "scores" show that Pedro Ruiz employed more solidarity in these areas than Larry King. For example, Ruiz shows facts about Serrat's life as common knowledge when he uses 34% of the conversation to present them, while King only uses 19.8% for this task. King only offers some personal information during a tiny 1% of his dialogue whereas Ruiz gives 5.8% of his words to his own personal comments. Ruiz "lays himself on the line" by being very personal and giving 2.1% of his talk to self-humbling commentary and King only uses .04% in this area. Ruiz is able to show solidarity by using Serrat's first language, if only for .55% of all of his utterances, but clearly, King is unable to do this, 0%. And finally, another notable inequality in the data is that which deals with humor -- King only offers us .6% but Ruiz gives us 4.7%.

There may be a reason for all of this. Even though Larry King Live is not a British program, it does share the language and partially shares cultural norms with Britain. Sifianou, as quoted by Haverkate (2002), states that "Britain tends to be a negative politeness society whereas Spain tends toward positive politeness" (61). Also commented on in Haverkate: "Spaniards are more tolerant of, or less sensitive to, intrusions on their privacy..." (68). So, perhaps Spain does live up to its image as an extremely positive culture concerning politeness devices.

3.3.5 Conclusion of second pilot study

The results of the study show that both American English and Castilian Spanish personal interviews employ positive politeness to get information from the interviewees. However, it should be noted that the Spanish corpus yielded somewhat higher incidences of solidarity-based positive politeness devices than the English one. A larger study with

more samples is necessary to make a stronger claim concerning the use of positive politeness in these types of situations.

3.4 Pilot Study III: Examining verbs used for courtesy in political discussions

In this study, American English and Mexican Spanish political discussions are examined for their use of negative politeness, specifically for their employment of modal verbs in English and the conditional tense in Spanish. These types of verbs create formality in a conversation and appeal to the negative face of an addressee; they make a higher, more distant, register. The more a verb is removed from the present tense, the more indirect the utterance becomes. Political discussions are chosen for this study because they are usually seen as formal, wrought with the "avoidance-based language," hence the term "political correctness." Political speech is so indirect that at times it seems that nothing at all is said. Therefore, a high incidence of these types of verbs in both corpora is expected; although contrasts across the language samples are likely.

3.4.1 Background on politeness through verb manipulation

B&L discuss indirect requests and statements, also known as indirect speech acts. As mentioned above, one of the ways to make a statement/request more indirect is to manipulate a verb further away from the indicative, present tense. They say "where [the speaker] is trying to be maximally negatively polite," he will use certain types of utterances – Brown and Levinson go on to list a number of speech acts, from most negatively polite to least. The most negatively polite utterances all contain past modals; those that are still considered as in the camp of negative politeness but somewhat less imposing contain present modals. Finally, those that are the least negatively polite are presented as imperative statements (142-143). This is also the case when they offer

examples in other languages: conditional tenses that show up as modals in English are seen in their most negatively polite statements and requests as well.

The B&L politeness device that explains the use of these modals and conditionals to show negative politeness is "Be pessimistic" (173). When requesting something from someone in a situation in which one must appeal to the hearer's negative face, the speaker should ask as if it may not be possible to get the requested item or information. This says to the hearer that the speaker understands the hearer's right to refuse and that the refusal is probable -- even if it is really not probable. The past modals or the conditional tense in other languages offer the hearer a less-than-probable view of the situation, appealing to their want to be unimpeded.

3.4.1.1 English verb manipulation to indicate politeness

In English, then, we often use modals to show distance. Greenbaum and Quirk (1990) give an overview of which modals are used for politeness and why. Can and could are used for polite requests, with could, as it is traditionally seen as the "past" of can, being more (negatively) polite because its "pastness" gives the request more distance. "Can we borrow these books from the library?" is polite, but "Could we borrow these books?" is even more so because of the distance the past creates (60). May and might are also used for politeness' sake. These are also employed for requests as well as offerings. "May I ask whether you are using the typewriter?" is less formal than, "Might I ask whether you are using the typewriter?" (61), but both are used for courteous requests. Once again, the "past" form of may shows more distance. Another important "set" of modals that shows politeness is the will/would set. Greenbaum and Quirk explain that these two are used to question the "willingness" of a hearer when making a

request. "Would you help me?" again has "greater politeness" than "Will you help me?" (64). They further explain that could, might and would are used for "tentative permission," ("Could I see your newspaper?") "tentative volition" ("Would you help me?") and "in polite directives and requests" ("Could you open the door?") (66). Both the present and past notions of these modals can be used in formal situations; the past of each of these modals is formal to a more severe degree.

3.4.1.2 Spanish verb manipulation to indicate politeness

In Spanish, a similar phenomenon occurs. "The conditional can be used to express politeness, as in English." A guest is offered coffee after a meal and he replies, "Gracias, pero preferiría algún licor dulce[41]" (de Bruyne, 1995, 452). A standard way to begin a request in varieties of Spanish other than Castilian is: "Me gustaría...[42]". Another often-used verb in the conditional for motives of politeness is *poder*, to be able to. "¿Podría decirme la hora?[43]", "¿Podría ayudarme con esto?" are two examples of this type of construction. The main difference between the English and Spanish conditional obviously is that English accomplishes it with a modal verb in front of the main verb – as with "would" or "could" -- and Spanish does so by adding a subject-specific form ending to the stem of the verb.

An additional way of making a polite request or statement in Spanish is to use the imperfect subjunctive of the verb *querer*, to want. When formed and used in formal, polite instances, its meaning transforms into "would like" – "quisiera" for the first person singular form. Employed in speech, a sentence with *querer* used this way might look

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[41] Translation: "Thanks, but I would prefer a (sweet) liquor."
[42] Translation: "I would like...."
[43] Translation: "Could you tell me the time?" "Could you help me with this?"

like: "Quisiera un bocadillo[44]". Using the subjunctive for this polite request removes the speaker further from the hearer by using such a verb tense.

3.4.2 Corpora

Two corpora – one in American English and one in Mexican Spanish – from transcribed political interviews are analyzed for their negative politeness verb use.

3.4.2.1 The English corpus

The English sample comes from a Fox television network program *Your World with Neil Cavuto*. All of the interviews include Cavuto interviewing one or more American politicians. Some interviewees worthy of mention that form part of the corpus are: Rick Santorum, Barney Frank, John McCain and Bill Richardson. All of the interviews come from the early months of 2003. 15,225 words make up the corpus. Among the topics are the war on Iraq, relations with the French, and taxes.

3.4.2.2 The Spanish corpus

The Spanish corpus for the study was likewise collected from a series of transcripts of Mexican political interviews posted on the Internet. Most of this sample came from public interviews by the media with Governor Ricardo Monreal Ávila and the director of social programs Benjamín González Roaro. Mexican Spanish was chosen over Castilian Spanish for this study as Mexican Spanish speech is expected to generate more occurrences of negative politeness conditional verb use than the Castilian variety. The interviews come from various dates in 2001 and 2002. The corpus contains 15,931 words. The major topics are all socially based: aid for an area of natural disaster, local holidays, pensions, social security and the like.

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[44] Translation: "I would like a sandwich."

3.4.3 Method and analysis

Using Microsoft Word 2000's "Find" feature, the chosen modal verbs that can be used for negative politeness were searched in the English corpus. Each context was read to determine if the modal was used to show politeness. The occurrence of each modal used for politeness was noted and counted. The modals researched were: will, would, can, could, may, and might. In the same manner, verbs using the conditional tense endings in the Spanish corpus were searched, studied for context, counted and noted. Also searched was the imperfect subjunctive form of querer – quisiera – used also in situations of politeness.

3.4.4 Results

Surprisingly, neither corpus yielded many "hits" for either type of verbal politeness. See the following sections for language-specific results.

3.4.4.1 Results for the English corpus

As seen below in Table 6, the English modals were employed several times by the speakers in the corpus, yet only ten instances yielded their use for the sake of politeness. Two of the instances where the modals are used for politeness do not count – see the "may" category. As one can tell by reading the context, these occurrences were written and not spoken utterances. They appear at the end of each transcribed interview in the fine print. So, technically, there are only eight occurrences of modal usage for politeness in the English corpus. Most of the 132 uses were employed when a politician was discussing the ability or probability of something happening. For example, Paul O'Neill says, "I think only a president <u>can</u> put that premise down." or when Rick Santorum offers a sentence having an if-then orientation "I <u>would</u> not be at all disappointed if we didn't

get the entire low for the president's tax bill." Many of the instances considered as polite

obviously also form parts of an incomplete if-then statement; however, they are uttered to

soften the communication of a want -- see the contexts of the "would" uses. Still, the

speakers' intentions could be, at times, merely to use an if-then structure rather than to be

polite -- making it all the more dubious that the use of modals in political discussions in

English are present for politeness purposes.

Table 6
English modals used for politeness utterances in a 15,225-word corpus

Modal	No. of occurrences	No. of times used in context of politeness	The context:
can	28	1	"If I can finish my thought..." (polite interruption)
could	7	0	
may	15	2	"This material may not be published..." "Only one copy may be printed."
might	3	0	
will	35	0	
would	44	7	"All of us would like more help from the federal government." "Would I like more?" "I would like to see us permanently abolish the capital gains tax." "Not as quickly as I would like." "...what a friend he is and what I would like to do to him." "I would hope ...that within a couple of days someone is going to come forward." "...you would allow...."

3.4.4.2 Results for the Spanish corpus

Likewise, the Mexican Spanish corpus showed very few uses of the conditional

nor the past subjunctive of querer for politeness purposes; see Table 7. Actually, very

little of the conditional was even employed no matter what the reason -- only fourteen

"hits" for the conditional out of nearly 16,000 words and only two out of the fourteen

instances of conditional use yielded politeness-oriented statements. Most of the

conditional utterances, as in English, were due to if-then constructions, i.e. "Sería bueno

que estableciéramos un convenio con alguna universidad,[45]" says Dr. Claudia

Sheinbaum. Others appeared in statements that had to do with uncertainty or

approximation. Also, as far as *quisiera* is concerned, only two appeared and only one

instance was used as a politeness device.

Table 7
Spanish Conditionals/quisiera used for polite utterances in a 15,931-word corpus

verb type	No. of occurrences	No. of times used in context of politeness	The context:
conditional	14	2	"¿Podría profundizar más sobre este proyecto?" ("Could you be more specific about the project?") "¿Nos podría comentar respecto a...?" ("Could you comment for us about the...?")
quisiera	2	1	"Yo no quisiera decir que es el Sindicato...." ("I wouldn't like to say that it's the union....")

3.4.5 Discussion

Very few conditional or modal verbs were used for reasons of politeness in either

language. The findings suggest that negative politeness is not favored in political

discussions, or at very least the manipulation of verb formation to show politeness is not

preferred. Why, in such formal situations, was more negative politeness not shown via

distance in verb usage in these two cultures? Some possible answers as well as future

questions to be explored follow:

An answer may be found if the situation is framed within the fundamentals of

Cognitive Grammar (2003). "Many indirect ways of speaking have become so routinized

that we hardly notice their underlying implicature any more" (45). This is called the

"grammaticalization" of a piece of language or a way of using language. The creators of

Cognitive Grammar even comment on the use of modals for the sake of politeness as

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[45] Translation: "It would be good if we established an agreement with a university."

something that is becoming grammaticalized. As we use conditionals/modals so frequently to show indirectness, deference, negative politeness, we are probably starting to experience something akin to semantic satiation – these words no longer have the meaning they used to. Therefore, it may not matter to us as we speak if we use a direct or indirect utterance when requesting something – especially something so seemingly easy to give and receive as information during an already agreed-upon conversation.

Henk Haverkate (1979) also speaks to this phenomenon, but concerning Spanish. He says that if an utterance specifies what the speaker wants the hearer to do, while including the hearer in some way syntactically in the request/statement, that it is a direct request no matter how much hedging and conditional tenses you use. If it's obvious what is wanted and who is being called upon to do it, Haverkate says that a Spanish speaker will see it as a direct request in all of its forms (101-102). Perhaps the speakers in the study are unconsciously aware of this. They may favor a direct approach as they know they will probably be seen in the same light no matter how their utterance is framed.

Even though the difference is slight in this study, there may be another reason why there are fewer uses of the conditional in the Spanish sample. Le Pair's (1996) study shows that "Spanish native speakers tend to use more direct strategies than" nonnative speakers (651). Sifianou (2000) also chimes in with a similar observation: "Britain tends to be a negative politeness society whereas Spain tends towards positive politeness" (229). Although we are dealing with American English and Mexican Spanish in this study, there are bound to be some similarities due to the cultures using the same language systems to which Sifianou refers.

