AN INVESTIGATION INTO SCHOOL LEARNERS' PERCEPTIONS OF LINGUISTIC POLITENESS NORMS WITHIN AND ACROSS CULTURES

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The assumption underlying this study is that cultures differ in terms of politeness norms. Often people from different cultures approach one another in what they think is an appropriate manner and the outcome is miscommunication. This may be attributed to differing cultural norms and this study aims to examine what a sample of school learners perceive to be polite behaviour when making requests and their reasons for doing so.

This study focuses on perceived politeness norms (Brown and Levinson 1978) in English across selected South African cultures. The individuals are seen as reflecting a cultural identity, using norms that they feel are appropriate in given situations. Previous researchers have endeavoured to show that politeness norms are universal, but it has emerged that this is not always the case. When people from differing language and cultural backgrounds come into contact they have to find a common ground for their interaction to be successful (Lustig and Koester 1999). Of particular interest is the way people request things, both the way they phrase their request and their reasons for phrasing it this way.

In order to investigate this, twenty-nine same-sex pairs of Grade 10 learners were selected from three schools with different cultural backgrounds in Grahamstown. These learners were required to complete a Discourse Completion Test, which contained both Think-Aloud and Retrospection Procedures, while they were being audio-taped. This data was transcribed and analysed using a model that was developed and adapted to describe request strategies. This data is shown through the use of basic statistics, even though it is primarily qualitative. The data is given this qualitative dimension by looking at the factors that the co-conversants attend to.

The recorded data shows that although second language speakers of English have a formula for requesting things, they are not always able to articulate why they use the request strategies they do. It appears that English first language speakers and speakers who have English as an additional language request things similarly, but the first language speakers have access to a greater variety of politeness strategies. They also attend to different contextual features.

This shows that while the need to be polite seems to be universal, the expectations of the speakers will be different and while a first language speaker of English would not misinterpret the force of a given speech act, they may feel that the person who has English as an additional language is rude. Sensitivity is therefore called for in order to combat mutual negative stereotyping and misunderstandings.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

South Africa is a country with many diverse cultures. Since 1994, the government has adopted a policy of multilingualism and multiculturalism. With the advent of the new constitution, which gives eleven of South Africa's indigenous languages official status, one would expect the instances of miscommunication to be lessened, but there are still many instances where miscommunication and mutual negative stereotyping occur. This is often the result of differing perceptions in politeness norms across cultures. This is supported by the research done by de Kadt (1992: 101) who states that "it has been shown that pragmatic transfer from a speaker's first language onto a second target language is a significant source of cross-cultural communication, for the communicative acts of even fairly advanced language learners regularly contain pragmatic errors or deficits". The aim of the study is, therefore, to look at school learners' perceptions of linguistic politeness norms in English, by analysing the discourse of selected pairs of students from schools with different cultural backgrounds in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape.

1.2 Background to the Research

The broader aim of this research project is to develop a better understanding of culture and politeness and how these terms are linked, especially when considering these concepts in South Africa at present. Using respondents from different cultural groups, the way school learners perceive English politeness norms will be examined in order to see if these politeness norms differ across cultures. If these perceptions of politeness norms are sufficiently different, this may account for miscommunication or mutual negative stereotyping in intercultural interactions.

Since 1994, South Africa has become a country where multilingualism tends to be promoted and the eleven official languages all vie for attention. In the Eastern Cape (particularly Grahamstown) there are at least three distinct cultural groups. In order to observe how members of these three groups perform politeness, they had to be asked how they would react in particular situations. The pretext for this study was that

politeness is often context dependent and the norms might differ in given contexts. It was the aim of this investigation to see whether the respondents' reactions would differ in different contexts. The three cultural groups mentioned above are divided along language lines and the school learners interviewed included ten pairs of learners from white English-speaking culture in private schools, nine pairs of learners from 'black' Xhosa-speaking culture in ex-DET schools and ten pairs of learners from 'coloured' Afrikaans-speaking culture in ex-HOR schools[1]. The impetus for the research arose from an interest in culture in general, which lead me to realise that although it is thought that there are universals in politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987) this might be an oversimplification in the South African context. It is hoped that this research will be useful in showing how different perceptions of politeness manifest themselves through language, and how differences in culture may impact on these perceptions and on the theory of a universal politeness.

1.3 Methodology

In order to explore the impact of culture on school learners' perceptions of politeness, qualitative research methods have been used. Although some rudimentary statistics have been included, the research is primarily qualitative as it deals with these learners' perceptions of politeness norms. Language is a dynamic event where linguistic choices are made as social strategies (Chen 1997). Events can only be understood through the process of interpretation and this is influenced by social context.

Data was obtained using a combination of Discourse Completion Tests, a technique called Think-Aloud and a Retrospective Procedure. This data was analysed using the method of discourse analysis. This involves examining text and looking for trends that seem to have cultural links. This type of discourse analysis does not explore features like adjacency pairs, turn-taking patterns and pauses, but looks rather at Speech Acts, in particular, politeness and the use of requests. Requests are a type of

[1] "DET school" is the abbreviation given for Department of Education and Training schools under the apartheid regime. They tended to be schools that catered for blacks only under the Bantu schooling system. The ex-HOR schools were schools that previously catered only for the needs of 'coloured' children under apartheid rule - this abbreviation stood for the House of Representatives. For a full account of schooling under the apartheid regime see Van Zyl (1997). Schools under the new constitution are obliged to follow policies that are not exclusionary, but many of them still suffer from the stigmas that apartheid brought them. For this reason, while the schools' doors are open to learners of all cultures and races, their composition tends not to have changed much and because of this I have termed them ex-DET and ex-HOR schools accordingly.

Speech Act and in terms of Brown and Levinson's (1987) research all Speech Acts are governed by what they term universal politeness. Politeness is broken down further into positive politeness and negative politeness. Positive and negative politeness both involve the concept of face. When the speaker is attending to the hearer's positive face wants (the need for their wants and needs to be acknowledged) this is termed positive politeness and when they attend to the hearer's negative face wants (the need for their actions to be unimpeded by others) we term this negative politeness (Brown and Levinson 1999). Negative politeness is therefore the main focus of the research because when one makes a request the actions of the hearer are often impeded upon. This is not necessarily the case though and often a request is face threatening enough to impede the positive face wants of the hearer as well and often a combination of negative and positive politeness is needed to resolve a given situation. In order to examine what type of politeness respondents made use of when making requests, a detailed analysis will be made, looking at the request perspectives and politeness techniques. This will be done by using selected examples from the Think-Aloud, Retrospection Procedure and written data. In addition to this the features that the co-conversants attended to will be explored, in an attempt to see why people use the politeness strategies they do and whether these vary across cultures.

1.4 Outline of the Chapters

In Chapter One the background to the research and why research into politeness norms is important in South African today is examined. This forms a necessary introduction to the research, which will be explicated in the chapters that follow.

In Chapter Two the literature pertaining to culture, politeness norms, Discourse Completion Tests and Think-Aloud is reviewed. Definitions for these concepts are sought and previous research is examined and criticised. The relevance of previous research is also shown through its application to research into culture and politeness norms. There is also a brief section on Speech Act Theory as it is essential to look at the origins of Speech Act Theory, but the mechanics of this will be expanded upon in Chapter Three as this theory is central to the method employed in analysing the data. Methods of elicitation are included in this chapter because in order to review the previous research on these methods they need to be defined and described.

In Chapter Three the methodology employed is described and in addition to this the way that the data will be analysed is looked at in some detail. There is also a focus on Speech Act Theory and Politeness. While it would appear that these should be in Chapter Two, they have been placed in Chapter Three, as they are central to the methodology.

In Chapter Four the data is described and analysed using the techniques described in Chapter Three. In addition to this the features that the co-conversants attend to will be explored.

In Chapter Five, which is the final chapter, there will be a summary of the research project after a discussion of the analysis in combination with the literature and suggestions based thereon.

1.5 The Context of the Research

As mentioned above, South Africa is a multicultural setting where potential miscommunication and mutual negative stereotyping could occur, due to differing politeness norms. This has not been systematically investigated[2] in the past. Hunt (1996), for example, mentioned that culture seemed to have an affect on directness and found that while people from a so-called western culture favoured being direct, people from traditional African culture were more indirect, as they feared the loss of face. Face is an important concept as it underpins some central concerns of the research. Face is one of the key factors in defining politeness and up until now culture and politeness in South Africa have not been systematically observed or noted as factors contributing to conversational norms to the same extent as found in the First World. It is only fairly recently that politeness and its links with culture and communication have come under scrutiny.

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[2] Much of the research into politeness norms has been done in America or Britain and often these researchers examine cultures in contact that are predominantly 'western' in any case, or they look at countries where there are only two language groups in contact with one another. South Africa, having eleven national languages and cultures that differ fairly substantially, is therefore an interesting example and the literature has to be applied as very little research has been done in South Africa on culture and politeness norms specifically.

Although many schools in South Africa claim to be multicultural, there are huge discrepancies in financial resources between the ex-Model C[3] and private schools on one hand and the ex-DET and the ex-HOR schools on the other. Private schools, ex-DET schools and ex-HOR schools remain cultural islands in many ways and it is because of this that these schools were chosen for the research. It was hoped that the participants from these schools would give valuable insight into their perceptions of culture - particularly the so-called white English culture, as they were to speak in English. By comparing the responses of learners from the ex-HOR and ex-DET schools with those of English speakers at the private school, it could be seen what is perceived as polite by different members of a speech community and how these perceptions differ.

1.6 Conclusion

Although South Africa is now a country where all people have equal rights and schools are multicultural and multilingual there was a long period characterised by inequalities in educational standards and values. This is described in detail by Van Zyl (1997) and is not the main focus of this research. It has importance, though, because this cultural and political baggage has framed the way many people think, especially as they have lived and been educated apart from one another, and this is where the focus of the research lies. It is possible that perceptions in politeness norms may differ because of enforced separation, as this means that cultural groups have remained isolated units. In order to establish connections between politeness, culture and language, this research has focussed on potentially differing politeness norms and culture and what effect these have on Speech Acts.

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[3] During the period of transition in South Africa 'white' government schools were forced to make decisions on their governance. These schools had to make the decision whether to become Model A, Model B or Model C schools. Model A schools became private schools while Model B and C schools became semi-private schools where the parents had been allowed to vote on options for admitting non-white students. This was controlled by the National Education Policy Amendment Act of 28 June 1991. Money was made available to these schools, but during this time they failed to admit as many 'non-whites' as was hoped because of high school fees (Brook n.d.). These schools have continued to rely on parental support for funds and so tend to have greater financial resources than the ex-DET and ex-HOR schools and because of their unique composition they have been termed ex-Model C schools. They have also been grouped with private schools because they have retained this composition and are, to a large extent, financially independent from the state.

CHAPTER TWO

CULTURE, POLITENESS AND METHODS OF ELICITATION

2.1 Culture

2.1.1 Introduction

'Culture' is a word that appears often in the media, literature and conversation. Examination of definitions of culture show that people define culture differently from one another. The word 'culture' is often used to describe some sort of difference between people. It is also used when separating the 'civilised' people from the 'uncivilised', where the focus lies on art and literature and how much one knows about these. In the section that follows some definitions of culture will be investigated, including the role that intercultural communication has in the research.

2.1.2 Examining and Defining Culture

When looking at definitions of culture, it becomes evident these can differ greatly from researcher to researcher. Only definitions relevant to this particular research have been chosen. Definitions based on classing people as 'uncivilised' because they do not take interest in so-called western arts and culture are not relevant to the research as these are primitive definitions that have very little to do with the link between culture and politeness.

Culture is generally accepted to be a very broad term, which includes all humans' non-biological traits. Anthropologists, amongst other social scientists, have argued about the definition of culture for many years and Beattie (1964: 20) says the following of the term:

> Culture has been variously defined since Sir Edward Tylor described it nearly a century ago as 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'. In its broadest sense, 'culture' refers to the whole range of human activities which are learned and not instinctive and which are transmitted from generation to generation through various learning processes.

While it can be assumed that many of our learned shared characteristics are in fact cultural legacies, one of the key concerns of this research is language and how culture

is manifest through the use of language and this will be explored further in Section 2.1.3.

Nemetz Robinson (1985) details how various models of culture have been conceptualised - from the behaviourist and functionalist models to the cognitive and symbolic models. All these models have contributed much to the field and it is necessary to draw on all of them to get a holistic definition of culture. Porter and Samovar (1994:11) define culture quite broadly as:

> The deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving.

While this definition forms a useful starting point for defining culture, it is fairly unspecific. Holliday (1999) differentiates between what he terms 'large' culture and 'small' culture. According to Holliday, while culture does not have a specific meaning, it does have different meanings in different circumstances, towards different purposes. He says that 'large' culture refers to ethnic, national and international groupings. 'Small' culture refers to any group which is cohesive. Holliday considers "how 'culture' is socially constructed as 'reality' in applied linguistics, and the nature of the 'knowledge' which this construction precipitates" (1999: 238). This reinforces what Beattie (1964) says of culture, by showing that culture is learned through integration but that by examining 'culture' one can see why any group of people act in a particular way. Holliday (1999) goes on to claim that culture is 'so-called' because the definition depends on the approach. Culture, therefore, reflects societal values and cannot be considered an absolute. It is relative.

Holliday (1999) asserts that the term sub-culture should not become conflated with that which he has termed 'small' culture, because sub-cultures are usually defined as deviant from main groups. Where a sub-culture usually has a 'parent' culture, a 'small' culture shows similarities between groups (for example classrooms in western society may be very similar). The following table, from Holliday (1999: 241), shows how he interprets culture. This explication will be built on to show some of the

conceptualisations of culture and how this particular notion of differing definitions is central in problematising the concept of culture.

Table 1: Two Paradigms of Culture

	Small Cultures	Large Cultures
Character	**Non-essentialist, non-culturist** Relating to cohesive behaviour in activities within any social grouping	**Essentialist, culturist** 'Culture' as essential features of ethnic national or international group
Relations	No necessary subordination to or containment within large cultures, therefore no onion-skin	Small (sub)cultures are contained within and subordinate to large cultures through onion-skin relationship
Research orientation	**Interpretive, process** interpreting emergent behaviour within any social grouping Heuristic model to aid the process of researching the cohesive process of any social grouping	**Prescriptive, normative** Beginning with the idea that specific ethnic, national and international groups have 'different' cultures and then searching for the details (e.g. what is polite in Japanese culture)

Holliday suggests that the world is becoming more multicultural and cultures are "less likely to appear as large coherent geographical entities" (1999:244). Rather culture on such a large scale has become socially constructed: people use labels like 'the Africans', not so much to show culture, but to show mindset. Traditionally scholars interested in 'large' culture are prescriptive in outlook. They therefore set out to detail differences but often stereotype people instead (Holliday 1999). On the other hand 'small' culture "refers to the composite of cohesive behaviour within any social grouping, and not to the differentiating features of prescribed ethnic, national and international entities" (1999: 247).

The point here is to illustrate that individuals belong to many small cultures, which make up their larger being. These are formed because people belong to many small groups, each with their own distinct culture. Studies into 'small' culture aim at understanding the dynamics of a particular situation and are therefore useful when

examining perceptions of politeness phenomena. While culture is often used as a blanket term for religion or customs, it is often ignored that much of our culture is displayed through the use of language.

This section began with Holliday's descriptions of 'small' and 'large' cultures because his model shows that there are differences when it comes to conceptualising culture. He explains how studies of culture work, but provides no clear definition of how to look at culture, although there are many ways of doing this. Scollon and Scollon (1995: 125) say that the word culture "often brings up more problems than it solves". It is often overextended or used to describe differences which do not exist. Culture is also problematic in that there is little agreement on how to define it.

For the purposes of this research there needs to be a clear understanding of what culture is perceived to be as well as when an interaction becomes intercultural and how stereotypes and perceptions prevail, as well as an explanation and definition of politeness theory in some detail.

I would argue that the definitions provided so far are too broad for the purposes of this research and while they certainly encompass many issues central to culture, the definition provided by Lustig and Koester (1999) is more useful when examining culture in this type of research. They (1999:30) define culture as "a learned set of shared interpretations about beliefs, values, and norms, which affect the behaviours of a relatively large group of people". While individuals learn the accepted norms for their own cultural groups, people from different cultural groups might learn to code things in different ways in order to convey meaning. When encountering people from other groups they have to communicate differently in order to make themselves understood. Intercultural communication can therefore be defined as the symbolic process that people from different cultures use to create shared meaning (Lustig and Koester 1999).

This too is a fairly broad definition but researchers like Lustig and Koester and Scollon and Scollon (1995) have pointed out that culture does not just refer to one's ethnic group, but that it includes gender, age, socio-economic group and education. This relates to what Holliday (1999) says of 'small' cultures: one belongs to many

small groups. When one moves into a new environment the possibility of the formation of a new small culture is created. Holliday states that 'small' culture can be said to be synonymous with 'discourse community', which is why one can consider a particular language group as being representative of a particular culture.

Culture is said to be influenced by language. While culture is often seen through dress or artefacts, for example, it is also influenced by factors like social situation and class. This means that defining culture is difficult because it is often intertwined with other things, which is why language, as a particular aspect of culture, will be examined in this research. When people who use different languages as first languages attempt to communicate, they often have different cultural backgrounds and therefore the communication might be hampered by differences in communicative norms (Lustig and Koester 1999). Having defined culture as a set of unwritten norms which are learned by a group of people with shared backgrounds, one has to consider what role culture would play in politeness. Culture is often used to describe difference (Lustig and Keoster 1999), but it is also essential to examine the reasons for these differences. It can therefore be said that if cultures differ, politeness norms will possibly differ as well and that language plays an important role as is illustrated in the following section.

2.1.3 Culture and the role played by language and communication

Young (1996) cites an anthropologist, named Geertz, when examining the notion of culture. He explains that researchers attribute everything to culture and he says that this has resulted in definitions that are far too broad. He goes on to say:

> For Geertz, at least in his early work, it is the language which is 'the culture' and speech is the social life which the culture 'frames'. Something like this would appear to be necessary if we are able to attribute good intentions to the culturally other, despite actions which may decode in our cultural framework as dubious or even negative. For instance, one way of dealing with a breach of protocol by a cultural stranger is to attribute the conduct to ignorance rather than malice.
>
> (1996: 38)

This method of looking at culture has been criticised by textualists as focussing too much on the dialogue and not recognising that society and culture often conflict with one another. While Young acknowledges this as problematic, he also says that one may look at things from a "pragmatic, dialogical perspective yet meet criticisms made

by textualists" (1996: 38). It was asserted in the section above that culture was learned, but it would be incorrect to assume that culture is static and homogenous. There are no rules as far as culture is concerned and to a large degree culture is relative (Young 1996). Young asserts that speaking 'stretches' beyond language because people are creative. There is often a conflict between language and experience and because of this language changes to accommodate other cultures.

Widdowson (1976: 33) says the following about the acquisition of language and culture which incorporates the idea of 'small culture' mentioned above.

> The child does not merely learn the mechanics of speech production; he (sic) learns to communicate effectively in a variety of social contexts, to manipulate various codes and registers, to monitor and react to feed-back in the context of discourse, to adopt various roles during linguistic interaction, and so on.

This means that in transferring language to children, one also transfers culture. This cultural transfer then moulds the child's behaviour and attitudes in later life. Andersen (1994) emphasises that communication (both verbal and non-verbal) and culture have been equated by many researchers because they are inseparable. Widdowson shows that culture is learned, while Andersen (1994) asserts that culture is also maintained through communication.

This idea is supported by Tannen (1984) who lists areas where communication is potentially problematic in cross-cultural interactions. She also supports the notion that not only is culture relative but communication is also what she terms 'culturally relative':

> Ways of communicating meaning in talk are learned in the speech community, that is by talking to people with whom one identifies socially. As social networks are always local, not global, people in different communities have different ways of using linguistic means to communicative ends, and their ways of talking, like other cultural patterns, define them as a community.
>
> (1984: 194)

This shows the inextricable link between language, communication and culture that was discussed above. Having defined culture and its link to communication, intercultural and cross-cultural communication will be dealt with in the following section.

2.1.4 The Role Played by Culture in Intercultural Communication

Thus far it has been asserted that culture is learned, it is heterogeneous, it is localised and that it is manifested through language. However, this does not shed any light on what might happen when two or more people from different cultural backgrounds interact. For the purpose of this research I will be dealing with intercultural communication, but more specifically with cross-cultural communication. A definition of intercultural communication is vital, in this case, as the perceptions of school learners about how cultures interpret politeness norms becomes necessary when doing a cross-cultural analysis. Intercultural research looks at communication between people of different cultures, while cross-cultural research compares the interactions among people from the same culture to those from another culture (Lustig and Koester, 1999). This research is essentially a cross-cultural study as the goal of this investigation "is to conduct a series of intracultural analyses in order to compare one culture to another on the attributes of interest" (Lustig and Koester 1999:61). This means that one examines how the learners would create meaning and then compares these across cultures. The respondents were required to explain why they would say something, but are possibly unaware that this may be either similar or dissimilar to what participants from other cultures might have said.

Porter and Samovar (1994: 7) define communication as being a "form of human behaviour that is derived from a need to connect and interact with other human beings. Almost everyone desires social contact with other people, and this need is met through the act of communication, which unites otherwise isolated individuals". They expand this by saying communication is "that which happens whenever someone responds to the behaviour or the residue of the behaviour of another person" (1994: 8). This definition means that everyone is communicating, either verbally or non-verbally, all the time because we cannot ever shut down our behaviour completely. Intercultural communication can be said to occur when "a message produced in one culture must be processed in another culture" (1994:7), or in other words when a member of one culture produces a message that is interpreted by a member of another culture.

Cultures are comprised of individuals but these individuals think the way they do because they have to adapt to the pressures that influence the culture (Lustig and

Koester 1999). Often members of a particular culture do not notice cultural differences because the forces that maintain these are taken for granted. These include factors like history, ecology, biology, technology and institutional support. This points towards reasons why cultures differ but also means we need to consider how members of different groups come together and communicate effectively. Lustig and Koester define intercultural communication as "a symbolic process in which people from different cultures create shared meaning" (1999: 52). This relies on the fact that the interlocutors are able to create shared meanings, which is not always possible and is often the reason for a failure in communication. In order for two people from different cultures to communicate effectively, the cultural differences must not be too great.

As culture is taken for granted, everyone is often perceived as being the same. Many cultural traits are seen as being 'common sense' notions and this results in misunderstandings when other groups perceive things differently from those they interact with. Barna (1994: 337) maintains "good intentions, the use of what one considers a friendly approach, and even the possibility of mutual benefits don't seem to be sufficient - to many people's surprise". He lists six possibilities as to why intercultural communication often fails. The most important of these are the assumptions of similarities, language differences and the tendency to stereotype and evaluate other people.

Cross-cultural comparisons are 'useful' according to Lustig and Koester (1999) because they help researchers understand cultural differences and more importantly, by using a cross-cultural comparison, one gains understanding of intercultural communicative competence.

2.1.5 Conclusion

In this discussion, I have taken the view that culture is a set of shared and learned interpretations about how the norms of a particular society work. Intercultural communication is sometimes affected by instances of miscommunication and mutual negative stereotyping. In order to understand why these instances of miscommunication occur, the norms of these cultures need to be examined to see if they contrast. In this way cross-cultural communication will be used to try and

explain intercultural communication. Intercultural communication plays an important role in the perceptions of politeness norms. Young (1996: 142) asserts:

> Speakers in all cultures make validity judgements as a normal part of understanding meaning. These judgements are manifold, not single or separate, but are part of an overall situated 'story' about meaning that speakers and hearers construct. It is normally the standards of the culture that provide the assumptions, norms etc. against which the validity is judged. Only when the 'story' construction breaks down does talk (reflexively) turn to attempts to repair or reconstruct meaning. Such recourse does not usually turn immediately into a full-fledged exploration of differences in assumptions, norms etc. - differences in culture - but may go through a series of more routine stages before the nature of the communication problem is recognised to lie at a deeper level.

This deeper level is then what this research hopes to uncover and because of this certain norms need to be examined. The following section examines politeness norms and shows their connection to culture and Speech Act Theory.

2.2 Politeness

2.2.1 Introduction

Politeness norms and the perceptions thereof are possibly even more difficult to determine and define than culture. While culture has many definitions, politeness means different things to people from different cultural backgrounds and is therefore defined by culture. Brown and Levinson (1978) assert that no matter what someone's cultural background might be, they will want to maintain 'face' in front of others. 'Face' is a term coined by Goffman (Brown and Levinson 1999), who said that face is the desire of people to maintain a favourable social impression. The concept of face plays an important role in defining politeness and will be discussed more fully in Section 2.2.2.

2.2.2 Defining Politeness

A simple definition of politeness would be an utterance which includes aspects like 'manners' and 'consideration for others', and would often include formal language. This is somewhat simplistic though and while formality and politeness are often equated with one another, they are not the same thing. Politeness does, however, have something to do with a type of speech style (Sifianou 1992). In this section this 'speech style' will be explored in order to understand more fully what politeness

means in terms of linguistic analysis. Brown and Levinson (1978) define politeness as "a complex system for softening face-threatening acts" (1999: 82).

Although politeness constrains our interactions, it actually serves the purpose of reducing friction and enhancing harmonious relationships. Sifianou (1992: 83) says that at its most basic level politeness can be defined as "consideration for the other person, according to expected norms". This notion of norms needs to be examined as these differ from culture to culture.

Scollon and Scollon (1995) claim that when we talk to someone we try to do so in a language that they will understand. In monolingual countries this does not pose a problem, but in South Africa this is more difficult as it is a multilingual setting where there are eleven official languages and multiple cultures to consider. This means that these norms might interfere with the communication process, should these norms differ across cultures. Scollon and Scollon (1995: 35) assert the following about studies in politeness and how the need to examine politeness more closely came about:

> The study of face in sociolinguistics arose out of the need to understand how participants decide what their relative statuses are and what language they use to encode their assumptions about such differences in status, as well as their assumptions about the face being presented by participants in communication.

Brown and Levinson (1978: 60) expand this further saying that we choose carefully what we say. They believe "patterns of message construction, or 'ways of putting things', or simply language usage are part of the very stuff that social relationships are made of (or, as some would prefer, crucial parts of the expression of social relations)". They further assert that by discovering the principles that govern language usage the principles which govern social interaction may become evident as the two are inextricably linked. Hurley (1992: 259) also shows the link between culture and politeness, saying, "each culture has a set of norms regarding the appropriateness of different types of expressions and conversational strategies, and the use of pitch, loudness, gestures, eye contact, and other non-verbal elements of communicative acts". Brown and Levinson (1978) were, however, looking for universals in politeness. This being said, it becomes essential to problematise politeness. If

politeness is reliant on culture, and cultures differ, it has to be considered whether or not these universals even exist. Hurley (1992: 262) expands this idea as follows:

> Politeness theories attempt to explain how and why people in different cultures establish, maintain, or support social relations in using language. They may enable us to access universal notions of appropriate communication strategies in both the L1 and L2 of a given set of learners. Such, however, has not been the case thus far, as several studies have called into question the universal applicability of different politeness theories.

In most conversations the speaker wants to be tactful, in order for the interaction to be successful. This is one of the foundation blocks for clarifying the idea of politeness in language. Sifianou (1992: 204) says:

> The concept of politeness in a broad sense, meaning appropriate behaviour according to expected norms, is central to our better understanding of the norms of social interaction. Thus, knowledge of the cultural norms which underlie and determine surface forms seems indispensable to the acquisition of socio-cultural awareness in the foreign language. Failure to grasp such differences as well as failure to appreciate the different conventions which govern politeness strategies can lead to serious misjudgements and misunderstandings.

Thus, having defined politeness and having established the need to examine it in an intercultural setting, previous research into politeness theory must be reviewed.

2.2.3 Research into Politeness Theory

2.2.3.1 Introduction

In this section politeness will be more rigorously examined, exploring notions such as face, as well as other research into politeness, particularly research which has looked at politeness norms across cultures.

2.2.3.2 Brown and Levinson's Model

Basing their concept of face on that of Goffman, Brown and Levinson (1999: 321) define this as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself". They say that face has two aspects, firstly, negative face, which relates to one's freedom from imposition and freedom of action and secondly, positive face, which is essentially the 'consistent self-image' presented by an individual, in the hopes that this self-image will meet with approval and appreciation (adapted from Brown and Levinson 1999: 321). They redefine these later with negative face being "the want of

every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others" and positive face as being "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others" (1999: 322). It can be concluded from this that in interactions, the speakers will endeavour to maintain each other's faces, both positive and negative, because it would be impolite not to do so. Brown and Levinson (1999: 322) say the following about culture and face:

> [W]hile the content of face will differ in different cultures (what the exact limits are to personal territories, and what the publicly relevant content of personality consists in), we are assuming that mutual knowledge of members' public self-image or face, and the social necessity to orient oneself to it in interaction, are universal.

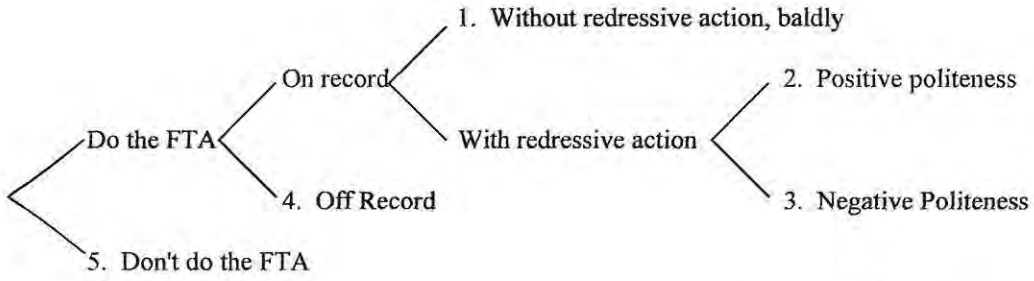
Their definition of face is important in this research because, according to Brown and Levinson, it is face wants, both positive and negative, that make politeness a universal. In their 1987 work they acknowledge that their work is somewhat dated and that the data is also difficult to test empirically, but they continue to assert that politeness is universal, and that often it is the realisation of the actual speech act that is different across cultures because face wants are universal.

The notion of politeness depends on that of face. By not wanting to impose on someone, we attend to their negative face wants in an attempt to be polite (Brown and Levinson 1999). As this research examines requests as speech acts, in particular, it is requests and their impact on face that will be explored here. It stands to reason that the speaker (S) will impose on the hearer (H) if they request something as it means they might require them to do something or refrain from doing something and therefore impede their freedom of action. S's negative face will also be encroached upon because they will have to incur a debt (Brown and Levinson 1999).

The imposition on H can be minimised by showing H that their wants are valued i.e. by using positive politeness. Positive politeness is defined by Brown and Levinson (1987) as being orientated to the positive face of H. This means that S will attend to H's positive face needs by valuing their wants. This can be done by addressing them as a member of an in-group, as a friend, or someone who is liked and their character traits admired (1987). In contrast to this negative politeness is orientated to compensating the negative face needs of H, in other words, by minimising the

imposition on H. Negative politeness can be "characterised by self-effacement, formality and restraint" (1987: 70).

In order to appear polite one needs to soften the Face Threatening Acts (hereafter FTAs) with positive and negative politeness strategies.



(Brown and Levinson 1999: 327)

Figure 1: Possible Strategies for doing FTAs

If a speaker makes a statement that is unambiguous and is willing to accept responsibility for what they have said it can be called going 'on record'. If one goes on record baldly, without redressive action, it means that the statement has been made in the most direct way possible (for example, a request made in this manner would be something like "Do this!"). This type of request can be considered an order but is in fact how many people do request things, merely using politeness markers to sweeten what they are saying. If redressive action is involved in performing the FTA it means that one tries to minimise or counteract the face-threatening potential of the act. Positive politeness attempts to minimise the differences between the speakers, by trying to make H part of the in-group, thereby satisfying the need for them to have their desires acknowledged. In appealing to someone's negative face, one acknowledges that one is impeding him or her and often one sweetens this by promising that it will not be for long. One also has the option of not performing the FTA at all.

Brown and Levinson (1987) used three sociological factors in determining the level of politeness required of a particular speaker (S). The three factors involved when performing a FTA are:

1. Power Distance (P),
2. Social Distance (D) and
3. Ranking of the imposition (R).

These are added together in order to ascertain how great the imposition of the request is. Requests are acknowledged to be less weighty than orders are to H's face wants nor as weighty as confessions to are S's face wants. The proportion of this still needs to be measured, however, and this is done using the equation:

$$W_x = D(S,H) + P(H,S) + R_x$$

W_x is the numerical value that measures the imposition of the request $_x$, D(S,H) measures the social distance between S and H, while P(H,S) is a measure of the power distance between H and S. R_x measures the value or degree to which the request is considered an imposition in a particular culture (Brown and Levinson 1999: 332). It stands to reason that the weightier the imposition of the request (W_x), the more likely the speaker is to use a strategy like not performing the FTA or going 'off record' (see Figure 1). Brown and Levinson (1978: 80) provide the following diagram to show what factors influence strategy selection.

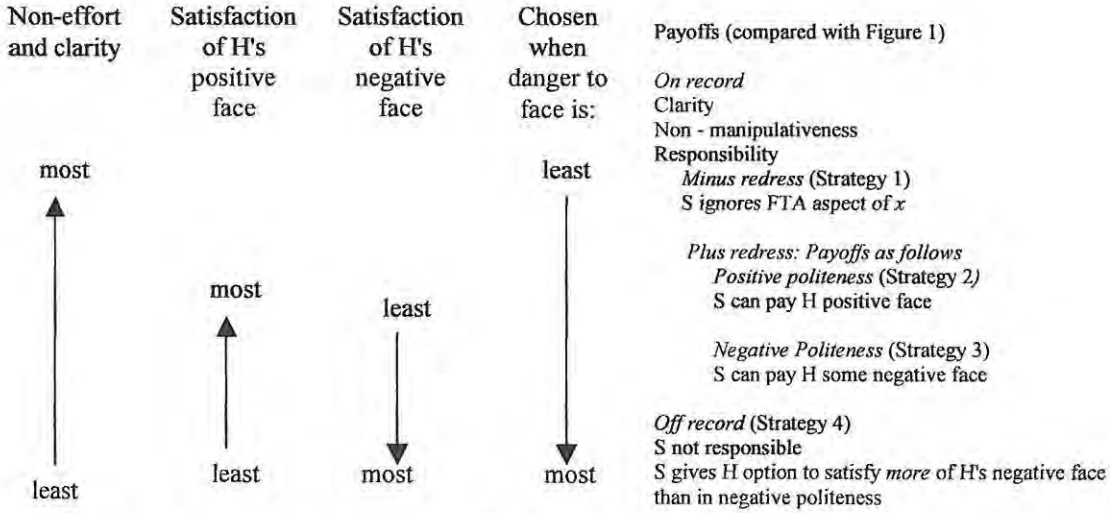


Figure 2: *A priori* factors influencing strategy selection

There are five possible strategies when trying to maintain politeness. These are represented in Figure 1 of this chapter. How face-threatening the FTA is will determine what strategy S will employ. Figure 2 demonstrates that these strategies exist upon continua. The strategies are listed on the right-hand side of the figure, and the variables along the top of the figure show when it is most appropriate to use a

particular strategy (Brown and Levinson 1978). These strategies will be discussed further in Chapter Three where the analysis of requests is discussed.

2.2.3.3 Grice's Maxims

Brown and Levinson make use of Grice's four maxims in their research into politeness. These are presented by Taylor and Cameron (1987), who simplify what Grice (1975) himself says. Grice (1975) states that there are nine maxims needed to support the Cooperative Principle and these are further divided into four general categories (more commonly referred to as Grice's four maxims).

1. Quantity
   i. Make your contribution as informative as required (for the current purposes of exchange).
   ii. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
2. Quality
   i. Do not say what you believe to be false.
   ii. Do not say that for which you lack sufficient evidence.
3. Relation
   i. Be relevant.
4. Manner
   i. Avoid obscurity of expression.
   ii. Avoid ambiguity.
   iii. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
   iv. Be orderly.

(Grice 1975: 46 cited in Taylor and Cameron 1987)

These play a role in Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness research as these maxims are used in order to be polite. Brown and Levinson refute what is known as the Politeness Principle though, asserting that this gives too much scope - everything becomes polite if it is used. They therefore base their research on the Cooperative Principle and its four maxims only. This does not mean to say that people do not flout these maxims. On the contrary, these maxims are often flouted but Brown and Levinson say that this may either be purposeful (for example, in order to be polite,

one has to be ambiguous and go off-record) as politeness may be conveyed through implicature, or, failing this, may show an absence of politeness, which under certain circumstances is important.

2.2.3.4 Speech Acts, Politeness and Requests

If one defines a speech act "as the production of language for the realisation of a certain intention" (Richards and Tay 1981: 41) it can be seen that a request is one type of speech act. With requests one asks for something and, as was discussed in Section 2.2.3.2, one impedes H's actions by making a request. In addition, if one requests baldly it might also threaten the positive face of H as they may well feel that they are not liked.

There are many ways to soften these acts according to Brown and Levinson (1999) and a list of these strategies has been included as Appendix Two. An abbreviated version appears below:

Positive Politeness Strategies	**Negative Politeness Strategies**
1. Notice, attend to Hearer's interests, wants, etc.	1. Be conventionally direct
2. Use in-group markers	2. Question, hedge
3. Seek agreement	3. Be pessimistic
4. Be optimistic	4. Minimise the imposition
5. Indicate common ground	5. Give deference
6. Offer, promise	6. Apologise

(Carrel and Konnecker 1981: 18)

The list, presented above, forms an integral part of the method required in analysing requests. In addition to this one can use the methods used by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 201) in order to examine cultural variables. They break requests down, saying they can be:

1. Direct: This is where the request is explicit and may take the form of an imperative or a performative.
2. Conventionally Indirect: Where there are certain preconditions necessary for successful speech act performance.

3. Nonconventionally Indirect: Where the statement is open-ended or indirect, such as a hint.

This, in terms of Brown and Levinson's politeness model, means that one may minimise the imposition by being more indirect, using various strategies. These are explored more fully in the Methodology Chapter.

Sifianou (1992) suggests that while being direct could be neutral or impolite, indirectness is associated with politeness. She found in her research into the politeness norms of Greek-speaking people and English-speaking people that they both favoured being indirect though Greeks favoured more off-record strategies.

Sifianou acknowledges that there are two main types of requests. One calls for information and the other for action and it is the latter that this research is concerned with.

2.2.3.5 Politeness and Culture

As was discussed in Section 2.1, culture must play a role in politeness because of the different ways people perceive things. In traditional African culture relative indirectness is seen as polite (Hunt 1996). English-speakers are said by researchers like Sifianou (1992) to be more direct in approach, but this does not mean that English speakers are less polite. It merely means that there are cultural differences in politeness norms.

Gough (1995) criticises De Kadt's (1992) research into Zulu politeness norms, saying that his work into Xhosa politeness norms and requests shows that the use of the performative ("I ask you for money", for example) is a common request strategy in interactions where there is a marked power distance. De Kadt (1992) uses the model of Blum-Kulka *et al* (1989), according to Gough, and because performatives are regarded as direct in the approach she says this shows that Zulu speakers are actually more direct than was thought before, while Gough asserts that because of differing power dynamics across cultures it is perfectly possible for a Xhosa speaker to make a polite request, while using a performative and expecting the superior to perform the action. Gough says that as the superior often performs the role of the care-giver, this

can be regarded as deferential behaviour. This illustrates that strategies may have different politeness values in different cultures.

2.2.4 Conclusion

This section aimed at giving a brief review of politeness theory and some definitions of politeness so that these could be built upon in later chapters. In the sections that follow not only is the previous research into methods of eliciting data discussed and criticised, but Speech Acts are also examined and previous research into politeness norms is explored.

2.3 Speech Act Theory

2.3.1 Introduction

While I have mentioned that this research relies heavily on discourse analysis as a method, the notion of Speech Acts and their importance has not yet been fully explored. In the remainder of this section I will discuss the origins of speech act theory and some of the previous research done on speech act theory in South Africa. This aspect will be explored more fully in Chapter Three as it is central to the method, but it is felt that some sort of overview of Speech Act Theory and how it links to politeness would be useful here, as it was alluded to in Section 2.2.3.4.

2.3.2 The Origin of Speech Act Theory

Austin (cited in Crystal 1997) said that an utterance can function in many different circumstances in interpersonal communication. He said that while many utterances do not communicate information as such, they are often the verbal equivalent of actions (Crystal 1997). At the core of speech acts are what are termed *illocutionary acts* which is what this research aims to explore. This includes looking at the theory behind the types of performatives that the respondents used, which in this case will be exclusively requests as speech acts.

This theory was further developed by Searle (1979) who extended Austin's taxonomies of illocutionary acts. Austin (1962), cited by Searle (1979), categorises illocutionary acts broadly under five headings (namely, verdictives, exercitives, commissives, expositives and behavitives) which Searle says are adequate for philosophical discussion, but, as they analyse only the illocutionary verbs and not the

acts as such, they are inadequate for linguistic analysis. Searle, therefore, recategorised illocutionary acts as follows (adapted from Searle 1979: 12 – 18):

1. Assertives: the speaker is committed, in varying degrees, to express the truth in their proposition. Examples of verbs that show this include *affirm, believe, conclude, deny* and *report.*
2. Directives: the speaker endeavours to get the hearer to do something. Examples include *ask, challenge, command, insist* and *request.*
3. Commissives: the speaker commits themself, in varying degrees, to a certain course of action. Examples of this would be *guarantee, pledge, promise, swear* and *vow.*
4. Expressives: the speaker's attitude to an event is conveyed through their language, for example, *apologise, deplore, congratulate, thank* and *welcome.*
5. Declarations: by declaring something the speaker changes or alters the status or condition of the referred to objects solely by virtue of the fact that the declaration is successfully performed, for example, *I resign, I baptise, You're fired* and *I hereby declare war.*

None of these verbs necessarily belong to one category. They may merely mark the intensity of a particular speech act, which is why Searle (1979) recategorised them.

2.3.3 Requests as Speech Acts

Requests, by their very nature of S requiring something of H, are directive. In order for the request to be successful the speech act is reliant on a number of (felicity) conditions being fulfilled. The following table has been adapted from Searle (1979: 44), to demonstrate these.

Table 2: Felicity Conditions Constraining Successful Requests

FELICITY CONDITION	DIRECTIVE (REQUEST)
Preparatory Condition	H is able to perform A.
Sincerity Condition	S wants H to perform A.
Propositional Content Condition	S predicates the future act A of H.
Essential Condition	Counts as an attempt by S to get H to do A.

If the necessary felicity conditions are present the success of the request relies on the politeness norms. Odlin (1989: 48) supports this, but states that "while politeness is probably a universal notion, the expression of politeness in different societies varies considerably". In acknowledging this one has to understand that different societies or cultures would request things differently and in order to make judgements as to why this is so, it is important to look at previous research into speech act theory in the South African context.

2.3.4 Previous South African research on requests as Speech Acts

Speech acts in so-called 'western' culture have been examined by researchers like Brown and Levinson (1987), who claim that there is 'universal politeness'. I have claimed that while politeness seems to be universal, this is not articulated in the same way by members of different cultures. While it is possible to say that many English-speaking people in South Africa come from this 'western' culture, one also has to consider the politeness norms of those who come from a traditional African culture or a so-called 'Coloured' Afrikaans-speaking culture. The remainder of this section explores the ideas about politeness theory put forward by South African researchers like Chick (1985, 1995) and de Kadt (1992, 1994).

Chick (1985) looks at racial prejudice and discrimination and the effects these have on language. He examines intra- and intercultural interactions between English-speaking people and Zulu-speaking people. Chick points out a problem with intercultural research – a problem mentioned earlier in this study. He says that most research which explores culture only ever looks at interactions that happen within a monocultural group. He says that interactions between people from different cultures are often uncomfortable and the interlocutors end up stereotyping each other.

Chick points out differences in speech patterns, like the Zulu speaker's tolerance of long monologues, which are frowned upon by South African English-speaking people. He also points out in his data that the Zulu speakers did pause much longer when actually indicating a turn-taking cue and therefore necessary politeness strategies have to be explored in order to minimise the conflict between speakers from different cultural backgrounds. He also draws on Brown and Levinson (1978) in order to explain this, saying that while English speakers make use of strategies 1 and

2 (see Figure 1, Section 2.2.3.2), which involves performing the speech act baldly on record, or using positive politeness, which are acknowledged by researchers like Scollon and Scollon (1995) as being solidarity strategies, this is more difficult in Zulu culture as members do not want to damage their kinship network and so they were stereotyped in a perception questionnaire as being modest and respectful (Chick 1985).

This shows that cultures do differ in terms of what they perceive as polite behaviour. The remainder of this section explores research done on requests as speech acts in South Africa to date.

De Kadt (1992) asserts that little attention has been paid to speech acts in the field of African language linguistics. She examined certain requests made in Zulu, and found that while it has been claimed that people from traditional African culture are less direct than English speakers she found that they used more explicit performatives, which are considered by researchers like Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) to be very direct, but they also used considerably more strong hints, which are considered very indirect.

De Kadt goes as far as asserting that Brown and Levinson (1978) could be wrong about their ideas on politeness theory. Gough (1995) essentially counters de Kadt's (1992) perceptions of Zulu politeness by claiming that "in requesting, a deferential form in African languages is to use the performative equivalent *I ask...* or *I request...*as a marker of deference in unequal encounters" (1996: 65). Gough (1995) says one can be direct but be deferential at the same time, which is what he found with his research on the Speech Acts of Xhosa-speaking people, as seen in Section 2.2.3.5. Researchers like Moyo (2002), for example, have asserted that there are similarities between isiZulu and isiXhosa, as they are both from the Nguni language family. This makes them similar in terms of both dialect and structure. It is possible then to compare results of research done on Zulu and Xhosa because they are so similar in structure.

In a later study (1994) de Kadt says that Zulu-speaking people, both from urban and rural communities, have a deeply rooted cultural value system. They believe in being

respectful to elders and to men, and indeed their society is seen as being very hierarchical. This parallels what Chick (1985) found in his investigation into the intercultural stereotyping between Zulu-speaking people and English-speaking people. De Kadt (1994) says that Zulu-speaking people value their community and their relationships within that community and tend to be very formal in the way they express themselves. She also argues here, as Brown and Levinson do, that the concept of face may be universal.

De Kadt (1994) claims that in Zulu culture it is polite to build up to a request gradually, when talking to someone of a higher status, using many grounders (defined in Section 3.3.3.7) in the hopes that the hearer will offer their help. She also says that should the speaker need to make the request explicitly, they will do so quite directly. In addition she claims that people in higher status roles tend to issue commands as requests. While she looks at requests actually made in Zulu, these trends might manifest themselves when speakers from any traditional African culture speak English.

The section above shows that there has been some research into requests in South Africa, but this research has been done on a fairly small scale as far as 'Black' South Africans are concerned. It does not appear as though any research has been done on so-called 'Coloured' politeness strategies, but Stone (1995: 277) says "very broadly speaking, the coloured identity is part of a national system of communal identity formation whose two poles are 'black' and 'white': coloured identity is thus regarded as intermediate, paradoxical, anomalous, deracinated and liminal". While his work is essentially a study of types of dialects, he does say that coloured people do not have a specific identity and tend to aspire to one of the two poles – either 'black' or 'white'. This means that one could probably maintain that the so-called 'Coloured' culture would fall somewhere between what I have termed traditional African culture and 'western' culture. While I do not agree with his definition it does show once again the difficulty with defining something as abstract as culture.

Furthermore, Chick (1995) investigates relationships between Afrikaans speakers and English speakers. From the context of this study, which involved examining the interactions of mother-tongue Afrikaans speakers with 'white' mother-tongue English

speakers, it can be inferred that Chick was looking at 'white' Afrikaans mother-tongue speakers. He states that Afrikaans speakers tended to emphasise the social distance dimension of politeness. They also use status markers, which include the use of formal titles, calling people things like 'oom' *(uncle)*, for example. I have included these findings because so little is known about the culture of the 'Coloured' Afrikaans-speaking community and it might prove useful to see what the findings from respondents from the Afrikaans-speaking school are in relation to these.

2.3.5 Conclusion

Demonstrated here is the fact that politeness norms do sometimes differ across speech acts and this provides valuable background information for the current research. The following two sections explore previous research on data collection and the type of research that has been done using these methods.

2.4 Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs)

2.4.1 Introduction

Culture and politeness as concepts have been introduced. The collection of this data is, however, problematic. Systematic observation of different perceptions of politeness norms within and across cultures is considered difficult and consequently this type of research has been avoided as not being rigorous enough, as will be seen below. This section, therefore, focuses on the theory behind one method of eliciting this data, which is known as a Discourse Completion Test.

2.4.2 Defining Discourse Completion Tests

A Discourse Completion Test (hereafter DCT) is defined in the theory as a method for collecting data, which aims particularly at eliciting how any one person perceives or says something. According to Billmyer and Varghese (2000), a DCT is a questionnaire which contains a brief series of situations which are designed to elicit particular speech acts. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 198) are even more explicit, saying:

> The test consists of incomplete discourse sequences that represent socially differentiated situations. Each discourse sequence presents a short description of the situation, specifying the setting, the social distance between the interlocutors and their status relative to each other, followed by an incomplete dialogue. Informants are asked to

> complete the dialogue, thereby providing the speech act aimed at in the given context.

This quote shows what a Discourse Completion Test is and what it aims to find out. The sections that follow are dedicated to looking at how other researchers have used DCTs to elicit data and some of the research done using DCTs as a method.

2.4.3 Discourse Completion Tests and the elicitation of data

The collection of data from DCTs is called an elicitation procedure because it enables the researcher to pick out examples of the respondent's true perceptions. It is particularly useful for a researcher who is "interested in describing the sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence of language learners" (Johnson 1992: 115). Cohen and Olshtain (1981) say that this competence relies on the ability to use the correct sociocultural rules of speaking - in other words "the ability to react in a culturally acceptable way in that context and to choose stylistically appropriate forms for context" (Cohen and Olshtain 1981: 113). Although I am not directly interested in this competence, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence are reliant on the creation of meaning by a speaker, addressee and their context of use. It can also be said that the 'content' of competence will vary from culture to culture and language to language. This meaning that is created by the speaker or hearer and the context of use is not static and changes for people of different cultures. The result of this can be miscommunication and mutual negative stereotyping (Lustig and Koester 1999). While there is no evidence that the tools for this research have been developed into a unified model, they have been used by a number of researchers and those who have used them have had some interesting results, as can be seen from the following sections.

2.4.4 Research Using Discourse Completion Tests

2.4.4.1 Introduction

It has already been stated that research using DCTs has not been systematic and that as a result it is often difficult to validate research of this nature. The remainder of this section aims at looking into previous researchers' elicitation of data using the Discourse Completion Test and criticising it to some degree.

2.4.4.2 Discourse Completion Tests in Research

Cohen and Olshtain (1981) noticed gaps in research where sociocultural competence needed to be measured and set about looking at apologies as a speech act, looking at methods of productive performance in particular. They did not use a DCT *per se* - rather they used role-playing - but this was set up in the same way that a DCT would be. The kind of information obtained in these role-playing exercises was much the same as that obtained from DCTs. Cohen and Olshtain found that they could identify culturally inappropriate utterances from the role-playing exercises. They also found that non-native English speakers who were more fluent in English were able to use the structures correctly, but those who were not so fluent were unable to apologise - either the influence of their first language was interfering, or else they did not have the necessary proficiency in the target language.

Although DCTs had already been developed, this research can be regarded as groundbreaking as it developed one of the first sets of testing tools for assessing sociocultural competence. By basing these role-playing exercises on speech acts it resembles a DCT closely enough for it to be valuable to my research. Hinkel (1997) points out the similarity between DCTs and role-play, saying that for the most part both are highly constrained because they are both 'controlled' by the researcher because of the nature of data they are looking for.

Collecting data using a DCT is useful but not without problems. The collection of data using DCTs has been criticised as being unnatural. For this data to appear more natural ethnographic research has been suggested, but this raises legal and ethical concerns (Hinkel 1997). Hinkel suggests that ideally various speech acts should be recorded, while participants were unaware that they were being observed. This would make data collection difficult as it would not be systematic, but it would also be invasive and the ethics of the research would come into question. DCTs have also been criticised because they seem to differ from natural data or casual observation. This, according to Billmyer and Varghese (2000), can be combated to a large degree by giving the respondent a lot more background to the situation to which they should respond. Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) found that not only was the data more valid when they used a DCT, they also found they obtained more information than they would have if they had merely observed people. They used their observations to

construct the DCT, so that it would appear as natural as possible. Eisenstein and Bodman were investigating how members of different cultures express gratitude. Respondents were asked for a written response to situations such as the following:

> *It's your birthday, and you are having a few people over for dinner. A friend brings you a present. You unwrap it and find a blue sweater.*
>
> (Eisenstein and Bodman 1986: 180)

This item is problematic in that the respondent may hate blue and therefore is forced to lie, but this tells us something about politeness strategies of people - which is what is being aimed at.

From this it can be seen that DCTs have previously been constructed using scenarios that will elicit particular speech acts, but in addition to this Blum-Kulka and Olshtain made use of the following three variables:

1. Situational variability - where one has to establish a native speaker's patterns of realisation with respect to the given speech acts. This is relative to the social constraints in each of the languages studied.
2. Cross-cultural variability - where the researcher establishes the differences and similarities in the realisation of the speech acts 'cross-linguistically'.
3. Individual variability - where the researcher has to establish the difference between native and non-native realisation patterns of the speech acts relative to the same social constraints.

(Adapted from Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984: 197)

Although the first variable is important, the focus of my research will lie on variables two and three, as I am not examining the language, but rather perceptions of politeness norms, cross-linguistically.

Despite the constructed context, DCTs are still vital in "our understanding of the constructs involved in authentic communication" (Billmyer and Varghese 2000: 521). It can already be seen that culture and politeness are central themes in constructing and analysing a DCT and the next section looks at further research, but particularly at those researchers who have examined culture and politeness using DCTs.

2.4.4.3 Discourse Completion Tests, Culture and Politeness

Language is ambiguous (Scollon and Scollon 1995), especially at the discourse-level. Studies have shown that instances of miscommunication occur because people have "different assumptions ... about the purposes or goals of their communication" (Scollon and Scollon 1995: 9). These differences have not been attributed to inadequate learning but differences in 'interdiscourse' communication. In this research inadequate learning may actually be a central concern as many of the respondents were speakers of English as an additional language, which means that it is possible that they have not acquired the English version of 'politeness competence'. Scollon and Scollon assert that communication between two people who differ culturally in some way, be it gender, age, ethnic identity or education, will be hampered as they may be less able to understand the inferences made by the other speaker. From the definitions of culture in Section 2.1, gender, age, ethnic identity, education and socio-economic status can all be said to be an integral part of culture. People from different cultural groups learn to code things in different ways in order to convey meaning. When encountering people from other groups they tend to alter the way they speak in order to make themselves understood, as the codes are not always shared by both speakers.

Billmyer and Varghese (2000) investigated requests in their DCTs and constructed these according to three factors: power distance, social distance and the imposition of the request. These are the three 'universal' factors which influence politeness, according to Brown and Levinson (1978), and therefore a DCT investigating politeness norms would need to be constructed using these three factors. By providing a group of both native and non-native speakers with a short situation and another group with a "content-enriched" situation, Billmyer and Varghese (2000) ascertained that more text provides more meaningful answers. According to them it is not enough to construct the DCT around power distance, social distance and ranking alone, and they made use of written prompts in order to elicit more information from their subjects. While these insights into the method are valuable, using DCTs in combination with Think-Aloud (Section 2.5) overcomes the drawbacks of short situation descriptions and provides more illuminating data than DCTs alone as the subjects will prompt each other and in that way more information could be elicited.

Beebe and Takahashi (1989) give an anecdotal account of how in Japanese culture being fairly indirect is considered polite while this is misinterpreted by Americans. They cite Brown and Levinson (1978), saying that there are universal techniques for performing face-threatening acts but say that we need to become aware of how these speech acts will differ from culture to culture. Rose, in his 1994 study, disputed the existence of these universals, saying that not enough research has been done on speech acts in non-western contexts. He used DCTs and compared these with multiple choice questionnaires (MCQ), when examining the differences between English and Japanese culture, using the variables of social distance and power distance. Rose (1994) found it surprising that Japanese people were more direct in their encounters with English people and concludes that perhaps a DCT does not yield representative data. It could, however, be possible that the Japanese respondents knew that English speakers are more direct and therefore modelled their responses accordingly.

Beebe and Takahashi (1989) focus on Brown and Levinson's factors of social distance, power distance and the imposition of the speech act as variables. Their data (1989) showed that the Japanese are particularly sensitive to social status whereas Americans were not. Many cultural stereotypes for these two groups exist and often these are a direct result of miscommunication that results from the differences in ways of communicating. Having noted this, Beebe and Takahashi (1989) set about collecting this data methodically using Discourse Completion Tests. These were constructed using social distance as the underpinning theme - respondents had to disagree with someone of a different social status to themselves in one task and give embarrassing information to someone of a different social status in another. The conclusions of this research are pivotal to this type of research - they were what Beebe and Takahashi (1989) term a 'stereotype-buster' as in many cases the Americans were more indirect and less explicit that the Japanese. This is easily explained because every situation is context dependent and each culture replied in the way that they felt would be most polite - in the given context.

This has implications for research into politeness norms because it shows how communication differences are brought to the fore so that the stereotypes can be questioned. It also gives validity to the DCT technique as a data collection procedure,

as the results of Beebe and Takahashi's (1989) research showed that social status played a role in the speech acts of both native and non-native speakers of English, it was merely the degree that was different. It also correlates with Rose's (1994) research, which means that not only was his data valid, but that people behave in the way they perceive to be 'correct' in the other culture.

Rose and Ono (1995) acknowledge their shortcomings, saying that the way the DCT of the 1994 study was constructed, might have provided culturally alien situations for the Japanese respondents because it was translated from English - using American university life for its examples. This resulted in a repeat of the study, which they found to support Rose's earlier study. Rose and Ono (1995) use this as their grounds for saying that a DCT is not valid as there was no explicit instruction allowing the respondent to opt out in DCT while there was such an option in the MCQ. They do not completely negate the importance of DCTs in this study and I would argue that a DCT in combination with Think-Aloud should provide sufficient evidence as to whether the respondent would opt out or not.

Johnston, Kasper and Ross (1998) did a study into the effects of having a rejoinder in a DCT which they term a production questionnaire (PQ), saying that a PQ is usually a DCT, but a DCT usually has an empty slot which the respondent is required to fill in and this is not always the case in a PQ. They found that the effect of the rejoinder depended on the speech act, but often proved distracting. I did not use rejoinders in the DCTs I developed because it was decided that besides being distracting it might also prompt information from the respondents instead of them producing what they really thought.

Hodge (1990) did a full investigation into speech acts of Tasmanians and South Africans who had immigrated to Tasmania, using DCTs, and came to the conclusion that:

> This study has served to show that request speech acts differ cross-culturally, not only in their realisation patterns, but also in the distribution of various conventionalised formulae, mitigating formulae or strengthening formulae. The values and attitudes which the patterns of request realisation reflect vary along a number of dimensions all culturally determined.
>
> (Hodge 1990: 126)

This validates the claim that DCTs do give valuable data and emphasises that politeness norms, and the perceptions thereof, are strongly influenced by culture.

2.4.4.4 Analysing Discourse Completion Tests

Analysing the data obtained from the DCTs will be discussed in Chapter Three, as part of the methodology. Hudson, Detmer and Brown (1995) show, however, how Speech Acts can be interpreted when using DCTs. Strategies that were found to be common to all Speech Acts by Hudson *et al* (1995) when using Discourse Completion Tests appear as Appendix 3, Table 1. This shows all the key features that Brown and Levinson (1987) identify and makes the analysis of Speech Acts using requests easier as the features are all neatly tabulated. This will be discussed in more detail in the Methodology Chapter.

2.4.5 Conclusion

This section explored DCTs, what they are and the validity of using them in this type of research. It can be seen that DCTs have been used to many different ends, especially in research on Speech Acts in additional languages. I aim to use them to look not only at Speech Acts, but to actually determine the levels of politeness used when making requests. I have argued that DCTs in combination with Think-Aloud would be most productive in investigating perceptions in politeness norms and the theory underpinning this combination of methods will be explored in Section 2.5.

2.5 An overview of Think-Aloud

> *If this last decade is any indication of the prospects for verbal reports and protocol analysis, we are looking forward to a new decade of major advances in our understanding of the human mind.*
>
> (Ericsson and Simon 1993: *liii*)

2.5.1 Introduction

In the previous section it was mentioned that Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs) would be used in combination with Think-Aloud for the purpose of this research. In this section, Think-Aloud (hereafter T-A) will be considered further. It will include definitions of T-A, as well as the major research into the technique and why it should prove useful in the research on perceptions of politeness norms. This section, particularly 2.5.2, will expand on what is meant by T-A, showing how it is

operationalised for the purpose of this study as it works slightly differently in different fields of research.

2.5.2 Definitions of Think-Aloud

Think-Aloud can be defined as a technique for eliciting data which aims at getting to the core of people's perceptions and understandings. Gerloff (1987: 137) provides a useful definition of Think-Aloud, which is central to its explanation. This definition will be expanded on and explained in the remainder of this section:

> A think-aloud protocol is a moment-by-moment description which an individual gives of his or her own thoughts and behaviours during the performance of a particular task.
>
> (1987: 137)

Faerch and Kasper (1987: 14) similarly define T-A as the informants verbalising "what they think while doing the task". They add that it is a process which "requires that informants verbalise everything they are thinking of, without any predetermination of content or form of the introspective report" (1987: 16-17).

2.5.3 The History and Aims of Think-Aloud

Think-Aloud is a method of research that started in the early 1920s and is accredited to two psychologists, Dunker and Claperède (Ericsson and Simon 1987). Informants were instructed to vocalise their thoughts in great detail, including everything they were thinking at that particular moment. Informants had to say everything they were thinking - out loud. Cohen and Hosenfeld (1981: 286) describe this process in more detail, saying, "in thinking aloud the subject just lets the thoughts flow verbally without trying to control, direct, or observe them (beyond certain instructions which an outside investigator may have given)". T-A data is unanalysed by the informant, in other words. The nature of T-A data also places the action at a particular moment in time. When the examination of such a 'mental state' is immediate, it is called introspection (Cohen and Hosenfeld 1981).

Up until now, researchers using Think-Aloud as a technique for eliciting data have focused their research mainly in the fields of second language teaching and learning (Cohen 1987; Faerch and Kasper 1987; Garcia 1994; Haastrup 1987) and psychology (Ericsson and Simon 1993). It is claimed that this method enables teachers to see

their students' thought processes and, thus, whether they understand their work and where they have problems. The T-A data makes this evident because the participant is forced to vocalise what they do not understand or that they have a problem.
Ericsson and Simon (1993) emphasise that T-A must not be conflated with mere descriptions. Descriptions are not introspective, whereas T-A aims to be introspective. Seliger (1983, cited by Cohen, 1987), identifies verbal reports (a synonym for T-A) as a source of information as to how learners actually use what they have learned - the aim being not only to describe, but also to explain.

While these definitions of T-A are important they merely provide a backdrop to the remainder of this section, which explores how T-A has been used by researchers. Section 2.5.4 describes research which utilises T-A and then some of the advantages and disadvantages of this data collection method.

2.5.4 Research Using Think-Aloud

> Within our theoretical framework, we can represent verbal reporting as bringing information into attention, then, when necessary, converting it into verbalizable code, and finally, vocalizing it.
>
> (Ericsson and Simon 1993: 15-16)

This quote shows where T-A data comes from but does not explain how it is elicited. Ericsson and Simon (1987) have suggested using sets of standardised problems when using T-A, thus being able to ascertain whether or not the informant can carry out or understand their instructions. Their research, although criticised by many in psychological circles (Smagorinsky 1998, for example), has proved to be revolutionary. As they are psychologists and not language practitioners, their interest is not so much the language features but the actual thought processes revealed by T-A. What T-A is essentially asking the informant to do, is explain their thinking. This means that in addition to knowing what one's informant thinks or would say, one also knows why they feel that way. From this it is evident that T-A used in combination with a DCT should provide useful data about how people of different cultural groups perceive and attend to politeness norms (defined in Section 2.2).

Johnson (1992) says that one ought to be aware from the outset of two problematic issues. Firstly, the researcher is assessing as accurately as possible what they think is

the thinking process of the informant. This means that while the researcher is interpreting 'accurately' what they think the informants' responses mean, they might be misinterpreting it. This issue can be combated to some degree with the retrospection test (Section 2.5.5), but the researcher must still guard against their subjective positions colouring their interpretations of the data. One also has to be careful not to oversimplify the problem, or put words in the informant's mouth (Cohen and Olshtain 1994). Secondly, Johnson (1992) says that we cannot assume that the processes involved in composing something aloud will be the same as composing something silently or in pairs. He does, however, acknowledge that there are more advantages to T-A than disadvantages, as will be shown in the remainder of this discussion. This criticism, while relevant to psychologists, is not directly relevant here because it is not essentially the thought process that is being looked at, but the linguistic aspects. Pair work is therefore important as it makes the responses intelligible, as they need to phrase their responses in a way that their partner will understand.

In his 1984 article Cohen says that while we can observe what happens around us, as researchers we are unable to see the underlying thoughts of our informants, which makes it necessary to use T-A. Cohen (1987) has used T-A in a language-learning classroom, making use of three categories in order to elicit data. The three categories are as follows (1987: 84):

1. Self-report: learners merely describe what they are doing.
2. Self-observation: this involves introspection and retrospection.
3. Self-revelation: this is "neither a description of general behaviours, nor based on inspection of specific ones. Rather it consists of 'think-aloud' stream-of-consciousness disclosure of thought processes while the information is being attended to".

The first category is important to language learning, but is not the key focus when looking at perceptions of politeness norms across cultures. The second and third categories are essentially linked and will underpin this research.

Dechert (1987) also looks at using verbal protocols as a means of analysing language learning, but says there are many inherent problems because psychologists have merely looked at the mental picture, and not taken the actual language into account.

Dechert (1987: 100) says the following in explanation of this problem, while he focuses on the non-linguistic criteria:

> Information about mental processes in analogical problem solving as well as other cognitive activities has been gained mainly, if not exclusively, on *non-linguistic criteria*.

This is an important point, but like much of the research into Think-Aloud, focuses on language learning and therefore it is difficult to see its practical implications for this research. This will be discussed below, where Smagorinsky criticises T-A as a methodology as it has been used by Ericsson and Simon (1987, 1993).

Haastrup (1987) investigated learners' lexical inferencing patterns using T-A and retrospection (explained in Section 2.5.5). She presented Danish students with paragraphs that contained words which they did not understand and in pairs they were required to work out what the word meant from its context. These conversations were recorded, transcribed and translated as the students spoke Danish to one another in order to work out the meaning of an English word. When analysing her data Haastrup (1987: 199) made use of two dimensions. She looked, firstly, at the knowledge sources that her informants used when they guessed and, secondly, how they combined the knowledge gained from these sources.

Haastrup is one of the few researchers to mention 'pair thinking aloud'. She says that pair thinking aloud is preferable to individual thinking aloud because:

> By using pairs, one stimulates informants to verbalise all their conscious thought processes because they need to explain and justify their hypothesis about word meaning to their fellow informant.
>
> (1987: 202)

In a similar manner the informants in my research have to justify their formulation of what they would say in a given situation in order to justify their own perceptions of the given politeness norms. Haastrup discovered that there is a problem with setting open-ended tasks like the one used here, that is, you cannot control how much your informants say, and while some do not say much, others say a lot more, which makes it difficult to analyse. It also means that if you have a dominant speaker, your T-A will seem incomplete. She advocates a retrospection test to combat this problem. The T-A data needs to be thought of as the primary data however. Goss, Ying-Hua and

Lantolf (1994) also report on the usefulness of T-A and pair research. They were also looking at second language research and their findings of the usefulness of T-A were similar to Haastrup's findings. While this research is not linked in anyway to research on perceptions of politeness norms, it is important because it gives validity to the research method.

In contrast to research which has merely looked at language learning when using T-A as a method, Smagorinsky (1998) uses it to explain the thought processes which underpin how cultures work. He compares T-A as a tool for Information Processing (hereafter IP), as Ericsson and Simon (1987, 1993) use it, and a method called cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT). He suggests that protocol analysis, which is used here as a synonym for T-A, can be used to ascertain a cultural history because it is not merely a problem solving process as Ericsson and Simon assert. Smagorinsky states that while IP researchers examine what information the informants attend to when performing their tasks, CHAT enables researchers to look at human development and the role of cultural tools in structuring and developing the human consciousness.

> This social and developmental emphasis views speech as a cultural tool that produces meaning-laden linguistic signs. From this perspective studying one's speech during problem solving is less centered on inferring processes through an analysis of heeded information revealed through spoken words and more concerned with looking at both the ways in which speech serves a social and developmental purpose during engagement in task-related activity and the ways in which speech represents developmental changes across the lifespan.
>
> (Smagorinsky 1998: 158)

Smagorinsky (1998) criticised Ericsson and Simon's use of protocol analysis, saying that they use it, but don't review it as a methodology. Smagorinsky (1998) believes that speech mirrors cultural traits and therefore is very important. He feels that Ericsson and Simon did not give enough status to this idea.

Ericsson and Simon (1998) say that Smagorinsky (1998) misinterprets their work by asserting that protocol analysis or T-A changes or prompts what might be said. They claim that the presence of a researcher might change the thoughts. According to Smagorinsky, researchers are inclined to shape results by predicting preferred outcomes and providing conditions which favour the development of these (1998:

166). While IP researchers provide cues and then neutralise the role of the researcher, CHAT researchers maintain that speech is egocentric and that people want to be heard. This has implications for the data as it not only validates the use of retrospection reports as part of the T-A data (see Section 2.5.4), but it also means that using the participants in pairs would bring to the fore their true perceptions because of the egocentric nature of speech.

Ericsson and Simon (1998) provide a complex diagram to explain their model of T-A, which can be summarised as follows: There is a relationship between silent thinking and the two different modes for verbalising thoughts. When a participant thinks they have what Ericsson and Simon (1998) term 'spontaneous thoughts'. These thoughts can, however, be vocalised without changing their sequence and this is what is termed 'thinking aloud'. This is differentiated from describing and explaining one's thinking by Ericsson and Simon (1998) as they say this process might lead to a change in sequence in the vocalisation of the thoughts as well as allowing other thoughts to intrude, while attempting to explain their thoughts coherently to researchers.

This shows clearly how T-A should be viewed, but Smagorinsky (2001) clarifies his earlier criticism by asserting that he began to be unsure of whether he was viewing cognition as an isolated phenomenon (like Ericsson and Simon do) or cognition as being socially interfered with by culture. Smagorinsky (2001) shifted his focus to explaining how protocol analysis could be looked at from a cultural perspective.

If we consider people to be products of their culture, what a person of a particular culture would say of something might not match the interpretation of the researcher (Smagorinsky 2001). This means that if T-A requires a participant to explain their thoughts they might get closer to understanding the cultural tools involved. This is because culture is social not individual (see Section 2.1.2). Culture does not operate at an individual level, but a group level, and not only one person can be observed. Smagorinsky does not support the IP approach, but the two are in fact very similar and in refuting Ericsson and Simon's work (1998) Smagorinsky is in effect weakening his own position.