Some other ideas to consider are that politicians may use more direct language so that they might seem more truthful. Perhaps using conditional statements weakens their information or arguments somewhat. Or, are they trying to promote solidarity between themselves and their hearers – the voters? Using less formal language would promote positive politeness and therefore an appearance of "sameness" between speaker and hearer. Another possibility is that a politician may want to show his powerful position with his language. He could use direct language to show that he is in charge, that he does not care about polite convention because he is above the rules of formal discussion.

Likewise, those asking the questions are also included in the study and use very little distance with their verbs. Are they trying to "pin down" the politicians with their direct language usage? Or, do they speak directly in the interest of time? Maybe those posing the questions want to be clear with what they're asking; they want a direct answer, so they ask a direct question. Are they trying to use solidarity to get all of their requests for information satisfied? There are many possible interpretations.

3.4.6 Conclusion of third pilot study

If the results show that this manipulation of verbs to show politeness is fading, why do we hear so many clients and patrons ordering meals and asking for information at the doctor's office with such negatively polite utterances? Are they merely language chunks that our brains have "grammaticalized" and now always use? Do we think to ourselves, "this is the way we order a meal.... I would like X. Could I have that prepared like X?" Or, "this is the way we make an appointment.... I would like to make an appointment...." In a lengthy interview such as these shown in the corpora, it appears that showing distance with the mood of the verbs in utterances in long, public conversation

may be diminishing. Or, perhaps, this is only occurring in the political realm. Studies

focusing on other types of public exchanges may yield different results.

3.5 Conclusion, discussion of three pilot studies

In the three pilot studies above, similar situations in English and Spanish are

analyzed and compared for incidence of politeness devices as presented by the B&L

model. In the first study, Spanish speakers employ courteous language chunks more

often than English speakers in natural-language television shows. In the second, both

Spanish and English interviewers use a great deal of positive politeness to get

information from their interviewees, but the Spanish interviewer uses more solidarity-

based devices than the English one. Finally, in the third study, the English speakers use

more negative politeness in their verb form choices, although neither the Spanish nor the

English samples yield high incidence of distance created through verb use. According to

these studies, there is not a large disparity between the way that English speakers and

Spanish speakers employ politeness devices to communicate. However, the corpora for

each study are rather small and several factors must be considered in understanding the

results of each. A study with large corpora investigating the differences between English

and Spanish politeness-device use is necessary before making any claims.

4 Corpora and method of data collection

This study requires that the corpora have several characteristics. Each has to have a large number of words in order for this investigation to make valid claims about the findings. Both have to either be limited to one variety of the language, or have the potential to limit searches to one variety. As English and Spanish are spoken in several different regions of the world, a corpus with various dialects would skew the cultural conclusions drawn in the study -- in review, in the case of this specific project, American English and Peninsular Spanish are examined. The language shown in the corpus has to be oral, i.e. not derived from literary sources, and spontaneous, or, in other words, unscripted. In addition to these parameters, the corpora must be easily accessible. Easy searches with the ability to view each "hit" that the search returns is also important; several politeness phrases can be used for other conversational goals and at times these phrases must be examined in each context to determine whether they are being used for courtesy or not. For this study, the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English and the Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual are used.

4.1 English corpus, the MiCASE

4.1.1 Background

The English corpus used for this project is the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English, or the MiCASE. Recordings were collected and transcribed by the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan; the Institute continues to update the corpus as well as maintain the technical sites associated with it. The contents of the corpus come from speakers on the University campus -- 160 faculty and 1,039

students are represented in the transcriptions. The number of students speaking is distributed equally across graduate and undergraduate levels.

The speech of the students and faculty in this corpus was collected between 1997 and 2001. Conversations were taped in several arenas: advising, colloquia, discussion sessions, dissertation defenses, interviews, labs, large and small lectures, meetings, office hours, study groups, seminars, student presentations, tours, service encounters and informal, conversational speech on the campus. The corpus that is currently accessible publicly on-line totals 1,848,364 words -- almost 200 hours of recorded speech.

The aim of the University of Michigan's English Language Institute in creating this corpus is chiefly to see if university students change the way they speak as they continue to do coursework over time. In addition to this goal, the corpus is designed for accessibility for those researching various linguistic queries. The corpus is available online[46] in an easy-to-search format. Searches can be limited by several categories including: speech event type; topic -- academic and otherwise; type of speakers/participants -- by gender, education level, age, whether they are native speakers or not; and finally, by the type of exchange had -- monologue, two-way conversation, et cetera. However, for this study, I am only concerned with frequency of use in general and do not need to search using these parameters.

4.1.2 Limitations of this corpus

The main limitation of this corpus is the semi-homogeneous nature of its source -- the speakers are all found in a university setting. However, many of the entries are of informal, outside-of-classroom conversations. Also, all the recordings were made exclusively at the University of Michigan, so the dialect of English spoken is somewhat

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[46] http://www.lsa.umich.edu/eli/micase/index.htm, also http://www.hti.umich.edu/m/micase

limited. Nevertheless, many students and faculty at the University are from different

areas of the country and in some cases, different areas of the world, broadening the scope

of the types of English encountered in this corpus.

4.2 Spanish corpus, the CREA

4.2.1 Background

The Spanish corpus used for this study is the Corpus de Referencia del Español

Actual (CREA). This is a collection of contemporary Spanish offered by the Real

Academia Española (RAE). The corpus contains material from both written and oral

sources beginning from 1975 to the present. The written section of the corpus is made up

of some 5000 works, totaling almost 170 million words. The sources that form this part

come from periodicals, books and a small amount from unpublished writings (2%).

Searches can be limited chronologically, by country of origin, and topic. For this

particular study, however, only the oral component of the CREA will be used.

The oral part of the CREA contains 9 million words, half of which come from

Peninsular Spanish. The sources for this section come from radio and television, public

materials on the internet and from taped, spontaneous conversations from around the

Spanish-speaking world. Collections have been made since 1975 continuing up to the

present time. Some Spanish-language oral corpora have been assumed into the larger

CREA, including several Latin-American Spanish sources[47]. As the present paper is

concerned only with Peninsular Spanish, these corpora assimilated into the CREA will be

represented in the study: the ACUAH, a corpus of conversation analysis from the

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[47]The Latin American corpora represented in the CREA are the Caracas-77 and Caracas-87, corpora resulting from a sociolinguistic study done in Caracas in 1977 and 1987; the CEAP, a corpus of spoken surveys done in Asunción, Paraguay; the CSMV, a sociolinguistic corpus of Spanish from Mérida, Venezuela; and the ALFAL, an oral corpus of the Spanish used in the principal cities of the Hispanic world, compiled by the Association of Latin American Linguistics and Philology.

University of Alcalá de Henares (Madrid province); the COVJA, the oral corpus of the variety of Spanish spoken by university students in Alicante; the CSC, the corpus for the study of Spanish spoken in Santiago de Compostela; and finally, the UAM corpus, reference corpus for contemporary oral Spanish compiled by the Autónoma University of Madrid. Searches can be limited to these oral sources only; topic and type of television or radio program, geographical perimeters can be set as well. This particular study is concerned with natural-language oral sources for Peninsular Spanish. The contents of the oral, Peninsular Spanish portion of the corpus come from exchanges in university classrooms and informal conversations, as well as some from television and radio programs. However, this study will not use the television and radio segments and they will be omitted. What is used here are only the sections that correspond to the geographical limitation of "Spain," ("España"), "Oral," and "other recordings" (otras grabaciones") -- which only includes spontaneous, spoken Peninsular Spanish and therefore does not include transcripts of broadcasts of any kind. This portion of the corpus that will be used contains 942,934 words. The files important to this study are grouped into the following situations to initiate a search: formality -- high or low, audience -- interlocutor or listener, and channel -- face to face or "other." Results then are reported with the specific situation and speaker-type included. For this investigation, I do not filter the searches based on the formality or role of the speakers' situations.

The main purpose of the RAE in making the CREA corpus so widely available is to further the linguistic study of Spanish. In addition to linguistics research, the corpus is useful in the making of dictionaries, thesauruses, et cetera, as items can be searched for things such as concordance, geographic use and frequency. It is the largest corpus of

Spanish to date. The entire corpus is accessible online[48]. Searches can be limited by media, topic, geography, year, author/speaker as well as the name of a work -- whether it be oral or written.

4.2.2 Limitations of this corpus

The chief limitation of this corpus is that the samples were not collected by a single agency, possibly making the validity of them less stable. But, the size, organization and accessibility of the corpus outweigh the potential collection problems of the samples. Another possible problem for this study is that even though most of the oral language comes from academic sources, not all of it does. Also, the section of this corpus that will be used has 50% the size of the English one being used: almost 1,000,000 compared to the English corpora's almost 2,000,000 words. This creates a disparity between the MiCASE corpus and the CREA, although these two are the best possible match to be found currently. These factors are considered in the discussion chapters below.

4.3 Why the above corpora are appropriate for this study

The MiCASE and the CREA are appropriate for this study because they are -- in the majority of the samples -- corpora of natural, real-world language use. This study's goal is to review the number of politeness devices used spontaneously, not in scripted situations. Also important is the fact that the MiCASE is strictly of American English and the CREA can be limited to search Spanish only spoken in Spain -- the research here is concerned with comparing American English and Peninsular Spanish. To compare all dialects and types of world English with all the varieties of world Spanish would likely

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[48] http://www.rae.es/ or http://corpus.rae.es/creanet.html

yield inconclusive results; even though the same language is spoken in different areas, cultural variations undoubtedly affect the way language is used, politeness usage included. Therefore, limiting the study to two single cultures is important. Also, the size of both corpora is substantial enough to make some claims about the use of politeness devices in both cultures. As seen in the pilot studies, results are less conclusive with a smaller sample. Both corpora are also easily accessed and searches can be limited for specific characteristics.

4.4 Methodology for study

Brown and Levinson's strategies for both positive and negative politeness were reviewed. As per their examples in the text, searchable examples and other phrases fitting those strategies' criteria were chosen in English. Corresponding Spanish words and phrases were chosen that also fit those strategies -- B&L do not offer many examples in Spanish, mostly English, Tamil and Tzeltal. Some were direct translations, but many were chosen for their seemingly-parallel usage and meaning. For a few strategies this is not possible[49]. "Searchable phrases" means that those phrases chosen for each strategy are conventionalized to the point that they are frequently used in the cultures to signify polite behavior by what can be deemed as "model persons" (see chapter 2, section 2.2.1), or, more simply, the general public.

After generating a list of conventionalized, courteous phrases, both corpora are searched for the frequency of those phrases. For certain words or groups of words that have multiple uses, each context has to be examined to assure that only those situations in which the word is being used for politeness´ sake are counted. For example, the word "man," sometimes used to address a familiar to create solidarity (positive politeness), can

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[49] The case of T/V pronouns, for example, cannot be explored in both languages, only in Spanish.

also be used simply to refer to an adult male. The "adult male" reference cannot be counted here as a plea for solidarity; only those results such as, "hey, man, what did you get on that exam?" can be counted.

In the event that the results of the search for a polite language utterance are too large to examine the context for each "hit," the first 100 returns are examined singularly for politeness and counted. The percentage of the entire result is then calculated based on the number of polite phrases found in these first 100. For example, the word *just* in English is very commonly used to minimize an imposition when asking something of H, as in "I just need to talk to you for a second." However, it is also used in other situations (i.e., as the adjective "fair" or the adverbs "simply" or "merely" in cases other than polite ones). When searched, 9,404 for *just* hits are returned. To avoid examining every hit for courtesy, the first 100 hits of the search term are read; the amount of the exchanges using *just* for S´s minimizing of an imposition are counted -- in this case there were 12 of the first 100 that were polite. So, the extrapolated amount of *just* hits used for courtesy becomes 1,128, or 12% of the total. To show the statistical validity of this practice, two other random groupings of 100 hits for that same term will also be examined and reported. Chi-squared is applied to these numbers to show if they are statistically different from the first 100 hits counted. Each case of this is clearly noted in the report of the data in chapter 5 and in Appendix A.

For the MiCASE English corpus, to conduct the searches for this study, one merely has to introduce the phrase s/he is looking for and the results are analyzed. However, for the Spanish corpus a couple of modifications must be made to carry out similar searches. The CREA is case sensitive, so the phrases have to be searched both in

their upper-case and lower-case form and then added together. Also, since the searches had to be limited geographically and characteristically, "España" for geography, "Oral" for type of source and "Otras grabaciones" each have to be selected before introducing a search term.

The results for each politeness strategy are presented by the number of returns for each search term as well as the percentage of the corpora that the search term makes up. For example, the filler words in Spanish *o sea* -- a commonly used form of hedging -- appear 3,410 times in the CREA corpus. The number of words in the section of the CREA corpus this study uses contains 942,934 words. 3,410 is divided by 942,934 and multiplied by 100 to get the percentage this phrase holds of the total size of the corpus, which is .36%. What appears in the tables for the *o sea* entry is the number of times it shows up in the corpus, 3,410, as well as its percentage of the corpus. These percentages, in turn, are now ready to be compared with data from the other language, because they are now seen on a comparable scale: what percentage of the corpora they make up.

After calculations are complete, each strategy's percentage is compared with the other language's results. A discussion of the results and relevant research is also presented.

5 Results and specific discussion of politeness strategies researched

This chapter will outline the politeness strategies -- both positive and negative, in English and in Spanish -- that are searchable in the corpora. B&L's criteria for each type of strategy dictate the inclusion of these courteous phrases appearing below. The search results for these constructions are shown accompanied by a short, specific discussion of the outcome for each section. A global discussion on the use of positive and negative politeness devices in American English and Peninsular Spanish occurs in the following chapter.

5.1 Positive politeness devices

In review, according to the B&L model, positive politeness deals with "redress directed to the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that his wants...should be thought of as desirable" (101). Using positive politeness is not restricted to the face-threatening act (FTA) at hand, but is extended to the whole exchange, possibly the whole relationship. However, B&L recognize that the difference between everyday, friendly behavior and positive politeness is in the exaggeration of those everyday exchanges. Most of the strategies for using positive politeness, highlighted earlier in chapter 2, are examined here. Those positive-politeness strategies not appearing below do not lend themselves to searches using such large corpora[50].

5.1.1 Strategy 1: "Notice, attend to H (interests, wants, goods, needs)"

This refers to S taking notice of anything concerning H's condition. It can apply to acknowledging that H is wearing something new, that H has painted his house or that

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[50] Positive politeness strategies not included in the study: Strategy 7: "presuppose/raise/assert common ground;" Strategy 8: "joke;" Strategy 9: "assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants;" Strategy 11: "be optimistic;" Strategy 14: "assume or assert reciprocity," and Strategy 15: "give gifts to H."

H is hungry or has a cold and may need something due to his condition. This strategy might include such social habits as: greeting and taking leave from someone -- noticing H's presence or absence -- and thus, his/her condition; inquiring about how H may be feeling; and also wishing H well, attending to H's desire to be well. Here, as only searchable -- and therefore, fixed -- language chunks are included, we examine greetings, departures, blessings after a sneeze, asking how H is and wishing H well.

5.1.1.1 Greetings and goodbyes

S, to acknowledge H's presence, greets H. In the same way, when H or S departs, S makes sure to take leave from H. When we are in a social situation and see someone we know and s/he does not greet us, we assume that person is angry with us, does not see us or is simply rude. The same happens when S departs: failing to say goodbye to someone with whom S has any level of familiarity before leaving would be perceived similarly by H. To preserve a feeling of solidarity with H, S must acknowledge H's presence with these openings and closings.

In American English and Peninsular Spanish, as there is no elaborate code of honorifics nor lengthy formulas for opening and departing exchanges, the comparison of such vocabulary below is more or less direct. The language chosen is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Greetings and Goodbyes

Greetings					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Hello	40	.0022%	Hola [Hello]	128	.014%
Hi	192	.0104%	Buenos días [Good morning]	23	.002%
Good morning	4	.0002%	Buenos, Muy buenos [contracted form of good morning]	2	.0002%
Good afternoon	4	.0002%	Buenas tardes [Good afternoon]	23	.002%
Good evening	2	.0001%	Buenas, Muy buenas [contracted form of good afternoon or good evening/night]	9	.001%
Good night	1	.00005%	Buenas noches [Good evening/night]	5	.0005%
TOTALS FOR GREETINGS	243	.013%		190	.020%
Leave-taking					
Goodbye	19	.001%	Adiós [Goodbye]	52	.006%
See you later	6	.0003%	Hasta luego [See you later]	119	.013%
'Bye	60	.003%	Hasta mañana [See you tomorrow]	10	.001%
TOTALS FOR GOODBYES	85	.0045%		181	.019%

5.1.1.2 Blessings

Just as greetings and goodbyes acknowledge H's presence and absence, S's blessings in response to a sneeze shows notice of -- and interest in -- H's health. Table 2 below highlights some phrases that both cultures use to respond to a sneeze in a polite way that is positive. It is observed that in both cultures this is an "optional" nicety, but one that displays concern for H, heightening solidarity between S and H.

Table 2: Blessings following a Sneeze

Blessings					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Bless you	16	.0009%	Jesús	1	.0001%
Gesundheit	1	.00005%	Salud [Health]	1	.0001%
TOTALS	17	.0009%		2	.0002%

5.1.1.3 Inquiring into the condition of H

When S addresses H's condition by asking how s/he is feeling, or how H's situation is affecting him/her, S attends to H's desire to feel that his/her condition is important to others. S clearly shows care for H's circumstances, making it possible for H to feel included and cared for. Several common utterances from both cultures inquiring about one's situation appear in Table 3.

Table 3: Requesting information about H's condition

Inquiring into H's condition and situation					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
How are you?	35	.002%	¿Cómo estás? [How are you?] ¿Cómo está (Ud.)? ¿Cómo estáis? ¿Cómo están (Uds.)?	11	.001%
How's it going?	4	.0002%	¿Qué tal? [How's it going?]	60	.006%
How are you doing?	11	.0006%	¿Cómo te va? [How's it going for you?] ¿Cómo le va (a Ud.)? ¿Cómo os va? ¿Cómo les va (a Uds.)?	1	.0001%
What's up?	14	.0008%	¿Qué hay? [What's up?]	5	.0005%
TOTALS	64	.0034%		77	.0081%

5.1.1.4 Wishing H well

Well-wishing in both Peninsular Spanish and American English is very common on taking leave from a familiar. The statements below in Table 4 illustrate S's attendance to H's interest and want for future things to be positive.

Table 4: Well-wishing when taking leave of H

Well-wishing					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Have a good day!	3	.0002%	[Wish you well!] ¡Que te vaya bien! ¡Que le vaya bien! ¡Que os vaya bien! ¡Que les vaya bien!	2	.0002%
Have fun! Have a good time!	5	.0003%	[Have fun!] ¡Que lo pases bien! ¡Que lo pase bien (Ud.)! ¡Que lo paséis bien! ¡Que lo pasen bien (Uds.)! Que te diviertas Que se divierta (Ud.) Que os divertáis Que se diviertan (Uds.)	0 2	0 .0002%
Good luck.	12	.0006%	Suerte - Buena suerte [Good luck!]	1	.0001%
Be careful.	9	.0005%	Cuidado [Careful.]	44	.005%
TOTALS	29	.0016%		49	.0052%

5.1.1.5 Discussion of Strategy 1 results

Upon reviewing the above data for strategy 1, a trend is noted. For all sections except one, the Spanish groups of phrases rank higher. As there are many sections to review for this strategy, the results are shown below in Table A.

Table A: Results of Strategy 1

Specific Strategy	English Results in % of corpus	Spanish Results in % of corpus
Greetings	.013%	.020%
Goodbyes	.0045%	.019%
Blessing	.0009%	.0002%
Inquiring into H's condition	.0034%	.0081%
Wishing H well	.0016%	.0052%
TOTALS Strategy 1	.0234%	.0525%

As seen above, the percentage of phrases in the Spanish CREA corpus that are dedicated to 'noticing and attending to H' is double that of the phrases used for the same purpose in

the English MiCASE corpus. "Blessings" after sneezes is the only category where American English indicates more occurrences, yet the number of hits for *bless you* and *gesundheit* are few as well.

Conspicuously, well-wishing did not appear many times in either corpora[51]. However, the data above indicate that Spanish employs more. Dumitrescu (2004) offers that such phrases are "a strong marker of solidarity among the members of communities that share a system of cultural values" ["un fuerte marcador de solidaridad entre los miembros de las comunidades que comparten un sistema de valores culturales"] (265). We might argue here that Spain displays more tendencies toward social solidarity than the United States, even though the instances of well-wishing in either country are both few. In Félix-Brasdefer's (2004) study of invitation refusals between Latin American Spanish speakers and American English speakers, however, the English speakers used more well-wishing strategies than the Spanish speakers, but not many more; English speakers used them 2.7% of the time they used a politeness strategy, and for the Spanish speakers, 1.7% of their courtesy was dedicated to them in his study.

The search for greetings in the CREA and the MiCASE brought similar results, although Spanish speakers use them somewhat more often. It is interesting to note while we use greetings in most social situations -- especially among our familiars -- that greetings began as a way of showing inferiority or deference, something embedded completely into the realm of negative politeness[52]. There are many motivations behind

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[51] Dumitrescu (2004) reports creating her own corpus via questionnaires to find out the well-wishing habits of Spanish-speakers after searching through larger corpora of colloquial Spanish. This may indicate the difficulty of finding naturally-occurring well-wishing utterances in already established corpora and also may explain the scarcity of incidents here.

[52] See Areiza Londoño and García Valencia (2003) for more on the history of greetings.

greeting someone; Areiza Londoño and García Valencia (2003) propose that greetings are either sincere or insincere -- those typified by strategic or protocol-oriented greetings -- according to the situation. Nevertheless, this study will not examine greetings in this way due to the nature of the corpora, but it is noted that not all greetings are strictly polite.

Results for goodbyes are markedly higher in Peninsular Spanish. A possible cultural reason for this disparity is that Spaniards often greet each other in passing with a goodbye phrase; where there is no time to talk, S and H will usually exchange an *adiós* or an *hasta luego*. When able to stop and talk, Spaniards use a greeting phrase instead to open their communication.

Inquiring into H's condition also does not yield a high number of incidents in either corpora, yet it should be noted that the Spanish corpus offers two times as many utterances dedicated to this tactic. Perhaps Spaniards, as they are typically seen as more solidary than English speakers, do not hesitate to "pry" into the lives of their familiars as much as an English speaker might hesitate to do so. The Spanish have been to known to point out or ask about characteristics of H's condition, both positive and negative, without pause. Asking why H's complexion is so acne-ridden today or why H might look so tired is not uncommon between Spaniards. However, equally common are compliments telling H how lovely she looks today or how fantastic her skin has cleared up since the last time the two friends met. H's condition is simply not off-limits in any way in the Spanish culture, whereas in English-speaking cultures speakers often employ more conservative ways of inquiring into their peers' personal situations.

5.1.2 Strategy 2: "Exaggerate (sympathy, interest, approval)"

When S listens to H talk about something, often s/he will respond with an exaggerated sympathy, interest or approval. S does this to establish that the two share a common perspective toward H's topic and this in turn implies that they belong to the same in-group. B&L report that this can be done with exaggerated intonation and stress but also with the "emphatic use of words or particles"(106). They cite a few examples in English of this strategy: "What a fantastic garden you have!" and "How absolutely devastating!" (105). The responses searched for strategy 2 below were chosen for their apparent exaggeration and their widespread use in either English or Spanish.

5.1.2.1 Exaggerating interest

S shows that s/he is very interested in what H has to say to suggest solidarity between the two. Below are three common exclamations in both languages that are often used to overstate interest.

Table 5: Showing interest in H's previous statement

Showing interest in what H says					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
That's great!	38	.002%	¡Estupendo! [Stupendous!]	13	.001%
That's wonderful!	2	.0001%	¡Qué bien! [That's great!]	44	.005%
That's awesome!	10	.0005%	¡Que maravilla! [How marvelous!]	4	.0004%
TOTALS	50	.0027%		61	.0064%

5.1.2.2 Exaggerating sympathy

S, to be a friend to H, must also display solidarity in response to sad reports from H as well. In Table 6 there are statements frequently used to show commiseration between two speakers in both English and Spanish.

Table 6: Showing sympathy after H's previous comment

Showing sympathy to H					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
That's terrible!	3	.0002%	¡Qué horror! [What horror!]	7	.0007%
That's awful!	1	.00005%	[What a shame/pity!] ¡Qué pena! ¡Qué lástima!	14	.001%
TOTALS	4	.0002%		21	.0022%

5.1.2.3 Exaggerating approval

H desires to be accepted by those in his/her in-group. S wants to make H feel this way and does so by displaying approval for what H says. This show of approval also wins a place in the in-group for S as s/he shows that S and H agree on what each other says, and thus experience commonality. Several reoccurring, reaffirming replies were searched and the results are shown below.