Smagorinsky (2001: 239) says the ultimate goal of T-A research is "to understand the ways in which the tool of speech mediates the thinking that is studied through the collection of a protocol, and the ways in which uses of speech are mediated by other cultural means". This is considered fundamental and while I think that the research done by Smagorinsky is very similar in many ways to the work done by researchers like Ericsson and Simon, it is very much based upon this assumption. T-A ultimately aims to explain why participants would say things in particular circumstances in the same way that the DCTs forced them to say what they would say in a particular circumstance.

T-A research has been used in a number of different fields towards a number of different ends, as can be seen from the examples above. There are problems with this method of research, but the use of DCTs (Section 2.4) and Retrospection Reports (Section 2.5.5) should alleviate these problems as some degree of triangulation will occur.

2.5.5 Retrospective Reports

Retrospective reports play an important role in T-A as they can be used as a 'memory trace' (Ericsson and Simon 1993). In the field of psychology Ericsson and Simon show the effectiveness of using retrospection reports to test the short-term memory, but in Think-Aloud they serve a more important purpose: clarifying what an informant has said, so that their perception of culture may come to the fore. In this type of research, one makes use of what is termed 'immediate retrospection', which Cohen and Hosenfeld define as "a recollection of the experience after the event" (1981: 286).

Retrospective reports are ideally given as soon as a task has been completed by an informant. A retrospective report refers to something which has already been completed and therefore cannot be altered or influenced. It can however clear up any misunderstandings. Haastrup (1987) says that researchers need to regard T-A and retrospection reports as going hand-in-hand. The researcher uses retrospection reports to elaborate on what was said during T-A. "The policy was followed of making the retrospective session researcher-controlled and informant-initiated" (1987: 204). This means that the researcher controls the retrospection situation but keeps a completely

open mind and asks questions that will elicit what the informant thinks; not questions that will give the researcher the answers that they want. Research into second language learning using retrospective reports has also been conducted by Wenden (1986). This elicited important data about what informants knew and how they knew it, again providing validation for using retrospective reports in combination with T-A.

Ericsson and Simon (1998: 181) develop the argument that often what is verbalised in T-A is merely a string of mediating thoughts and therefore these "provide a relatively incomplete record of all the knowledge and complex cognitive processes that compose successful task performance". This problem can be overcome to a degree by the retrospection procedure: "when participants are asked to describe and explain their thinking, their performance is often changed - mostly it is improved" (1998: 182). Smagorinsky (1998) also provides support for this saying that there is intersubjectivity between the participant and the researcher and that a researcher needs to understand how and why the participant interprets a given situation. He does not actually advocate the use of a retrospection procedure, but I consider this to be an integral part of the T-A data, if one is to explain why a participant says what they do.

It is evident, both from Sections 2.5.4 and 2.5.5, that research into T-A and retrospective reports has not really considered culture and has looked at language issues which may seem unrelated. The following section aims to clarify how speech acts, discourse completion tests, retrospective reports and Think-Aloud all fit together.

2.5.6 Think-Aloud and Intercultural Perceptions

Gerloff's (1987) research makes use of T-A and translation tasks. She says that translation tasks are a good method of research because they provide the researcher with useful data about "both the comprehension and production components of language use" (1987: 137). The informant has to understand what they read and then be able to put this into their own words. Although intercultural research is somewhat different from translation, Gerloff's research is instructive, as it provides data which is comparable and it validates introspection as a method. Linked with understanding are perceptions of politeness norms. People from different cultural groups perceive things differently from one another. The effects of these subtle differences are termed

'shared perceptions' by Lustig and Koester (1999) and they say that we have unseen but shared expectations about cultural patterns, as was discussed in Section 2.1. This is evident from the following:

> Cultural patterns cannot be seen, heard, tasted, or experienced because they exist only in the minds of people. Cultural patterns are made up of people's beliefs, values and norms, and they provide a way of thinking about the world and orienting oneself to it. In other words, cultural patterns may be seen as mental programming that predisposes people to comprehend the world in a different way.
>
> (Lustig and Koester 1999: 78)

As cultural patterns are unconsciously experienced, people from different cultural groups will have different perceptions of politeness norms and so will act differently under different circumstances, depending on the power distance and social distance of the interlocutors, as well as the onerousness of the speech act (Brown and Levinson 1978). By using T-A one can essentially bring a participant's subconscious cultural patterns to the fore, thus making is useful as a method.

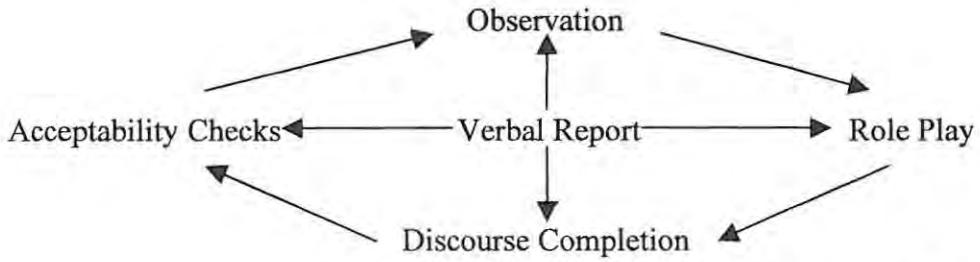
Cohen and Olshtain (1994) explore the sociocultural abilities required in interpreting speech acts. While Speech Acts have not been discussed in any detail in this chapter, they will be dealt with in Chapter Three, as they are interwoven with the methodology. Cohen and Olshtain (1994: 145) state:

> Speakers and hearers are successful speech act users when they have mastery over the speech act sets for speech acts in the language in which they converse. Such mastery calls for the ability to provide both socioculturally and sociolinguistically appropriate behaviour.

This sociocultural ability refers to the ability of the speaker to select the appropriate strategies depending on the culture involved, the age and gender of the interlocutors, their social class and rank in society, and finally their role or status in the particular interaction. Sociolinguistic ability then refers to the ability to realise the speech act appropriately through language. This includes the degree of formality and register of the speech act as this depends on the factors mentioned above.

Cohen and Olshtain note that there is a discrepancy between the informant's perceptive and productive abilities. They say that a combination of methods is needed to elicit the necessary data and overcome this discrepancy mentioned above. In their

research they used role-play much as T-A has been used. They used the following model to show how the process of using T-A in combination with DCTs and retrospection reports would look.



(Cohen and Olshtain 1994: 149)

Figure 3: Verbal Report in Speech Act Research

In this way role-play was used like T-A in that the informants were given a situation and were expected to role-play what they would do in the situation. It is evident that these methods used in combination with one another further validate the research. These methods, namely the use of the DCT, T-A (role play) and retrospective reports (verbal reports), all aim to elicit what role culture plays in the perceptions of politeness norms. Furthermore, T-A is also a valuable tool as, through it, the reasoning behind these perceptions might be brought to the fore.

2.5.7 Conclusion

Although research into perceptions of politeness norms using DCTs and T-A has not been systematic, it should be very useful in the field of intercultural communication. Different perceptions of politeness norms lead to intercultural misunderstandings and from the data obtained I should be able to see why these misunderstandings occur.

2.6 Summing Up

This chapter aimed to do three things: introduce various problems and definitions, explore previous research – not only surrounding the definitions, but also the methods of eliciting data and their import, and finally, weigh up the importance of such research. The first section of the chapter showed culture to be learned and ever-changing and the reason it is so hard to explain culture. Culture is always in a state of flux and because it involves values and morals, to name but two examples of how culture manifests itself, it is not visible, but is evident through speech. Section 2.2

aimed to explore research into politeness theory, particularly that by Brown and Levinson, and seeing how politeness was determined as well as exploring what possible factors could be attended to by the respondents. This section on politeness is essentially married to Section 2.3 which explored Speech Act Theory and examined further how politeness could be manifest through speech and the fact that politeness strategies may have different values in different cultures. This led to further discussion in Sections 2.4 and 2.5 of the theory behind the methods employed in eliciting cultural and politeness data. These sections weighed up the options presented by examining the previous research into similar questions and argued for the model which will be discussed in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe the methods employed in the investigation of school learners' perceptions of politeness norms within and across selected South African cultures. The chapter is divided into three main sub-sections which explicate, firstly, the orientation of the research, secondly, the use of discourse analysis as a method when examining speech acts and, lastly, a detailed discussion of the actual method.

3.2 Outline of the Research

The initial goal of this research project aimed at investigating school learners' perceptions of politeness norms within and across cultures. The data was obtained using a combination of a Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs) (see Section 2.4), Think-Aloud (see Section 2.5) and Retrospective Reports/Procedure (see Section 2.5.5). The learners had to think-aloud before they filled out the DCT, after which the retrospection procedure was completed.

This means a major proportion of the analysis of the data relies on the method of discourse analysis, which is acknowledged as a qualitative research method, although this term tends to be problematic (Cantrell 1993) as qualitative and quantitative research are not necessarily mutually exclusive. A small amount of statistical data will be presented, but it can not really be said that it is quantitative, as the main focus is on the elements of the discourse. Trends in the discourse will be explored using these statistics, but the features of the discourse are the main focus, and how these are perceived by the learners. Therefore, while some of the features of quantitative research are present, this does not mean that the research is quantitative as such, and the emphasis should rather depend on the orientation of the research. Although quantitative research has been done while using discourse analysis (Cutting 2000), this statistical data, while interesting, is peripheral and the focus is on language as a social practice.

Discourse analysis will be used because the research requires the examination of language in social situations and the way meaning is constructed in a particular culture. This fits into the interpretivist framework because it regards language use as a dynamic event and the linguistic choices made as social strategies (Chen 1997). In an interpretivist paradigm it is understood that reality is constructed and therefore the researcher has to seek the subjective perceptions of other individuals (Cantrell 1993).

In interpretivism the focus lies on understanding and explaining incidents that occur through human interaction and the social structures that govern them. Events can only be understood through the process of interpretation and this is influenced by the social context. Fasold (1990: 65) says that this type of discourse analysis is sociolinguistic in nature because it aims to analyse "how people manage their discourse behavior with respect to their cultural backgrounds and their interactive goals at the time of talk". This research, therefore, aims to be more qualitative in orientation, as it focuses on the participants' perspectives of their own behaviour, while a comparison of these shows why communication may fail in an intercultural setting.

3.3 Discourse Analysis as a Method

3.3.1 Introduction

Crystal (1997: 116) says "*discourse analysis* focuses on the structure of naturally occurring spoken language, as found in such 'discourses' as conversations, interviews, commentaries and speeches". He states further that, upon analysis, conversation is a structured activity and participants tacitly use a set of basic conventions. Yule (1985) takes this notion further, asserting that discourse analysis looks at the way language is 'used', rather than merely looking at its components. While as a language-user one may recognise something as being superficially 'correct' or 'incorrect', one is also able to look deeper and make sense of what has been said. In an article on written discourse analysis Grabe (1984:100) defines discourse in many different ways, but says that for sociolinguists it can be defined as "the study of language in actual use in different contexts, by different people, and for different purposes".

Having defined discourse analysis as looking at language in its social context, rather than merely looking at its structure, the focus will shift to looking at communicative competence and Speech Act Theory.

3.3.2 Communicative Competence

Sifianou (1992) asserts that even within one culture, communication may not be easy because of social or personal differences between speakers. This problem is exacerbated when people from different cultural backgrounds come into contact. While this is reliant to a degree on linguistic competence, because of language differences, when contemplating the issue of politeness, what really comes under examination is the speaker's communicative competence.

'Communicative competence' was the term coined by Hymes (1962) who felt that "the ability to speak competently not only entails knowing the grammatical rules of language, but also knowing what to say to whom in what circumstances and how to say it" (Scarcella, Andersen and Kraschen 1990: xi). With this comes the notion that knowing the grammar of a language is not enough, to know a language means understanding the rules which make interaction between people possible. In homogenous societies this is easier to assess, but in South Africa, which is heterogeneous, this is more difficult to assess because often it is an assessment of the communicative competence of a person's second language.

Andersen (1990: 6) says the following of communicative competence:

> Although rules for appropriate language use may vary from culture to culture, they are usually sensitive across languages to many of the same factors, including the context and topic of discourse and the sex, age and status of the people speaking.

This means that members of any particular cultural group will probably be able to make themselves understood, but there is the possibility that they might misunderstand members from another cultural group, because while they have communicative competence in their own first language, they do not realise that this competence is different for the other speaker. Discourse analysis is therefore used to try and come to some understanding about some of the rules forming a particular culture's communicative competence.

3.3.3 Speech Act Theory and Politeness: Towards a Model of Analysis

3.3.3.1 Introduction

While I have said that I will employ discourse analysis as a method, this research does not make use of the typical discourse analysis technique. The focus of the research is politeness norms and because of this notions such as Pragmatics and Speech Act Theory need to be explored as these play a central role in the actual analysis of the data.

Kasper (1987: 39) defines pragmatics as "the study of acting by means of language, of doing things with words. In this view, linguistic pragmatics constitutes a subset of a more comprehensive theory of human action". Pragmatic competence is, therefore, a component of communicative competence because in order to communicate speakers need to make use of the different types of knowledge (for example syntactic, phonological or sociolinguistic knowledge) that make up communicative competence.

Accepting that second language speakers may not be entirely competent in English, it was decided that they would be required to use English in the DCTs and T-A as it was their perceptions of English politeness norms that were to be examined.

Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) set up a methodology for looking at speech acts known as the Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realisation Patterns (CCSARP) and this has been employed and adapted by researchers like Kasper (1989) and Hudson, Detmer and Brown (1995) in their investigations into speech acts and politeness.

In Section 2.2.3.4 the strategies of indirectness and directness were examined and it was explained that in attempting to be maximally polite one would favour an indirect approach. This of course depends on the nature of the relationship of the conversants and the goal of the interaction. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) break down each sequence (which they obtained from DCTs) which may have in addition to the head act, any or all of the following (refer to Table 1 in Appendix 3 for Hudson *et al's* analysis table):

1. Alerters (Hudson *et al* 1995) alternately termed Address Terms (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984)
2. Head Act

3. Supportive Moves (Hudson *et al* 1995) alternately termed Adjuncts to Head Act (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984)

This breakdown is shown in the following sentence:

Mom (Alerter), please buy me some socks today (Head Act) as all mine have holes in them (Supportive Move).

It was said in Section 2.2.3.4 that requests are face threatening acts and various strategies are employed for minimising the threat to the hearer. By taking each of the above sequences (Alerters, Head Acts and Supportive Moves) and breaking them into their component parts a model for analysis is created.

3.3.3.2 Alerters

While Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) refer to this dimension as address terms, Hudson *et al* (1995) refer to them as alerters and for the remainder of this work I will be adopting Hudson's term because often one uses something that gets someone's attention without necessarily using a term of address and this term is suitable because it is more general. These alerters can be broken down into six types. They are fairly self explanatory and include attention getters (AG), Surname (S), first name (FN), undetermined names (U), titles and roles. Often more than one of these is used and while Hudson *et al* explore only these types I have made allowances for using combinations of alerters such as an AG+Title+S, like *'Excuse me Dr. Smith'* as well as the use of no alerter at all. While it is fairly easy to see how most of the alerters are derived there is one exception and that is the 'undetermined names' sub-category (U), which refers to words which are used as names but do not come across as being aimed at a specific person for example ***Stranger*** *can you please close the gate.*

3.3.3.3 Request Perspectives

The request perspective is also examined in this analysis. When making a request, one threatens H's negative face and therefore by naming yourself, or rather not naming them, you are softening the request. The following is a list adapted from Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 203) from the most imposing to the least imposing.

1. Hearer Orientated (HO): *Would* ***you*** *please pass me the salt?*
2. Speaker Orientated (SO): *Please give* ***me*** *the salt.*
3. Speaker and Hearer Orientated (SHO): *Could* ***we*** *go shopping today?*

4. Impersonal (Imp): here neutral agents are used, for example people, someone, they, one or the use of passivisation.

3.3.3.4a Request Strategies

Head Acts are said to consist of nine different strategy types (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984). These are listed below, though not all of the strategies were found in the current research. Again the list goes from the most imposing strategy (most direct) to the least imposing (most indirect) strategy. This table was adapted by placing the synonyms for the strategy type in column 1, for example, *You have to close the door* would be termed a 'locution derivable' by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), an 'obligation statement' by Kasper (1989) and a 'statement of fact' by Hudson *et al* (1995). The definition which follows these request strategy types is quoted from Kasper (1989). Column 2 indicates which of the terms I have opted to use when classifying my data, while column 3 contains an illustrative example. Where possible Kasper's (1989) terms have been used because I have made use of those particular definitions in the table. The only exception was 'statement of fact' where I have in fact adopted Hudson *et al*'s term because the request is often phrased as either a fact or command and this term seemed to classify it best.

Table 1: Request Strategy Types: Definitions, Coding and Examples

TYPES	USE IN ANALYSIS	EXAMPLES
Mood Derivable: The grammatical mood of the utterance signals illocutionary force.	Mood Derivable (MD)	Close the door. Please pass the book.
Explicit Performatives: The illocutionary force of the utterance is explicitly named by the speakers.	Explicit Performatives (EP)	I am asking you to close this door.
Hedged Performative: a performative as above, but with a hedging mechanism.	Not found	I would appreciate it if you would close the door
Locution Derivable/ Obligation Statement/ Statement of Fact: The hearer's obligation to perform the act referred to in the proposition stated.	Statement of Fact (SF)	You have to close the door.
Scope Stating/ Want Statement: The speaker's wish that the hearer carries out the act in the proposition stated.	Want Statement (WS)	I want you to close the door. I wish you would close the door.

Suggestory Formula: The illocutionary force is indicated by a semantic formula expressing a suggestion.	Not found	How about closing the door.
Preparatory: This involves the hearer's willingness to carry out the act.	Preparatory (Prep)	Could you close the door. Can you open the window.
Strong Hint: The requestive force has to be inferred from the context, but one element is explicitly stated.	Strong Hint (SH)	The door is still open
Mild Hint: The requestive force has to be inferred from the context, but no mention is made of elements relevant to the proposition.	Not found	It's getting rather draughty in here.

(This table has been compiled using Blum-Kulka and Olshthain 1984: 202, Kasper 1989: 46, and Hudson *et al* 1995: 14-15)

3.3.3.4b Examining Modality in Request Strategies

The modality of the verbs will also be examined as it appears as though modal verbs make a request either more or less direct and therefore play a role in politeness. Although Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 203) mention these as syntactic downgraders, they do not really explore these fully and so I have incorporated their syntactic downgraders to fit into Carrel and Konneker's (1981: 21) theoretical hierarchy of request strategies. The amended hierarchy appears in the table below. This table was created using Carrel and Konneker's (1981: 21) table but I inverted it so that the most direct and imposing modals are at the top of the table and these progress downwards towards the less imposing and more indirect modals. I have also used my own more suitable examples in the example column.

Table 2: Theoretical Hierarchy of the Modality in Request Strategies

	SYNTACTIC/ SEMANTIC FEATURES	EXAMPLES
0	Imperative - Elliptical	A loaf of bread
1	Imperative	Give me a loaf of bread
2	Declarative - No Modal	I want a loaf of bread
3	Declarative - Present Tense Modal	I'll take a loaf of bread
4	Declarative - Past Tense Modal	I'd like a loaf of bread
5	Interrogative - No modal	Do you have a loaf of bread
6	Interrogative - Present Tense Modal	Can you give me a loaf of bread
7	Interrogative - Present Tense Modal (Negation)	Can't you give me a loaf of bread
8	Interrogative - Past Tense Modal	Could you give me a loaf of bread
9	Interrogative - Past Tense Modal (Negation)	Couldn't you give me a loaf of bread
10	An Embedded 'If' Clause	I'd appreciate it if you gave me a loaf of bread.

3.3.3.5 Downgraders

Downgraders serve the purpose of softening the request and minimising the imposition of the request. In my research I have made use of the following categories of downgraders (adapted from Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984: 203 and Hudson *et al* 1995: 15-18).

a. Politeness Markers (PM): The use of words like ***sorry, excuse me, please*** and ***thank you*** in the sequence.
b. Understater (Und): Elements by which the speaker strives to minimise the imposition to the Hearer, for example, *Please loan me a **little** bit of sugar.*
c. Consultative Device (CD): The speaker seeks to involve the Hearer and strives for their co-operation, for example ***Do you think** you could loan me some sugar*?
d. Downtoner (DT): The speaker attempts to down-tone the imposition and signals that the hearer may not want to comply, thereby valuing both their positive and negative face needs, for example, *Could you **perhaps** loan me some sugar?*
e. Conditional (Cond): This actually is a downgrader to the head act itself and seems to rely on the modal verbs. It relies on the hearer's compliance with the speaker's needs, for example ***Could** you loan me some sugar?* is conditional on the hearer actually wanting to borrow the sugar. Conditional downgraders occur with past tense interrogative modals and those with embedded 'if' clauses.

3.3.3.6 Upgraders

Upgraders seek to aggravate the request and can be very direct and almost impolite, according to the theory. I have adapted this somewhat because the upgraders often attended to the face wants of the hearer because they upgrade how much of an imposition it is to the hearer and downplay the actual request. It also appears as though S would not ask H, in other words impose, except that there might be a really good reason for doing so and so upgraders emphasise the urgency of the request. Definitions have therefore been not only adapted from Blum-Kulka (1984: 204), but they have also been invented in the case of lexical uptoners, though the term is borrowed from Hudson *et al* (1995).

a. Intensifier (Int): Where the speaker over-emphasises the reality of the proposition, for example, *Take off your shoes, **they're filthy!*** This actually threatens the hearer's negative face wants by making the imposition more and therefore relying

on their help more, for example, *Please help me scrub the floor because it is **so dirty***, almost obliges the hearer to comply with the request.

b. Lexical Uptoners (LU): These are words which actually impose more on the hearer, but seek to involve them at the same time, for example, *Help me scrub the floor, **quickly***.

c. Expletives (Exp): Words through which the speaker explicitly expresses an emotional attitude. This is extremely direct and if done on record would not be considered polite at all. An example would be *You haven't yet helped me scrub the **bloody** floor*.

It appears that because the nature of requests is intrisically face threatening, Downgraders tend to be used more prevalently than Upgraders and speakers tend to value the face wants of their listeners in an attempt to be polite.

3.3.3.7 Supportive Moves

The term *Supportive Moves* was used by Hudson *et al* (1995) as a synonym for Blum-Kulka and Olshtain's (1984) term *Adjuncts to the Head Act* and although I make use of their categories I use Hudson's term from here on because in research using requests the nature of the adjunct is usually supportive in nature. Supportive Moves modify the Head Act in some way, either internally or externally. The following categories and their definitions have been adapted from Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 204-205), barring the last two (Introductions and Rewards), which I added.

a. Imposition Minimizer (IM): This is Hudson *el al*'s term for a cost minimizer whereby the speaker seeks to show the hearer that they are aware of the cost involved, for example, *Can you pass me the salt, **if you can reach it***. I have also included in this category statements which show that what is being asked is an imposition but still minimises the cost to the hearer by making sure that the request does not impede their wants for freedom of action and thus satisfies the negative face wants of the hearer, for example, *Please close my bedroom door **when you walk past it***.

b. Grounders (G): The speaker gives a reason for making the request, for example, *Please pass me the salt, **I forgot to season the meat*** or ***I left my wallet on my desk**, could you please lend me some money*.

c. Disarmers (Dis): The speaker indicates that they are aware of potential offence that may be caused by the request like ***I hope you don't mind** but I really need*

you to pass the salt. Disarmers often serve as Consultative devices (discussed in Section 3.3.3.4b) as they often directly address the face wants of the hearer and seek to value what they think.

d. Sweetener (S): The speaker exaggerates their appreciation of the hearer's ability to comply with the request. This attends to the hearer's positive face as they feel that their character traits and their needs are being valued for example ***That shirt is absolutely amazing,*** *could I borrow it next Friday.* This often seems to be akin to pleading - the more you want something, the more sweeteners are used.

e. Getting a Pre-commitment (P-C): The speaker precedes their request with an utterance that seeks to pre-commit the hearer to complying with the request. This seeks to satisfy the speaker's positive face needs as they do not want their request turned down. Examples of pre-commitments would include ***Can you do me a favour?*** *Could you please pass me the salt.*

f. Apology (Apol): Apologies are more often alerters than they are actual apologies, but there are times when the speaker tries to minimize the imposition by apologising for causing the hearer any inconvenience, thereby attending to their negative face needs for example, ***I'm really sorry to ask you this*** *but could you please loan me some money.*

g. Check Availability (CA): Often a speaker prefaces the Head Act with an utterance that checks whatever preconditions are necessary before making the request, for example ***Are you wearing your new shirt tonight?*** *If not, could I please wear it.* This seeks to minimize the threat to the speaker as they will not request something if they know they are not going to get it. It also minimises the threat to the hearer because making them feel guilty about having to deny a request might threaten both their positive and negative face wants.

h. Introductions (Intro): Introducing oneself to someone one does not know lowers the social distance between the co-conversants. This reduces the sum of P+D+R so that the subsequent level of politeness necessary is less. It also seeks to include both the speaker and the hearer in the speech act. This is a technique used in positive politeness and an example would be *Good morning,* ***my name is John Smith,*** *I live next door to you and I would really appreciate it if you could remove your car from my drive way.* Similarly *I live next door to you* also seeks to minimise the imposition of the request as it asserts a common ground.

i. Rewards (Rew): Rewards are similar to imposition minimizers in that through the acknowledgement of the cost to the hearer the speaker promises some sort of repayment or reward. This category would include any statement that makes the imposition seem less by offering something in return if the request is carried out, for example, *If you pass me the salt,* ***I'll buy you something*** or *If you could lend me some money,* ***I will pay you back in the morning***.

3.3.4 Conclusion

This section shows how most of the data was categorised and both defines and sets the boundaries of the categories concerned. In the remainder of this chapter I will discuss how the data collection technique was formulated and then how the data was collected.

3.4 Discussion of Method

In a conference presentation Hunt (2001) did a similar study to the one presented in this research, looking at how African language mother-tongue students made requests in English. She used a combination of DCTs and T-A and the methods presented below are developed from that study.

3.4.1 The Participants

Three local schools in Grahamstown were approached and asked to assist in providing respondents for the research. These schools were representative of the three main cultural groups in the area. The respondents were Xhosa mother-tongue learners from an ex-DET school[4], so-called 'Coloured' learners who speak Afrikaans as a mother-tongue from an ex-HOR school[5] and first language speakers of English from a private school. The schools and the participants will remain anonymous for ethical reasons and hereafter the Xhosa speakers will be referred to as respondents from School 1, Afrikaans speakers will be referred to as respondents from School 2 and English speakers will be referred to as respondents from School 3. The DCT and T-A procedure was administered to 29 same-sex pairs of Grade 10 learners, five pairs of

[4] DET stands for Department of Education and Training and historically these schools were only for 'Black' learners and still are predominantly.

[5] HOR stands for House of Representatives and historically these schools were only for 'Coloured' learners.

males and four pairs of females from School 1, five pairs each of males and females from School 2 and five pairs each of males and females from School 3. Same-sex pairs were chosen so as not to introduce the variable of status relating to gender into any given interaction. Grade 10 learners were chosen because by this grade it is generally assumed that non-mother-tongue speakers of English should have a good grasp of English as an additional language, if it is included in their school syllabus. With the data collection being done fairly late in the school year it was also felt that the research might hamper examinations that were taking place for both the Grade 11s and 12s.

Each pair was left alone in a classroom with a tape-recorder and the DCT sheet (see Appendix One). I listened to them through headphones from outside the classroom so that I could administer the retrospection procedure. I tried as far as possible to say nothing to them beyond going through the Think-Aloud instructions with them. In the case of the participants from School 1 this proved to be impossible as their competence in English was quite low and they didn't understand many of the words in the DCT and I had to intervene to get some data. The participants from School 1 also took a very long time to complete the DCT (an average of an hour and a half per pair), which is why only 9 pairs responded and this means that the data for School 1 is not as representative as that for the other schools. I have compensated for this in the statistics though, as each situation's percentage was gained using the actual number of utterances for each school.

In addition to numbering the schools, each speaker was numbered using the formula explained below.

1FD2: The first number refers to the school, so this speaker is from School 1. The first letter refers to the gender of the participant: F is female, M is male. The second letter refers to the pair number (A to E, in most cases) and the last number refers to the speaker (either 1 or 2 based on which member of the pair spoke first in the recorded conversation). This means this speaker is a female from School 1, pair D, speaker 2.

In addition to this all the names of other schools, teachers and friends have been replaced with random letters of the alphabet, unless it was clear that the respondents had made up the names.

3.4.2 Discourse Completion Tests in Combination with Think-Aloud

By using Discourse Completion Tests in combination with Think-Aloud (discussed in Section 2.5), it is hoped that the problems of validity that arise in the literature on DCTs will be reduced. Having subjects actually discussing the situation aloud before giving a written response, is aimed at making the DCT as naturalistic as possible. The spoken data was then compared to the written responses of the participants.

The construction of the DCTs relies on the definitions of culture and intercultural communication given in Section 2.1. This means that speech acts and the realisation thereof are reliant on culture and Hodge asserts that:

> Different communities, even those in which people are native speakers of the same language, show significant variations in language behaviour when they differ in regard to sociocultural norms, values and beliefs. Sociocultural variables are reflected also in pragmatic norms which may differ from speech group to speech group. The intended pragmatic force may be misinterpreted by a speaker from another speech community where such differences exist.
>
> (1990: 121)

These different pragmatic norms that aim at creating shared meaning are then used as examples in the DCT in order to generate results about how speech acts are performed in that culture. The construction of the DCT is reliant on this definition because the elicitation of a particular speech act is embedded in the type of questions in the DCT and this might differ across cultures. By using a DCT in this way one of the aims is to ascertain whether or not the speech act is realised differently across cultures. If, for example, a particular group seems to make requests in a specific manner, the strategies they use for realising the speech act need to be examined as they may well reflect different politeness norms. These have to be compared cross-culturally (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984).

Following Hunt (2001), situations were devised using Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987, 1999) factors of Power Distance (P), Social Distance (D) and Ranking (R). As discussed in Section 2.2.3.2 these are added together to determine how face

threatening an act is and how polite the speaker needs to be. By keeping the onerousness of the request (R) small, nine situations were constructed using the factors P and D, where P is high, equal and low and where D is high, equal and low. Using the following table, situations were constructed where the participants had to state what they would say in given circumstances to various people. While the requests were all minor the situations depended on them asking people who they did not necessarily know as well as people they were close to in order to see if this had any effect on how they would request something.

Table 3: Constructing a DCT Using the Variables P And D

	+ POWER	= POWER	- POWER
+ DISTANCE	Mayor	Stranger	Young child (stranger)
= DISTANCE	Class teacher	Classmate	Classmate (if S is prefect)
- DISTANCE	Mother	Best friend	Younger brother

Using the people represented in the table as representative of the variables P and D a DCT was set up with nine situations (see Appendix One). I chose the people represented in the table, using this matrix, as I wanted a broad spread of people one could request things from, while still using figures that the learners would recognise. I also kept R small by thinking of situations that should not have caused offence. This proved to be problematic as while R appeared to be low to me, to many of the learners R appeared to be high and this seemed to influence the way they requested items.

The participants were given explicit instructions at the top of the DCT explaining the Think-Aloud procedure, although it was not called that. These were the instructions administered to the participants.

Please read the following instructions before you fill out this questionnaire. For each of the examples below you must follow all the steps. There is no right or wrong answer, so just say what you think.

1. *Read the example carefully*
2. *Think about what you would say and why you would say it*
3. *Discuss with your partner what you would say, in English*
4. *Try and agree about what you say by discussing your choice with your partner*
5. *When you have agreed on what to say, write it in the space provided*

Although the teachers were informed as to the focus of the research I did not tell the learners what I was looking at, they were merely told by the teachers that I was looking at their language, not that it was the strategies in particular I was looking at. The ethical issues of providing such vague information are acknowledged, but it was felt that telling the participants exactly what was actually being investigated would change the way they responded. The pairs of students were expected to discuss what they would say and why, come to an agreement and then write down what they would say.

This proved to be problematic, as a large proportion of the pairs especially in Schools 1 (100 percent of the responses) and 2 (70 percent of the responses) did not discuss what they would say, or if they did they discussed what they would say and not why they would say it that way. This was combated to some degree by the retrospection procedure. It was also problematic that in some cases they did not actually write down what they decided on, but a briefer answer. They did not necessarily write the same thing as each other, although this was one of the instructions.

3.4.3 Retrospective Procedure

When the participants had written down what they would say I re-entered the room and cleared up any problems that I had heard during the T-A section of the DCT. This was set up much like the retrospective reports discussed in Section 2.4.5 above. Having realised that the T-A technique had not gone exactly as intended, the retrospective procedure (RP) became not only retrospective reports, but a type of T-A protocol as well. I asked the respondents what they had said and why they had used these words and not others, occasionally providing examples. These conversations then became the data of what factors were attended to, much as the Think-Aloud data would have been used if the participants had been able articulate their thoughts without being asked direct questions. I made a conscious effort not to ask leading questions, asking things like *Why would you say that to this person?*, *Why wouldn't you say "Give me the money!"?* and *Why did you say it like that?*.

3.4.4 Analysis of Data

All the data collected (including the T-A, the written data and the RP) was transcribed and this was analysed in the following manner. I intended to sort the written data

from the DCTs into tables to analyse. Occasionally (see Table 4 below) the written (DCT) data was not suitable because it was written in reported speech or the respondents had managed to vocalise a more coherent answer than they managed to write down. In these cases data from Think-Aloud (T-A) or Retrospective Procedure (RP) had to be used. The data selected from this transcription was then sorted into tables (see Appendix 4: Tables 1 to 27). This included how each pair had made the request for each situation. The tables indicate which data has been used by the abbreviations T-A, DCT or RP under the pair number. In certain instances the abbreviation W (written) is also used. This shows an instance where the respondent tried to write down what they had said during the T-A, but did not finish it successfully.

Table 4: Proportions per School where DCT, T-A and RP data was used

	School 1	School 2	School 3	Total percentage used
DCT	59	76	89	86.1 %
T-A	12	9	1	8.5%
RP	9	5	0	5.4%
Percentage where data from DCT could be used per school	73.8%	84.4%	98.9%	

This table presents how many occurrences there were where the data obtained by the DCT could be used. These percentages were calculated by counting the frequency that each of these methods had to be used from the information presented in Tables 1 to 27 of Appendix Four. School 3, for example, managed to follow the instructions for completing the DCT better and there was only one instance where the response from the DCT was not used, but in the data for schools 1 and 2 it was necessary to use the data from the T-A and RP data, in order to make sense of what the respondents were trying to say.

In addition to this, the pairs did not always come to an agreement before writing down what they would say and in these instances both respondents' requests have been

analysed except where it was felt that the data presented by the pair was similar enough to select just one as representative in the table.

Adapting the tables used by Hudson *et al* (1995), uncoded data was placed on one side of the table and analysed in the other half so the coded data appears alongside each statement. For ease of reference these coded responses are numbered 1-6, as follows (these categories were explained in Sections 3.3.3.2 to 3.3.3.7):

1 Alerters
2 Request Perspective
3 Request Strategy
4 Downgraders
5 Upgraders
6 Supportive Moves

The category is placed in the box and these appear in the order that they appear in the request. An example of this would be an analysis like the following:

Please can you take the dog for a walk because the sun has finally come out.

1: None
2: Hearer Orientated (HO)
3: Preparatory (Prep)
4: None
5: None
6: Grounder (G)

There is no alerter so 'none' appears next to 1; the request is referred to ***you*** so it is hearer orientated (see 2); 3 shows that the request strategy is preparatory in nature because it seeks the hearer's willingness to perform the action, *Please **can** you take the dog for a walk*; there were no upgraders or downgraders in this request so positions 4 and 5 appear as 'none'; and finally 6 shows a supportive move in which a reason for the request is given. This is called a grounder and is the subordinate clause of the example sentence. Modality is examined in more detail in Chapter Four, but this involved looking at the modal verbs shown in the raw data in Tables 1 to 27 of Appendix Four and counting the frequency of their usage per situation and per school. In this case the modal verb would be *can*, which would then be analysed using the modality hierarchy table (Table 2), that appears in Section 3.3.3.4b. *Can* is ranked

number six in the hierarchy table, and can be considered as one of the more common modal verbs to use when making a request, though this is very much dependent on the politeness strategies employed by S.