Table 7: Showing approval of H's utterance

S shows approval of what H says					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
For sure.	4	.0002%	Por supuesto. [Of course]	46	.005%
Absolutely.	42	.002%	Claro. [Clearly/Obviously] claro	1427* 684*	.22%
Exactly.	107	.006%	Efectivamente. [Exactly]	70	.007%
Totally	8	.0004%	Ya te digo. [I'm telling you that already. (emphatic agreement)]	11	.001%
TOTALS	161	.0087%		2238	.24%

*The number of hits for this search term was too large to facilitate the review of every sample. The first 100 hits were viewed for the appropriate context and tabulated; then, the results of the search were extrapolated by figuring the percentage of all the hits pertaining for the search term. Two additional sets of 100 hits were reviewed and then treated with a Chi-square formula to show the statistic validity of this practice. See Appendix A for these calculations and notes.

5.1.2.4 Discussion of Strategy 2 results

Exaggerating interest, sympathy and approval also is something Spaniards do more often than speakers of English from the United States according to this data. The total of all counts for strategy 2 for English are 215 while the total count for Spanish is 2,320. It must be mentioned that the use of *claro* in Spanish to underscore approval is very high; 2,111 hits for the word *claro* were dedicated to re-affirming what H had just reported. Madfes (2003) considers this frequent use of *claro* as "an interactive support strategy that implies the heightening of closeness, promoting greater intimacy" ["una estrategia de apoyo interactivo que implica el refuerzo de la dimensión de la cercanía, promoviendo mayor intimidad"] (336). Also important is Madfes´ mention of female discourse: women use back-channeling to support their conversational partners much more often than men do[53]. Abelda Marco (2004) also cites *claro* as something promoting solidarity as employing it can often mean an open adherence to anything the other speaker has just said.

In this same study of Castilian Spanish by Abelda Marco, other frequent examples of exaggeration for solidarity also appear in the corpus[54]. She writes that exaggerated comments in Spanish culture can frequently be FFAs (face-flattering acts) rather than courteous utterances to minimize an FTA. These FFAs would be performed to build solidarity for the future between the interlocutors rather than deal with a momentary FTA. Courtesy used to minimize the threat to H´s face Abelda Marco calls courtesy of mitigation ["cortesía mitigadora"]; courtesy used in situations where there are no threats to H´s face is called courtesy of admiration or appraisal ["cortesía valorizante"] (116).

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[53] For more information on the speech of women in Spanish, see García Mouton (2003).
[54] For information on the Val.Es.Co Spanish corpus: http://www.onade.com/pruebas/valesco/valesco_5html

Although B&L do address courtesy for solidarity's sake in which there is no impending

FTA, Abelda Marco fine tunes the concepts with these terms while not negating them.

English and Spanish speakers both offer a running commentary as a listener when

their interlocutor is reporting something. Exaggerating sympathy, approval and interest

are usually shown in these situations to show their solidarity for each other. Perhaps

Spanish speakers are able to do this a little more often as turn-taking is not as rigidly

controlled as it is in American English; Peninsular Spanish speakers often talk over each

other, giving S and H both more opportunities to interject their exaggerative statements

than an English speaker might be able to do.

5.1.3 Strategy 3: "Intensify interest to H"

In addition to displaying interest in what H has said, when S is talking, s/he wants

his/her part of the conversation to be seen as interesting to H as well. S accomplishes this

by "making a good story" (B&L 106). S can intensify interest to H by using the narrative

present or by switching back and forth between the past and the present. B&L also

include as effective attention-holders to S's speech question tags and "expressions that

draw H as a participant into the conversation" (107).

5.1.3.1 Using common question tags

When S is reporting something to H that s/he wants H to see as interesting -- and

therefore keep S in the in-group -- S can use question tags to keep H connected to, and

part of, the conversation. Several common question tags are included in Table 8.

Table 8: Question tag use for positive politeness

Question tags					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
You know?	112	.006%	¿a qué/que sí? [Right?]	10	.001%
Isn't it?	74	.004%	¿a qué/que no? [Right?]	10	.001%
Get it?	3	.0002%	¿Sabes? [(Do) you know?]	238	.025%
See what I mean?	17	.0009%	¿Entiendes? [Do you understand?]	229	.024%
Do you follow?, You follow?	3	.0002%	¿Me explico? [Am I explaining myself well?]	10	.001%
Understand?	1	.00005 %	¿No?	4246*	.45%
TOTALS	210	.0113%		4743	.50%

*The number of hits for this search term was too large to facilitate the review of every sample. The first 100 hits were viewed for the appropriate context and tabulated; then, the results of the search were extrapolated by figuring the percentage of all the hits pertaining for the search term. Two additional sets of 100 hits were reviewed and then treated with a Chi-square formula to show the statistic validity of this practice. See Appendix A for these calculations and notes.

5.1.3.2 Preparing H for more interesting information

S, in order to keep H following the thread of his/her story, uses phrases to keep H on track. Two frequently used phrases to do this prior to giving out information are *Let's see* in English and *Vamos a ver*, meaning roughly the same, in Spanish. Results of the search are posted below.

Table 9: Using *Let's see* and *Vamos a ver* to signal that more information is coming

Preparing H for more information					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Let's see...	243	.013%	Vamos a ver... [Let's see]	161	.017%

5.1.3.3 Discussion of Strategy 3 results

Again, those positive politeness phrases searched yield more for Spanish than for English. The question tag for Spanish that weighs in the most heavily is of course the

continually-used *¿no?*. Using *Let's see* to prepare H for more information gives similar results for both languages, even though Spanish weighs in slightly more.

Concerning mitigation -- including question tags to support the following of a discussion as seen above in Table 8 -- Félix Brasdefer (2004) concludes the same in his study of Mexican and American speakers on mitigation in oral discourse. The "syntactic mitigators" ["mitigadores sintácticos"], as termed in the study, include prefabricated interrogative expressions. Félix-Brasdefer found that Mexican Spanish speakers used 59% of all the syntactic mitigators employed in both informal and formal situations, while American English speakers used only 28 to 33% of them. 8 to 13% of these mitigators were used by American speakers of Spanish as an L2 (290). Also reported in this study is a high occurrence of the *¿no?* question tag, as it appeared throughout all conversational exchanges in the corpus of the L1 Mexican Spanish speakers. The primary function of *¿no?*, Félix Brasdefer reports, is to "soften the interaction, express positive politeness and encourage agreement in the conversation" ["suaviza la interacción, expresa cortesía positiva y busca el acuerdo común en la conversación"] (296)[55].

5.1.4 Strategy 4: "Use in-group identity markers"

This strategy includes several solidarity-building tactics as well. These are group-defining strategies such as informal address forms, use of a common dialect, and slang. When S makes H feel like they are both part of the same community, H is more likely to comply with any of S's requests; or, H is likely to overlook any FTAs that S may

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[55] For more on question tags as polite, especially on the Spanish utterance "¿me entiendes?", see Chodorowska (1997).

commit. And, perhaps most importantly, H is more likely to identify S as part of the in-group.

5.1.4.1 Informal address forms

B&L tout informal address forms as something that not only shows solidarity by using the language of the in-group, but also that softens FTAs when used in conjunction with a request. In both English and Spanish there are several ways to address those we are familiar with; below are several that are common among friends in both American and Spanish culture.

Table 10: Addressing and referring to familiars in an informal way

Referring to familiars					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Guy	290	.016%	Tío [Guy (fig.), Uncle (lit.)]	348	.037%
Dude	19	.001%	Macho-Machote [Man/Buddy (fig, affectionately), Male (lit.)]	73	.008%
Buddy-Pal	12	.0006%	Majo-Guapo-Tronco-Colega [Buddy (fig.), Handsome[2], Trunk, Colleague (lit.)]	16	.002%
Man	72	.004%	Hombre [Man]	844	.09%
Sister-Chick-Girl	4	.0002%	Tía [Chick (fig.), Aunt (lit.)]	95	.01%
Babe-Baby	10	.0005%	Maja-Guapa-Tronca [Female buddy (fig.), Good-looking[2], Trunk (lit.)]	55	.006%
TOTALS	117	.0063%		1431	.15%

5.1.4.2 Using slang

Using in-group jargon "may evoke all the shared associations and attitudes that [S] and H both have toward that object" (B&L, 111). This promotes solidarity, thus softening FTAs and increasing the likelihood that H complies with S's requests. For this study, a few slang terms for both cultures have been chosen. However, for the most part, these are rather common terms to many social groups in both languages. Typically slang

is peculiar to small, social, age-specific groups. Had the search terms chosen been those peculiar to smaller speech communities, the likelihood that the terms would appear in these large corpora would be greatly compromised; therefore, no solid conclusions about English and Spanish slang could have been drawn.

Table 11: Common uses of slang among those with in-group status

Common uses of slang among familiars					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Cool	271	.014%	Mola-Guai-Chachi[56] [Cool]	42	.004%
Bucks	27	.001%	Pelas [Pesetas/Euros (fig.), Peels (lit.)]	68	.007%
Ton	9	.0005%	Montón [A great deal (fig.), A pile (lit.)]	135	.014%
Bogart	0	0	Chorizo-Chorizos [Thief/s (fig.), Sausages (lit.)]	8	.0008%
TOTALS	307	.0167%		253	.0268%

5.1.4.3 Discussion of Strategy 4 results

The familiar terms of address and widely-used slang of strategy 4 researched in the corpora show a much higher incidence in Spanish for terms of address and a slightly higher occurrence of slang usage for Spanish as well. *Hombre* had the largest showing in the search; if it were eliminated from the study the Spanish CREA would have still yielded a substantially larger amount of hits for these terms of reference than the English MiCASE.

The Spanish term *tío* -- literally "uncle" but used informally to refer to any male, "guy" -- is so common that it is evidenced in literary works as well. Pedroviejo Esteruelas (2004) uses the 1985 play, "Bajarse al moro," as a corpus and finds that *tío* is the most common word used to refer to another person within a same peer group after the

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[56] It should be noted that in Peninsular Spanish many off-color words are used to also signify *cool*.

use of the referent´s first name. When referring to other young characters in the play, about 45% of the time first names are used and a little over 35% of the time *tío* is used (258). Using in-group terminology to refer to each other in Spanish is more common than in English according to the corpora; the use of slang and such referents imply group membership, thus highlighting solidarity between S and H.

5.1.5 Strategy 5: "Seek agreement"

B&L propose that individuals seek agreement by engaging in discussions with safe topics or by simply agreeing emphatically to statements uttered by H. If S is trying to be on good terms with H or about to commit a potential FTA, S could bring up the weather, the annoyance of waiting in line, or perhaps sports. S and H will converse without disagreement, therefore promoting solidarity and mutual compliance to requests. S's repetition of what H has previously said is also used in this strategy, although this aspect of strategy 5 will not be included in the study. S can also seek agreement by uttering a short, emphatic agreement after H speaks, such as "really" or "uh-huh" (B&L, 113).

5.1.5.1 Using safe topics -- the weather

The weather is a safe topic; everyone has access to what is happening with the weather and hence can comment on it and understand any statements about it. Weather was chosen for this study because stock comments and terms could be searched in the CREA and the MiCASE. Below are several standard items about the weather from both American and Spanish languages.

Table 12: Speaking about the weather -- a safe topic

Weather as a safe topic					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
How's the weather?	0	0	¿Qué tiempo hace? [How's the weather]	0	0
Nice day, isn't it?	0	0	Qué bueno hace, Qué día bonito hace. [It's really nice out.]	0	0
Warm-Hot	26	.001%	Calor [Hot/Heat]	30	.003%
Sunny	0	0	Sol-Soleado [Sun/Sunny]	41	.004%
Rain - Raining	1	.00005%	Llueve - Lloviendo [(It) rains/raining]	12	.001%
Cold	11	.0006%	Frío [Cold]	38	.004%
Snow	11	.0006%	Nieva [(It) snows]	6	.0006%
TOTALS	49	.0027%		127	.0135%

5.1.5.2 Back-channeling agreement

Another tactic for showing agreement with H is for S to use short, agreeable responses after every couple of statements H utters. This is highly common in both American English and Peninsular Spanish. Several appear below in Table 13.

Table 13: Common short responses to show agreement

Short response agreement					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Really?	177	.01%	¿De verdad?-¿En serio? [Really?]	10	.001%
That's right.	130	.007%	Eso es. - Así es. [That's it/That's the way it is.]	62	.007%
I know.	70	.004%			
You don't say. No way.	0 14	0 .0008%	No me digas. [Don't tell me that.]	30	.003%
Get out of here!	2	.0001%	¡Anda! [Get out of here!]	158	.017%
Wow.	165	.009%	¡Hala! [No way (believing)]	8	.0008%
Uh-huh.	38	.002%	Sí señor. [Yes, sir.]	14	.001%
TOTALS	596	.0322%		282	.0299%

5.1.5.3 Discussion of Strategy 5 results

Here, for strategy 5, Spaniards are shown to use weather more often as a "safe topic" than Americans do. However, we see that Americans use slightly more supportive back-channel utterances to show agreement than their Spanish counterparts, even though when examining exaggerated-approval behavior above in 5.1.2.3, Spaniards show a higher occurrence of such usage.