Not all requests were as clear cut as the example presented above and many used more strategies per situation than this one. These have all been tabulated and counted and then trends have been found using basic statistics where the total usage of the category has been calculated, followed by calculating the average usage per school and then the average usage per situation by the participants of each individual school. This was done by doing some adaptations to previous research and the results are presented in Tables 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7 of Chapter 4.

These tables are structured following Hudson *et al* (1995). The explanation as to how the statistics for these tables were derived is explained column by column below (see for example Table 1 of Chapter Four, which is reproduced on the following page for reference purposes). The **Total Average** column score results were obtained by using the total out of 280 responses (although there were 29 pairs and nine situations the responses were calculated individually because of extra utterances made which account for this totalling 280 responses and not 261). The column does not total 100% because these strategies are not necessarily present in each response, or they may have been used more than once by a particular respondent. This is useful because it shows how often a particular strategy was used overall, and then one can compare how individual schools compare with this average. Using Table 1 as a reference, one can see that Attention Getters were used a total average of 26.1%, but while speakers from School 2 seemed to fit in with this statistic, respondents from School 3 used it much more (35%) and respondents from School 1 used it a lot less (11.5%). Hudson *et al*'s method was also adapted in order to calculate the **Breakdown of the Total Number of Speakers** column. For each strategy that each school made use of one would take the total number of uses of that strategy, for example Imposition Minimizers for School 1, and then multiply these by 100 and divide this number by the number of utterances for that school, in this example School 1. This is done similarly for each school. This is indicative of how often a particular school makes use of a particular strategy across the nine situations, which is useful because it shows what strategies are favoured by the speakers of the three schools.

Table 1: Alerters Used By Speakers From The Different Schools, Overall And High Use Per Situation For Requests

STRATEGIES	OVERALL USE			STRATEGY PERCENTAGE USE BY SITUATION WITH P AND D DESIGNATIONS									
Alerters	Total Average	Breakdown of Total Number of Speakers		S1 + –	S2 = +	S3 – =	S4 + +	S5 – –	S6 = –	S7 – +	S8 + =	S9 = =	High Use Average
Attention Getters (AG)	26.1%	School 1	11.5%		11.1	28.6	22.2	11.1		22.2		11.1	11.8%
		School 2	28.3%		40	60	18.2		30	80		41.7	30%
		School 3	35%		75	33.3		36.4	41.7	100		27.3	34.9%
First Name (FN)	3.6%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	5.1%			10		14.3				16.7	4.6%
		School 3	4.9%					18.2	8.3			18.2	5%
Undetermined Name (U)	0.7%	School 1	2.6%		11.1	14.3							2.8%
		School 2	0%										0%
		School 3	0%										0%
Title	3.2%	School 1	1.3%				11.1						1.2%
		School 2	3%				9.1				18.2		3%
		School 3	4.9%								45.5		5.1%
Role	13.6%	School 1	21.8%	55.6			11.1	44.4	37.5	11.1	11.1	22.2	21.4%
		School 2	13.1%	63.6			18.2	7.1	10	10	9.1		13.1%
		School 3	7.8%	72.7									8.1%
Attention Getter + Title (AG/ Title)	11.8%	School 1	12.8%		22.2		44.4				33.3	11.1	12.3%
		School 2	10.1%				36.4				54.5		10.1%
		School 3	12.6%				66.7				45.5		12.5%
Attention Getter + Role (AG/ Role)	10.7%	School 1	28.2%	44.4	11.1		11.1	33.3	62.5	11.1	55.6	22.2	27.9%
		School 2	4%	27.3				7.1					3.8%
		School 3	3.9%	18.2			16.7						3.9%
Attention Getter + First Name (AG/ FN)	2.5%	School 1	1.3%			14.3							1.6%
		School 2	2%						10			8.3	2%
		School 3	3.9%			33.3							3.7%
Attention Getter + Undetermined Name (AG/ U)	3.2%	School 1	7.7%		22.2					44.4			7.4%
		School 2	3%		30								3.3%
		School 3	0%										0%
Attention Getter + Title + Surname (AG/ T/ S)	1.1%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	2%								18.2		2%
		School 3	1%								9.1		1%
Did not select alerter	23.9%	School 1	11.1	44.4	22.2	42.9		11.1		11.1		33.3	14.6%
		School 2	29.3%	9.1	30	30	18.2	71.4	50	10		33.3	28%
		School 3	26.2%	9.1	25	33.3	16.7	45.5	50			54.5	26%

The **High Use Average** does not necessarily indicate a high use, but determines the average use of each strategy for the different schools. The amount is obtained by adding the percentage amount for the nine situations and then dividing them by nine. This merely illustrates the average for how often a particular strategy is used within a particular school.

Finally, data was then taken from the T-A and RP data to see what factors the co - conversants attended to. I looked essentially at what the respondents found important when they formulated their requests, for example, *She's my mom and she's older than us*, shows that this person felt they needed to be polite because while D was low, P was high and this learner realised this through her speech. Other examples, like the one above, have been tabulated and discussed in general, as the trends are more difficult to see. These responses have all been coded to see whether respondents were sensitive to P and D variables, or whether they realised the onerousness (R) of the request. Other categories used include F, which indicates a formulaic answer like *One must say please to show respect*, which indicates a learned way of requesting. The Table (which appears as Appendix 5, Table 1) also shows where respondents have failed to articulate why they have requested something in a particular way (A) as well as using a combination of these strategies. An example of this coding procedure appears below for reference purposes. Having coded and tabulated the responses from the data the findings were counted and then converted into stacked bar graphs which indicate quite clearly which features the co-conversants attended to (see Section 4.4). The results presented in the graphs were then further summarised to give an indication of what proportions of respondents from Schools 1, 2 and 3 attended to which variables across the nine situations. All these results are presented in Chapter Four.

SITUATION 1 (+P; -D)

You want to go to movies with your friends but you don't have enough money. Your mom comes home from work and you decide to ask her for the money - what do you say?

	<u>Results</u>
• ***Pair FA:*** *Did not respond as to why they said it that way, but recognised onerousness of request.*	*R*
• ***Pair FB:*** *"Need to see that movie".*	*A*
• ***Pair FC:*** *"I don't force mommy, because she is mother who has no money enough".*	*R*
• ***Pair FD:*** *"Say please because you ask".*	*F*
• ***Pair MA:*** *Reasons for requesting in this way include, "not forcing her", "begging her", "showing respect for her" and "because she is older than you".*	*F&+P*
• ***Pair MB:*** *"Because it is not my money I am supposed to please her", meaning that they must say please and "I am doing it to respect her".*	*F*
• ***Pair MC:*** *I respect my mother "cause she's older that me and she's my mom". That's not your money and you are asking for the money".*	*+P*
• ***Pair MD:*** *"I think if you forced her she would never give you this", "because my mother is very special to me and that's why".*	*-D*
• ***Pair ME:*** *"Because I don't want to forced her, she is older than me, she is my mother and I have to respect her – I have to say please because I am begging her".*	*+P*

3.5 Conclusion

The method described in this chapter was designed to answer the following question: "Do people from different cultural groups request things differently from each other when speaking English?" and following on from that "What does this tell us about the perceptions of English politeness norms of different cultural groups?". In this chapter I explored using discourse analysis as a method and the usefulness of using the combination of DCTs, T-A and RP to investigate the respondents' perceptions of discourse norms. I also explained the model of analysis and its adaptations. Chapter Four presents the results of this method.

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITENESS AND THE ROLE CULTURE PLAYS: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the data obtained in detail. It makes use of the method outlined in Chapter Three. In addition to discussing strategies that increase the politeness of requests, the features that the co-conversants attended to will also be examined in the latter part of this chapter. The following strategies used in requests are discussed in terms of each situation:

- Alerters
- Request perspectives
- Request strategies
- The modality in request strategies
- Downgraders and upgraders
- Supportive moves

This data is presented in tables (in Appendix Four) with a discussion of the trends found and the implications for politeness in Chapter Four. The initial analysis, which includes all the coding, is attached as Appendix Four, Tables 1 to 27.

After looking at politeness strategies in requests using statistical data to show trends, the factors attended to will be analysed. This analysis will focus on a discussion of P, D and R and how these influenced the perceived politeness norms of the respondents.

4.2 Presentation of Results

Strategies for requests and how these are categorised are discussed in detail in Chapter Three. The following abbreviations are used to label the strategies used to increase politeness when making requests. For ease of reference this appears in table-form above each of Tables 1 - 27, which show the data under analysis. Not all of the strategies have abbreviations, but have been included here in order to present a complete picture of the various strategies.

1. Alerters: These include Attention Getters (AG), Surname (S), First Name (FN), Undetermined Name (U), Title and Role.

2. Request Perspective: This seeks to determine who the conversation is centred around and may be Hearer Orientated (HO), Speaker Orientated (SO), Speaker and Hearer Orientated (SHO) or Impersonal (Imp).
3. Request Strategy: This shows the type of Head act. Head Acts can be Preparatory (Prep), Strong Hints (SH), Want Statements (WS), Explicit Performatives (EP), Statement of Facts (SF) or Mood Derivables (MD).
4. Downgraders: These seek to minimise an imposition. These include Politeness Markers (PM), Understaters (Und), Consutative Devices (CD), Downtoners (DT) and making the Head Act Conditional (Cond).
5. Upgraders: This category includes Intensifiers (Int), Lexical Uptoners (LU) and Expletives (Exp).
6. Supportive Moves: These modify the Head Act and include Imposition Minimisers (IM), Grounders (G), Disarmers (Dis), Sweeteners (S), Getting Pre-commitments (P-C), Apologies (Apol), Checking the Availability (CA), Introductions (Intro) and Rewards (Rew).

The data presented in Appendix Four details each pair's responses to each situation. These are grouped together as schools as each school represents a distinct cultural group. Included in the label for each table are the variables that the speaker in each situation should attend to if it is assumed that there are universal politeness norms. Conventions for these variables were worked out as follows:

+P: High Power Distance. In other words the hearer is in a position of authority by virtue of age, status, role etc. The speaker is expected to value the hearer's face needs quite highly.

=P: Equal Power Distance. In these situations there is no power differential between S and H, for example, a peer or someone the same age as the respondent and so it is expected that while the respondent should be polite, they might be less polite than they would be to someone of +P.

-P: Low Power Distance. This involves interactions with those in a position of subordination to S, for example, H is younger than the respondent. It is expected that the respondent would be least polite in these situations.

+D: High Social Distance. This means that the hearer is a stranger. If the speaker does not know their co-conversant it is expected that they would be more polite.

=D: Neutral Social Distance. An acquaintance, or someone that the speaker interacts with frequently, but does not know well, would be someone with =D.
-D: Low Social Distance. This means that the hearer is someone the speaker knows well and therefore the politeness strategies are expected to be fewer than if the person was +D or =D.

4.3 Analysis of Results

This analysis section is subdivided into six sections where trends in request strategies are examined and explanations are given in terms of politeness. Most of the tables contain statistical data, the derivation of which was explained in Section 3.4.4 of Chapter 3 and the following section is devoted to explaining how these results were obtained.

4.3.1 Alerters

Alerters (a breakdown of these is shown in Table 1) are ways of getting someone's attention quickly and are realised quite often as Address Terms like first names, but may also be phrases like *excuse me* or *sorry*, which are termed attention getters. According to Brown and Levinson (1987) an attention getter is just that - a phrase that occurs in the initial position of a sentence and does not really serve much purpose apart from a phatic one. A large percentage of alerters across all schools were merely attention getters (26.1%). This category included attention getters like *excuse me* and *sorry*, as well as formulaic attention getters like *hey man* or *please man*. Almost equal to this were the situations where no alerter was used (23.9%). While these can be ignored in that they do not really contribute to increasing politeness, alerters which include titles, roles, first names, undetermined names, surnames or these in addition to an attention getter, definitely show some attempt to be polite.

The use of roles as alerters averaged quite high at 13.6% for the use of roles alone and 10.7% for an AG and a role together. In both cases the percentages of this were significantly higher for School 1, which had high-use averages for the two strategies of 21.8% and 28.2% respectively. It can also be seen that the pairs from School 1 made use of the undetermined name and the AG with the undetermined name more than the respondents from the other two schools do. These roles and undetermined names can be classified as vocatives. The vocative is used more prevalently than it

Table 1: Alerters Used By Speakers From The Different Schools, Overall And High Use Per Situation For Requests

STRATEGIES	OVERALL USE			STRATEGY PERCENTAGE USE BY SITUATION WITH P AND D DESIGNATIONS									
Alerters	Total Average	Breakdown of Total Number of Speakers		S1 + –	S2 = +	S3 – =	S4 + +	S5 – –	S6 = –	S7 – +	S8 + =	S9 = =	High Use Average
Attention Getters (AG)	26.1%	School 1	11.5%		11.1	28.6	22.2	11.1		22.2		11.1	11.8%
		School 2	28.3%		40	60	18.2		30	80		41.7	30%
		School 3	35%		75	33.3		36.4	41.7	100		27.3	34.9%
First Name (FN)	3.6%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	5.1%			10		14.3				16.7	4.6%
		School 3	4.9%					18.2	8.3			18.2	5%
Undetermined Name (U)	0.7%	School 1	2.6%		11.1	14.3							2.8%
		School 2	0%										0%
		School 3	0%										0%
Title	3.2%	School 1	1.3%				11.1						1.2%
		School 2	3%				9.1				18.2		3%
		School 3	4.9%								45.5		5.1%
Role	13.6%	School 1	21.8%	55.6			11.1	44.4	37.5	11.1	11.1	22.2	21.4%
		School 2	13.1%	63.6			18.2	7.1	10	10	9.1		13.1%
		School 3	7.8%	72.7									8.1%
Attention Getter + Title (AG/ Title)	11.8%	School 1	12.8%		22.2		44.4				33.3	11.1	12.3%
		School 2	10.1%				36.4				54.5		10.1%
		School 3	12.6%				66.7				45.5		12.5%
Attention Getter + Role (AG/ Role)	10.7%	School 1	28.2%	44.4	11.1		11.1	33.3	62.5	11.1	55.6	22.2	27.9%
		School 2	4%	27.3				7.1					3.8%
		School 3	3.9%	18.2			16.7						3.9%
Attention Getter + First Name (AG/ FN)	2.5%	School 1	1.3%			14.3							1.6%
		School 2	2%						10			8.3	2%
		School 3	3.9%			33.3							3.7%
Attention Getter + Undetermined Name (AG/ U)	3.2%	School 1	7.7%		22.2					44.4			7.4%
		School 2	3%		30								3.3%
		School 3	0%										0%
Attention Getter + Title + Surname (AG/ T/ S)	1.1%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	2%								18.2		2%
		School 3	1%								9.1		1%
Did not select alerter	23.9%	School 1	11.1	44.4	22.2	42.9		11.1		11.1		33.3	14.6%
		School 2	29.3%	9.1	30	30	18.2	71.4	50	10		33.3	28%
		School 3	26.2%	9.1	25	33.3	16.7	45.5	50			54.5	26%

would be used in English, when spoken by a mother-tongue speaker, in these situations. The apparent frequency in the usage of the vocative suggests that they are indeed used as a politeness strategy by respondents from traditional African cultures. According to cultural informants, Xhosa uses vocatives much the same way as English uses titles. When using titles in English one is attending to H's negative face wants by giving deference. Xhosa has vocatives which are accepted as exhibiting qualities which value H's face needs. These include words like *utishala* for teacher, *ikwekwe* for boy and *umhlobo* for friend. This is further substantiated by Ndlovu and Kruger (1998: 52) who say the following about terms of address, or what I have chosen to call alerters:

> In Zulu the main forms of address are nouns. These include personal names, kinship terms (e.g. *Baba* – Father; *Mama* – Mother), titles, abstract nouns (e.g. *Bayede!* – Hail Your Majesty!), relationship terms (e.g. *Mhlobo wami* – My friend), forms of address which express the addressee's relation to another person (e.g. *MaZwane* – daughter of Zwane) and occupational terms (e.g. *Weta!* – Waiter!). With the exception of *Weta!* these examples show a certain politeness that might cause problems in English translation.

This shows the potential problems with the analysis of the alerters of the Xhosa-speaking respondents. Xhosa is acknowledged as being very similar to Zulu and Ndlovu and Kruger assert that a Zulu youth would never call someone older than themselves by their first name, as it would not be tolerated by the adults. There is a great focus on politeness in Zulu, according to Ndlovu and Kruger, and this would then probably account for the transfer of these terms of address into English. This provides an explanation for the relatively high frequency of vocatives in the responses from School 1. The only significant statistics for the use of roles in Schools 2 and 3 was when these participants spoke to their mother. This is because *Mother* as a term is more like a first name than a role as can be seen below.

By using someone's first name one is making use of a positive politeness strategy whereby one attempts to show in-group identity. By using a first name a speaker implies that they feel the social distance between them to be small enough and therefore attend to H's positive face wants to be liked and valued. This is borne out by the data which shows 'high-use' averages for first names in the statistics of Schools 2 and 3 (4.6% and 5% respectively), and a high-use average of AGs and first names of 1.6%, 2% and 3.7% for Schools 1, 2 and 3 respectively. School 1 made use of this

type of strategy less than the other two schools, but respondents from all three schools used it in situations where the social distance was either equal or low. This was to be expected because in-group markers can only be shown between people who know each other and therefore D cannot be high.

The last three alerters all involve the use of titles, either by themselves, or with an AG, or with an AG and a Surname. As was mentioned above titles play a role in negative politeness in that H's need for their actions to be unimpeded are met because S shows deference. The percentages for the use of titles are fairly close, which shows that participants from all three schools used them to show deference. What is more interesting, however, is that titles were only used in situations 2, 4, 8 and 9. It was expected that more politeness strategies would be used in situations 4 and 8 as the power distance variable is high in both. Respondents from School 1 however, have used titles in situations 2 and 9 where the power distance is equal. It would seem that they feel the high social distance when talking to a stranger requires more respect (Situation 2), while it remains uncertain why they would give a peer a title (Situation 9). It is possible that the respondents misinterpreted asking a classmate for help as asking a teacher for help.

It can therefore be seen that alerters show some degree of universality of politeness norms. It seems as though the respondents from Schools 2 and 3 favoured positive politeness techniques (like using first names as in-group identity markers) as well as negative politeness (the use of titles to show deference), while participants from School 1 favoured the use of negative politeness strategies, often in order to show deference, even in situations which were devised to minimise P.

4.3.2 Request Perspectives

Request perspectives show how the speaker orientates themselves in relation to the hearer. In an interaction the speaker can attend to their own face wants, whereby the statement is hearer-orientated, in other words a statement is referred directly to the hearer and because of this is seen as being quite direct and is considered less polite than speaker orientated, speaker and hearer orientated and impersonal request perspective would be. It also poses more of a threat to the hearer. The imposition can be minimised by making the request speaker orientated, cohortative, or impersonal.

With any of these three techniques the speaker values the hearer's need that their actions are not impeded in any way.

Table 2 shows how the speakers from the different schools orientated themselves to their hearers. The percentages for each column were calculated using the method described in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.4. The hearer orientated approach was favoured most (with a total average of 71.1%). This is quite surprising as requests naturally threaten the face wants of the hearer and so one would expect the speaker to try and minimise the imposition a little more.

Upon closer examination it appears that while Schools 1 and 2 make use of the HO approach extensively (84.7% and 81.5% respectively) School 3 makes use of the HO approach less frequently at 51% and the SO approach 42.9%. The figures for Schools 1 and 2 using the SO approach are 11.6% and 16.5% respectively, which is low in comparison with School 3. The use of the SO approach is also quite marked in that the English mother-tongue speakers tended to use the HO approach where social distance is high or neutral and the SO approach where the social distance is low, with exception of situation 8 where they are interacting with a teacher, who has a neutral social distance and this must therefore be attributed to the fact that there is a high power distance between a teacher and their students. This shows that while the English mother-tongue speakers favoured using a speaker orientated approach with people who meant a lot to them (i.e. use of positive politeness to make the hearer feel as though their needs are being acknowledged), the Xhosa and Afrikaans first language speakers did not seem to use this in the same way and their highest statistics for the SO approach lie in the columns where power distance is high. This once again shows that the Xhosa speakers seem to favour negative politeness strategies, while the Afrikaans speakers seem to use both, even though these are not always used in the same way that the English first language speakers would use them. In addition to these orientations, I separated out specific instances where Mood Derivables and Strong Hints are used as these are not orientated towards anyone in particular. While most of the results here are negligible, English mother-tongue speakers used a high proportion of MDs (6.1%) in relation to the other schools (School 1: 1.2%; School 2: 0.8%). These were always in cases where D was low and S was being very direct and therefore politeness strategies were minimal.

Table 2: Use Of Request Perspectives By Speakers From the Different Schools, Overall And High Use Per Situation for Requests

STRATEGIES	OVERALL USE			STRATEGY PERCENTAGE USE BY SITUATION WITH P AND D DESIGNATIONS									
Request Perspectives	Total Average	Breakdown of Total Number of Speakers		S1 + –	S2 = +	S3 – =	S4 + +	S5 – –	S6 = –	S7 – +	S8 + ≈	S9 = =	High Use Average
Hearer Orientated (HO)	72.1%	School 1	84.6%	88.9	77.8	85.7	77.8	88.9	87.5	88.9	77.8	88.9	84.7%
		School 2	80.8%	81.8	100	90	54.5	71.4	90	100	54.5	91.7	81.5%
		School 3	54.4%	45.5	75	83.3	75	9.1	16.7	81.8	18.2	81.8	54%
Speaker Orientated (SO)	23.9%	School 1	10.2%	11.1	22.2	14.3	11.1		12.5		22.2		10.4%
		School 2	17.2%	18.2		10	45.5	21.4			45.5	8.3	16.5%
		School 3	40.8%	54.5	25	16.7	25	45.5	83.3	18.2	81.8	18.2	40.9%
Speaker and Hearer Orientated	0%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	0%										0%
		School 3	0%										0%
Impersonal (Imp)	0.7%	School 1	2.6%					11.1				11.1	2.5%
		School 2	0%										0%
		School 3	0%										0%
Mood Derivable (MD), not orientated at being polite and does not directly value H's wants	2.9%	School 1	1.3%							11.1			1.2%
		School 2	1%					7.1					0.8%
		School 3	5.8%					45.5		9.1			6.1%
Strong Hint (SH), in being polite S does not make a request and the orientation cannot be examined	0.4%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	1%						10				1.1%
		School 3	0%										0%

4.3.3 Request Strategies

Requests are intrinsically face-threatening to the hearer. The head act, which is the actual request, generally aims at getting something in the nicest way possible, as a request impedes the hearer's freedom of action. There are three main ways of making requests. One can be direct, where the request is explicit, like a Mood Derivable. One can be conventionally indirect, where one asks for things indirectly, in an attempt to minimise the imposition, or one can be nonconventionally indirect, where nothing is explicitly stated.

In my research (as Table 3 demonstrates) it can be seen that preparatory statements were used 81.1% of the time. This is a very high percentage and was high across all three schools. Preparatory statements include in the utterance elements that 'question' the hearer's want and ability to perform the action. This is a conventionally indirect method, which tends to be looked at as part of negative politeness as it considers the hearer's negative face wants. In addition to addressing H's negative face wants it also allows them to decline the request because of its tentative 'questioning' structure and therefore the imposition to H is minimised.

Other trends that emerged were that while explicit performatives were used 2.5% overall, this usage was made up entirely by participants from School 1, thereby confirming Gough's (1995) research as these instances all occurred in situations with high power distance. In this case it seems clear that this is a strategy transferred from the first language. The respondents are therefore deferring to someone in a position of power. The exception here is Situation 2, where P is equal, but because this is a stranger the speaker may feel they have to defer to the hearer as they are asking for money, which could account for this.

Other significant head acts that were used were Mood Derivables. Mood Derivables make use of the grammatical mood of the verb to show the illocutionary force of the utterance (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984). Examples include *Give me my book* or *Tidy up this class* and they are more-or-less akin to imperatives. This means that MDs should be considered as negative politeness strategies because of their directness. Brown and Levinson (1987) assert that being direct is not necessarily impolite as it attends to the hearer's negative face wants by being brief and therefore

Table 3: Use Of Head Act Strategies By Speakers From The Different Schools, Overall And High Use Per Situation For Requests

STRATEGIES	OVERALL USE			STRATEGY PERCENTAGE USE BY SITUATION WITH P AND D DESIGNATIONS									
Head Acts	Total Average	Breakdown of Total Number of Speakers		S1 + –	S2 = +	S3 – =	S4 ++	S5 – –	S6 = –	S7 – +	S8 + =	S9 = =	High Use Average
Preparatory (Prep)	81.1%	School 1	75.6%	77.8	55.6	85.7	66.7	88.9	87.5	77.8	66.7	77.8	76.1%
		School 2	86.9%	81.8	100	90	100	71.4	90	100	63.6	91.7	87.6%
		School 3	79.6%	100	83.3	75	91.7	9.1	91.7	90.9	100	72.7	79.4%
Strong Hint (SH)	1.4%	School 1	2.6%					11.1				11.1	2.5%
		School 2	1%						10				1.1%
		School 3	1%		8.3								0.9%
Want Statement (WS)	2.5%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	4%								27.3	8.3	4%
		School 3	2.9%				8.3					18.2	2.9%
Explicit Performative (EP)	2.5%	School 1	9%	11.1	22.2		22.2				22.2		8.6%
		School 2	0%										0%
		School 3	0%										0%
Statement of Fact (SF)	0.4%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	0%										0%
		School 3	1%						8.3				0.9%
Mood Derivable (MD)	12.1%	School 1	12.8%	11.1	22.2	14.3	11.1		12.5	22.2	11.1	11.1	12.8%
		School 2	8.1%	18.2		10		28.6			9.1		7.3%
		School 3	15.5%		8.3	25		90.9		9.1		9.1	15.8%

not impeding their actions for long. While Xhosa speakers from School 1 used the MD an average of 12.8%, this usage was wide-spread across all the situations and is therefore hard to account for. What is most noticeable is that 'coloured' Afrikaans speakers and English first language speakers used the MD most in Situation 5. School 2 used it a total of 28.6% and School 3 a total of 90.9% while for School 1 it was the only situation where none of the respondents used a MD. This is surprising as Situation 5 involved talking to a younger sibling, so there was low power distance and low social distance. It seems that these factors played a large role in the way respondents from Schools 2 and 3 responded as they seemed to recognise that because of the low P and D ratings, while they were not impolite (many used politeness markers), they were less polite than they were when these ratings were higher. It is possible that, while Brown and Levinson assert that MDs can still be polite, the respondents from School 2 and School 3 realised that they did not need to be as polite because of the low P and D ratings and therefore it can be said that in this data MDs are possibly the least polite strategy used when making a request. It seems as though speakers from School 1 seek to be more polite than those from Schools 2 and 3, although all these strategies mentioned attend to the hearer's positive or negative face needs. It would seem as though this might actually be a formula for the Xhosa first language speakers as they use it across all situations.

Strong hints only made up a total of 1.4% of the total head acts and I would suggest that while this is probably the most polite way to request something, it is also one of the most indirect ways to request something, and it seems as though more direct methods are favoured. This might be attributed to the fact that the onerousness of the requests was fairly small and therefore the respondents did not feel they needed to be as polite as they would have to be when asking for big favours. The fact that respondents from School 1 used this strategy of hinting could also possibly be attributed to that fact that respondents from a mother-tongue Xhosa culture see these requests as being more onerous than the respondents from School 2 and 3 do and as a consequence feel the need to be more polite. The results are, however, comparable with other research that has been done, as judging from this data, Xhosa speakers are shown to be the most indirect. Although these results are virtually negligible, one has to remember that it is perceptions of English politeness norms that are being

examined and again it seems as though, to a degree anyway, the different speakers have made use of the same strategies up to a point.

4.3.4 The Modality of Request Strategies

In Chapter Three a table presenting the theoretical hierarchy of modals was presented (Table 2, Section 3.3.3.4b). It can be assumed that the more tentative and indirect the modal is, the more polite it is. The modals (in Tables 1 to 27 of Appendix 4) were examined, counted and made into a pie chart for each situation (labelled Figures 1 to 27). These graphs show which modals respondents from each school favoured, for each situation. These were calculated by taking the number of times each modal was used by a particular school for each situation and then dividing it by the total number of responses for that situation. While often respondents from Schools 1 and 2 used modals that are considered relatively polite, these differ quite radically from the modals used by respondents from School 3. In this section I will examine which modal was used most extensively in each situation, by the respondents from the different schools.

In Situation 1 (+P, -D) the respondent had to request the following:

You want to go to movies with your friends but you don't have enough money. Your mom comes home from work and you decide to ask her for the money - what do you say?

This scenario has a high power distance and a low social distance, because the respondents are requesting money from their mothers. The figures below show the percentages for each modal used, by the respondents from the different schools.

These charts show which modals were used. If a particular modal was not used in a particular situation it will appear in the legend for the pie chart, but will not appear on the actual chart. Schools 1 and 2 use *can* the most, while School 3 uses *could*. *Could* is merely the past tense form of *can* but is considered to be more polite than *can*, because the past tense is considered more tentative and therefore more polite. It can also be seen from these graphs that while respondents from School 1 make use of only three different modals, the respondents from Schools 2 and 3 use a greater variety of modals, which shows that they have probably have a better grasp of politeness strategies in English, but this could also be attributed to the fact that the Xhosa-

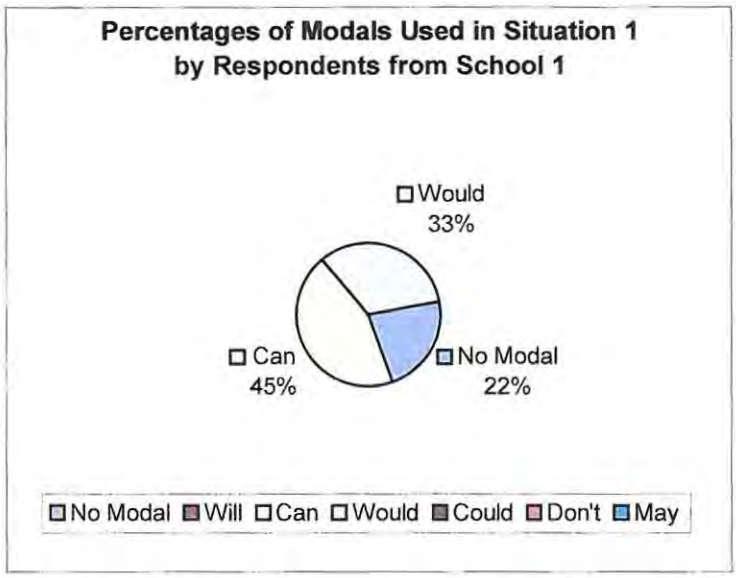


Figure 1: Graph illustrating modal usage of Xhosa speakers for Situation 1

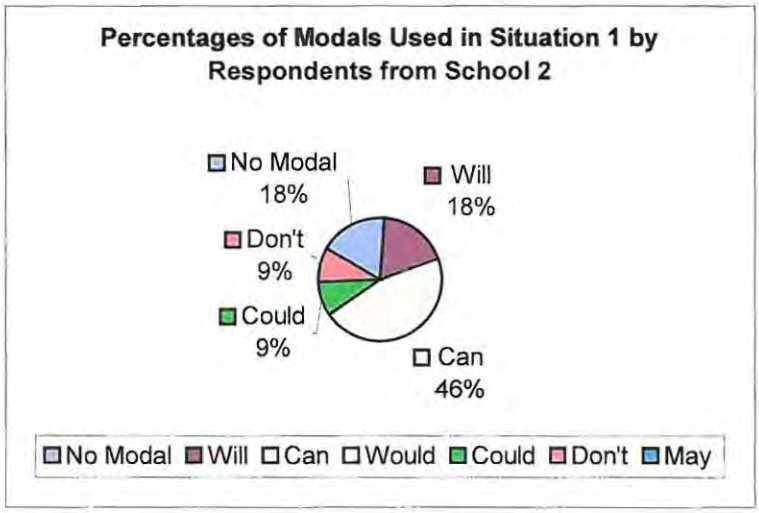


Figure 2: Graph illustrating modal usage of Afrikaans speakers for Situation 1

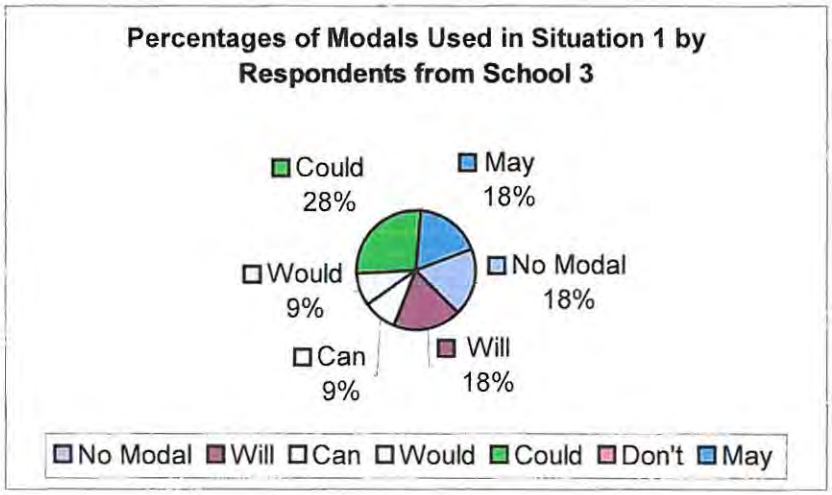


Figure 3: Graph illustrating modal usage of English speakers for Situation 1

speaking respondents did not always have the language skills to put across what they wanted to say.

Situation 2 (=P, +D) portrays an interaction with a stranger and the DCT reads as follows:

You are at the shop buying bread for your mother and when you are in the queue you realise that you are R1 short. Behind you there is a stranger. This stranger looks about the same age as you, but is from another school. You want to borrow R1 for the bread from them. What do you say?

Figures 4 to 6 show the modal variation for the three schools, with the percentage of modals used for each school shown on the graph.

In Situation 2 the majority of respondents from School 2 used *can* and those from School 3 use *would*. The word *would* is a lot more tentative than *can* and therefore would be considered to be more polite according to the theory as presented by Carrell and Konneker (1981). Respondents from School 3 also tended to use greater variety when using modals and while respondents from School 1 tended to favour not using a modal, which should mean that their statements were fairly demanding, it might also indicate that greater proficiency in English allows for greater modal variation. The imposition of this request might have also been more onerous from the Xhosa mother-tongue speakers' point-of-view and bearing in mind that their speech was hampered by their English proficiency, it seems that this might again be a formulaic response where they use either no modal or the modal verb *would* because this is the modal that they used most often across all situations. In this situation they used *would* in 33% of the utterances they made. This use is higher than that of School 3 who only used it in 25% of utterances made. It can be suggested that because the mother-tongue speakers of English have a greater proficiency in the language they have the ability to vary modal verbs more as they are not merely relying on a formula, but are able to interpret the P,D and R ratings more easily and can respond accordingly because they are using a language particularly familiar to them.

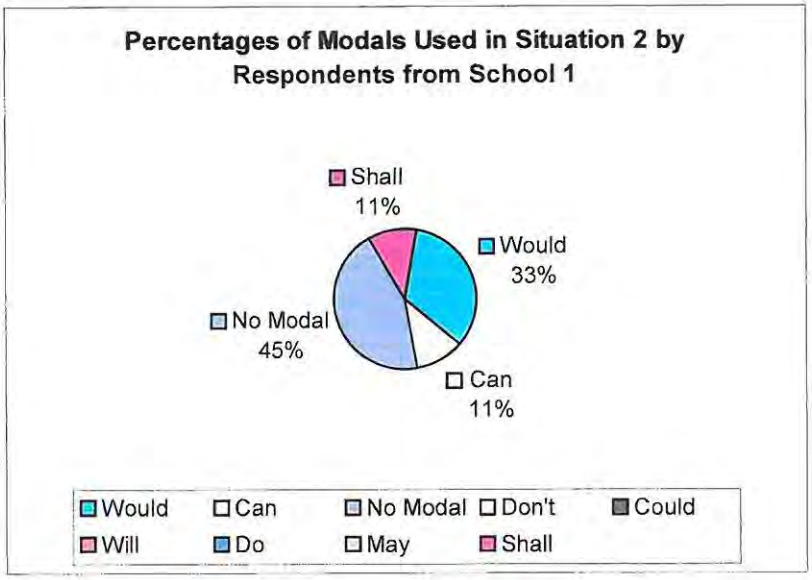


Figure 4: Graph illustrating modal usage of Xhosa speakers for Situation 2

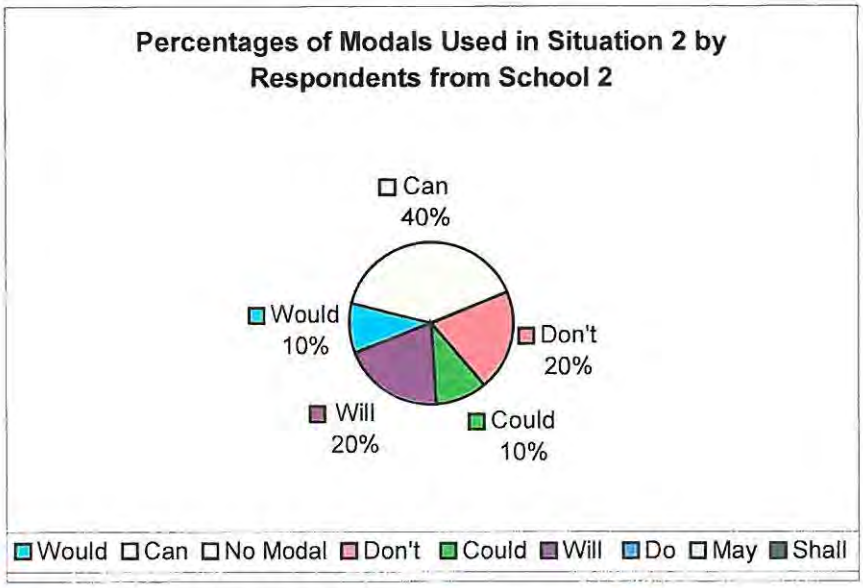


Figure 5: Graph illustrating modal usage of Afrikaans speakers for Situation 2

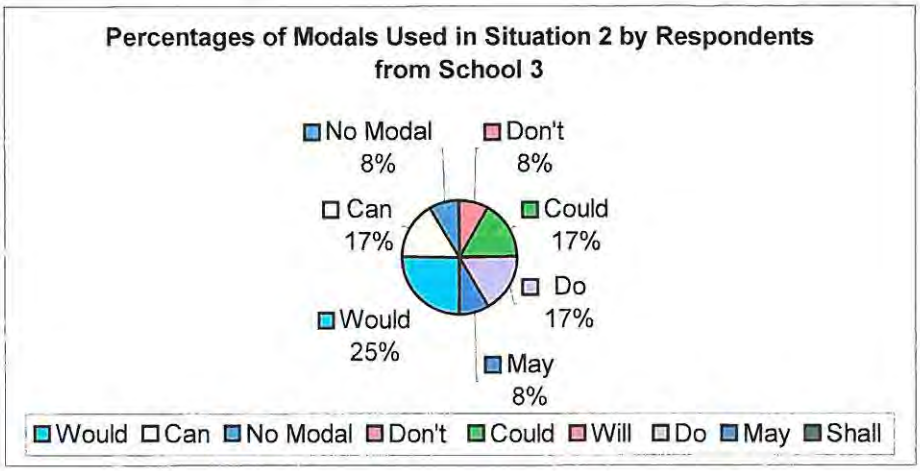


Figure 6: Graph illustrating modal usage of English speakers for Situation 2

Situation 3 involved an interaction between the respondent, pretending to be a rank holder, and someone who is very familiar to them, but is not necessarily a friend. The DCT item reads as follows:

You are a prefect and are responsible for seeing that the classroom gets tidied after school. You are busy tidying it one day, when another student from your class comes in. You want to ask them to help you tidy the classroom. What do you say?

This means that S has more power than H and that the social distance between the interlocutors is neutral. This situation proved to be quite problematic as in School 1 there was no form of prefect system at all and so they really struggled to answer the DCT. The data is presented in Figures 7 to 9, which show the breakdown of the use of modals for the given situation.

Situation 3 shows different trends for School 1 as the respondents use *would*, while the respondents from School 2 used *can* and those from School 3 use *don't*. In this situation the respondents were talking to a peer that they held rank over and yet for Schools 1 and 2 the results were very similar to those of Situation 2, where the respondents were engaging with someone who was the same age as them, but was not known to them. Respondents from School 1 made use of *would*, which was their second highest response for Situation 2, while respondents from School 2 again used *can* most frequently. At the same time the respondents from School 3 still use the greatest variety of modals, while using *don't* in 24 percent of their responses. *Don't* would be more polite than *can* and less polite than *would*, according to the modal hierarchy table (Table 2, Section 3.3.3.4b). As Situation 3 involves a low power rating and a neutral social distance, it seems as though S tries to minimise the imposition to H, but because of the neutral social distance, administering the request is difficult. It also seems as though respondents from School 2 respond to the low power distance, as their responses could be considered the least polite according to theorists. It also appears as though responses from Schools 1 and 2 tend to be formulaic as they tend to use their chosen modals for almost half the responses given, for example School 1 uses *would* in 43% of the responses given and School 2 uses *can* in 50% of the responses given. Respondents from School 3 spoke explicitly about the problems involved in pulling rank when a classmate is involved and therefore they played down the power distance and stressed the fact that one had to be

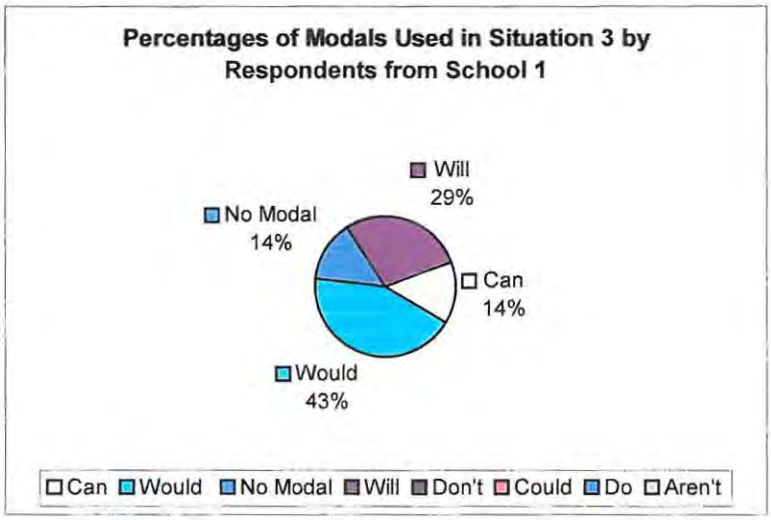


Figure 7: Graph illustrating modal usage of Xhosa speakers for Situation 3

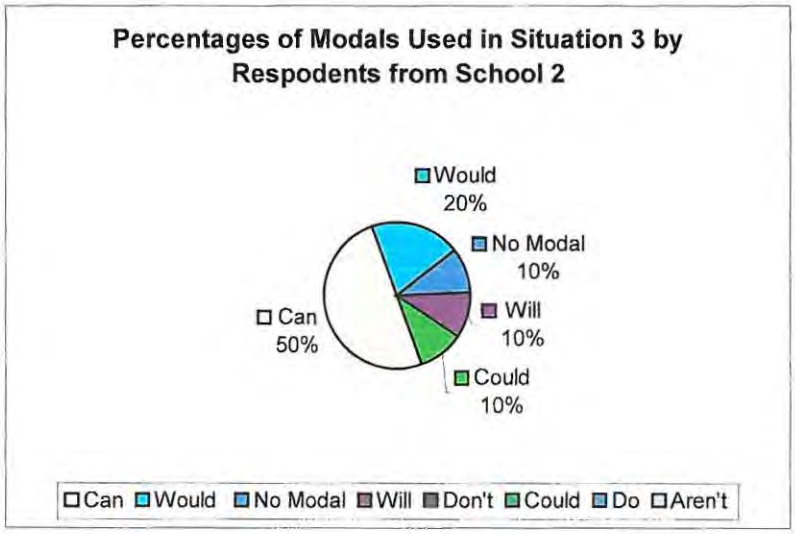


Figure 8: Graph illustrating modal usage of Afrikaans speakers for Situation 3

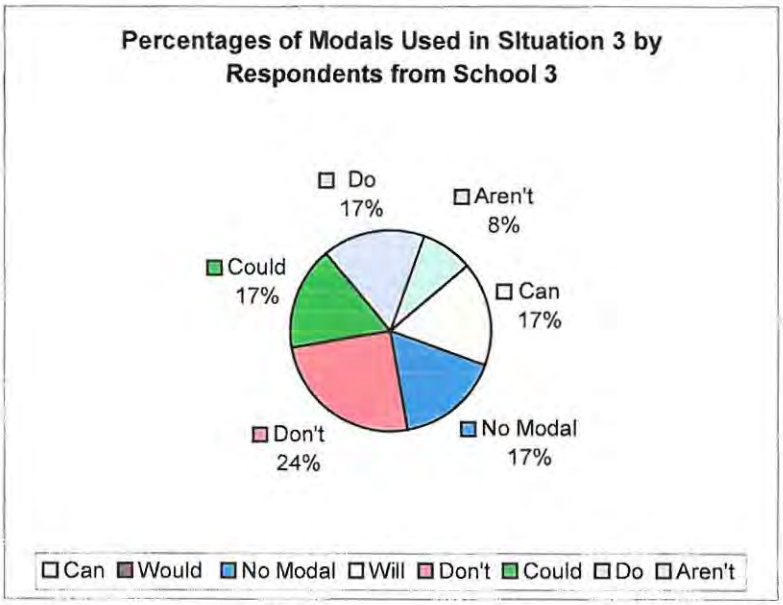


Figure 9: Graph illustrating modal usage of English speakers for Situation 3

even more polite to ensure the success of the request. They again used a greater variety of modals presumably because of their greater understanding of politeness norms in English.

In Situation 4 the respondents were asked how they would ask the mayor for his autograph and the DCT contained the following item:

You are at the library when you see the mayor. You want him to sign your book - how would you ask him to do this for you?

As the mayor is somebody important in the society the situation was chosen as one that displayed both a high social distance, in that the mayor would be a stranger to these children, and a high power distance, because he is an important figure in the community. While respondents from School 1 needed to be helped in the retrospective procedure as many of them did not seem to know what a mayor was, the graphs that appear below (as Figures 10 to 12) show that respondents from all three schools showed great variety in the modals they chose.

In Situation 4 the majority of respondents from School 1 used no modal, those from School 2 used *can* again and those from School 3 used *would*. As one is wanting the mayor (who has a ranking of +P, +D) to do something, one would expect the modals to exhibit maximum politeness. This does not really seem to be the case here though as not using a modal is considered very direct. Respondents from a mother-tongue Xhosa background constructed phrases which made use of no modals in 34 percent of the utterances made. They also used *would* in 22 percent of the utterances made, which once again seems to indicate this 'politeness formula', which has been discussed with reference to other situations. Respondents from an Afrikaans-speaking culture also appear to be relying on a formula at this stage. They use *can* in 64 percent of the utterances made. This is surprising because of the +P, +D ranking, which would seem to require added politeness and while respondents from School 2 seemed to recognise this in the retrospective procedure, they, contrary to expectation, did not recognise it through their use of modal verbs. This is particularly apparent when comparing the results from Schools 1 and 2 with those of School 3. With the mother-tongue speakers of English there is once again the trend of using a greater variety of modal verbs. Respondents from School 3 used *would* in 42 percent of

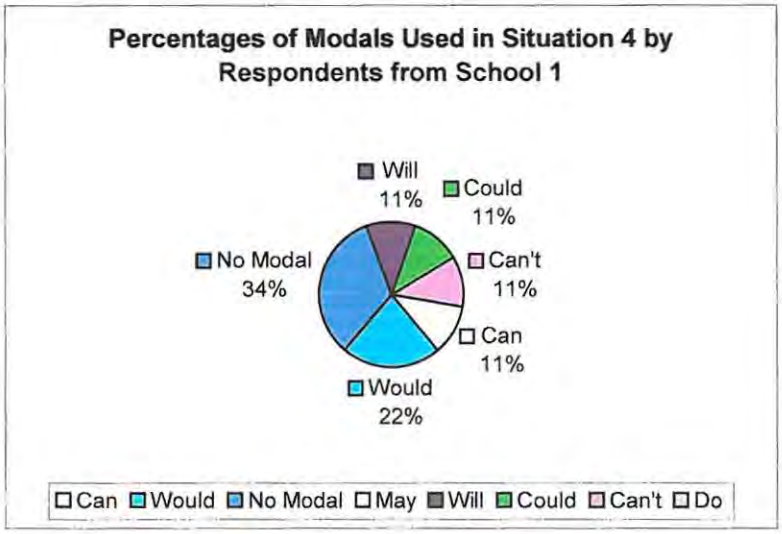
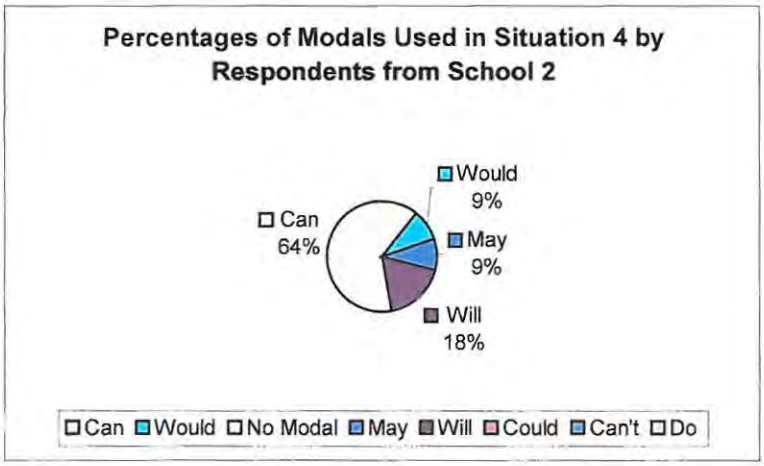


Figure 10: Graph illustrating modal usage of Xhosa speakers for Situation 4



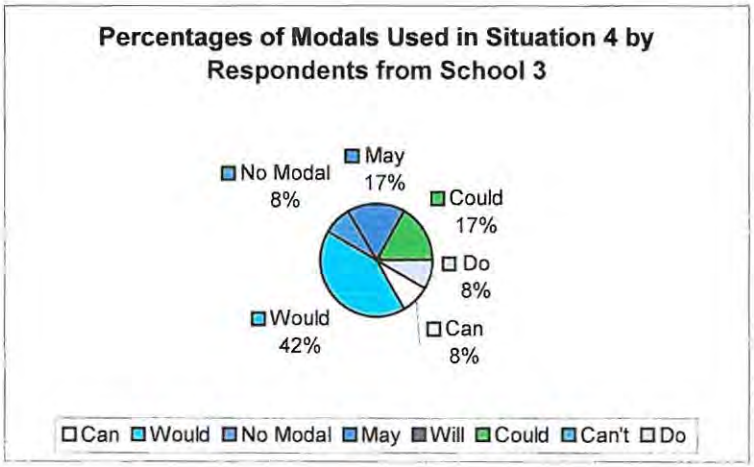


Figure 12: Graph illustrating modal usage of English speakers for Situation 4

responses, *may* in 17 percent of responses and *could* in 17 percent of responses. As *would* and *could* are both interrogative past tense modals they are classed as being almost the least imposing of all modal verbs and therefore maximally polite for the given situation, in line with the model presented in Table 2, Section 3.3.3.4b. This shows why there could be seeming misunderstandings between first language English speakers and those who have English as an additional language. While the intent behind the request would not be misinterpreted, speakers who have English as an additional language tend to use the same formulae for all requests, which could potentially be misinterpreted by mother-tongue English speakers as less polite than they intended to be.

Situation 5 requires the respondents to do the opposite and ask their little brother for help, which means that the situation has a ranking of low power distance and low social distance:

You are trying to do your homework and your younger brother is working at the table with you. You can't reach one of the books you need, which is close to him. You want to ask him to pass it to you. What do you say to him?

Figures 13 to 15 show how the respondents from the three schools actually responded to this situation.

H is –P and –D in this situation and one would therefore expect the percentages of no modals to be quite high. While this is the case for School 3, where respondents used no modals in 91 percent of their responses, respondents from School 1 reverted to *can* and respondents from School 2 had a greater variety of modals than usual, with an even spread though they did use no modal slightly more frequently in 30 percent of their utterances. This seems to indicate that respondents from School 2 were more aware of the –P, –D variables in that they did acknowledge that the interlocutor was someone younger than them, but at the same time stressed that because they wanted the person to do something they had to be maximally polite. Respondents from School 3 attended to the low social and power distance variable, which can be seen with their use of no modal in 91 percent of their responses. They showed that they recognised the need for identifying a brother as part of an ingroup, but at the same time said that because he is younger there is no need to be as polite as one would be to a stranger, for example. This does not seem to be the case for School 1 and is also not

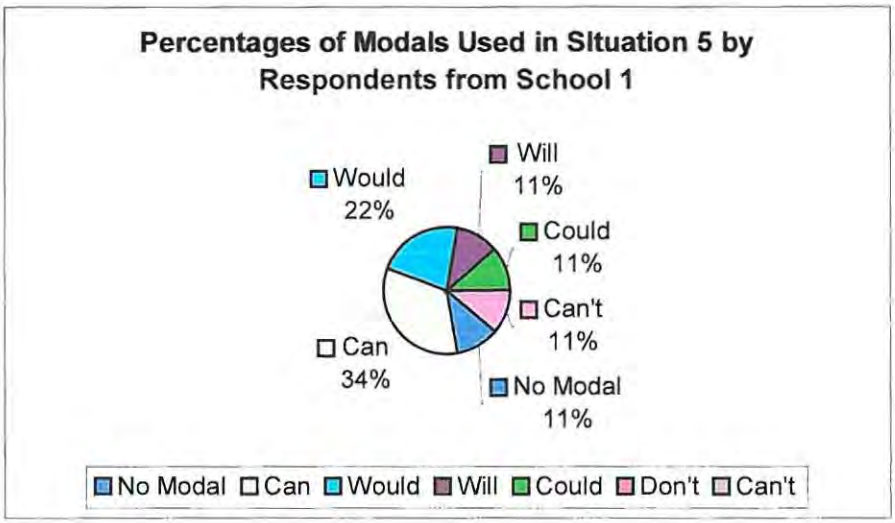


Figure 13: Graph illustrating modal usage of Xhosa speakers for Situation 5

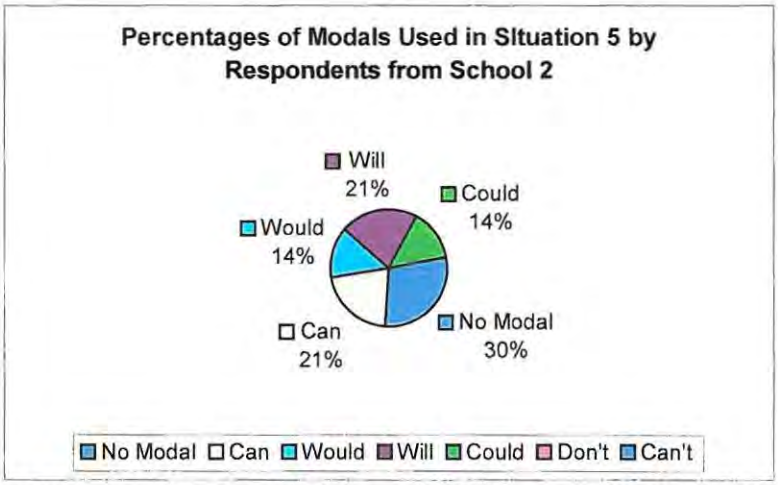


Figure 14: Graph illustrating modal usage of Afrikaans speakers for Situation 5

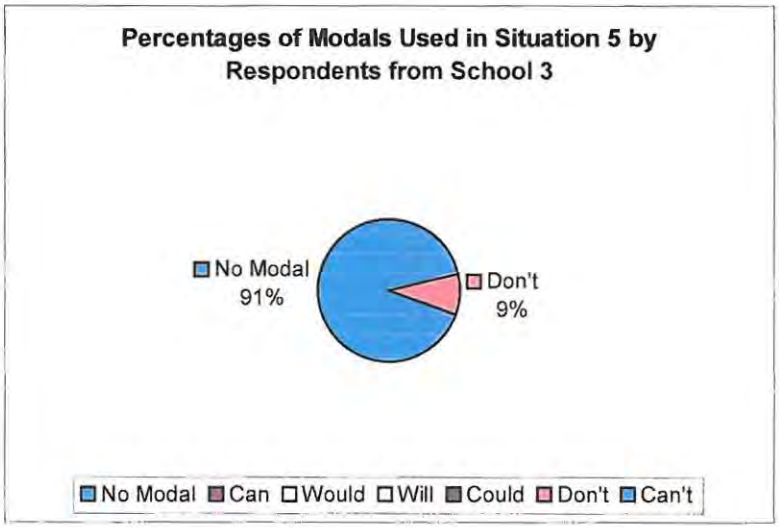


Figure 15: Graph illustrating modal usage of English speakers for Situation 5

conclusive for School 2, which might show that language is a problem, as they do not realise the politeness norms in any expected way, but rather seem to use the same type of formulaic expressions for each situation, as was seen in the examples above.

Situation 6 involves asking a friend for a favour, as seen below.

You are going to a party but you don't have a suitable shirt for the occasion. One of your good friends has many lovely shirts. There is a blue one that you particularly like. How do you ask your friend if you could borrow this shirt?

The designation for this request is equal power distance and a low social distance, as this person is a really good friend. While I assumed that the onerousness of the request was very small, respondents from Schools 1 and 2 seemed to find this onerousness of this task quite high and struggled to perform the DCT. This was an interesting finding in itself and will be discussed in some detail, in Section 4.4.

The graphs below (Figures 16 to 18) show how the respondents used modals for this particular situation.

School 1 used *would* and *can* as the predominant modals in this situation with total responses for each equalling 24 percent respectively. It seems as though respondents from School 2 favour the modal *can* as they used it in 40 percent of all utterances and respondents from School 3 favoured the modal *would* using it in 33 percent of all utterances. *Can* tends to be quite direct while *would* is a lot more tentative. This means that respondents from School 3 seem to value H's want to be liked and valued and therefore use positive politeness, as they are speaking to a close friend and therefore attend to the low social distance, because they value the friendship of H. They also seem to make greater use of modals such as *would* and *could* which are both interrogative past tense modals and are perceived to be more polite than the present tense forms of the words such as *can*, when referring to the hierarchy of the modality in request strategies (see Table 2 in Section 3.3.3.4b).

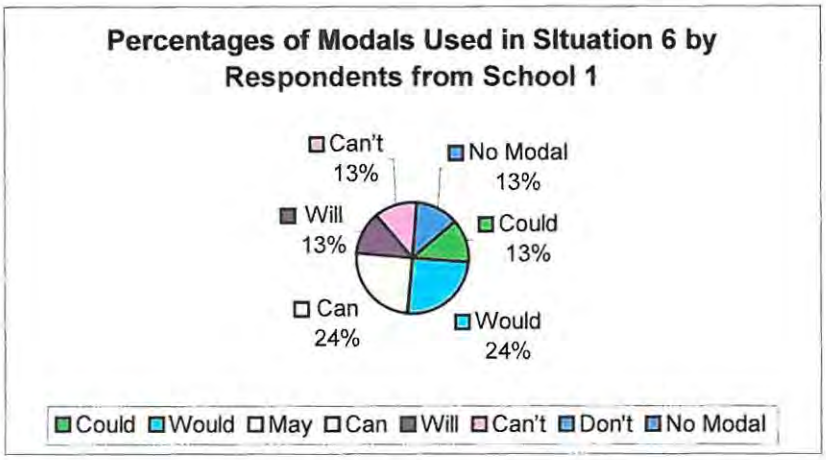


Figure 16: Graph illustrating modal usage of Xhosa speakers for Situation 6

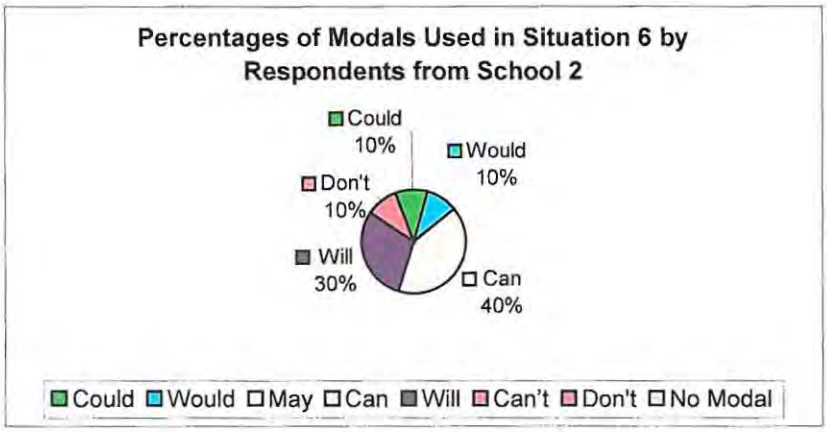


Figure 17: Graph illustrating modal usage of Afrikaans speakers for Situation 6

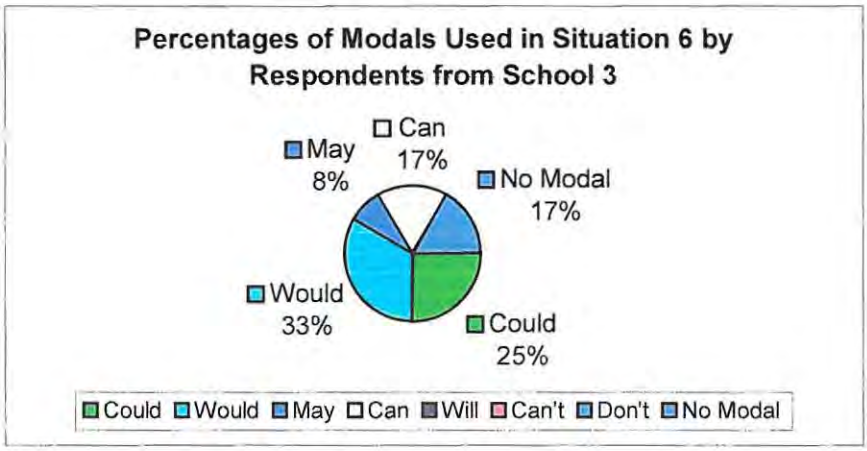


Figure 18: Graph illustrating modal usage of English speakers for Situation 6

Situation 7 explores how a respondent would talk to a stranger, in other words someone with a high social distance who at the same time has a low power distance as they are younger than the respondent:

You are sitting next to the window and you see a young child that you do not recognise walking past your house. You notice that the gate to the yard has been left open and you want to ask this child to close the gate for you. What do you say?

Figures 19 to 21 show the modals used for this scenario by the respondents. It would appear as though respondents from School 1 are again split between using *can* and *would* (as in Situations 1, 5 and 6), while respondents from School 2 again use *can* and respondents from School 3 use *could* for this scenario, although again there is a fairly even distribution of a variety of modals. Again it would seem as though respondents from School 3 value the negative face wants of H not to have their time impeded upon. Even though the power distance for this situation is low, these respondents attend to the high social distance and thereby look after the face needs of H, coming across as being very polite, according to the theory, because they use the modal *would*, which is a tentative modal and in the hierarchy of modals it is considered very polite (see Table 2 in Section 3.3.3.4b).

The use of formulaic structures by learners from Schools 1 and 2 has been discussed with regard to most situations. While this remains an important finding, it must not be forgotten that these speakers who use English as an additional language also use existing knowledge of their own language and thus it can be suggested that respondents from Schools 1 and 2 might also be transferring politeness strategies from their first language, as was found by de Kadt (1992).

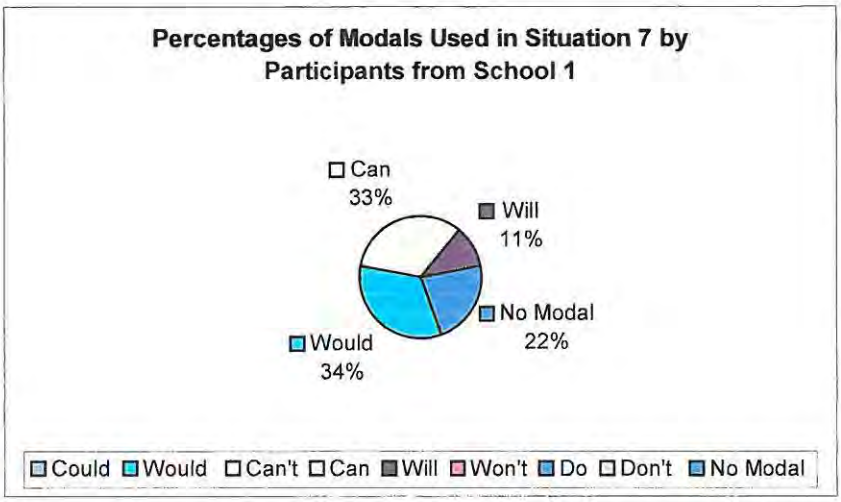


Figure 19: Graph illustrating modal usage of Xhosa speakers for Situation 7

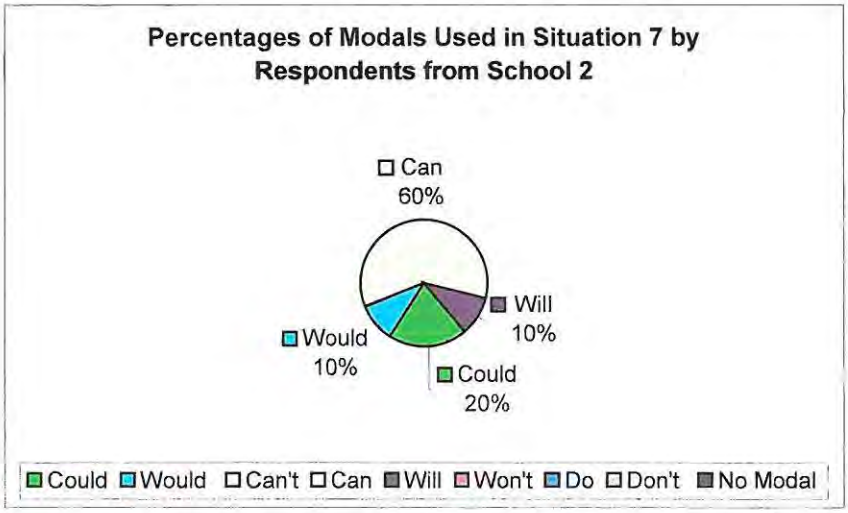


Figure 20: Graph illustrating modal usage of Afrikaans speakers for Situation 7

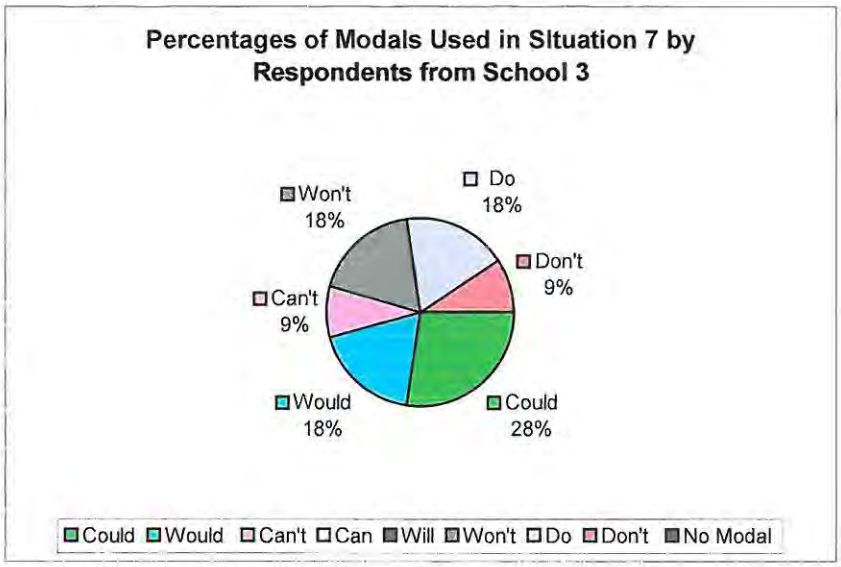


Figure 21: Graph illustrating modal usage of English speakers for Situation 7

In Situation 8 the DCT presented the following scenario:

Your class teacher has a very interesting book that you would like to borrow. How would you ask them if you could borrow it?

While a teacher would have a high power distance over one of their students they also have a low social distance. This had an impact on the results as can be seen in Figures 22 to 24 below. These graphs show that respondents from School 1 used either *would* or no modal most frequently, using them in 34 and 33 percent of responses respectively. Respondents from School 2 used a roughly even spread – their variation in modals for this particular scenario is fascinating because in most of the other situations the respondents from Afrikaans-speaking culture have made use of very few different modals and seem to have favoured the modal *can* in most situations. This has appeared quite formulaic as it has not really altered across the situations and did not seem as dependent on the P, D and R variables as the responses from School 3. Respondents from School 3 used *could* with the highest frequency (55 percent of all utterances). *Would* and *Could* are both tentative and therefore considered quite polite. It would seem as though respondents from Schools 1 and 3 attend to the high power distance in this situation, though many of the respondents from School 1 also made use of no modal, which counters this point in a way, as this is fairly direct according to the theory and therefore not particularly polite according to Carrell and Konneker's (1981) model. This finding will be discussed further, in the latter half of this section. It seems as though power distance is the more influencing of the two variables in this situation, because if it is compared with Situation 5 which has low power and social distances and the strategies are contrasted it can be seen that respondents from School 1 used *can* while respondents from Schools 2 and 3 used no modal because of the low power and social distance. In Situation 3 where the respondent had to pretend to be a prefect, while respondents from School 1 used *would*, respondents from School 2 used *can* and respondents from School 3 used *don't*. With regard to Situation 3 respondents were quite concerned about the neutral power distance and the fact that one could not be forceful with a peer. Even so, with the exception of School 1's results, the modals used in Situation 8 are considered more polite than those used in situations where the power distance is low. From this it can be seen that P has an affect on the modal verb used in this situation.