In Madfes' examination of gender and politeness in Uruguayan Spanish, she discovers that Spanish-speaking women more often employ back-channeling techniques to show agreement and empathy between S and H. She views it as an FEA, Face-Enhancing Act (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1997) -- the positive counterpart to an FTA -- rather than a cover-up for an FTA. The MiCASE corpus may yield more instances of conversational-support comments as much of the corpus takes place in a classroom; a teacher may be "mothering" his/her students and encouraging them to continue when they give an answer.

Perhaps as Americans belong to a culture that adheres more often to conflict-avoidance behavior than Spaniards do, the results show that American speakers want to show agreement more often in conversation than the Spanish. The high incidents also in the Spanish corpus shows the solidarity those speakers seek. So, agreement could be seen as both solidarity-seeking as well as conflict-avoidance behavior (this is not to say that the English speakers are not also seeking solidarity with their use of positive back channels). See section 4.1.6.2 below for further discussion on Spaniards and disagreement.

5.1.6 Strategy 6: "Avoid disagreement"

In the same way that S should seek agreement with H as in strategy 5, S should also avoid disagreement with H. B&L cite the use of white lies; token agreement -- avoidance of using the word *no* to answer H's questions but rather something akin to *yes, but...* (114); pseudo-agreement -- use of words like *then* and *so* to indicate previous agreement where there was none, as in "Take this radio off my hands for 5 quid then?" and, "So when are you coming to see us?"(115); and finally, avoiding disagreement can also be partly achieved by S hedging his own, possibly undesirable, opinions. In this study, only a section on hedging opinions is researched for strategy 6.

5.1.6.1 Hedging

S must continue to seek agreement with H. If s/he possesses an opinion that possibly differs from H's, S must soften the effect of stating his/her own perspective by being "safely vague." B&L write that words like "sort of," "kind of," "like," and "in a way" in English can heighten vagueness for S (116). Similarly, filler words can 'muddy the waters' of the transmission of potential face-threatening opinions. Below, some of the language chunks offered by B&L for this tactic are shown as well as some parallel phrases in Spanish. Both languages frequently employ these filler phrases to smooth their points of view.

Table 14: Hedging

Hedging to soften potential FTA statements					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Sort of	1962	.1%	Un poco [A little]	408	.043%
Kind of	1287*	.070%	Digo yo - [That's (just) what I say.] Yo que tú [If I were you,]	86	.009%
Like You know (as filler words)	9628* 6382*	.52% .35%	[Filler and buffer words] Vamos - [let's go/we go (lit.)] vamos así [Like this (lit.)] O sea [third person sing. present subjunctive of Ser, To be (lit.) "That's to say..."]	105 484* 555* 3410	.062% .059% .36%
In a way	73	.004%	que yo sepa [that I know of]	16	.002%
If I were you	2	.0001%	yo qué sé... [what do I know?]	189	.02%
TOTALS	19,334	1.05%		4845	.51%

*The number of hits for this search term was too large to facilitate the review of every sample. The first 100 hits were viewed for the appropriate context and tabulated; then, the results of the search were extrapolated by figuring the percentage of all the hits pertaining for the search term. Two additional sets of 100 hits were reviewed and then treated with a Chi-square formula to show the statistic validity of this practice. See Appendix A for these calculations and notes.

5.1.6.2 Discussion of Strategy 6 results

In the case of strategy 6, there were a great deal more occurrences of formulaic language that help S to hedge his/her opinions in English than in Spanish -- although the CREA also exhibited high incidences of hedges, just fewer than in the MiCASE. This could be due to the cultural differences between the United States and Spain. Albelda Marco (2004) finds in her study that disagreement between familiars is not only <u>not</u> a problem in Spanish, but is also encouraged. She argues that not being able to show conflict with peers actually creates distance between S and H because overly-mitigating behavior shows that S may not have *confianza* (similar to a "mutual trust") with H. Bravo (1999) offers that Spaniards operate under an idea of "politeness of affiliation" rather than positive politeness -- affiliative behavior shows that S has group membership;

positive-politeness acts show the desire to address the positive face of someone else in the group. However, this affiliative behavior still fits in the realm of positive politeness as it promotes all-over solidarity, the chief aim of positive-courtesy use.

As far as filler words for hedging is concerned, Félix-Brasdefer counts them as "lexical mitigators" ["mitigadores léxicos"]. He concludes that in formal situations, Mexican-Spanish speakers use more lexical mitigators (51% of all of those uttered) than Spanish L2 speakers (14%) and American-English speakers (35%). However, in informal situations, the English speakers use more (43%) than the Mexican Spanish speakers (36%) and the Spanish as L2 speakers (22%). These findings on Mexican Spanish concur with Albelda Marco´s assertion that in informal situations, Spaniards will use less mitigative behavior due to the mutual trust that S and H should have. This is, of course, not to say that Peninsular Spanish does not employ positive politeness -- in fact, on the whole Spaniards appear to employ more of it than Americans do; it merely explains possible reasons why these two strategies, "seeking agreement" and "avoiding disagreement," yield less of a percentage of hits for the CREA than for the MiCASE.

The instances of *like* as a hedge or filler in American English is obviously very high. It has become somewhat of an American English 'conversational tic.' It should be noted that, even though it is a seemingly superfluous bit of language when used as such, some studies on Scottish English see *like* as less of a case of "poor syntactic planning" and more of a "highlighting device" (Miller 1995: 365). It is considered that the high incidence of the word here in the MiCASE corpus may be a result of some of those hits being more of a heightener than a softener. Nevertheless, whether it functions as an

unconscious softener-filler or a planned highlighting device, it buffers or signals what comes before or after it.

Yo qué sé is also a hedge that has been studied for its specific uses. Madfes examines hedges used differently by men and women in Uruguayan Spanish (2004). She finds that women use this utterance as a softener before or after a possibly face-threatening opinion; men use it to save their own face when stating something they are unsure about, such as a fact (334-335). Either way both men and women use this phrase to stay accepted in the in-group; men wish to be seen as correct and thus worthy of acceptance and women wish to be seen as preserving H´s face and therefore desirable as a peer.

5.1.7 Strategy 10: "Offer/Promise"

When S offers or promises something to H, S shows that s/he wants to satisfy H's own wants. This promotes solidarity by S helping H to achieve his/her goals. B&L add that even if S does not make good on a promise or offer, promising and offering address H's positive face-wants in the present situation. Here the act of promising is reviewed below.

5.1.7.1 Promising

Promising promotes solidarity between S and H by showing H that his wants may be satisfied by S. Below, the verbs for "to promise" are reviewed for both first person singular and plural forms in English and Spanish.

Table 15: Promising in English and Spanish

Promising					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
I promise	8	.0004%	(Yo) prometo	0	0
We promise	1	.00005 %	(Nosotros) prometemos	0	0
	9	.0005%		0	0

5.1.7.2 Discussion of Strategy 10 results

Although there were not many promises found in the English corpus, there were none found in the Spanish one. Americans, according to the MiCASE, do not promise often, but the Spaniards do so even less. In Félix-Brasdefer's 2003 study, he finds that Latin American Spanish speakers use promises more often in situations where they must turn down an invitation than American English speakers do. He also reports that the Spanish speakers offered to do something in the future to make up for their refusal of the present invitation much more often than the Americans did: 6.9% and 2.3%. However, they used fewer formulaic promises and apologies to state their future intentions -- they used other language to commit themselves to future engagements.

5.1.8 Strategy 12: "Include both S and H in the activity"

By using "we" and "let's" in an offer or request, S makes H feel like s/he may want to comply because it will benefit him/her as well; or, it will make H remember that they are part of the same group, also making H want to satisfy the request. B&L give a few examples of including both parties in the activity: "Let's have a cookie, then" -- S says when s/he wants one of H's cookies; "Let's just go in the back room and see if we have any" -- a store owner might say to a customer even though only s/he is going to go back and check (127-128). Below we look at "Let's," common in both languages.

5.1.8.1 Let's/Vamos a

S encourages H to give in to a request or to not be threatened in any way by an offer by including him/her in the situation.

Table 16: Occurrences of Let's and Vamos a

Include S and H in the activity					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Let's	1457	.08%	Vamos a (+ infinitive) [Let's, but also: We are going to X (lit.)]	774	.082%

5.1.8.2 Discussion of Strategy 12 results

Converting S and H into a *we* seems to be done in both cultures about equally, at least when using *let's* and *vamos a* as a marker for this kind of verbal behavior. Though unsearchable in the corpora -- it would be too difficult to examine each use of each instance for politeness' sake -- the use of the first-person plural pronoun *we* and its Spanish counterpart *nosotros* can also be exploited for the same ends. Stewart (2001) reminds us of Margaret Thatcher's use of the first-person plural pronoun on various occasions to garner public support for something she -- or the government -- was doing. This *we* did not really include the general citizen at all, yet the manipulation of language made them feel included and thus more likely to accept what Thatcher was saying. This usage makes it possible for S to "appeal to notions of power" while still maintaining his/her own social face.

Stewart, in her study of the use of *nosotros* in Peninsular Spanish, states that it is a form "used extensively in negotiation" (161). When someone needs to promote

solidarity, s/he will employ this pronoun -- or the verb form that implicates it[57].

Interestingly, when S uses *nosotros* to include, or associate, H in an action, and H does

not want to be seen as a part of that action, H must then extricate him/herself from this

'invisible' contract that S has created. Stewart has found that H must do this

painstakingly with his/her polite tactics, using negative politeness to create distance. This

use of *nosotros* is very powerful in its ability to imply inclusion.

5.1.9 Strategy 13: "Give or ask for reasons"

S and H, if they both form part of the same in-group, should mutually want to

satisfy each others' wants. There is really no need to give reasons for S having made a

request nor should S expect for H to say 'no' and therefore not expect excuses from H as

to why s/he will not comply. However, it is still convention that when S requests

something from H, s/he might say, "why don't we...?" or "why don't you...?" Since no

explanation is expected nor given, these kinds of questions become "indirect suggestions

which demand rather than give reasons [that H should comply with x]" and "are a

conventionalized positive-politeness form" (B&L 128).

5.1.9.1 Why not?

Table 17 reports results of searching for "why not?" in both the MiCASE and the

CREA corpora.

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[57] Keep in mind that Spanish is a pro-drop language and therefore the actual "nosotros" would not need to be present in an utterance to illustrate the idea of first-person plural.

Table 17: The use of "why not?" for positive politeness

Why not?					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Why not? - Why don't we/you...?	57 138	.003% .007%	¿Por qué no...?	117	.012%
TOTALS	195	.0105%		117	.0124%

5.1.9.2 Discussion of Strategy 13 results

Speakers in Peninsular Spanish ask for reasons more often than American English speakers, but only slightly. Abelda Marco, in her study of formal and informal conversations, shows that *¿por qué no?* in semi-formal situations could be seen as an FTA. If S does not have mutual trust, *confianza*, with H, asking for reasons why H will not do something can be very intrusive. However, when used between those with trust, it can be perfectly acceptable. A *why not?* might be seen as an attempt to encourage H between friends, not a rude threat as in a formal situation. Le Pair (1996) shows the same, that Spaniards use this construction to gently encourage a friend to do something s/he is invited to do. He finds that cultures -- in the case of Le Pair, the Dutch -- without this interpretation of *why not?* take this utterance as aggressive, not as an invitation to do something, but rather somewhat of a demand for explanations. Márquez-Reiter (2000) agrees that Spanish speakers are more direct with their requests than English speakers; however, she finds that both groups -- in this case Uruguayans and the British -- use more direct strategies in informal situations rather than in formal ones and *¿por qué no?* is no exception.

5.2 Negative politeness devices

As seen in a previous chapter of this paper, negative politeness tries to satisfy the negative-face wants of H in an exchange. B&L call it "the heart of respect behavior" (129). It encompasses social distance/avoidance "rituals" as well as "specific and focused" politeness tactics. Prescriptive rules of etiquette and general perceptions of politeness usually fall into this negative camp.

The negative politeness devices that are searchable in these large corpora are included and described below. Two of the negative politeness strategies do not lend themselves to such a search and are unable to be included in this particular study[58].