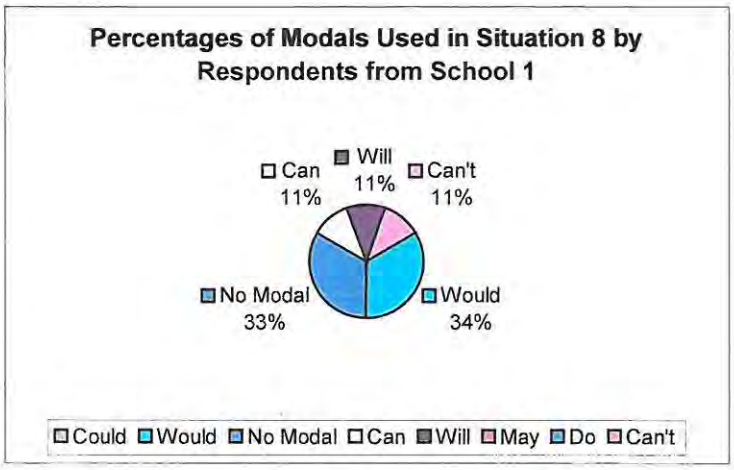


Figure 22: Graph illustrating modal usage of Xhosa speakers for Situation 8

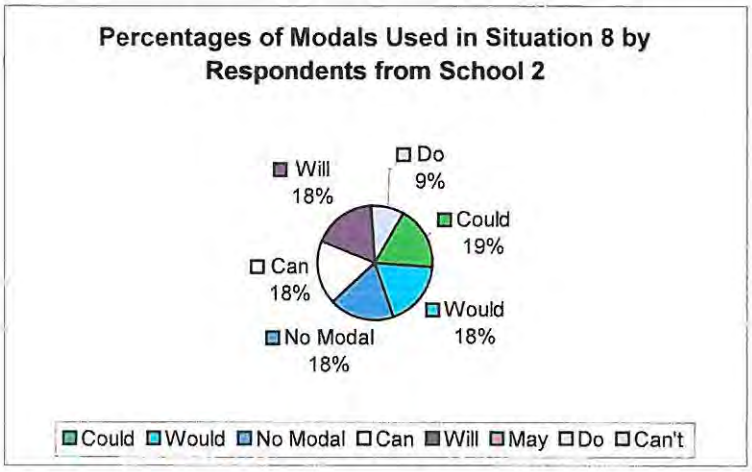


Figure 23: Graph illustrating modal usage of Afrikaans speakers for Situation 8

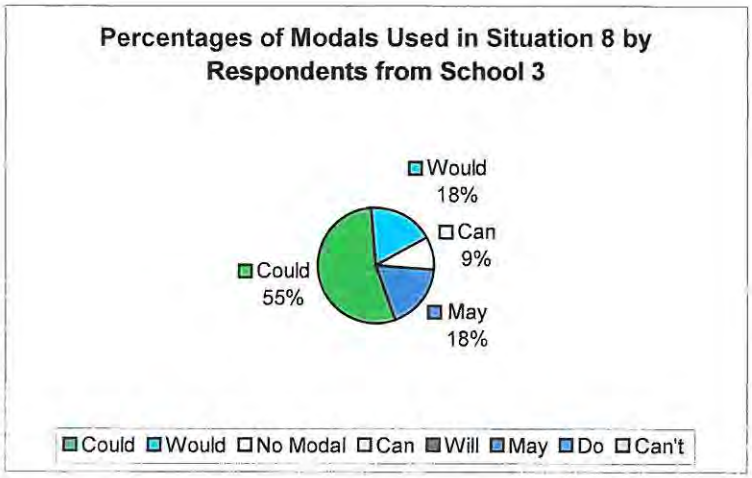


Figure 24: Graph illustrating modal usage of English speakers for Situation 8

Figures 25 to 27 show the percentages of modals used for the last situation, Situation 9. Situation 9 exhibits an equal power distance relationship and a neutral social distance relationship, because it shows an interaction between the respondent and a peer, who is not a close friend. The scenario for this situation is as follows:

Someone in your class is really good at geography and you really want them to help you because you didn't understand the lesson. What would you say?

In examining this scenario, it can be seen that an equal P variable and a neutral D variable do play a part in the choice of modal. Upon examination, with the exception of School 2, where there is an equal split between *can* and *will*, respondents from Schools 1 and 3 chose to use *can* as a modal, using it in 34 and 37 percent of responses respectively. While this still seeks to include H, by consulting with them as to their negative face wants not to have their actions impeded, it is also not maximally polite and this is probably because S is attending to the neutral social distance and equal power distance and therefore tries to value the positive face want of H, by trying to make them feel part of their own in-group and that they are therefore valued.

In addition to this it can be seen that in this situation respondents from all three schools had a greater variety of modals which they used. This could possibly indicate that they found it easier to comply with this particular scenario as it did deal with someone who they both knew and was the same age as they were. In this situation respondents from School 1 used *can* most followed by *would*. Respondents from School 2 used *can* followed by *will* and respondents from School 3 used *can* and *will*. This same pattern applies to Situation 6, with the exception of respondents from School 3, who used *could* or *would*. Situation 6 involved asking a close friend if one could borrow their shirt indicating an equal power distance and a low social distance. Similarly, Situation 9 involves asking a peer for their help with some work. This indicates an equal power and social distance variable. As these situations have equal power distance as the common variable, it would seem as though respondents from Schools 1 and 2 made their requests with this in mind. Respondents from School 3, however, used the more tentative versions of the modal verbs they used in Situation 6 in Situation 9, which is the more polite form of these words, according to the hierarchical table (see Section 3.3.3.4b). This indicates that respondents from School 3 are attending to the social distance variable rather than power distance.

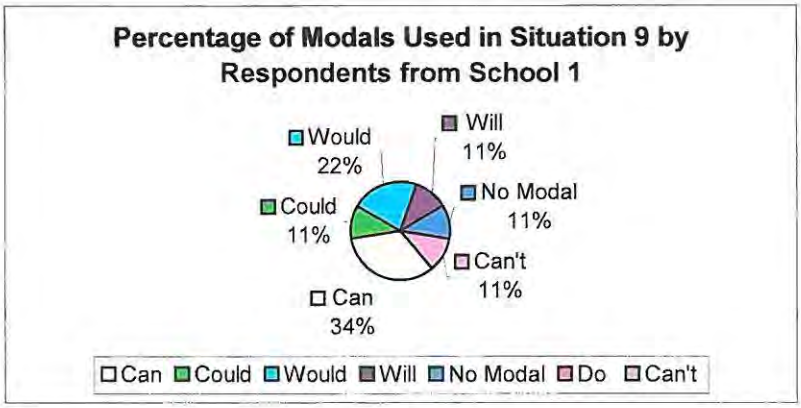


Figure 25: Graph illustrating modal usage of Xhosa speakers for Situation 9

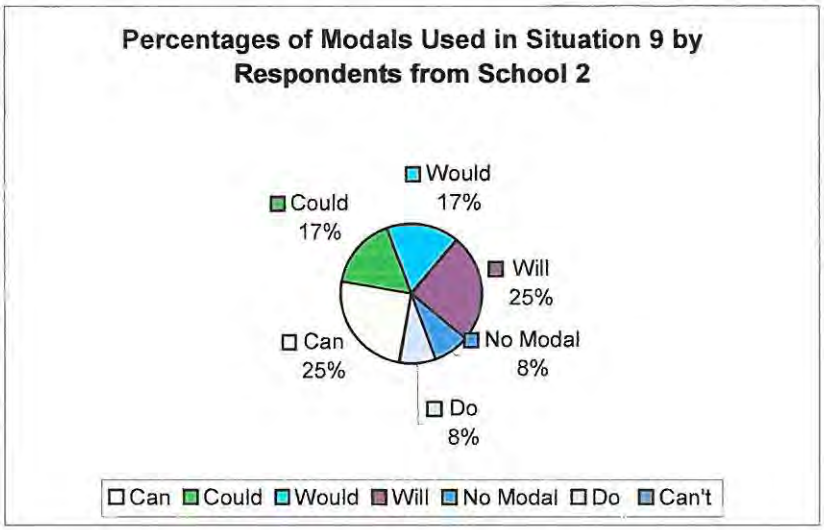


Figure 26: Graph illustrating modal usage of Afrikaans speakers for Situation 9

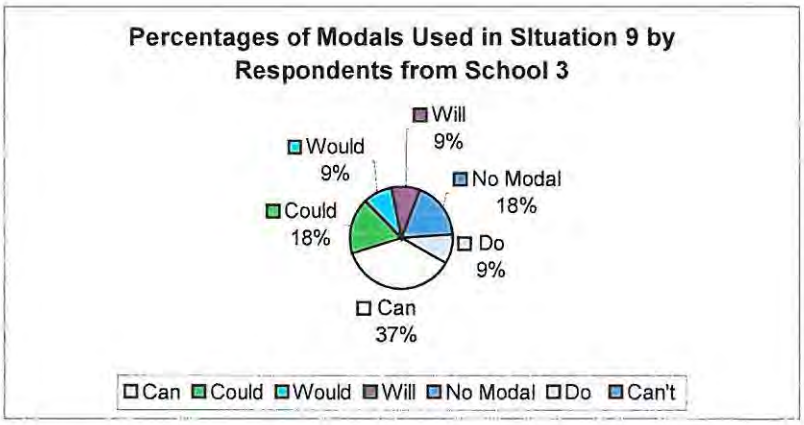


Figure 27: Graph illustrating modal usage of English speakers for Situation 9

Table 4, displayed below, shows the predominant modal used for each situation by the different schools.

Table 4: High Use of Modals for Situations by Respondents of Different Schools

	Situation 1 (+P, -D)	Situation 2 (=P, +D)	Situation 3 (-P, =D)	Situation 4 (+P, +D)	Situation 5 (-P, -D)	Situation 6 (=P, -D)	Situation 7 (-P, +D)	Situation 8 (+P, =D)	Situation 9 (=P, =D)
School 1	Can	No Modal	Would	No Modal	Can	Would / Can	Would/ Can	Would/ No Modal	Can
School 2	Can	Can	Can	Can	No Modal	Can	Can	Even spread of modals	Can/ Will
School 3	Could	Would	Don't	Would	No Modal	Would	Could	Could	Can

By examining Table 4 the frequency of modals used by the different schools becomes apparent. The Xhosa speaking respondents (School 1) seemed to favour *would* and if one examines Figures 1 to 27 it can be seen that *would* is either the most or second most frequently used modal for every situation. The only other two modals that seem to occur frequently are *can* and *no modal*. This seems to indicate that the respondents from School 1 have been taught formulaic ways to make requests and therefore they can only select particular strategies in order to be polite as these seem to be the only ones available to them.

The Afrikaans speaking respondents (School 2) on the other hand used *can* extensively (in six of the situations) and out of the remaining three it was joint highest for two of those situations. For the remaining situation the respondents used no modal the most. Even though I gained the impression that these respondents' English tended to be substantially better than those respondents from School 1, their responses also seem quite formulaic in terms of modality. While their request strategies (see Section 4.3.3) and supportive moves (Section 4.3.7) are far more differentiated than those from School 1, *can* has the highest frequency of their modal verbs, and it is actually quite direct and therefore not as polite as using *would*, like the respondents from School 1.

The English speaking respondents (School 3) made more varied use of the modals they selected. Out of the nine situations they used *could* most frequently for three of these, *would* for three and *don't*, *can* and *no modal* once each. This gives further

support to the assertion that first language speakers have access to a greater variety of politeness strategies. This was seen in the discussion for each situation as for each situation no one school made use of any modal exclusively (with the exception of Situation 5), though apparent trends have been shown. When examining the data for School 3 it can be said that respondents used more varying modals within situations as well as the broad picture that emerges upon examination of Table 4. Respondents from Schools 1 and 2 did not vary their use in modal usage as much. This means that while the intent behind the requests of respondents from Schools 1 and 2 would not be misinterpreted, they might result in misunderstandings as the politeness strategies are not as varied and their perceptions of how to be polite in English differ somewhat.

If one looks at this breakdown in terms of power distance and social distance there are some trends which emerge. These are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Table showing investigation of trends in terms of P and D

High Power Distance				High Social Distance			
Situation	School 1	School 2	School 3	Situation	School 1	School 2	School 3
1 (Mother)	Can	Can	Could	2 (Stranger)	No Modal	Can	Would
4 (Mayor)	No Modal	Can	Would	4 (Mayor)	No Modal	Can	Would
8 (Class Teacher)	Would/ No Modal	Even spread in modals used	Could	7 (Young child: stranger)	Can	Can	Could
Equal Power Distance				Neutral Social Distance			
Situation	School 1	School 2	School 3	Situation	School 1	School 2	School 3
2 (Stranger)	No Modal	Can	Would	3 (Classmate if S is prefect)	Would	Can	Don't
6 (Best Friend)	Would/ Can	Can	Would	8 (Class Teacher)	Would/ No Modal	Even spread in modals used	Could
9 (Classmate)	Can	Can/ Will	Can	9 (Classmate)	Can	Can/ Will	Could
Low Power Distance				Low Social Distance			
Situation	School 1	School 2	School 3	Situation	School 1	School 2	School 3
3 (Classmate if S is prefect)	Would	Can	Don't	1 (Mother)	Can	Can	Could
5 (Younger Brother)	Can	No Modal	No Modal	5 (Younger Brother)	Can	No Modal	No Modal
7 (Young child: stranger)	Would/ Can	Can	Could	6 (Best Friend)	Would/ Can	Can	Would

Trends emerge in the choice of modals both in terms of school and situational variables. With reference to the power distance variable, respondents from School 1

tended to use no modal when there was a high power distance. They used *can* most frequently when there was an equal power distance and *would* when there was a low power distance. Respondents from School 2, however, used *can* predominantly whether P was high, equal or low. In comparison with these two schools, respondents from School 3 appeared to be far more aware of the power distance variable. When a situation had a high power distance variable they tended to use *could* and when the power distance rating was equal they tended to use *would* most frequently. When there was a low power distance variable they used a range of modals, but these, in accordance with Carrell and Konneker's (1981) hierarchical table (see Section 3.3.3.4b), tended to be less polite and more suitable to the low power distance variable.

With reference to the social distance variable, respondents from School 1 tended to use no modal when D was high, *would* when D was neutral and *can* when D was low. School 2 respondents again used *can* most frequently whether D was high, neutral or low. In contrast to this, respondents from School 3 tended to use *would* when there was a high social distance, *could* when there was a neutral social distance and a variety of modal verbs when D was low. Again this ties in with the hierarchy of modals and the fact that one is not always maximally polite when one knows a person well.

This seems to indicate that when there is a high social distance variable, first language English speakers seem to use very tentative modals like *would*, for example. Respondents from School 1 use no modal, and respondents from School 2 use *can*. This use of no modal when there is a high social distance would not be considered polite by theorists as this is someone who is not known to S. Respondents from School 2 use *can* which would be considered less polite than *may*, but they seem to use it with great regularity, indicating either a formulaic response, or maybe a transfer from their first language.

Generally speaking, the use of modals is not predictable in terms of the P and D values, especially in the case of Schools 1 and 2, but this in itself is a significant finding, as it suggests that second language speakers of English use a limited sub-set of modals because of language barriers. It also suggests that while research has

shown that second language speakers of English tend to be more indirect, this was not the case here, as the modal verbs they used tended to be quite direct, with the exception of *would*, which they did use fairly prevalently. Respondents from School 2 tended to select *can*, with seeming disregard for the variables of P and D, while respondents from School 3 tended to use modal verbs more in line with previous research that has been done on politeness. The results from School 3 also showed more distinct trends and these depended not only on P and D, but also on more subtle aspects of the nature of the relationship of the interlocutors. This is shown, for example, when there is a low social distance. Even though respondents still tended to be fairly tentative to their mother and best friend, using *could* and *would* respectively, they were not as polite to their younger brother as they used no modal.

It seems as though respondents from School 1 attend to face wants concerned with power distance, respondents from School 2 used *can* so often that it is difficult to comment on what they attend to and respondents from School 3 attend to face wants that are concerned with both power distance and social distance. In conclusion I would suggest that while some of the findings are inconclusive it does provide support for the claim that politeness is culturally bound. In addition it appears that in some cases a lack of competence in English results in second language speakers resorting either to formulaic responses or strategies transferred from their first language.

4.3.5 Downgraders and Upgraders

Downgraders seek to minimise the imposition of the request, while traditionally Upgraders have been seen to aggravate the request. In addition to the type of upgrader that would aggravate a request, I would argue that an upgrader may function in favour of the hearer's negative face wants. In other words, one could use an intensifier to minimise the imposition of the request, in a way that favours the hearer's face wants. This can be seen with examples of lexical uptoners, which is just one category of upgrader, like *Please help me **quickly***. While this in fact makes the request more demanding, it also shows the hearer that the duration that they will be imposed upon is quite short. In this type of situation upgraders can therefore be said to be minimising the cost of the imposition on the hearer. Although in my data upgraders were not used often, they usually had a supportive function like the

example above. The only example that did not follow this pattern was one instance of expletive use. This is shown below and can be seen to be quite polite as the respondent uses a consultative device (CD) with *if you don't mind* but at the same time uses what I have classed as an expletive (*just get*), which shows that the friendship is dependant on the request being successful.

> 2FA2, Situation 9: *Will you help me with my geography lesson if you don't mind, if you do* ***just get*** *because I won't beg you.*

This shows a negative emotional attitude and therefore creates more of an imposition on the hearer. This serves the purpose of compelling the hearer to comply with the request, and is quite forceful. It is significant that this speaker used this in a situation where there was equal power distance and equal social distance.

The breakdown of the data collected in this study is shown in Table 6. Most speakers made use of downgraders to minimise the imposition of the request. The use of politeness markers in all the requests (like *please, thank you* and *sorry*) was very high (75.7% overall). *Please* in particular had a very high usage and Brown and Levinson (1987) assert that using *please* is one of the formulas learned to make a statement into a request. These politeness markers were used more by the respondents of Schools 1 and 2, which suggests that these participants might be taught this as a formula for making a request. The more subtle ways of being polite that a first language speaker of any particular language would have acquired come later, if at all. This might account for the formulaic answers given by respondents from Schools 1 and 2. De Kadt (1993) says that Zulu speaking people often use the Zulu version of *please* as a politeness marker, and therefore one could claim that this might be similar for the Xhosa respondents and it might be transferred from their first language, if they are translating directly into English.

A fairly high percentage (41.1% overall) made use of a conditional to modify the head act. This includes examples like *Please could I borrow the book you spoke about in class today* (3FB1 and 3FB2). A statement like this aims to include H in the activity, therefore attending to their positive face needs. This strategy was used extensively by participants from School 3 (56.1%) and while the high-use figure was high for the other two schools, it was not as high (36.2% and 29.5% for Schools 1 and 2

Table 6: Use Of Downgrader and Upgrader Strategies By Speakers From The Different Schools, Overall And High Use Per Situation For Requests

STRATEGIES	OVERALL USE			STRATEGY PERCENTAGE USE BY SITUATION WITH P AND D DESIGNATIONS									
Downgraders	Total Average	Breakdown of Total Number of Speakers		S1 + –	S2 = +	S3 – =	S4 + +	S5 – –	S6 = –	S7 – +	S8 + =	S9 = =	High Use Average
Politeness Markers (PM)	75.7%	School 1	76.9%	88.9	100	85.7	66.7	66.7	55.6	77.8	66.7	77.8	76.2%
		School 2	87.9%	90.9	100	80	100	92.9	90	80	72.7	83.3	87.8%
		School 3	63.1%	81.8	41.7	50	41.7	63.6	50	100	81.8	63.6	63.8%
Understater (Und)	10.4%	School 1	9%	55.6	11.1							11.1	8.6%
		School 2	10.1%	81.8								8.3	10%
		School 3	11.7%	81.8	25								11.9%
Consultative Device (CD)	19.6%	School 1	20.5%	33.3	22.2	14.3	11.1	22.2	25	33.3	11.1	11.1	20.4%
		School 2	12.1%	9.1	20	10			10	10	27.3	25	12.4%
		School 3	26.2%	18.2	33.3	33.3	33.3	9.1	41.7	18.2	18.2	27.3	25.8%
Downtoner (DT)	1.8%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	0%										0%
		School 3	4.9%		8.3		16.7		8.3			9.1	4.7%
Conditional (Cond)	41.1%	School 1	35.9%	33.3		42.9	22.2	44.4	50	33.3	55.6	44.4	36.2%
		School 2	29.3%	18.2	40	40	18.2	21.4	20	30	36.4	41.7	29.5%
		School 3	56.3%	54.5	41.7	58.3	83.3		66.7	72.7	90.9	36.4	56.1%
Upgraders	Total Average	Breakdown of Total Number of Speakers		S1 + –	S2 = +	S3 – =	S4 + +	S5 – –	S6 = –	S7 – +	S8 + =	S9 = =	High Use Average
Intensifier (Int)	1.1%	School 1	1.3%			14.3							1.6%
		School 2	0%										0%
		School 3	1.9%			8.3					9.1		1.9%
Lexical Uptoner (LU)	1.8%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	0%										0%
		School 3	4.9%			16.7	8.3			18.2			4.8%
Expletive (Exp)	0.4%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	1%									8.3	0.9%
		School 3	0%										0%

respectively). This might be attributed to the fact that while English speakers tend to value the face needs of individuals, people from traditional African culture do too, but their focus tends to be on the face needs of the community, rather than that of the individual (De Kadt 1992).

Another downgrader that was used to a great extent by respondents from Schools 1 (20.4%) and 3 (25.8%), was the consultative device. This seeks to address the positive face needs of the hearer by including them in the activity, even if this is not explicit. Examples of this include *Mom, **would you mind** if you could borrow me some money...*(1FA1) or *Excuse me sir, **do you have time** to quickly sign my book for me* (3FB1). This is an interesting strategy used by the speaker to minimise the imposition of the request. In the examples above the speaker explicitly consults the hearer thereby valuing their positive face wants, by including them in the activity and making them feel valued, but it also values their negative face needs as they are forewarned about the imposition that the request is going to cause them and in fact the request specifically asks if H's negative face may be imposed on, rather than the actual favour being requested.

Understaters (10.4% overall) and downtoners (1.8% overall) were used to a lesser degree. Understaters were used almost equally by the respondents from all three schools (8.6%, 10% and 11.9% for Schools 1, 2 and 3 respectively) and the distributions show no clear trends as to why the respondents have said what they did. What does emerge as a trend here is the fact that these understaters were only used in Situations 1, 2 and 9. Situation 1 involved asking one's mother for money to go to the movies and responses included *Mom, please will you lend me **some** money to go to movies* (3FE1 and 3FE2). *Some* here functions to minimise the imposition of the request, by making the amount seem less than it really is. By avoiding giving an exact amount of money needed S is valuing H's negative face wants not to be encroached upon. Situation 2 makes use of the understater in a similar way: the respondent says *...I'm a **little** short of money...*(3FE1). Situation 9 involves a student asking a peer for help and one example of an understater is as follows, *Please will you help me there is **a little bit** of the lesson in geography that I do not understand* (1MA1 and 1MA2). These scenarios do not have the value of either the P or D variable in

common and therefore one can only assume it is the nature of what S has to ask for that prompts the speaker to try and minimise the imposition to the hearer in this way.

Participants from School 3 were the only ones who made use of downtoners (like *perhaps*) to minimise the imposition of the request to the hearer. They used them for an average of 4.7% of their total responses, in Situations 2, 4, 6 and 9. Three of these situations have equal power distance as a common variable (Situations 2, 6 and 9) and an example of this would include *Bronny, I was wondering if you could* ***possibly*** *go over the notes with me today or tomorrow* (3FB1 and 3FB2). The example used in Situation 4 is similar except that it is high in power distance – *Excuse me sir, would it be* ***possible*** *if you could sign this book for me?* (3FC1 and 3FC2). It appears that these tend to work together with a consultative device, but in addition to this they make the statement a lot more tentative, which is considered more polite. They seem to favour the negative face wants of H for their time or possessions to be unimpeded. I suggest that understaters seek to minimise the request by making it sound small and these make it sound less of a certainty and therefore optionality is greater. Downtoners work in much the same way only I think that the use of downtoners seems to rely on a high competence in the language of utterance as the respondent would need to embed this within a consultative device. This might account for why it was only a feature of respondents from School 3, who spoke English as their first language.

All these interactions seek to involve the positive or negative face wants of the hearer. This means that having made a request, one softens it by trying to make the hearer feel wanted, or one softens it in order to make the imposition of the request seem less. In this section I have pointed out the different trends and various factors that might account for these. I have also tried to provide some explanation for why some variables seem to be more prevalent in the responses for some schools and not others. This section shows particularly how first language Mother-tongue English speakers are able to articulate their requests, using a whole range of upgraders and downgraders in order to make their requests polite. While respondents from Schools 1 and 2 did use these to a certain extent, they were not as varied as the choices of the respondents from School 3 and they may not therefore come across as being as polite.

4.3.6 Supportive Moves

A supportive move (Hudson *et al,* 1995) is an adjunct to the head act (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1982) which attempts to minimise the imposition. For a full discussion of these terms see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.7. It is separate from the head act, though it can be embedded in the head act, and is usually an external modifier. Table 7 shows the use of supportive moves.

Grounders (where S gives a reason for making the request) are listed as being used most frequently with an overall total of 45.7%. If one makes a thorough examination of this breakdown, it is evident that while the result for Schools 2 and 3 is still fairly high for this strategy, School 1 uses grounders more frequently (70.2% compared with 40.3% and 33.2% for Schools 2 and 3). Grounders attend to the hearer's positive face needs by giving reasons for the imposition, thereby valuing H's wants and needs. Some examples of grounders would include *Mom, please will you lend me some money* ***to go to the movies*** (3FE1 and 3FE2), or *Sorry would you please pass that book for me* ***because I'm too far from it*** (1ME1 and 1ME2).

In addition to grounders other supportive moves that were employed were the use of imposition minimizers (whereby S seeks to show H that they realise what costs there are for H in carrying out the request) and these were used an average total of 8.6%. The high use average for imposition minimizers is lower for Schools 1 and 2 (2.5 and 5.7 percent respectively) in comparison with the high use average for School 3 (15.9% overall). Imposition minimizers seek to attend to the hearer's negative face because by using them to minimise the request one is valuing H's need not to have their actions impeded in any way. *Sorry there would you please close the gate* ***as you pass by*** (2FD1 and 2FD2), *Sorry teacher will you borrow me your book* ***for a day or two...*** (1MA1 and 1MA2) and *Please can you help me with geography* ***when you are not busy*** (3FC1 and 3FC2) are all examples of imposition minimizers. While the respondents from Schools 2 and 3 used grounders more often than imposition minimizers the significant difference between School 1's use of grounders and imposition minimizers leads me to suspect once again that traditional African cultures value positive face wants more than people from a more western orientation. They seem to favour using politeness strategies which attend to the positive face wants of H, as with grounders, but use negative politeness to a lesser degree, while first

Table 7: Use Of Supportive Move Strategies By Speakers From The Different Schools, Overall And High Use Per Situation For Requests

STRATEGIES	OVERALL USE			STRATEGY PERCENTAGE USE BY SITUATION WITH P AND D DESIGNATIONS									
Supportive Moves	Total Average	Breakdown of Total Number of Speakers		S1 + –	S2 = +	S3 – =	S4 + +	S5 – –	S6 = –	S7 – +	S8 + =	S9 = =	High Use Average
Imposition Minimizer (IM)	8.6%	School 1	2.6%							11.1	11.1		2.5%
		School 2	6.1%					7.1		10	9.1	25	5.7%
		School 3	15.5%	9.1		25				18.2	45.5	45.5	15.9%
Grounders (G)	45.7%	School 1	70.5%	100	77.8	42.9	33.3	66.7	100	22.2	88.9	100	70.2%
		School 2	39.4%	100	80	20	9.1	7.1	70			66.7	40.3%
		School 3	33%	100	83.3	8.3			25	9.1	18.2	54.5	33.2%
Disarmers (Dis)	3.6%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	5.1%				27.3	14.3					4.6%
		School 3	4.9%		16.7	8.3	8.3					9.1	4.7%
Sweetener (S)	10%	School 1	9%		11.1		33.3		25			11.1	8.9%
		School 2	6.1%								18.2	33.3	5.7%
		School 3	14.6%		8.3	8.3	33.3				45.5	36.3	14.6%
Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	1.8%	School 1	1.3%									11.1	1.2%
		School 2	0%										0%
		School 3	3.9%			8.3				27.3			4%
Apology (Apol)	0.4%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	0%										0%
		School 3	1%		8.3								0.9%
Check Availability (CA)	8.9%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	6.1%			20			10		18.2	8.3	6.3%
		School 3	18.4%			41.7	25		75			18.2	17.8%
Introductions (Intro)	1.4%	School 1	0%										0%
		School 2	4%		10		18.2			10			4.2%
		School 3	0%										0%
Rewards (Rew)	11.1	School 1	11.5%		55.6	14.3					22.2	11.1	11.5%
		School 2	13.1%	9.1	50	20			10		36.4		13.9%
		School 3	8.7%	36.4	8.3				16.7		9.1	9.1	8.8%

language speakers of English use negative politeness a lot more. It also seems that respondents from School 1 and to an extent School 2 have been taught the formula for making requests and this includes the use of a grounder. This means that while their requests, or perceptions of politeness, are not rude they would also be regarded as less polite than the requests, or perceptions, of the English speakers from School 3 when comparing Schools 1 and 2 with School 3. Mother-tongue speakers of English would consider the respondents from School 1 and 2 less polite because they themselves use so many more techniques to show they are being polite. While respondents from Schools 1 and 2 could tell me that respect played a large role when making requests, they could not articulate how to show this in English to the same extent that the first language speakers could and I think that this is clear from this aspect of the results. According to De Kadt (1994) Zulu speaking people use grounders most often when making requests in Zulu. I have made the assumption here that the Zulu and Xhosa languages are quite similar in this regard. This might therefore indicate that this feature of the Xhosa first language is transferred to their second language, when they are asked about their perceptions of English politeness norms.

Other techniques that were used by S to minimise the imposition of the request included Rewards (11.1% in total) and Sweeteners (10% in total). Rewards belong to a new category that I devised and are similar to imposition minimizers in that there is an acknowledgement of the cost to the hearer and the speaker promises some sort of repayment or reward. This category would include any statement that makes the imposition seem less by offering something in return if the request is carried out. Examples of rewards from my data include things like *Please don't you have a R1 to borrow me and* ***I will give it back to you*** (2FB1 and 2FB2 in Situation 2) and *Mam, please could I borrow that interesting book of yours. I promise I'll look after it and* ***bring it back as soon as possible*** (3FE1 and 3FE2 in Situation 8). Rewards were used fairly evenly by the respondents from all three schools with School 1 having a high use average of 11.5%, School 2 one of 13.9% and School 3 one of 8.8%. While respondents from Schools 1 and 2 used rewards most for situations 2 and 9, which are =P, +D and +P, =D respectively, respondents from School 3 used this most in Situation 1 where they ask their mother for money. It would seem as though respondents from School 3 are attending to the low D variable, as they are offering some sort of pay-back for money borrowed. The fact they attend to low social

distance is also supported by the fact that they use rewards for Situation 6, where D is also low.

Sweeteners occur when S exaggerates their appreciation of H's ability to comply with the request. An example of a sweetener would include, *Hey Tessa, do you have a minute to help me clean up the classroom?* ***I would really appreciate it*** (3FB1 and 3FB2). Respondents from School 3 used these the most (with a high use average of 14.6%) and those from School 2 the least (with a high use average of 5.7%). This demonstrates that respondents from School 3 attend to H's positive face wants in this case as sweeteners seek to minimise the imposition of the request by making the hearer feel good about themselves. Sweeteners are used more in Situations 2 (=P, +D), 4 (+P, +D), 8 (+P, =D) and 9 (=P, =D). This seems to indicate that social distance plays an important role when communicating as in these scenarios one is dealing with people that would not qualify as close friends – they are either strangers or merely acquaintances, which means that one has to be more polite in order to satisfy H's positive face needs. Power distance seems to play a similar role in that there is a high power distance in two of the situations and a neutral power distance in the other two. In other words, Sweeteners do not seem to be necessary with those we know well or peers.

Disarmers are used when the speaker wants to indicate that they are aware of potential offence that may be caused by the request. *Excuse me,* ***I'm so sorry to bother you*** *but would you mind if I borrowed R1 from you, I'm a bit short* (3 FD1 and 3FD2) would be one such example. Disarmers were only used in situations 2 (=P, +D), 3 (-P, =D), 4 (+P, +D) and 5 (-P, -D) and only by respondents from Schools 2 and 3. It seems as though S might be attending to the high social distance variable in Situations 2 and 4, as both involve interactions with strangers. In Situations 3 and 5 it appears as though S might be considering the low power distance variable and attends to the face wants of H because of this. The use of disarmers is a negative politeness technique in that the speaker shows that what they are about to say may cause offence. Respondents from School 1 did not make use of this technique at all, which again seems to reinforce the idea that they have been taught a formula for making requests or again reinforces the theory that individual needs are not paramount (de Kadt 1992). This will be further demonstrated in the following section.

Speakers from Schools 2 and 3 sought to ascertain whether borrowing something was all right before asking for it by checking its availability. Checking the availability of something is a useful face-saver for H as it gives them a chance to claim that the item is unavailable (even if this is a lie) rather than actually refusing the request. This means that S does not really encroach on H's negative or positive face wants because it is a fairly indirect method of asking. Checking the availability was used 8.9% overall and particularly in Situations 3, 6 and 8. An example from Situation 8 would be ***If you are not wearing your blue shirt tonight*** *please may I borrow it?* (3FC1 and 3FC2). S seems to check the availability of an item when either P is equal or D is neutral, so with a friend or acquaintance.

Checking the availability of something could be thought of as being the same as getting a pre-commitment (which was only used a total of 1.8%), but this is not actually so. Getting a pre-commitment is a positive politeness strategy as it tries to look after the wants of H, by seeking agreement. It was only used by respondents from Schools 1 and 3, who each used it 1.2% and 4% respectively. It was used in Situations 3 and 7 by respondents from School 3 only and these situations have a low power distance variable in common. In the case of Situation 7, one example would be *Hello!* ***Won't you do me a favour*** *and close the gate* (3FD1 and 3FD2). Respondents from School 1 used a pre-commitment in Situation 9 only which, like situation 3, has a neutral social distance variable. While School 1 had no examples of checking the availability of something, which is a negative politeness strategy, they did use pre-commitments, which is a positive politeness strategy, though they tended to select grounders as supportive moves over all others.

Apologies and Introductions did not prove to be prevalent in the data and only respondents from School 3 used apologies and they only used them in Situation 2, which sought to minimise the imposition to H, who in this case the respondent would not have known. Introductions were used in a total of 1.4 % of the responses and all of responses came from participants from School 2. They also occurred only in situations were there was a high social distance variable. This is a category that I developed because by introducing oneself to a stranger one lowers the social distance between the co-conversants and thereby seeks to minimise the imposition by including both the speaker and the hearer in the speech act. This is considered to be a

positive politeness strategy and one that was used to great effect by the respondents of School 2. An example of this would be *Hi Mr. Mayor.* ***My name is 2FA2*** (name and surname). ***I'm from a school called School 2.*** *Will you please sign my book for me* (2FA1 and 2FA2).

All this data seems to point to the fact that although respondents from Schools 1 and 2 were able to exemplify various factors which show politeness, this is very formulaic (especially in the case of School 1). The following section focuses on combinations of strategies within schools and situations.

4.3.7 Combinations of Strategies Across Schools and Situations

It is difficult to generalise what happens amongst the respondents of any particular school for any given situation. I have asserted that respondents from Schools 1 and 2 tend to resort to formulaic responses, but at a superficial level responses from respondents from all schools appear quite similar. This can probably be accounted for by the fact that the coding process does not really allow one to label these subtleties in any way.

Table 8 shows the most common types of combinations of responses for each situation across each school. It is evident from this data that the respondents from School 1 almost always use some type of attention getter followed by a hearer-orientated request, which tends usually to be preparatory in nature. They then tend to try and minimise the imposition using a downgrader, which usually takes the form of a politeness marker and follow this with a supportive move, the most common of which is the grounder. This data substantiates what I have said about the respondents from School 1 using formulaic politeness strategies.

Similarly respondents from School 2 use very similar structures for each situation, though they do not seem to provide many supportive moves, as the respondents from School 1 do with grounders. This might be attributed to the fact that their supportive moves differ so for each situation no actual trend emerged. This shows that the Afrikaans speakers have more variety to choose from when it comes to the various combinations of politeness strategies, but this still tends to be quite formulaic in its nature.

Table 8: A representation of the combinations of strategies within schools and across situations

	School 1					School 2					School 3				
Dimension	Alerter	Request Perspective	Request Strategy	Down-graders	Supportive Moves	Alerter	Request Perspective	Request Strategy	Down-graders	Supportive Moves	Alerter	Request Perspective	Request Strategy	Down-graders	Supportive Moves
Situation 1 (+P, -D)	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	PM	G	Role	HO	Prep	Und and PM	G	Role	SO	Prep	PM and Cond and Und	G and Rew
Situation 2 (=P, +D)	AG	HO	Prep	PM	G and Rew	AG	HO	Prep	PM and Cond	G and Rew	AG	HO	Prep	CD	G
Situation 3 (-P, =D)		HO	Prep	PM		AG	HO	Prep	PM		AG/ FN	HO	Prep	PM	G
Situation 4 (+P, +D)	AG	HO	Prep	PM	G	AG/ Title	HO and SO	Prep	PM		AG/ Title	HO	Prep	Cond	S or CA
Situation 5 (-P, -D)	Role	HO	Prep	PM	G		HO	Prep	PM		AG	SO	MD	PM	CA
Situation 6 (=P, -D)	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	PM	G	AG	HO	Prep	PM	G	AG	SO	Prep	Cond and PM	
Situation 7 (-P, +D)	AG/ U	HO	Prep	Cond/ PM		AG	HO	Prep	Cond or PM		AG	HO	Prep	Cond and PM	IM
Situation 8 (+P, =D)	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	Cond	G	AG	HO	Prep	Cond or PM	Rew	AG/ Title	SO	Prep	PM and Cond	
Situation 9 (=P, =D)	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	Cond	G	AG	HO	Prep	PM	G		HO	Prep	Cond and CD	IM or S

The data for School 3 shows how Mother-tongue English speakers would typically make a request. These prove not only to be different from the way the other two schools make requests, but they are also more varied across the situations. The respondents make use of both hearer and speaker orientated request perspectives, which show that they use strategies which are considered more polite amongst first language English speakers. When using request strategies they use preparatory statements, which seems to be a fairly standard way of requesting things, across all three schools. There is one exception, however. This occurs in Situation 5, where the co-conversant is –P and –D. Here the respondents chose to use a MD, whereby the request is issued as a command. This gives further weight to the argument that English first language speakers are able to use the subtleties of politeness norms depending on the P and D variables.

The respondents from School 3 also make use of a greater variety of downgraders and supportive moves, as can be seen from Table 8. This shows that they have access to a greater number of politeness strategies and can therefore alter what they are saying more easily, depending on the P and D variables.

This section provides evidence that the respondents from Schools 1 and 2 tend to use formulaic requests that they have been taught, because English is not their first language. It also hints that there is a possible transfer from their own first language, like with the use of grounders by respondents from School 1. The respondents from School 3 have a greater variety of politeness strategies to choose from and therefore are able to adapt what they are saying, depending on the P and D variables, which the respondents from Schools 1 and 2 do not really seem able to do. This has great implications for this research as in the section that follows the reasons that the various respondents gave for their responses to particular situations will be explored.

4.4 Factors the Co-conversants Attended To

Table 1 in Appendix 5 presents quotes from the T-A and RP data which show what factors are attended to in each situation by the co-conversants. A discussion of the findings is presented below. The table in Appendix 5 lists relevant statements extracted from the data pertaining to P and D, so that proportions could be calculated. These statements show in which ways the pairs recognised the face wants of H and

attended to them. The last column in Table 1, entitled *Results*, shows whether the respondents correctly recognised a difference in power (labelled P), a difference in social distance (labelled D), a realisation of the onerousness of the request (labelled R), the failure to articulate why they responded in a particular way (labelled A), or the use of a learned formula, for example, *I have been taught to say please* (labelled F). Provision has also been made for any combination of these results.

Table 1 presented in Appendix 5 is divided into nine sections, which represent the nine situations. These nine situations were divided into subsections and each school is presented as a subsection within the section pertaining to the situation. This makes the differences between the respondents from the different schools to the various situations quite clear.

Examination of the table shows respondents from School 1 having a problem articulating why they attended to various factors, although they did acknowledge power distance as a variable quite frequently (see Figure 28). This is shown by statements like *Because the mayor is important and honest person so you don't have to argue with them or say something that's wrong* (1FA1), or *You have to respect your mother because she is older than you* (1MA2). This could be attributed to the fact that traditional African cultures are ranked as having a high Power index, in terms of Hofstede's 1981 model (Hunt 1996). School 1 respondents seemed, however, to have a concern over the item not actually belonging to them in the cases where items were requested. These were listed as a recognition by the respondent of the onerousness of the request. It was also found that while borrowing a shirt from someone is not really an onerous request, it appears as though this was found to be more face-threatening than the other requests, and respondents from all the different schools seemed to have problems expressing themselves. These responses are depicted in the graph below.

Graph showing which features were attended to by respondents from School 1

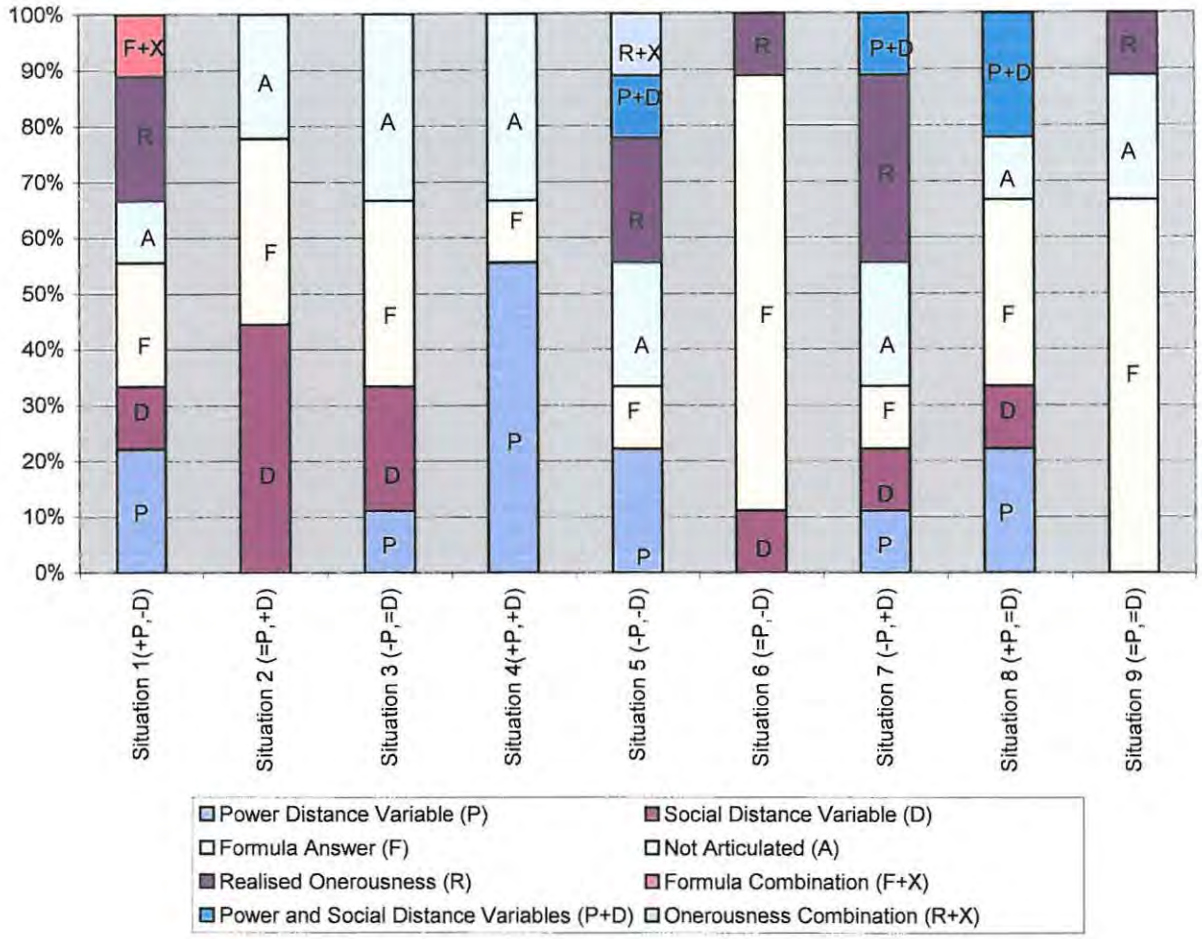


Figure 28: Graph showing features attended to by the respondents from School 1

Figure 28 shows which features were attended to by the respondents from School 1. The graph shows a range of responses, but the most prominent of these would be the recognition of the power distance variable, the formulaic response and the failure to articulate a response. Examination of the graph reveals that respondents from School 1 tend to use a formula in 33.3% of all responses. They also failed to articulate a response in 19.8% of situations. It is also clear that they are sensitive to the power distance variable, but particularly in Situation 4 which involved meeting the mayor. Respondents articulated that they felt certain requests to be onerous, but it seems like these all tend to coincide with situations that have either a low or neutral social distance, with the exception of Situation 7. This seems to indicate that although these respondents do not place as much import on social distance values as they do power distance values; they do recognise social distance values as playing a role.

Responses from participants in School 1 as to why they requested something in a particular way included examples like *I need to see this movie* (1FB2) and *Because it is not my shirt it is your shirt* (1FC2). This seems to show that while they know they have to show some form of politeness they are unable to articulate why they ask in the way they do. Even though they might understand why they are required to be polite to a particular person, it is possible that they cannot actually express this in English which makes it appear as though they do not understand why they use particular politeness strategies. It also shows that while they have been taught to be respectful, they are not told why and they are given formulas for dealing with so-called white politeness norms. This means that essentially they are not aware of the factors affecting the choice of politeness strategies, which makes their asking strategies quite marked, which was seen in Section 4.3.7. It might also mean that possession of things is more crucial in this culture.

Table 1 in Appendix 5 also shows how respondents from School 1 recognised the face wants of H and whether or not they recognised the onerousness of the request. The DCTs had been formulated using P and D as variables, but keeping R negligible. Even so the respondents from School 1 seemed to feel that the requests were quite onerous. This made them say things like *I don't force mommy because she is my mother who has no money enough* (1FC2). Because these respondents felt that the requests were quite onerous, they felt they needed to show what they termed 'respect', for example, [*I*] *comes her by respect because the money is not mine so I suppose to please her* (1MB1), or *You don't have to be rude when you are asking something from somebody* (1MC1), or *You are disturbing him – he is also doing his work* (1MC1). This echoes the point made about hierarchies in Zulu culture by De Kadt (1994). It would appear that one is required to respect one's elders and De Kadt found that where there was a difference in power or any social distance the person making the request had to defer to the older person by making use of grounders. This was also shown in Section 4.3.7. In Zulu, when S happens to be the person in a position of power they make requests by using imperatives. This use of grounders can therefore be recognised as a transfer from their first language.

Respondents from School 1 also recognised the face wants of H, but in a manner that differed from that of the respondents in Schools 2 and 3. While respondents in School

3 (as is discussed below) showed that it would be rude to upset H in any way, the respondents from School 1 showed, for the most part, that they were concerned with H's needs only because they wanted to get something out of the interaction. If they did not show enough respect, their request would fail: for example, one respondent tells her friend that she loves her blue shirt *because she likes that* (1FD1). This might also be attributed to the fact that traditional African cultures tend to value the face needs of the community rather than those of the individual and so the face needs of H are secondary to the success of the speech act.

School 2 respondents (represented in Table 1 of Appendix 5), in comparison, recognised many more features to attend to, realising both power distance and social distance as playing a role. Some examples of these would be *She is much older and we must respect her* (2FD1), which shows that these respondents realise that a high power distance needs to be minimised by some type of politeness strategy, and *He is the eldest and he is like a role model to us* (2 FA1), which similarly shows the importance of power (and age) in an interaction. Social distance was also recognised as being important. In Situation 7, for example, the participants were asked to interact with someone much younger than themselves and one pair said *I don't know him so I can't just say 'Close the gate for me'* (2MD2). This shows that these respondents felt that a high social distance played more of a role in this case than the low power distance. This is further demonstrated in the graph below, which examines the factors attended to by the respondents from an Afrikaans mother-tongue 'coloured' culture.

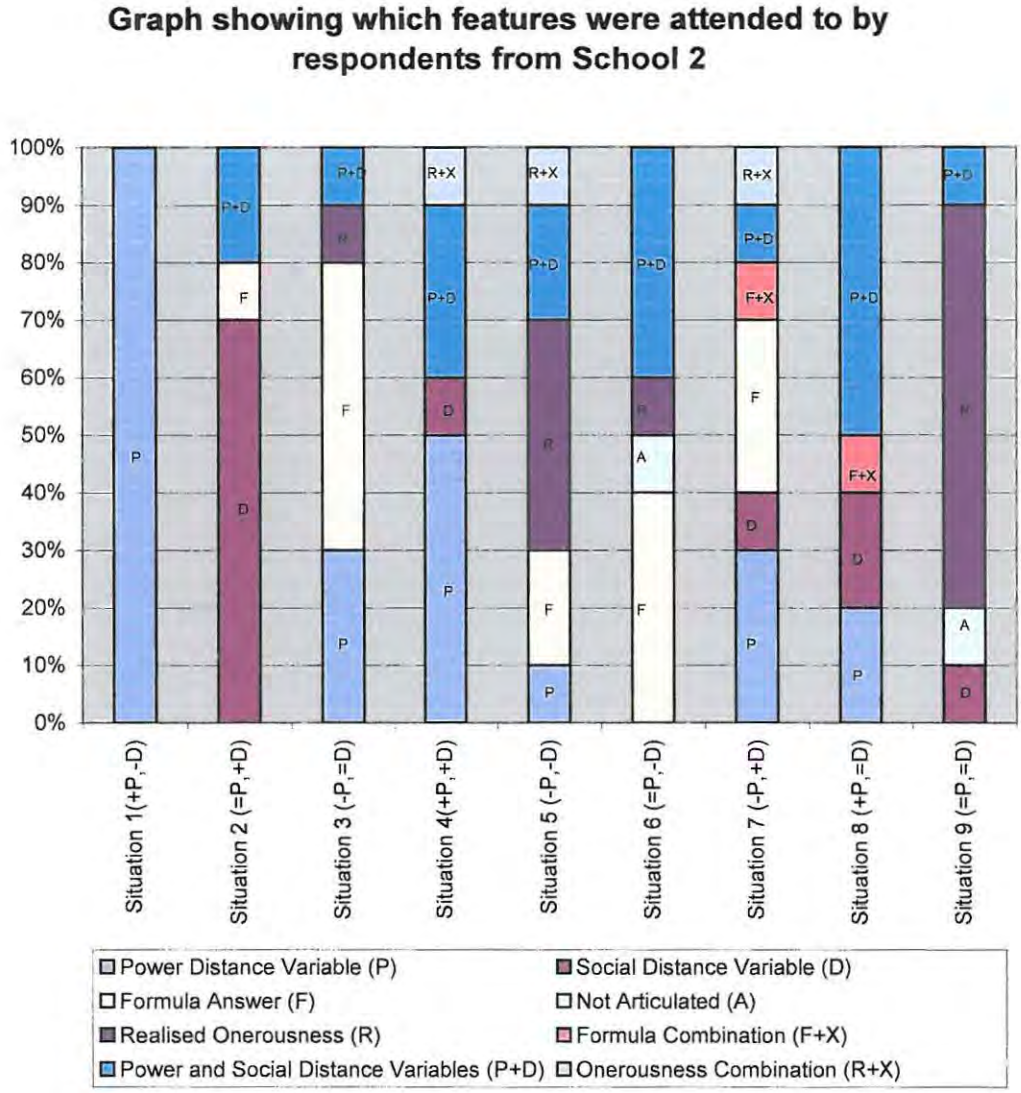


Figure 29: Graph showing features attended to by the respondents from School 2

Respondents from School 2 also recognised the face wants of the hearer in much the same way as the respondents from School 3, showing that they understand the hearer's needs both to be liked and their needs not to be imposed upon. In realising the onerousness of the request it can be seen that although they are able to articulate what features they would attend to, their usage of English politeness norms is still fairly formulaic (as was seen in Section 4.3.7) and by the fact that it emerged that when one asks for something, no matter who one asks one has to say *please*. This seems to show that they are at an intermediate stage of language and cultural acquisition: they understand the communicative norms, but they use formulas, which can easily be misunderstood, to show this.

In spite of this they did not rely on formulaic answers as often as the respondents from School 1 did. They also managed to articulate why they would say something in seven out of the nine situations. Respondents from School 2 often had responses which showed great consistency. A good example of this is Situation 1 where 100% of the responses showed that these respondents had attended to the power distance variable. Other consistencies included recognising the onerousness of a particular situation. With the exception of Situation 7, respondents from School 2 only recognised onerousness when there was a combination of either low or equal power distance and low or neutral social distance. This indicates that asking for something in the Afrikaans 'coloured' culture from someone who one either knows well, or is of similar status, is more onerous. It might also be that respondents from School 2 recognise P and D variables more than those from 'white' English culture and as a result feel the imposition of the requests that they had to make were more. The two Situations where R played the biggest role were Situation 5 (involving and interaction with a younger brother) and Situation 9 (involving an interaction with a peer). These situations both required a sacrifice of time rather than a physical possession from H, as was the case in Situation 3, which also had respondents recognising the onerousness of the request.

This regularity in respondents from School 2's responses might be an effect of the broader Afrikaans culture or it might be an effect of the particular school they are at, or their 'coloured' culture.

Table 1 in Appendix 5 shows the factors attended to by respondents from School 3, in the last section for each situation. As they all have English as a first language, they are quite innovative in their use of strategies, as was seen above. It was surprising that they were not always immediately sure why they used a particular strategy, but they were able to articulate step by step why they used the words they did. These have not all been included, but a representative sample is included in Table 1 (see Appendix 5). A graph showing the factors attended to by the respondents from School 3 appears below.

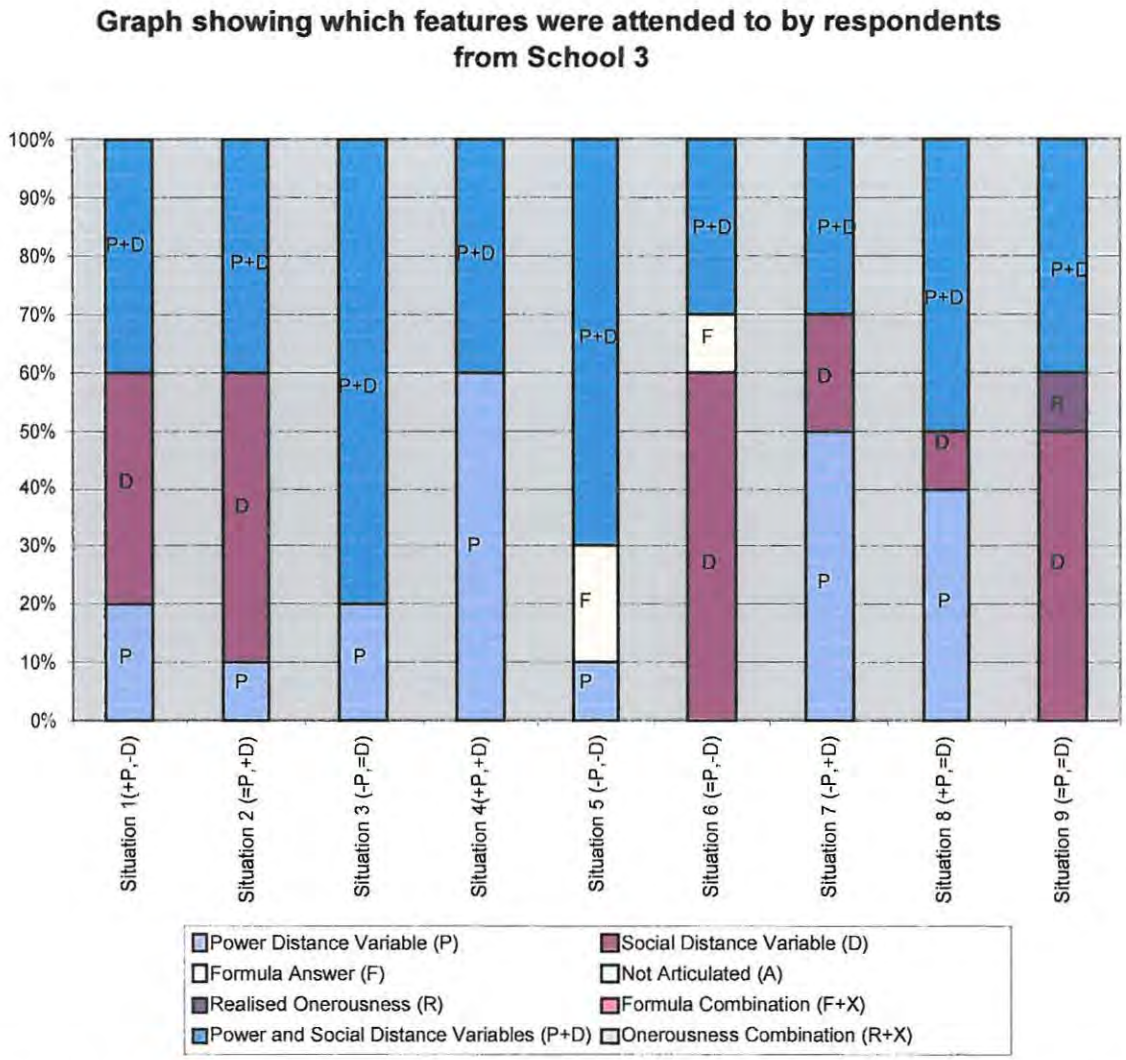


Figure 30: Graph showing features attended to by the respondents from School 3

While respondents from Schools 1 and 2 tended to attend to factors where there were differing power distances, respondents from School 3 seemed to notice both dimensions in many cases. For example in Situation 2 there were a number of respondents (from School 3) who showed that they did not know this person (i.e. that there was a high social distance), but that they were the same age (i.e. there was a low power distance). This amounted to 40 percent of the total responses for this situation. In most cases respondents from School 3 attended to the face wants of the interactant along the dimension of social distance, or of social distance and power distance combined whereas respondents from Schools 1 and 2 were inclined to use the power distance ranking more, with respondents from School 1 often using responses like *We love to say please please please or my friend – one of those two things are very important even if you are not his friend or her friend that he will do it.* These

respondents from School 1 know that they have to be polite and use certain words in order to ensure the success of the speech act, but were unable to articulate why this was so. This also shows that they understand the importance of positive politeness. Respondents from School 3 were always able to articulate an answer, even if this was only a formulaic answer (as in Situations 5 and 6). Situations where this formulaic answer was given have a low social distance variable in common. It seems as though there is an unwritten set of norms for interacting with someone one knows well, like in this case a brother or a close friend. In addition to these findings it can also be seen that respondents from School 3 never used a formula combination or an onerousness combination. They only commented on the onerousness in one situation, and that pertained to Situation 9. The response was as follows: *It's sort of to try and convey to him that you really need help and that if he's good at the subject as well, he probably won't mind because it's practice* (3ME). Through this example one can see that this respondent realised, like the respondents from School 2, that this would take up H's time, but at the same time noticed that it was complimenting H by asking them for their help. This was not used in the same way by the other schools who tended to focus on the negative aspect of asking someone for help. Examples of this would include *They don't even have time to teach me because we are all there in that class* (1ME) and *He will refuse to explain it to me because I was at class as well* (2MB). These variables that the respondents attended to are represented proportionately in the table below, which makes use of the graphs in Figures 28, 29 and 30 to show the total use average for each factor for each school.

Table 9: High use average for the factors attended to by respondents from Schools 1, 2 and 3

FACTORS ATTENDED TO	SCHOOL 1 %	SCHOOL 2 %	SCHOOL 3 %
Power Distance Variable	16	26.7	23.3
Social Distance Variable	12.3	13.3	25.6
Formula Answer	33.3	16.7	3.3
Not Articulated	19.8	2.2	0
Realised Onerousness	11.1	14.4	1.1
Formula Combination	1.2	2.2	0
Power AND Social Distance Variables	4.9	21.1	46.7
Onerousness Combination	1.2	3.3	0
TOTAL:	100	100	100

Respondents from School 3 also realised the onerousness of the request, but in most cases mentioned that the request was small and therefore the hearer shouldn't mind complying with it. While they showed that one has to be polite to get what one wants they did not want to make the person feel bad in any way and their requests were often characterised by having an 'out' for the hearer. This means that they make use of negative politeness strategies to show they do not wish to impose upon H in any way. This was not made use of by respondents from School 1 and the results from School 2 were only comparable in situations where either P or D were high. In all of these situations, with the exception of Situation 7, these respondents noted the high P or D values consistently. They gave other responses when P was low or equal and D was low or neutral.

In summing up it becomes evident that there are definite cultural differences in terms of what factors were attended to. While this does not disprove Brown and Levinson's politeness model (1987) it shows that sometimes cultures differ in the way things are perceived and this is shown through their language usage. While it cannot be ascertained whether the differences between School 1 and School 3 are due to culture or to an incomplete acquisition of English amongst respondents from School 1, analysis of the respondents' utterances showed interesting trends, and these were not always universal, which seems to indicate differing politeness norms.

4.5 Cultural Differences Reflected in the Data

Some of the cultural differences in the data have already been discussed, but in addition to these the following differences seem to play a role when making requests. Amongst the respondents in School 1, there appears to be a notion that you have to respect other people in order to be respected in return. This does not appear to be dependent on P and D variables (see for examples *He is doing his homework too and you are disturbing him so you should be respectable to him* [Pair 1MA, Situation 5 (-P; -D)] *and It is not my money, it is her money* [Pair 1MB, Situation 1 (+P; -D)]). One pair went as far as saying "*...especially black people - we love to say please, please, please or my friend - one of those two things are very important, even if you are not his friend or her friend that he will do it*" (Pair 1MD, Situation 9). This shows that by using these politeness strategies one does minimise the imposition, even if the person is not one's friend or there is a differing P or D variable one makes use of H's

positive face wants by making them part of an in-group, thereby satisfying H's positive face needs.

In School 2 this orientation changes somewhat. The respondents here were very keen for the request to be successful and therefore made use of politeness strategies (see for example pair 2FB, Situation 2 [=P; +D]). They do not, however, pay much attention to H's face needs and their concern is for H's compliance with their request. Like the respondents from School 1, they don't want to be rude as this reflects badly on them and S's face wants. These respondents seem to be more affected by power distance and social distance than those from School 1. While in places their strategy usage is as formulaic as those for School 1, the participants from School 2 were better able to articulate why they would need to be polite under various circumstances, for example, they selected qualities such as age and importance as being central to how they would request something (see Table 9). They also recognised the need to be polite to people that they did not know, which leads me to believe that they do definitely understand the politeness strategies they use, even if their explanations are not as well articulated as those of first language English speakers.

Respondents from School 3 showed that while they do not want to be thought of as rude or disrespectful, they were more concerned with fulfilling H's face wants (in line with Brown and Levinson's model (1987)). In almost every situation, respondents from School 3 (like those from School 2) acknowledged the need to 'suck-up to' or compliment the hearer in order to get them to comply with the request. Across all the pairs from this school there were only 3 situations that were not commented on by every pair. Respondents from School 3 also frequently used in-group identity markers like nicknames and slang. Power distance and social distance as dimension variables both seem to play an important role (as can be seen in Table 9 above) in the strategies used whereas these are less clear in Schools 1 and 2.

4.6 Conclusion

There are trends which emerge from the data presented in this chapter which show that black Xhosa speakers in the ex-DET school, 'coloured' Afrikaans speakers in ex-HOR school and white English speakers in the private school perceive politeness norms in English slightly differently. These perceptions and their implications are discussed in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

In the introduction in Chapter One, the aims of this project were presented. The first aim was to develop a better understanding of culture and politeness and the links between these terms. These were examined with South Africa's unique situation in mind. Since 1994 there have been increased efforts to promote multiculturalism and multilingualism. Culture is a problematic term when examining a country such as South Africa, which has to make provision for eleven official languages and multiple cultures. However, it was essential to come to a conclusion about it in order to contextualise this study. In this research I have defined culture as being "a learned set of shared interpretations about beliefs, values, and norms, which affect the behaviours of a relatively large group of people" (Lustig and Koester 1999: 30). Inextricably linked to the definition of culture is that of politeness. Politeness was defined using Brown and Levinson's (1978) model. This first aim formed part of the broader, and second, aim of the project which was to do a cross-cultural study on politeness norms to see how perceptions of these norms manifest themselves through language, and how differences in culture may impact on these perceptions and on the theory of universal politeness.

These notions of politeness and culture were explored in Chapter Two in some detail. In this concluding chapter these ideas are revisited in order to see what implications the current research has. While researchers like Brown and Levinson (1978) maintain that there are universals in politeness norms it was noted that this might be an oversimplification in the South African context. There seems to be such a culturally diverse population within South Africa and while respondents might have requested things similarly, they do so for different reasons.

5.2 Perceptions of Politeness and the Problems Associated with these

This section describes both theoretical and practical problems, with various constructs and the collection of data, and how these were alleviated to some degree.

The first problem with politeness is of course the definition. It has to be realised that politeness is not an absolute value in that people have different expectations in terms of what they would consider polite behaviour. Brown and Levinson (1999) make use of the terms face, positive politeness and negative politeness with the overarching presumption that these are governed by positive and negative face wants that make politeness universal. They define politeness as "a complex system for softening face-threatening acts" (1999: 82).

Included in their definition of positive and negative politeness is the need to appeal to an individual's positive and negative face wants. Positive face wants are the need of any individual to have their needs and wants acknowledged by others. Negative face wants are the need of any individual to have their actions unimpeded by others. Brown and Levinson assert that requests do in fact make use of negative politeness because most requests (particularly those that require an action by somebody else) will impede the hearer in some way.

It is easy to argue that everybody has these basic wants, as can be seen in the data which showed that the respondents value what they believe to be polite behaviour, but they do this towards different goals. One then has to question why people use the particular politeness strategies they do and whether these do in fact differ. Examination of the research shows that people's perceptions of what is polite do differ and these were discussed extensively in Chapter Four.

The materials developed for the DCTs and T-A have proved to be useful research tools for collecting this type of data. Some of the results obtained, using these methods, were surprising, and indeed, difficult to explain because one of the biggest problems is the lack of research done in this area in South Africa (or any other heterogeneous, multilingual, multicultural country).

The observer's paradox might have played some role in the collection of data, as I was listening and intervening while the respondents were doing the DCT, T-A and RP. It is acknowledged that this is problematic, but at the same time interference was kept to a minimum by only responding after the initial T-A and DCT had been completed. Where there were problems that actually threatened the research (for

example, the respondents from School 1 who did not have the required proficiency in English) there was intervention, but this was kept to a minimum by only defining difficult words or rephrasing situations so that they were grammatically simpler. With the RP it was particularly difficult not to intervene, but the question session was structured so that leading questions were not asked and questions were phrased around issues the respondents themselves had raised.

Another problem with research of this nature was the validity of the data for School 1. While this has been replicated exactly, it is suspected that their general proficiency in English might have impacted on their ability to articulate exactly what they wanted to say. Their perceptions of English politeness norms were nonetheless evident, even though there was a lack of fluency in English.

Even with these problems some useful data emerged, proving the use of DCTs, T-A and RP to be very useful as methods. This parallels what researchers like Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) found: that DCTs are a useful way to elicit cross-cultural variables. This is further enhanced by the T-A procedure which supports Cohen's (1987) finding in that researchers are able to gain access to their respondents' thought processes. RPs were claimed to go hand in hand with T-A by Haastrup (1987) and this enabled the researcher to actually become involved in what the respondent thinks, by asking questions that would elicit exactly why a particular response was made. RPs proved essential in this research, particularly in School 1.

There were relatively few problems encountered during the research and the problems listed above tended to either be out of the control of the researcher, or problems that were surmountable once acknowledged. It was ascertained in Chapter Four that people's perceptions of politeness norms differ. As a result, it becomes necessary to examine the implications of these differing politeness norms, which is what is aimed at in the next section.

5.3 Implications of Differing Politeness Norms

It was said in Chapter Two that the willingness to communicate with someone was not enough. If two speakers did not share norms for communication the possibility of misunderstandings is quite high (Lustig and Koester 1999). The fact that respondents

from Schools 1 and 2 made use of formulaic devices to show politeness not only shows problems with the language used but shows that they were unclear as to how politeness norms work in white English culture. It has to be acknowledged, however, that English is spoken by many people and that it should not be expected that the second language speakers need to aspire to the first language variety.

Black Xhosa-speaking respondents from School 1 relied on formulas and request devices from their own language to show how they perceived the functioning of these politeness norms. This is supported by the work done by De Kadt (1992, 1994). She also found that the Zulu respondents she was working with used an imperative structure with many grounders when they were being polite in Zulu. Xhosa is closely related to Zulu (as was explained in Chapter Two) and therefore one can assume that it is similar in its structure. As a result of this, interference from the first language appears to have occurred and the requests made often sound a bit stilted compared to those of the mother-tongue speakers of English. This did not completely support what De Kadt argued as while the respondents from School 1 do make use of many grounders, they seem to favour preparatory statements over mood derivables. Preparatory statements are more polite than mood derivables, but their very high occurrence suggests that this is a formula that has been taught for making requests. They also resorted to 'begging' in order to request something while this was considered rude by the white English speakers as it impinged upon H's rights to be unimpeded in their actions (Brown and Levinson 1987). By begging however, the respondents from School 1 are in fact attending to H's positive face, but this might be perceived differently in an intercultural interaction. Taking these factors into account it can be seen why mutual negative stereotyping sometimes occurs (Lustig and Koester 1999).

Respondents from white English-speaking schools made statements like *"I think that this would be, 'mom, is it alright if I can borrow money to go to movies' – it is not like begging and it's not like demanding them, it's just like asking them"* (Pair 3MA), showing that they felt that the request would not be successful if one were either too pleading (thereby threatening the negative face wants of H) or too demanding (where one would threaten the positive face wants of H by making them think that they weren't liked). In contrast with this respondents from black Xhosa-speaking culture

said, *"Because I don't want to forced her, she is older than me, she is my mother and I have to respect her – I have to say please because I am begging her"* (Pair 1ME). This shows clearly that these respondents make use of positive politeness. While they acknowledge that H doesn't want them to be too demanding (*I don't want to forced her*), they are going against what the mother tongue English speaker said because they are begging their mother. In doing so the respondent makes them feel liked, but disregards their want not to have their actions impeded in any way. This trend was discussed in detail in Chapter Four. It not only shows a difference in politeness norms, but also in the factors attended to by S. While the mother tongue Xhosa-speaking respondent clearly showed that they recognised the age (and therefore power) variable in this situation by saying "*she is older than me, she is my mother and I have to respect her*", they do not regard the low social distance variable as being salient which is what the English-speaking pair were doing in essence by successfully executing their request. Traditional African cultures are ranked as having a high Power index in terms of Hofstede's 1981 model (Hunt 1996) and therefore see power distance as being more important, as was discussed in Chapter 4.

The way the respondents orientated themselves to their hearers was also discussed in Chapter Four. Schools 1 and 2 made use of a hearer oriented (HO) approach extensively (84.7% and 81.5% respectively) while School 3 did not use this approach to the same extent. They used the HO approach 51% and a speaker orientated (SO) approach 42.9%. By using the SO approach one seeks to minimise the imposition to H and while respondents from Schools 1 and 2 did not really make use of the SO approach, respondents from School 3 used it to mark a low social distance, while using the HO approach to show high or neutral social distance (with the exception of Situation 8). This might be closely linked with culture as members of traditional African cultures tend to be collectivists. This is evident through the respondents from Schools 1 and 2's extensive use of the HO approach and is further supported by De Kadt's (1994) research into Zulu culture.