5.2.1 Strategy 1: "be conventionally indirect"

This is a negative politeness strategy that is very prevalent in western culture. S uses this when he/she wants to give H the chance to refuse the request while still going "on-record" with it. This is achieved chiefly through "phrases and sentences that have contextually unambiguous meanings (be virtue of conventionalization) which are different from their literal meanings" (132). Indirect speech acts, which have been studied by many linguists, are included in this category.

Some ways to show indirectness include using modal verbs in English and using the past imperfect tense, the conditional as well as the past subjunctive mood in Spanish. In showing indirectness in requesting something, using such phrases as "I'm looking for..." or "I need..." instead of stating "I want..." or demanding "Give me...," can be very successful tactics in both cultures.

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[58] Negative politeness strategies not included are: strategy 8: "state the FTA as a general rule," and Strategy 9: "nominalize."

5.2.1.1 Modals in English and *poder* and the past in Spanish

Below, *can*, *may* and *will* are examined in the English corpus while the first-person, past-imperfect tense of *querer* ("to want," used here as *quería* and *queríamos*, "I was wanting" and "we were wanting"), and the present tense of *poder* ("to be able to") will be researched in the Spanish corpus. Of course, every result in the corpora for each modal and each form of *querer* and *poder* had to be looked at specifically as they can be used for a variety of reasons.

Table 18: Verbs used to create indirectness in polite requests

Verbs creating indirectness					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Can I...?	167	.009%	¿Me puedes...? [Can you (fam.) ...for me?]	32	[Can you?]
Can you...?	56	.003%			
Can we...?	11	.0006%	¿Me puede...? [Can you (form.) ... for me?]	10	.0047%
			¿Me podáis...? [Can you (pl. fam.) for me?]	0	
			¿Me pueden...? [Can you (pl. formal)... for me?]	2	
			¿Puedo...? [Can I...?]	6	.0006%
			¿Podemos...? [Can we...?]	7	.0007%
May I...?	14	.0008%	Quería... [I was wanting]	34	.004%
May we...?	0	0	Queríamos... [We were wanting]	1	.0001%
Will you...?	11	.0006%			
TOTALS	259	.014%		92	.0097%

5.2.1.2 "Need" and "looking for" instead of demanding

B&L also offer that asking for something with the words "need" or "look for" shows an indirectness received as a polite request. See Table 19 below for results.

Table 19: Indirect requests

Indirect requests					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
I need	82	.004%	Necesito [I need]	11	.001%
I'm looking for....	6	.0003%	Busco [I'm looking for]	0	0
I was looking for...	0	0	Buscaba [I was looking for]	0	0
TOTALS	88	.0048%		11	.001%

5.2.1.3 Discussion of Strategy 1

For both sections for negative politeness strategy 1, indirect requests with need/look for and with modals or past-tense verbs are used more widely in American English than in Peninsular Spanish.

In their quest to define politeness in arenas where English is not spoken, Bayraktaroglu and Sifianou claim that in other cultures "sociability overpowers respectability at times" (4) where politeness is concerned. Similarly, Briz sees Spain as a culture speaking directly most of the time and argues that Spaniards will only use indirect strategies in marked situations where social rules are less interpretable ["se dé rienda suelta a la valoración directa, y que el uso de atenuantes se vincule o venga favorecido... a situaciones marcadas...donde la regla social es menos interpretable"] (45). He observes that in everyday situations indirect speech acts are not more common than those that are direct.

English, however, is characterized by its indirect speech acts. Fukushima´s (2000) work with British and Japanese politeness shows the British to exhibit high-distance relationships in public encounters -- causing them to use more negative politeness strategies than positive ones. Indirect requests are common, including even the use of many off-record strategies not researched in this study. Also, Márquez-Reiter

finds the same in her study of Uruguayan Spanish and British English: the Spanish speakers are far more direct than their British counterparts. She claims that British English speakers have "more elaborate constructions with modals" and that Spanish speakers usually employ the present indicative or conditional forms (38). In a study by Youmans (2001), American English speakers are found to use epistemic modals like *can* and *could* much more frequently than Chicano English speakers from Mexican backgrounds. See below for a review of the use of the conditional within the strategy "Be pessimistic."

5.2.2 Strategy 2: "question, hedge"

This negative politeness strategy can be quite complicated and has wide variability as far as usage. Here, S must not "assume H is able/willing to do any acts predicated of him" (136); S must show that he/she acknowledges this with his/her language. Here we will briefly examine hedging, the act of softening, modifying, a request or an FTA with an extra bit of language. B&L cite several different examples: some are clauses beginning with "if" and "when;" some signal with a word that an FTA is about to be uttered. Several other types of hedging are discussed by B&L, but only those most easily searched are included here. Remember that hedging is also used in positive politeness -- see section 5.1.6.1 earlier in this chapter.

5.2.2.1 Hedging Requests

B&L discuss several "if" clauses used in English to hedge requests -- "Close the window, if you can/if you want" (162), for example. Below in Table 20 are items such as these beginning with "if" and "when" are searched in English as well as Spanish.

Table 20: Hedging requests

Hedging requests					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
When you can	0	0	[When you can...] Cuando puedas Cuando pueda (ud.) Cuando podáis Cuando puedan (uds.)	6 0 0 0	.0006% 0 0 0
If you can	7	.0004%	[If you can...] Si puedes Si puede (ud.) Si podéis Si pueden (uds.)	5 3 5 1	.0005% .0003% .0005% .0001%
If it's possible	4	.0002%	Si es posible [If it's possible]	2	.0002%
If you don't mind	1	.00005%	Si puede ser [If possible, If it can be (lit.)]	3	.0003%
TOTALS	12	.0006%		25	.0027%

5.2.2.2 Softening Statements

Some hedges, B&L discuss, "function directly as notices of violations of face wants" (171). They are used before making statements possibly best left off-record, but S saying that s/he is aware of such possible offense with a hedge softens the FTA. Items like "To be honest," and "I must say," are included in this type of hedge. Another slightly different type of hedge also examined here in Table 21 is that of S claiming ignorance before or after making a face-threatening statement with items like "who knows?"; this works to deflect blame away from anything S may say that offends H.

Table 21: Hedging before potential face-threatening comments

Hedging before direct comments					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Frankly	12	.0006%	Francamente [Frankly]	27	.003%
To be honest	9	.0005%	La verdad es que...[The truth is that...]	228	.02%
In fact	59	.003%	De hecho [In fact]	112	.01%
			En serio [Seriously]	30	.003%
Honestly	23	.001%	Honestamente [Honestly]	0	0
I must say	16	.0009%	Tengo que decir [I have to say]	10	.001%
Who knows...?	32	.002%	¿Quién sabe...? [Who knows?]	8	.0008%
TOTALS	151	.0081%		415	.0440%

5.2.2.3 Discussion of Strategy 2

Americans use fewer if/when statements when making requests yet the difference between the amount of Spanish and English samples for this section is minimal.

Spanish uses more hedging to announce an impending FTA, at least with these examples, than English does. Could it be that as Spain is seen as using more direct-speech acts than the United States (Briz, 2004) that a Spanish speaker would have to announce that s/he is about to be more direct, and hence more face-threatening, more often? In Youman's (2001) study of Anglo-American English speakers and Chicano English speakers of Mexican descent, she finds that using hedges prior to offering information that S knows is true is only seen in the Anglo-American speakers. She reports that the Chicano English speakers see using hedging for politeness purposes is misleading, almost as if S is being untruthful when using a hedge for this reason. See above section for more discussion on hedges, 5.1.6.1. Youmans study, however, does not conclude the same as the above information on Peninsular Spanish culture. In American society's attempt to avoid conflict, do its English speakers avoid stating their true

opinions and therefore do not use as many hedges to announce that they are about to speak a potential FTA? This specific situation requires more research in another study.

5.2.3 Strategy 3: "be pessimistic"

When requesting something in a more formal situation, S can show that s/he does not expect that H comply, or that the request is even something appropriate. This can be done with negative statements like, "I don't suppose you have a dollar I could borrow, do you?" Or, this can also be achieved with the subjunctive or conditional moods in both English and Spanish, highlighting the improbability that the request be granted.

5.2.3.1 The conditionals/subjunctive

In Table 22 several common phrases to show pessimism in a request appear with their rate of frequency in both the English and Spanish corpora. The choice to use a conditional or a subjunctive verb indicate S's desire to show that the likelihood of the request being met by H is not high -- thus proving that S is not presuming that s/he is worthy of having the request met.

Table 22: Using conditionals/subjunctive to show pessimism

Conditionals/Subjunctive					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Could you	54	.003%	¿Me podría...? [Could you (form.)... for me?]	1	.0001%
			¿Me podrías...? [Could you (fam.) ... for me?]	3	.0003%
Could I	22	.001%	¿Podría ...? [Could I...?]	5	.0005%
Would you	49	.003%	Quisiera... [I wanted (subj.)]	0	0
			Quisiéramos... [We wanted (subj).]	0	0
I would like	92	.005%	Me encantaría [I would love]	1	.0001%
			Me gustaría [I would like]	15	.002%
TOTALS	217	.0117%		25	.0027%

5.2.3.2 Discussion of Strategy 3

Neither English nor Spanish returned many results for strategy 3, although the English corpus did return a bit more hits than the Spanish one. Márquez-Reiter (2000) reports that Uruguayan Spanish speakers will use more conditionals than English speakers to show negative politeness, but that British English is more wrought with complicated modal-based phrases to show their indirect requests. Either way, she says, in formal situations both sets of speakers will resort to "conventional indirectness" to show courtesy. Economidou-Kogetsidis (2002) reports that "requests in English are expressed more elaborately and indirectly, with imperative constructions normally seen as inappropriate" (17). If this is true, then English speakers have to look for ways to be indirect, hence using pessimism through conditional modals to get things done. However, Spaniards do tend to use some indirect strategies such as these -- not only evidenced by the results in this study, but also by other investigations. Le Pair (1996) reports that Castilian Spanish speakers, although usually direct in their requests, will use more of these kinds of negative-politeness strategies "in situations of a relatively high social distance" (668). When speaking to, or requesting something of, the elderly this seems especially true. But, as obvious here in the data, Peninsular-Spanish speakers do employ fewer utterances for this device.

5.2.4 Strategy 4: "Minimize the imposition"

One way that S can show deference to H is by making the FTA committed seem minor, leading H to meet S's request. This is often done in both languages using words like "just" as in, "I just wanted to ask a question...." or "I just need a little bit of sugar." In addition to "just," the word "little" and virtually all synonyms for it can be used as

well: "Can you give me a little bit of your time?", "Could I borrow your stapler for a tiny

bit?" See below in Table 23 the results.

5.2.4.1 Just a little bit

Table 23: Minimizing the imposition with "shrinking" the size of the FTA

Minimize the imposition					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Just	1128*	.061%	Sólo [Only, just]	3	.0003%
Little bit of	17	.0009%	Un poquito [A little bit (dim.)]	56	.006%
(A) little	113*	.006%	Un poco [A little] un poco	18 324*	.036%
Tiny bit of	0	0	Un pelín - Un pellizco [A hair (dim.), a pinch]	2	.0002%
TOTALS	1258	.0680%		403	.0427%

*The number of hits for this search term was too large to facilitate the review of every sample. The first 100 hits were viewed for the appropriate context and tabulated; then, the results of the search were extrapolated by figuring the percentage of all the hits pertaining for the search term. Two additional sets of 100 hits were reviewed and then treated with a Chi-square formula to show the statistic validity of this practice. See Appendix A for these calculations and notes.

5.2.4.2 Discussion of Strategy 4

With the word "just," English uses this tactic quite a bit more than Spanish. As

Spain is characterized as a more direct-speaking culture, perhaps requests are not glossed

as much as in English, where negative face is more sacred. Also, if solidarity is more

important in Spanish society, a "what's-mine-is-yours" approach may be favored and

minimizing an imposition may not be as crucial to Spanish speakers as it may be to

English speakers. Even when ordering something in a cafe or a shop, imperatives are

widely used to obtain what is desired; however, depending on the age of the attendant,

the V pronoun is sometimes used.

In Le Pair's (1996) study comparing Peninsular Spanish speakers and Dutch non-

native Spanish speakers, he shows that the native Spanish speakers are very direct in their

requests, barely 'minimizing the imposition' at all; they use imperative statements,

statements of obligation and expressions of 'want' to H to make petitions more often than

other tactics. He finds that Spaniards use direct strategies two times more frequently than

the Dutch L2 Spanish speakers. Minimizing an imposition is a part of Spanish requests,

but not as often as simply being direct.

5.2.5 Strategy 5: "give deference"

For this strategy, S must act to show H that "H is of higher social status than S"

(B&L, 178). This can be done by S humbling him/herself or by elevating H. Many

languages have a complicated system of honorifics; those systems would fall here under

this strategy. Here we will explore T/V pronouns -- in this case we will view them only

in Spanish as English does not use them -- as well as titles used before surnames.

5.2.5.1 Using T/V Pronouns

In review, only Spanish T/V pronouns can be explored since English does not

have them. Here, even though *tú* and *vosotros* are the familiar *you* -- singular and plural

respectively, they will be shown here for comparison with their more formal counterparts.

It must be kept in mind that Spanish is a pro-drop language, or a "null-subject" language,

so that several implied uses of all pronouns for referring to the second person are not

represented here, but by the forms of the verbs used in their contexts in the CREA corpus.

We review only the pronouns to give a representative sampling of the uses of the T/V

system in Peninsular Spanish. Also important to note is that the use of the T pronoun

would be a positive-politeness act, and not a negative one; however, it is placed here for

reference so that it can be compared with the formal V counterpart.

Table 24: T/V pronouns

T/V pronouns					
Informal			Formal		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Tú [you, sing. fam.]	2368	.25%	Usted [you, sing. formal]	470	.05%
Vosotros [you, pl. fam.]	192	.02%	Ustedes [you, pl. formal]	103	.01%
TOTALS familiar	2560	.271%	formal	573	.0608%

5.2.5.2 Using Titles, Terms of Address

Using titles before surnames show a degree of deference in both languages. S wishes to show H that s/he does not expect to be permitted to use H's first name in the interaction. However, there is one exception in Spanish that is shown below: *Don* and *Doña*, when used respectfully in Spanish, are normally placed before first names -- many school teachers are referred to in this way: *Don Pedro, Doña Carmen.* This communicates that S recognizes that s/he may not be worthy of the request, but in showing respect to H, hopes that it will be granted.

Table 25: Titles to show deference

Using titles to show deference					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Mr.	64	.003%	Sr. [Mr.]	25	.003%
Mrs.	29	.002%	Sra. [Mrs.]	4	.0004%
Ms.	11	.0006%	Srta. [Miss/Ms.]	7	.0007%
Miss	5	.0003%	Don - Doña [Sir X, Madame X]	215	.02%
Dr.	43	.002%	Dr. [Dr.]	25	.003%
Professor	85	.005%	Profesor - Profesora [Professor]	36	.004%
TOTALS	237	.0128%		312	.0330%

5.2.5.3 Discussion of Strategy 5

Spanish has more title use than English, but English does not have a form similar to don/doña; as these have the highest number of hits in this section, a fair comparison cannot really be made. However, there is a discussion below on addressing other speakers in English and Spanish.

Bargiela, et al (2005) claim that American and British speakers of English often exhibit an "Anglocentrism" when employing politeness strategies, especially in the tentative case of addressing someone. They argue that such speakers of English refer to a new person with his-her first name too quickly after having met him/her, and that this can be quite shocking to someone from another culture. English speakers view this as establishing both interlocutors as equal as quickly as possible, and thus as a positive thing. However, Bargiela et al maintain that many L2 users of English, including those from southern Europe, find this practice to be very uncomfortable and often rude. In Spain, first names are used commonly in informal situations among those of the same age group except for the elderly. First names can also be used between student and teacher, however it is most common for students to place the respectful *don* or *doña* in front of the teachers´ first name or omit the first name and simply say *profesor* or *profe*. Even when using a teacher's first name, a student will usually employ the negatively-polite *usted* when addressing him/her.

In English it appears true that speakers in the same -- or thought to be the same -- peer group do move quickly to use first names. However, in formal situations, between younger and older speakers, Mr. and Mrs. are employed frequently. Also, in educational

settings it is most normal to refer to an instructor or to a member of the administration with a title and a surname.

Concerning the selection of T/V pronouns, as English does not have these distinctions, English and Spanish cannot be compared. But, it is worth commenting that Ardila (2003) cites several studies that show the decline of the use of the V pronoun in European societies that have the distinction. That is shown here with our data: the familiar forms are used more frequently than the formal forms -- more than four times more frequently. This can also give further credence to the idea that Spain is mostly a positive-politeness oriented society.

5.2.6 Strategy 6 "Apologize"

With apologetic language, S "can indicate his reluctance to impinge on H's negative face and thereby partially redress that impingement" (187). One of the ways that B&L say that S can apologize for committing an FTA is by "begging forgiveness." This is done by using some of the language that can be seen in Table 27 below. These are all basic variations in both languages of saying one is sorry.

5.2.6.1 Apologetic Phrases

Table 26: Apologetic phrases

Apologies					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Sorry	567	.03%	(Lo) siento [I'm sorry]	27	.003%
Excuse (me)	112	.006%	[Excuse... (imp.)] Perdona Perdone Perdón Perdonad Perdonen	52 7 87 3 2	.006% .0007% .009% .0003% .0002%
Pardon (me)	20	.001%	[Excuse/Pardon... (imp.)] Disculpa Disculpe Disculpad Disculpen	2 0 0 0	.0002% 0 0 0
Forgive (me)	4	.0002%			
TOTALS	703	.0380%		180	.0190%

5.2.6.2 Discussion of Strategy 6

As seen above in the table, Americans apologize more often than Spaniards do in the corpora, about two times as often. As Spanish speakers tend to use more directness with each other, perhaps FTAs are taken more in stride, and buffering them is not as necessary.

Other studies have focused on apologizing in both languages. Félix-Brasdefer (2003) shows that Americans are much more likely to use apologies when turning down a party invitation than Latin Americans are (6.5% and 11.6%). He indicates that Latin Americans may not use apologetic language, but show in their willingness and offers to get together on a later occasion with H that they lament not being able to attend the party. Palma Fahey (2005) compares the use of apologies in Irish English and Chilean Spanish., finding that the Irish speakers employ more verbal apologies than the Chilean speakers.

Márquez Reiter (2000) notices that British English speakers use far more apologies, including intensifiers with those apologies -- ie, *terribly* or *awfully sorry* -- , than Uruguayan Spanish speakers. Something noteworthy, however, is that women in both cultures employ more apologies than men do. Wahed Al-Zumor (2005), in a study comparing English and Arabic speakers and their reactions in situations where apologies are warranted, reports that speakers of American English used the word "sorry" in 100% of the cases in which they caused some kind of problem. He observes that Americans resort to a "routine-like strategy" when faced with having done something wrong to someone else. This may help to explain why there are double the incidents of apologies in English in the current study; even if Spaniards are displaying their regret for having done something wrong, perhaps they do not do it in such a "canned" way as Americans may typically do.

5.2.7 Strategy 10 "Go on record as incurring a debt or as not indebting H"

Even though this strategy is more salient in cultures where indebtedness is a preoccupation, Spain and the United States employ this strategy often. Requesting something, S uses "please" to show that s/he realizes that by asking for something s/he incurs debt to him/herself. In the same way, showing gratitude -- thanking H -- also acknowledges S's debt to H. In addition to an admission of one incurring debt, S can also "absolve" H of his/her debt by telling H he is not in any way indebted with statements like, "you're welcome."

5.2.7.1 Please and por favor

Table 27: Please and por favor

Please and por favor					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Please	212	.01%	Por favor [Please]	115	.01%

5.2.7.2 Thanking and Welcoming

Table 28: Showing gratitude

Thanking and welcoming					
English			Spanish		
Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus	Phrase	Freq. in Corpus	% of Corpus
Thank you	455	.02%	Gracias [Thank you]	194	.02%
Thanks	310	.02%			
You're welcome	44	.002%	De nada [You're welcome]	16	.002%
Not at all	4	.0002%	No hay de que [You're welcome, not at all]	0	0
TOTALS	813	.0440%		210	.0223%

5.2.7.3 Discussion of Strategy 10

Here the data shows that Americans and Spaniards use *please* and *por favor* with the same frequency. However, thanking and welcoming are used two times as much in the MiCASE corpus than in the CREA corpus.

In a Félix-Brasdefer (2003) study done on the refusals of invitations between Latin American Spanish Speakers and American English Speakers, he finds that the Spanish speakers show gratitude for the invitation more often than the English speakers, which is somewhat incongruent with our findings here. In Hickey (2004), he shows that Spaniards use thanks conspicuously less often than other societies. This can be seen in public exchanges where receiving goods is typically not returned with a *gracias*, but

rather with much-welcomed small talk and continuous patronizing of that same business and/or continuous friendship take the place of a verbal *thank you*.

5.3 Conclusion

The above data show many expected results congruent to the results of previous studies. However, there are some specific unexpected outcomes as well. A global discussion of the results follows below in chapter 6.

6 Global discussion of positive and negative politeness strategies employed in American English and Peninsular Spanish

Earlier research has shown Spain to generally be a positive-politeness oriented society and English speakers are usually found to employ more negative-politeness techniques than their Spanish-speaking counterparts. The pilot studies (see chapter 3) that I carried out previous to this investigation yielded these somewhat differing results: In one study, Spanish speakers employ more courteous language chunks -- negative-politeness oriented -- than English speakers do in natural-language talk shows. In another project studying the way interviewers extract information from their interviewees, both Spanish and English interviewers use a great deal of positive politeness, but the Spanish interviewer uses more solidarity-based devices than the English one. In the final study focusing on negatively-polite tactics and verb use, specifically conditionals and modals, the English speakers use more negative politeness in their verb form choices, but neither group show high incidents of those verbs in the corpora. As these studies used small, and possibly not fairly matched, corpora, this larger study was necessary. The compiled results below show how this investigation in part supports previous research but also highlights some unexpected outcomes in the data.

6.1 Positive politeness strategies in the corpora

The final outcome of the study for positive-politeness strategies used shows that Peninsular Spanish speakers use more positive politeness than American English speakers, as was somewhat expected. However, the difference between the two languages is not very marked. The Spanish data yielded 1.649% of the CREA corpus dedicated to the positive-politeness utterances searched; and, the English data resulted in

1.254% of the MiCASE corpus focused on conventionalized positively-polite phrases.

See table 29 below for specific results.

Table 29: Summary of positive-politeness devices in the study

Summary of results for positive-politeness devices		% of corpus / No. of hits in corpus	
Strategies		English	Spanish
Strategy 1	Notice, attend to H (greetings)	**.013% / 243**	**.020% / 190**
	(goodbyes)	**.0046% / 85**	**.019% / 181**
	(blessings)	**.0009% / 17**	**.0002% / 2**
	(How are you?, etc.)	**.0034% / 64**	**.0081% / 77**
	(well-wishing)	**.0016% / 29**	**.0052% / 49**
Strategy 2	Exaggerate (interest)	**.0027% / 50**	**.0064% / 61**
	(sympathy)	**.0002% / 4**	**.0022% / 21**
	(approval)	**.0087% / 161**	**.24% / 2238**
Strategy 3	Intensify interest to H (question tags)	**.0113% / 210**	**.50% / 4743**
	(Let's see...)	**.013% / 243**	**.017% / 161**
Strategy 4	Use in-group identity markers (familiar forms of address)	**.0063% / 117**	**.15% / 1431**
	(slang)	**.0167% / 307**	**.0268% / 253**
Strategy 5	Seek agreement (the weather)	**.0027% / 49**	**.0135% / 127**
	(back-channeling)	**.0322% / 596**	**.03% / 282**
Strategy 6	Avoid disagreement	**1.05% / 19,334**	**.51% / 4845**
Strategy 10	Offer/Promise	**.0005% / 9**	**0% / 0**
Strategy 12	Include both S and H in the activity	**.08% / 1457**	**.082% / 774**
Strategy 13	Give or ask for reasons	**.0105% / 195**	**.0124% / 117**
TOTALS: OCCURENCE OF POSITIVE POLITENESS DEVICES SEARCHED IN CORPORA		**1.254% / 23,170**	**1.649% / 15,552**

Even though the Spanish CREA data was expected to show more positive

politeness, there are devices in which the English MiCASE offers more positively-polite

tactics. 'Blessings for a sneeze,' 'back-channeling to seek agreement' and 'offer/promise'

finish slightly higher in the English corpus; the difference is fairly minimal and cannot

really show that English is more positively polite in these cases than Spanish. However,

what it does illustrate is that there are cases in which American English is nearly or

slightly more positively polite than Castilian Spanish, which is not necessarily expected

(see micro-discussions in chapter 5 for several specific examples). The big disparity appears in the results for strategy 6: 'avoid disagreement.' English rates 1.05% and Spanish rates .51%. As discussed earlier in chapter 5, this may be because English is a conflict-avoidance language and Spanish speakers are encouraged among familiars not to minimize conflict; Spaniards, in informal situations, offer negative opinions openly as this is seen to create mutual trust. The high numbers show up in the fillers that function as hedges to soften statements in the English corpus.

There are also positive devices in which the Spanish corpus results are higher, yet very close to those of the English corpus. 'Greetings,' using 'let's see' to carry H through a conversation, 'include both S and H in the activity' and 'give or ask for reasons' yield very similar results. Again, this may highlight more the similarities of the two cultures concerning politeness rather than the differences and is somewhat surprising given earlier studies' outcomes.

Nevertheless, the Spanish corpus did in fact produce more positive-politeness devices. 'Exaggerate' in all sections show quite a bit more for the Spanish speakers, .25% compared to English's .01%. Using 'in-group identity markers' including slang illustrate markedly higher incidents in Spanish for both tactics -- .18% for Spanish and .030% for English. Using 'question tags' to keep H's interest offers the largest disparity between the two: Spanish shows .50% and English only shows .011%. So, as much of the research that has already been done has supposed, Spanish does continue to show more positive politeness than English does, but only distinguishably in certain circumstances.

These findings are surprising, but earlier publications have foreshadowed these outcomes somewhat. Many cross-cultural comparisons between English and other

languages have been carried out on British English. British-English speakers, as many researchers have noted, can be seen as "stand-offish creatures" when compared with Americans and Americans can seem "boorish" to the English (B&L 245-253). Using the British English studies may mislead expectations on what American politeness studies might yield, especially when it has been noted that American English -- specifically in the west -- can be more positively-polite than British English. Peninsular Spanish, well established as a positive-politeness language, is shown here as not being so different from American English, and therefore lends support to the idea that American English can also be considered in the same way.

6.2 Negative politeness strategies in the corpora

The results of this investigation for negative-politeness strategies employed reaffirm what earlier research has suggested: the English speakers use more negatively-polite utterances than the Spanish speakers. Yet again, the final results show that this is true by a much narrower margin than expected. Peninsular Spanish speakers register negative politeness phrases in .1896% of the corpus whereas American English speakers use negative politeness in .2137% of its corpus. See table 30 below for specific results.

Table 30: Result summary for negative politeness

Summary of results for negative-politeness devices		% of corpus/ No. of hits in corpus	
Strategies		English	Spanish
Strategy 1	Be conventionally indirect (modals/past imperfect+subjunctive)	**.014%** / 259	**.0097%** / 92
	(look for/need)	**.0048%** / 88	**.001%** / 11
Strategy 2	Question, Hedge (If/When)	**.0006%** / 12	**.0027%** / 25
	(Hedge before an FTA)	**.0081%** / 151	**.0440%** / 415
Strategy 3	Be pessimistic (conditionals)	**.0117%** / 217	**.0027%** / 25
Strategy 4	Minimize the imposition	**.0680%** /1258	**.0427%** / 403
Strategy 5	Give deference (T/V pronouns)		familiar **.271%**/2560 *, formal **.0608%**/573 *
	(Titles)	**.0128%** / 237	**.0330%** / 312
Strategy 6	Apologize	**.0380%** / 703	**.0190%** / 180
Strategy 10	Go on record as incurring a debt or as not indebting H (please)	**.01%** / 212	**.01%** / 115
	(thank you)	**.0440%** / 813	**.0223%** / 210
TOTALS: OCCURENCE OF NEGATIVE POLITENESS DEVICES SEARCHED IN CORPORA		**.2137%** / 3950	**.1896%** / 1788

*The count for the second person familiar will not be added into the total for negative politeness devices -- the use of it signifies positive politeness, not negative politeness. The count for the formal counterpart will not be included either as English does not have the option to choose between a T or V pronoun.

Several studies show that English speakers can be more negative-politeness oriented than speakers of other languages. In this study English outweighs Spanish in only a few categories, and the differences, although worth noting, are minimal. Americans apologize more than Spaniards; .038% of the MiCASE corpus is dedicated to speakers' apologies and .019% of the CREA corpus does the same. American English uses *thank you* more often than Peninsular Spanish as well: .044% and .0223% respectively. 'Minimizing impositions' is also done more often in English than in Spanish. The English corpus shows .068% incidents of this and the Spanish one shows .0427%. Finally, the English speakers are more pessimistic when making a request than the Spanish speakers,

but the difference is very small: .0117% and .0027%. So, the American English corpus displays more negative-politeness tactics than the Castilian Spanish corpus, but not by a very large margin.

The more surprising data offers proof that in some situations Spain can be a more negatively-polite culture than the USA. Spaniards 'question, hedge' more often than Americans do. A percentage of .0467% of the CREA corpus is devoted to hedging before giving a face-threatening opinion or statement and only .0087% is used in the MiCASE corpus for the same ends. As seen in chapter 5, this may be because Spain, as a direct-speaking culture, uses more imperatives or shares more potentially offensive opinions and needs to buffer them in this way. Another section for which Peninsular Spanish has more hits is the 'give deference' section; .033% for Spanish is higher compared with .0128% for English. The T/V pronoun numbers are not counted in this section (though reported above in the table for reference) because English does not have T/V pronouns to compare them to. However, using titles to give deference still exhibits a high showing in Spanish.

Finally, there are two strategies for which both languages display nearly the same results. 'Be conventionally indirect' and the use of *please/por favor* rate about the same percentage of hits for both.

6.3 Spain and the USA as positively or negatively-polite cultures

Based on the results of this investigation, therefore, we can assume two things: American English and Peninsular Spanish are similar in the frequency of employment of conventionalized politeness utterances, both positive and negative; and, both cultures seem to be more positively-polite oriented than negatively polite. Both languages show

less than .25% of the corpus as being dedicated to negative politeness, and both show more than 5 times that for the frequency of use for positive-politeness phrases. Again, these outcomes register as surprising: much of the previous studies showed English to be negatively polite and Spanish to be positively polite[59].

B&L offer a polarized description of positive and negative-politeness societies: "the 'warm' positive-politeness cultures have a subjective ideal of small values of D, R and relative P[60] which give them their egalitarian, fraternal ethos, while the 'standoffish' negative-politeness cultures subscribe to a subjective ideal of large values for D, R and relative P which give them their hierarchal, paternal ethos." (247). According to B&L's description coupled with the results of this investigation, both the USA and Spain may be cultures that minimize distance between speakers most of the time and as much as possible with their use of positive politeness.

6.4 Limitations of this investigation

As with any study, there are limitations to this investigation that may affect the data. One factor is that the size of the corpora does not allow for an examination of polite utterances that are not conventionalized. Polite exchanges in the corpora that are not cemented in a predictable formula are simply not searchable here. Both positive and negative-politeness interchanges that are original are undoubtedly in both the CREA and the MiCASE but are not represented here. Also concerning the corpora is the sampling of speakers: in both corpora most of the data comes from university sources, although

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[59] See chapter 5 for comments from several studies as well as section 2.5 in chapter 2. Also, Ardila (2003) states that it should be extremely obvious to anyone who has minimal knowledge of the sociopragmatics of either language that, "el castellano, además de constituir un modelo de cortesía positivo, es en extremo parco con fórmulas corteses" and "el inglés, lengua de cortesía negativa, abunda en ellas" [Castilian Spanish, in addition to constituting a model of positive politeness, is extremely conservative concerning [the use of] courteous forms and English, language of negative politeness, has an abundance of them.] (14).
[60] See chapter 2 for a description of B&L's D, R and relative P.

more varied in the Spanish corpus than the English one as it has more tapings in homes and private conversations. A high percentage of the exchanges happens in classrooms or in other situations on college campuses, leaving out several obvious arenas for human communication other than academic ones in both cultures. And finally, the limitations of using only politeness strategies offered by the B&L model control the scope of what is seen to be polite in the corpora as well.

7 Conclusion and implications for classroom and further study

The above results for this investigation show American English and Peninsular Spanish speakers to use positive and negative-politeness strategies with similar frequency. Also, both are found to use at least 5 times more positive-politeness devices in conversation than negative-politeness devices. These findings have special implications -- earlier studies have almost exclusively reported that English speakers are more negatively polite than positively polite and that, comparatively, Spanish speakers are more positively polite than English speakers. This outcome will hopefully spur more large-scale research into the similarities as well as the noted differences of American English and Peninsular Spanish concerning politeness.

Results in studies such as these are also important on a pedagogical level; researchers agree that L2 learners need to develop an awareness of pragmalinguistic features, including politeness usage, of the target language. Even though this has become a growing trend, many foreign language teachers are still not being trained to use or teach these kinds of features (Karatepe 2001). Escandell Vidal (1995) adds that if an L2 speaker uses unexpected language and behavior during an interaction with a native speaker, it is usually not seen as incorrect in a usage sense; it is rather seen as impolite and as S exhibiting bad intentions. She warns that L2 teachers should take steps to highlight this to students to minimize these kinds of pragmalinguistic errors. Those who create L2 classroom materials should consult with such investigations to find what kinds of politeness the target culture might use in certain situations to prepare students to better communicate their true intentions in interactions with native speakers.

Appendix A: Chi-square procedures for certain data sets

Extrapolated data from the corpora for large return of hits on a specific term:

Table A1.

From table 7: Claro	Number of hits that show the search term in the desired politeness context within the span of 100 hits			
Section searched	Expected No. (First 100)	Random section of 100 I	Random section of 100 II	Total no. of hits for search term
No. of hits for search term in polite context	86	79	92	1660
Chi-square value		4.07**	2.99*	

Table A2.

From table 7: claro	Number of hits that show the search term in the desired politeness context within the span of 100 hits			
Section searched	Expected No. (First 100)	Random section of 100 I	Random section of 100 II	Total no. of hits for search term
No. of hits for search term in polite context	39	42	36	1755
Chi-square value		0.38*	0.38*	

Table A3.

From table 8: ¿no?	Number of hits that show the search term in the desired politeness context within the span of 100 hits			
Section searched	Expected No. (First 100)	Random section of 100 I	Random section of 100 II	Total no. of hits for search term
No. of hits for search term in polite context	19	17	23	22,347
Chi-square value		0.26*	1.04*	

Table A4.

From table 14: Kind of	Number of hits that show the search term in the desired politeness context within the span of 100 hits			
Section searched	Expected No. (First 100)	Random section of 100 I	Random section of 100 II	Total no. of hits for search term
No. of hits for search term in polite context	51	50	60	2525
		0.04*	3.24*	

Table A5.

From table 14: Like	Number of hits that show the search term in the desired politeness context within the span of 100 hits			
Section searched	Expected No. (First 100)	Random section of 100 I	Random section of 100 II	Total no. of hits for search term
No. of hits for search term in polite context	68	52	73	14,159
		11.76**	1.15*	

Table A6.

From table 14: You know (filler)	Number of hits that show the search term in the desired politeness context within the span of 100 hits			
Section searched	Expected No. (First 100)	Random section of 100 I	Random section of 100 II	Total no. of hits for search term
No. of hits for search term in polite context	91	92	90	7013
		0.12*	0.12*	

Table A7.

From table 14: vamos	Number of hits that show the search term in the desired politeness context within the span of 100 hits			
Section searched	Expected No. (First 100)	Random section of 100 I	Random section of 100 II	Total no. of hits for search term
No. of hits for search term in polite context	27	21	31	1793
		1.83*	0.82*	

Table A8.

From table 14: así	Number of hits that show the search term in the desired politeness context within the span of 100 hits			
Section searched	Expected No. (First 100)	Random section of 100 I	Random section of 100 II	Total no. of hits for search term
No. of hits for search term in polite context	30	30	29	1851
		0.00*	0.05*	

Table A9.

From table 24: Just	Number of hits that show the search term in the desired politeness context within the span of 100 hits			
Section searched	Expected No. (First 100)	Random section of 100 I	Random section of 100 II	Total no. of hits for search term
No. of hits for search term in polite context	12	21	12	9404
		7.68**	0.00*	

`Table A10.

From table 24: (A) little	Number of hits that show the search term in the desired politeness context within the span of 100 hits			
Section searched	Expected No. (First 100)	Random section of 100 I	Random section of 100 II	Total no. of hits for search term
No. of hits for search term in polite context	8	10	7	1418
		0.55*	0.14*	

Table A11.

From table 24: un poco	Number of hits that show the search term in the desired politeness context within the span of 100 hits			
Section searched	Expected No. (First 100)	Random section of 100 I	Random section of 100 II	Total no. of hits for search term
No. of hits for search term in polite context	39	25	31	1046
		8.24**	2.69*	

* Not significant at the .05 level
** Significant at the .05 level

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