It would appear from the research done by De Kadt (1994) that the Xhosa respondents place a large amount of emphasis on the community as well as having a deep regard for their elders and men. I think that this comes across clearly in the data. Even though the respondents were not always able to articulate why they made a request in

a certain way, I think it has to be acknowledged that they would defer to someone older than themselves, or someone that they did not know (De Kadt 1992). Even though the subjects for this study were children (which would seem to imply that they would defer to those older than themselves), this was the one variable that was recognised, especially by respondents from Schools 1 and 2, who made mention of the power distance variable in 16 percent and 26.7 percent of situations respectively. This is a fairly high percentage for School 1 as for 33.3 percent of all interaction they used formulaic responses when discussing the features they attended to, while for School 2 this power distance variable proved to be the highest (26.7%), seconded by the formulaic response which was used 16.7 percent of the time. This is particularly pertinent when comparing it to the responses of the respondents from School 3, who often claimed that they didn't know why they made a particular response, but when pressed could actually justify why they had done so and they tended to recognise both power and social distance variables, articulating them across 46.7 percent of situations, while a formulaic answer was only articulated across 3.3 percent of the situations. In 95.6% of the situations, respondents from School 3's responses coincided with the criteria used to set up the scenarios. This corroborates in large measure the validity of the research tool.

The strategies used by the respondents from the different schools also played a significant role in the examination of perceptions of politeness norms. In addition to being able to articulate why they responded in a particular way participants from School 3 used a far greater variety of responses especially in terms of the strategies they used in order to be polite. They adapted what they needed to say to the situation and so tended to respond much as one would expect an English first language speaker to do, for example in Situation 5, when talking to the younger brother, Pair 3FE would have said "*Pass that book!*". This is presented as a command because the respondents from School 3 were aware of the power dynamic at play. Respondents from School 1 and 2, however, did not respond in the same way. Pair 2MC1 responded with the following request for the same situation, "*Can you pass the book please*". This is fairly similar in structure, but is more polite as it contains the modal verb *can* and the politeness marker *please*. In contrast to this Pair 1MB responded that they would say the following to their brother, "*My younger brother can't you give me that book because I need it now please*". This is another example of the black Xhosa respondents' formula

response where they typically use an alerter followed by a preparatory statement and a grounder, with a politeness marker. This tends to be a typical way of requesting something in English, amongst second language speakers of English. Xhosa-speaking respondents tended to elevate people into more powerful positions than themselves in the way they requested things. Of particular interest was the use of the vocative as a type of alerter by respondents from School 1. While this is not acknowledged as an English politeness norm, it would be transferred across from the mother tongue because one would never call someone older than oneself by their name (Ndlovu and Kruger 1998).

The 'coloured' Afrikaans speakers exhibited politeness norms that are interesting in that they seem to be mid-way between the black Xhosa norms and those of the First language English speakers. While they also used formulas for making requests, they attended to H's face needs a lot more and could articulate why they were doing so. While there has not really been any research done on speech act usage amongst 'coloured' Afrikaans people as a cultural group, this fits in with what Stone (1995) asserted – 'coloured' people live between what he terms 'opposite' groups of people: 'black' and 'white'. While the respondents from this school often did not display a full range of English politeness norms, they did seem to defer to those who were of a higher status or when there was a differing social distance between the interlocutors (see discussion of Situation 5 above). This is supported by the research done by Chick (1995) on Afrikaans speakers' politeness norms. This means that they are less likely to be negatively stereotyped as they have many of the norms in place. They seem to exist between the two cultures, not really becoming part of either. This is supported further by Stone (1995) who asserts that the 'coloured' culture is between the 'white' and 'black' cultures.

In contrast to this, respondents from the English-speaking school seemed to have clear ideas about the variables behind making requests. They were able to articulate easily why they were saying specific things to specific people and while one would assume that they would be more competent in English than the respondents from School 1 and 2, because they are first language English speakers, one can see why an interaction between these groups of people might be uncomfortable, as Chick (1985) found with

intercultural interactions that he studied. On these grounds Section 5.4 looks at some suggestions that might help to prevent intercultural misunderstandings.

5.4 Suggestions

This data shows some interesting trends that could potentially result in miscommunication and mutual negative stereotyping. In the section that follows some suggestions are made in an attempt to obviate these potential problems.

1. Research pertaining to linguistic politeness norms

This study makes it clear that not enough research has been done in South Africa with regards to politeness. This tends to be a sensitive subject because of South Africa's past and the increased efforts to promote integration as well as multiculturalism and multilingualism, but is essential. In my research only a very small part of politeness was examined, namely the making of requests. There are many other aspects to politeness which still need to be examined, like compliments or demands, as the results of these could possibly show why there are often cases of miscommunication when intercultural interaction takes place. It is not that either interactant is trying to be rude, but they are conforming to what they think the politeness norms of the language they are communicating in are, and sometimes they do not understand these fully.

2. Intercultural Training

Barna (1994) shows how intercultural communication fails. By examining intercultural interactions the more tangible reasons for these failures to communicate could be documented and training programmes could be set up. Instead of criticising differences, differences would be detailed and reasons for these differences sought, thereby promoting intercultural understanding. This should not be a case of 'teaching the uncivilised', but an opportunity for mutual learning and teaching by respondents from all cultures.

3. Integrating Schools

The discrepancies in financial resources between the private schools, ex-HOR schools and ex-DET schools are huge. This means that while learners in private schools are given access to facilities like computer laboratories and libraries, the other learners are

isolated in their own community, as the schools do not provide the facilities that allow modernisation or access to information. One cannot understand the politeness norms of others if one is not exposed to them and this is supported by Chick (1995: 238) in what he terms the "negative cycle of socially created discrimination". Equal access to financial resources would allow all learners equal access to education, as the necessary teachers could be employed, and necessary resource materials could be purchased. Schools tend to be orientated to western politeness norms and eventually assimilation would probably occur. Culture is by definition an assimilation process as Holliday (1999) showed with his small culture research. This means that one would have to be careful and promote multiculturalism and, at the same time, try to create an equitable system where the politeness norms of other cultures could be accessed. This would then serve to promote cultural tolerance and understanding.

4. Implementing a new national language policy

There are many cultural groups in South Africa and because of this communication across cultures is extremely hard. By having fewer official languages it could be said that one could decrease intercultural misunderstandings, but I would not support this option as it impinges on the rights of many people and as this study has shown, people may not learn a language sufficiently to use strategies with mother-tongue competence.

5.5 Conclusion

These suggestions show that there is really no quick way of bridging the gap between cultures. The data shows that politeness norms in South Africa, or at least in these schools in Grahamstown, are not the same across cultures, nor are they perceived the same way. Respondents from the different schools value different things when communicating with one another. The fact that cultures favour different face wants needs to be recognised and researchers need to work towards understanding this diversity. One needs to acknowledge difference and work against harmful cultural stereotypes. No immediate solution can be offered, because culture is such a vast amorphous mass. South Africa's situation is a unique one, as stated in Chapter One, and politeness perceptions within and across cultures have not yet been examined in any rigorous or large-scale way. The research that has been done in South Africa tends to have been done on a very small scale (de Kadt 1992 , 1995 and Chick 1985).

This means that cultural difference in South Africa has not yet been fully documented and Chick (1985) has said that other research has tended to look only at countries where monocultural interactions take place. It seems that the only viable immediate aid (not solution) would be for rigorous large-scale research to be done on culture and politeness norms preferably looking at first language norms across cultures rather than the norms of a second language as in this study. It is felt that this research would have yielded more if respondents could have answered in their mother-tongue and these results compared. This, however, requires the researcher to have first language competence in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa and therefore could not be carried out in this study. The materials developed for the DCTs and T-A have proved to be useful research tools for collecting this type of data. They could therefore be adapted for large-scale research. This large-scale research is discussed as a possible start to understanding the unique situation in this country. Only once this research has been done can real solutions be examined because at this stage not enough is known about the status quo and ongoing shifts in culture. It is hoped that this research proves that further investigation into cultural difference is necessary and that an understanding of politeness norms, in particular, could play a very important role in creating and managing change. It seems as though while politeness may be universal (Brown and Levinson 1978) the force and perceptions behind the various strategies might not be the same and this needs further investigation as differences could lead to miscommunication and mutual negative stereotyping.

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APPENDIX ONE:

DISCOURSE COMPLETION TEST

Please read the following instructions before you fill out this questionnaire. For each of the examples below you must follow all the steps. There is no right or wrong answer, so just say what you think.

1. Read the example carefully
2. Think about what you would say and why you would say it.
3. Discuss with your partner what you would say, in English
4. Try and agree about what you say by discussing your choice with your partner.
5. When you have agreed on what to say, write it in the space provided.

Thank you very much for your time in helping me with my research!

Situation 1

You want to go to movies with your friends but you don't have enough money. Your mom comes home from work and you decide to ask her for the money - what do you say?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Situation 2

You are at the shop buying bread for your mother and when you are in the queue you realise that you are R1 short. Behind you there is a stranger. This stranger looks about the same age as you, but is from another school. You want to borrow R1 for the bread from them. What do you say?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Situation 3

You are a prefect and are responsible for seeing that the classroom gets tidied after school. You are busy tidying it one day, when another student from your class comes in. You want to ask them to help you tidy the classroom. What do you say?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Situation 4

You are at the library when you see the mayor. You want him to sign your book - how would you ask him to do this for you?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Situation 5

You are trying to do your homework and your younger brother is working at the table with you. You can't reach one of the books you need, which is close to him. You want to ask him to pass it to you. What do you say to him?

Situation 6

You are going to a party but you don't have a suitable shirt for the occasion. One of your good friends has many lovely shirts. There is a blue one that you particularly like. How do you ask your friend if you could borrow this shirt?

Situation 7

You are sitting next to the window and you see a young child that you do not recognise walking past your house. You notice that the gate to the yard has been left open and you want to ask this child to close the gate for you. What do you say?

Situation 8

Your class teacher has a very interesting book that you would like to borrow. How would you ask them if you could borrow it?

Situation 9

Someone in your class is really good at geography and you really want them to help you because you didn't understand the lesson. What would you say?

APPENDIX TWO:
LIST OF POLITENESS STRATEGIES

Positive Politeness Strategies:

Notice, attend to H (his/her interests, wants, needs, goods)
Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)
Intensify interest to H
Use in-group identity markers
Seek agreement
Avoid disagreement
Presuppose/ raise/ assert common ground
Joke
Assert or presuppose S's knowledge and concern for H's wants
Offer, promise
Be optimistic
Include both S and H in the activity
Give (or ask for) reasons
Assume or assert reciprocity
Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)

Negative Politeness Strategies:

Be direct/ conventionally indirect
Question, hedge
Be pessimistic
Minimise the size of the imposition on H
Give deference
Apologise
Impersonalise S and H: avoid pronouns 'I' and 'you'
State FTA as a general rule
Nominalise
Go on record as incurring a debt, not as indebting H

Off-record Strategies

Those violating Grice's conversational maxims

Violate maxim of Relevance
Give hints/ clues
Give association clues
Presuppose

Violate maxim of Quality
Understate
Overstate
Use tautologies
Use contradictions
Be ironic
Use metaphors

Use rhetorical questions

Violate maxim of Manner
Be ambiguous
Be vague
Over-generalise
Displace H
Be incomplete, use ellipsis

(Brown and Levinson 1999: 334 - 335)

APPENDIX THREE:
STRATEGIES USED BY SPEECH ACTS

Table 1: Strategies used by Speech Acts (Hudson, Detmer and Brown 1995: 14-15)

REQUESTS	REFUSALS	APOLOGIES
Alerters		
Attention getters Surname First name Undetermined name Title/role		
Head Acts	**Head Acts**	**Head Acts**
• Preparatory • Strong hint • Want statement • Hedged performative • Statement of fact	• Grounder • Statement of regret • Non-performative • Repetition of original request • Request for help • Wish • Set condition for past/future accept • Guilt trip • Repetition of part of request • Hedging • Alternative • Alternative said as a command	• IFID (Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices) (I'm sorry) I'm afraid I apologise for Forgive me Excuse me • Explanation offer of repair • Taking responsibility • Statement of fact • Promise forbearance • Minimise offense • Express gratitude • Distract from offense
Supportive Moves	Supportive Moves	
• Imposition minimiser • Grounders • Disarmers • Preparator • Getting pre-commitment • Apology	• Imposition minimiser • Indirect requests • Statement of empathy • Pause filler • Statement of positive gratitude/appreciate • Emphasis of requester's costs	
Modifications	**Modifications**	**Modifications**
Downgraders	*Downgraders*	*Downgraders*
• Politeness markers • Subjectivizer • Hedge • Downtoner • Pause filler To head act: • Conditional • Aspect • Tense • Subjunctive negation or prep.	• Politeness markers • Subjectivizer • Hedge • Appealer	• Politeness markers • Subjectivizer • Hedge • Appealer • Pause filler • Understater • Cajoler
Upgraders	*Upgraders*	*Upgraders*
• Intensifier • Lexical uptoner • Emphasis	• Intensifier • Emotional expression • Lexical uptoner	• Intensifier • Emotional expression • Commitment • Indicator

APPENDIX FOUR:
TABLES SHOWING THE STRATEGIES EMPLOYED IN THE SITUATIONS BY S (TABLES 1 TO 27)

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 1: Strategies employed by S in Situation 1 where H is +P, -D (School 1)

SCHOOL 1: SITUATION 1							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (RP)	Mom, would you mind if you could borrow me some money… My friends and I, we would like to go for a movie.	Role	HO	Prep	CD, Cond, Und		G
FB (DCT)	Please mother we need only R5. We want to go to see a movie with our friend. We don't have enough money so we decided to ask you about this money.		HO	EP	PM, Und		G
FC (DCT)	Please mom can you help with money because I want to go to movies with my friends but I don't have enough money.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	PM, CD		G
FD (T-A)	Please mum give me a money because these friends is enough money.	AG/ Role	SO	MD	PM		G
MA (DCT)	Mom please would you give me some enough money so that I can go with my friends to movies.	Role	HO	Prep	PM, Cond, Und		G
MB (RP)	Mom, can you please give me money I am going to the movies and I don't have money and they have money.	Role	HO	Prep	PM		G
MC (DCT)	Please mom can you help me give some money because I don't have enough money to go to the movies with my friends.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	PM, CD, Und		G
MD (T-A)	Please mommy, can you borrow me some money. I want to go to movies with my friends.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	PM, Und		G
ME (RP)	Mom, I want to go to the movies with my friends and I don't have enough money to go to the movies, so please, would you please borrow me money so that I can go with my friends to the movies.	Role	HO	Prep	PM, Cond		G

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 2: Strategies employed by S in Situation 1 where H is +P, -D (School 2)

SCHOOL 2: SITUATION 1							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (T-A)	Mom, please lend me some money, I want to go to movies with my friends.	Role	SO	MD	PM, Und		G
FB (RP)	Mom, please don't you have some money for me I want to go to movies with some friends.	Role	HO	Prep	PM, Cond Und		G
FC (DCT)	Mom can you please give me some money I want to go to the movies with my friend.	Role	HO	Prep	PM, Und		G
FD (DCT)	Please borrow me some money for the movies. I'll pay you back.		SO	MD	PM, Und		G, Rew
FE (DCT)	Mom you know I'm going to movies. I don't have enough money so could you please borrow me some.	Role	HO	Prep	CD, Cond, Und		G
MA1 MA2 (DCT)	Sorry mom will you please give me money to go to the movies with my friends. Mamma can you borrow me some money please. I want to go to the movies with my friend.	AG/ Role Role	HO HO	Prep Prep	PM Und, PM		G G
MB (DCT)	Mom can you borrow me some money please I would like to go to the movies.	Role	HO	Prep	Und, PM		G
MC (DCT)	Mom can you please give me money to go to the movies.	Role	HO	Prep	PM		G
MD (T-A)	Please mommy, will you give me some money. I want to go to the movies.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	PM, Und		G
ME (W+RP)	Please mum can you give me some money please because I would like to go to the movies.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	PM, Und		G

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 3: Strategies employed by S in Situation 1 where H is +P, -D (School 3)

SCHOOL 3: SITUATION 1							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Mum, I want to go to the movies with my friends and I don't have enough money. Please could you lend me some and I'll pay you back later.	Role	HO	Prep	PM, Cond, Und		G, Rew
FB (DCT)	Please mom may I borrow R20 for the movies tonight and I'll pay you back when I get my pocket money.	AG/ Role	SO	Prep	PM, Cond		G, Rew
FC (DCT)	Mum, I want to go to movies but I don't have enough money so please will you lend me some and I'll pay you back when I get more money.	Role	HO	Prep	PM, Und		G, Rew
FD (DCT)	Mom would you please lend me some money 'cause I'm going to the movies.	Role	HO	Prep	Cond, PM, Und		G
FE (DCT)	Mom, please will you lend me some money to go to the movies.	Role	HO	Prep	PM, Und		G
MA (DCT)	Mom, is it alright if I can borrow some money to go to the movies today?	Role	SO	Prep	CD, Und		G
MB (DCT)	Mom, could I please have some money to go with my friends to the movies. I am a bit short.	Role	SO	Prep	Cond, PM		G
MC1 MC2 (DCT)	Mom, please can I have some money to go to the movies. Hi mom, could you please give me some money, so that I may go to the movies with my friends.	Role AG/ Role	SO HO	Prep Prep	PM, Und Cond, PM, Und		G G
MD (DCT)	Please may I have some money, I have a bit but I need a little more to go to movies today.		SO	Prep	PM, Cond, Und		IM, G
ME (DCT)	Mom is it okay if I borrow some money for movies tonight and I will pay you back when I get my pocket money.	Role	SO	Prep	CD, Und		G, Rew

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 4: Strategies employed by S in Situation 2 where H is =P, +D (School 1)

SCHOOL 1: SITUATION 2							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Sorry Sir/Madam. Borrow me R1 because I want to buy some bread but I'm short money for it, but I want enough money for buy this bread.	AG/ Title	SO	MD	PM		G
FB (DCT)	Guy I need you to borrow me R1 only for buy some bread because my mother give me short money. She didn't see it's shorts. I'll give you tomorrow.	U	HO	EP	Und		G, Rew
FC (RP)	Sorry sir, I ask you R1 for bread because I don't have more money.	AG/ Title	HO	EP	PM		G
FD (RP)	Please borrow me a money – a R1.		SO	MD	PM		
MA (DCT)	Please stranger would you kindly borrow me R1 so that I can have enough money to buy bread.	AG/ U	HO	Prep	PM		S, G
MB (T-A)	Sorry my brother, my money is short by R1. I want to buy a bread so should you please give me this money? Then after I am buying this bread I am going to home you take that money to mom please.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	PM		G, Rew
MC (DCT)	Sorry can you please borrow me a R1 because I am R1 short. I will give you back when I see you again.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		G, Rew
MD (DCT)	Please guy would you please borrow me a R1 then I will pay you when I go home.	AG/ U	HO	Prep	PM, Cond, PM		Rew
ME (T-A)	Would you please borrow me R1 because my money is short and I want to buy bread then I will pay you soon as I get home.		HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G, Rew

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 5: Strategies employed by S in Situation 2 where H is =P, +D (School 2)

SCHOOL 2: SITUATION 2							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Sorry boy don't you have a R1 to lent me please I need it to buy bread for my mother.	AG/ U	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G
FB (DCT)	Please don't you have a R1 to borrow me and I will give it back to you.		HO	Prep	PM, Cond		Rew
FC (T-A)	Please can you borrow me R1, I am shorting now and I want to buy the bread.		HO	Prep	PM		G
FD (DCT)	Hi, would you please mind borrowing me a R1 because I ran short of money.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM, CD		G
FE (DCT)	Excuse me. I short a R1 and was wondering if you could please loan it to me. I'll give it back when I see you again. And my name is 2FE1/2FE2.	AG	HO	Prep	PM, CD, Cond		G, Rew, Intro
MA (DCT)	Sorry, boy will you please lend me a R1 to buy bread for my mother.	AG/ U	HO	Prep	PM		G
MB (DCT)	Can you please borrow me R1 for bread then we can go to my mom to gave you your R1 back please.		HO	Prep	PM		G, Rew
MC (DCT)	Sorry friend can you please borrow me some R1 for bread and you can come fetch it later at my home.	AG/ U	HO	Prep	PM		G, Rew
MD (RP)	Sorry man, will you please borrow me R1. I am R1 short. If you want it I'll give you back as soon as possible.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		G, Rew
ME (DCT)	Sorry, but can you please borrow me R1, because I am R1 short for the bread.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		G

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 6: Strategies employed by S in Situation 2 where H is =P, +D (School 3)

SCHOOL 3: SITUATION 2							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Excuse me, I'm sorry but I'm R1 short and I was wondering if you could kindly give me R1?	AG	HO	Prep	CD		Apol, G, S
FB (DCT)	Excuse me, do you by any chance have R1 to lend me because I am R1 short.	AG	HO	Prep	CD		G
FC (DCT)	Sorry, would it be possible if I could borrow R1 from you for bread?	AG	SO	Prep	CD, Cond, DT		G
FD (DCT)	Excuse me, I'm so sorry to bother you but would you mind if I borrowed R1 from you, I'm a bit short.	AG	HO	Prep	CD, Cond		Dis, G
FE (DCT)	I'm really sorry to ask you this but do you have R1 for me because I'm a little short of money. If you can wait outside afterwards I'm sure I can pay you back.		HO	Prep	Und		Dis, G, Rew
MA (DCT)	Sorry man, I've got a bit of a problem, I'm R1 short and I was hoping that you may be able to help me out?	AG	HO	SH	Und		G
MB (DCT)	Hi/sup? My bread came to more than I expected. Please can you lend me a buck.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		G
MC1 MC2 (DCT)	Wassup man, give me a Rand please? Hello, could you lend me some money please?	AG AG	SO HO	MD Prep	PM Cond, Und, PM		
MD1 MD2 (DCT)	I'm R1 short and I need to buy bread for may parents please would you lend it to me? Please can I borrow R1 from you I need it to buy bread for my parents.		HO SO	Prep Prep	PM, Cond PM		G G
ME (DCT)	Excuse me! Don't you have R1 to lend me. I'm short R1 for bread and my mother is waiting in the car.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond		G

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 7: Strategies employed by S in Situation 3 where H is -P, =D (School 1)

SCHOOL 1: SITUATION 3							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Sorry 1FA1, would you mind if you can help me clean our classroom.	AG/ FN	HO	Prep	CD, Cond		
FB (DCT)	Classmates please help me to tidies this class before the time is out because I've got a lot of work here so I need your help so that we going together after school.	U	SO	MD	PM		G, Rew
FC (DCT)	If you don't about responsible in the classroom must you go to need a help another students in your classroom maybe she/her help you for another things.	This is not direct speech and therefore it cannot be analysed in this way.					
FD	There is no data for this situation from Pair 1FD.						
MA (DCT)	Will you please help me to clean the class.		HO	Prep	PM		
MB (DCT)	Please will you help me to clean this classroom.		HO	Prep	PM		
MC (DCT)	Sorry can you please help me to tidy this classroom.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		
MD (DCT)	Would you please help me clean this class because it is so untidy and would never be able to clean when I am the only person who's here so would you help me?		HO	Prep	PM, Cond	Int	G
ME (DCT)	Sorry classmates would you please help me to tidy this classroom because we are all sitting here and learn here so we must stay at the tidy classroom.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	**ALERTERS**	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	**REQUEST PERSPECTIVE**	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	**REQUEST STRATEGY**	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	**DOWNGRADERS**	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	**UPGRADERS**	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	**SUPPORTIVE MOVES**	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 8: Strategies employed by S in Situation 3 where H is -P, =D (School 2)

SCHOOL 2: SITUATION 3							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Hello. Can you help me tidying up the classroom please.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		
FB (RP)	Sorry - aren't you doing anything?... Would you please help me to clean this classroom and then some day when you have the same problem then I will help you clean it.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		CA, Rew
FC (DCT)	Please can you help me to tidy the classroom.		HO	Prep	PM		
FD (DCT)	Hi, would you mind help me if I clean the class because I'm really getting lonely doing it alone!	AG	HO	Prep	CD, Cond		G
FE (DCT)	Excuse me, Sorry are you busy and if not can you please help me clean up the classroom.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		CA
MA (DCT)	Will you please help me to clean the classroom.		HO	Prep	PM		
MB (W+T-A)	Christopher, can you please help me to tidy the classroom and I'll gave you something.	FN	HO	Prep	PM		Rew
MC (DCT)	Help me tidy the class please.		SO	MD	PM		
MD (RP)	Sorry guys, can you help me to clean the class because it is a mess and I am tired of cleaning it all alone.	AG	HO	Prep			G
ME (DCT)	Look here, could you please help me clean the classroom.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 9: Strategies employed by S in Situation 3 where H is -P, =D (School 3)

SCHOOL 3: SITUATION 3							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Hi Mich, don't you feel like helping me tidy up the classroom.	AG/ FN	HO	Prep	CD, Cond		
FB (DCT)	Hey Tessa, do you have a few minutes to help me tidy the classroom? I would really appreciate it.	AG/ FN	HO	Prep	Cond		CA, S
FC (DCT)	Are you busy now or do you think you could maybe help me tidy up quickly?		HO	Prep	CD, Cond	LU	CA
FD (DCT)	Hi there! If you aren't busy now please give me a hand here.	AG	HO	MD	PM		CA
FE (DCT)	I know it's my responsibility but if you're not too busy please could you help me tidy the classroom. If you can't I understand.		HO	Prep	PM, Cond	Int	Dis, IM, IM
MA (DCT)	Please just help me to tidy up the class quickly!		SO	MD	PM	LU	
MB (DCT)	Hey Joe. Do me a favour and help me tidy this classroom or you will be in trouble.	AG/ FN	SO	MD			P-C, G
MC1 MC2 (DCT)	Hey man, can you please help me clean this classroom. Whazzup all, could you help me clean the classroom please.	AG AG	HO HO	Prep Prep	PM Cond, PM		
MD (DCT)	Please can you help me tidy the classroom?		HO	Prep	PM		
ME1 ME2 (DCT)	Howzit X, what are you doing now don't you feel like tidying the class with me. Howzit man what you up to? Don't you feel like giving me a hand if you're not busy.	AG/ FN AG	HO HO	Prep Prep	Cond, CD Cond, CD		CA CA, IM

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 10: Strategies employed by S in Situation 4 where H is +P, +D (School 1)

SCHOOL 1: SITUATION 4							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Sorry mayor, would you mind if you can sign for me this book please.	AG	HO	Prep	CD, PM		
FB (DCT)	Sorry sir I asked you to give me your sign in my book because I'm here and I borrow this book and they need a sign so I asked you for help me to sign it.	AG/ Title	HO	EP			G
FC (DCT)	Sorry "Mrs" I need your help to sign my book because she is important in my classroom the teacher he don't sign my book that's why I ask you.	AG/ Title	SO	EP			G
FD (DCT)	Please mayor, sign this book.	AG	--	MD	PM		
MA (DCT)	Sorry sir will you kindly sign up this book for me.	AG/ Title	HO	Prep			S
MB (DCT)	Sir I'm excited to see you and I want to tell other learners that yesterday I saw a mayor but they should not believe me so can't you please sign in this book so that other learners should believe that I saw you here at the library.	Title	HO	Prep	PM		S, G
MC (DCT)	Sorry sir, can you please sign this book for me.	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	PM		
MD (DCT)	Mayor could you please sign my book because I would love to have your signature in my book.	Role	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		S
ME (DCT)	Sorry Mr. Mayor please would you sign this book for me.	AG	HO	Prep	PM, Cond		

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	**ALERTERS**	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	**REQUEST PERSPECTIVE**	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	**REQUEST STRATEGY**	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	**DOWNGRADERS**	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	**UPGRADERS**	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	**SUPPORTIVE MOVES**	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 11: Strategies employed by S in Situation 4 where H is +P, +D (School 2)

SCHOOL 2: SITUATION 4							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Hi Mr. Mayor. My name is 2FA2 (name + surname). I'm from a school called School 2. Will you please sign my book for me.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		Intro
FB (T-A)	Sir, would you sign my book for me please.	Title	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		
FC (T-A)	Sorry sir, I am [your name] and I am from School 2. Please can I have your sign on my book.	AG/ Title	SO	Prep	PM		Intro
FD1	Can I have your autograph please. I hope I'm not intruding on anything.		SO	Prep	PM		Dis
FD2 (DCT)	Mr. Mayor, If I'm not intruding may I please have your autograph.	Role	SO	Prep	Cond, PM		Dis
FE (DCT)	Excuse me Mr. Mayor. Can you please sign my book.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		
MA (DCT)	Sorry sir, will you please sign my book for me?	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	PM		
MB (DCT)	Mayor I'm sorry to interrupt you can you please give me your signature.	Role	HO	Prep	PM		Dis
MC (DCT)	Sorry Sir. How are you? Can I have your signature please.	AG/ Title	SO	Prep	PM		
MD (DCT)	Sorry Sir! How are you, I am fine. Please can you sign my book.	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	PM		
ME (DCT)	Haven't I seen you before, yes you are the mayor. Can I please have your autograph.		SO	Prep	PM		G

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 12: Strategies employed by S in Situation 4 where H is +P, +D (School 3)

SCHOOL 3: SITUATION 4							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Excuse me Mr. Mayor, sorry to disturb you, but I would really like it if you could please sign my book.	AG/ Role	HO	WS	Cond, PM		Dis, S
FB (DCT)	Excuse me sir, do you have time to quickly sign my book for me?	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	CD	LU	CA
FC (DCT)	Excuse me sir, would it be possible if you could sign this book for me?	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	Cond, DT		CA
FD (DCT)	Excuse me sir would you mind signing my book for me?	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	CD, Cond		
FE (DCT)	Excuse me sir please would you mind signing my book for me.	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	PM, CD, Cond		
MA (DCT)	Good Morning Mr. Mayor, I really appreciate the work you are doing in the community, and I would greatly appreciate it if you could sign my book.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	Cond		S, S
MB (DCT)	Excuse me sir, may I have the honour of having your signature in this book.	AG/ Title	SO	Prep	Cond		S
MC1 MC2 (DCT)	Morning sir, I was wondering if you'd sign my book for me. Excuse me sir could you please sign my book.	AG/ Title AG/ Title	SO HO	Prep Prep	CD, Cond Cond, PM		
MD1 MD2 (DCT)	Would it be possible sir if you could sign my book. Please can you give me your autograph.		HO HO	Prep Prep	Cond, DT PM		CA
ME (DCT)	Excuse me sir, please may I have your autograph.	AG/ Title	SO	Prep	PM, Cond		

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 13: Strategies employed by S in Situation 5 where H is -P, -D (School 1)

SCHOOL 1: SITUATION 5							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Sorry my brother, would you mind if you can give me that book please.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	CD, Cond, PM		
FB (DCT)	My brother could you pass for me this book I need because I didn't fetch it because it is far away for me please little brother I need to do my homework with it.	Role	HO	Prep	Cond		G
FC (DCT)	Can you help me with my problems If I say yes I want to pass it to your homework because I don't understand my homework.		HO	Prep	CD		G
FD (DCT)	Please my brother, he wants this book.	AG/ Role	Imp	SH	PM		G
MA (DCT)	Sorry young brother will you please pass me that book.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	PM		
MB (DCT)	My younger brother can't you give me that book because I need it now please.	Role	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G
MC (DCT)	Brother can you please pass that book for me.	Role	HO	Prep	PM		
MD (DCT)	Brother can you give me that book because it is too far for me to take it.	Role	HO	Prep			G
ME (DCT)	Sorry would you please pass that book for me because I'm too far from it.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	**ALERTERS**	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	**REQUEST PERSPECTIVE**	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	**REQUEST STRATEGY**	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	**DOWNGRADERS**	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	**UPGRADERS**	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	**SUPPORTIVE MOVES**	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 14: Strategies employed by S in Situation 5 where H is -P, -D (School 2)

SCHOOL 2: SITUATION 5							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA1 FA2 (DCT)	X will you pass my book please. X, pass on my book at that side of the table.	FN FN	HO --	Prep MD	PM		
FB (T-A)	Please little brother, would you please hand over that book.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		
FC (DCT)	Please can you pass that book for me.		HO	Prep	PM		
FD (DCT)	Would you please pass me that book over there.		HO	Prep	Cond, PM		
FE (DCT)	Could you please pass me my book.		HO	Prep	Cond, PM		
MA (DCT)	Will you pass me the book, please.		HO	Prep	PM		
MB (DCT)	Brother can you please give me that book.	Role	HO	Prep	PM		
MC1 MC2 (DCT)	Can you pass the book please. Pass me the book please.		HO SO	Prep MD	PM PM		
MD1 MD2 (DCT)	Sorry brother to disturb you, please can you pass the book for me please. Sorry brother to disturb you please pass me that book.		HO SO	Prep MD	PM, PM PM		Dis Dis
ME1 ME2 (DCT)	Could you please pass my book on. It's right beside you. Give the book to me because I want it.		HO SO	Prep MD	PM		IM G

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 15: Strategies employed by S in Situation 5 where H is -P, -D (School 3)

SCHOOL 3: SITUATION 5							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Matthew, pass that book here!	FN	--	MD			
FB (DCT)	Jason, please pass the book next to you.	FN	--	MD	PM		
FC (DCT)	Please pass me that book.		SO	MD	PM		
FD (DCT)	Pass that book!		--	MD			
FE (DCT)	Please pass me my books.		SO	MD	PM		
MA (DCT)	Pass that book here, please!		--	MD	PM		
MB (DCT)	Hey boet, give me the book.	AG	SO	MD			
MC (DCT)	Hey, pass that book.	AG	--	MD			
MD (DCT)	Please pass me the textbook.		SO	MD	PM		
ME1 ME2 (DCT)	Hey boetie, please pass me the book. Hey boetie. Don't you want to please pass me that book?	AG AG	SO HO	MD Prep	PM CD, PM		

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 16: Strategies employed by S in Situation 6 where H is =P, -D (School 1)

SCHOOL 1: SITUATION 6							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Sorry friend would you mind if you can borrow me your shirt because I don't have it please.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	CD, Cond, PM		G
FB (T-A)	My friend, could you please borrow me your blue shirt because I need to go to a party. I don't have it. So I borrow to you, my friend, please. I borrow to you like my friend, please I ask you for my help me.	Role	HO	Prep	PM, Cond		G, S
FC (DCT)	Sorry my friend I want to talk to you about your blue shirt, because I don't have money to buy a shirt. Can you help me to borrow one your blue shirt.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	CD		G
FD (DCT)	Please my friend borrow me a shirt because she goes to a party and love that blue shirt to you.	AG/ Role	SO	MD	PM		G, S
MA (DCT)	Sorry my good friend will you borrow me your shirt so that I can go to the occasion.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep			G
MB (DCT)	My friend can't you please borrow me a shirt because all my shirts are dirty because I didn't know today we are going to a party and I heard it today.	Role	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G
MC (T-A)	Sorry my friend can you please borrow me that blue shirt of yours because I want to use it for the occasion. I don't have a suitable shirt for the occasion.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	PM		G
MD (DCT)	Selected not to perform the Speech Act						
ME (DCT)	My friend would you borrow me that blue shirt so that I can feel myself to the party.	Role	HO	Prep	Cond		G

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	**ALERTERS**	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	**REQUEST PERSPECTIVE**	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	**REQUEST STRATEGY**	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	**DOWNGRADERS**	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	**UPGRADERS**	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	**SUPPORTIVE MOVES**	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 17: Strategies employed by S in Situation 6 where H is =P, -D (School 2)

SCHOOL 2: SITUATION 6							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA1 (DCT)	Listen X I'm going to a party tonight and I don't have any nice shirts. Will you borrow yours please. FA2 selected not to do the Speech Act.	AG/ FN	HO	Prep	PM		G
FB (T-A)	Please will you borrow me that blue shirt of yours. I promise to bring it back first thing tomorrow.		HO	Prep	PM		Rew
FC (DCT)	Please can you borrow me your blue shirt.		HO	Prep	PM		
FD (DCT)	Hi girlfriend would you please borrow me your blue top if your not wearing it for I don't have a suitable top for night.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		CA, G
FE (DCT)	I don't think I'll be going to the party. I have nothing to wear. [The friend: I can borrow something to you]. I saw your blue shirt and it will fit perfectly with my skirt.		--	SH			G
MA (DCT)	Can you please borrow me your blue shirt. I want to go to the party.		HO	Prep	PM		G
MB (DCT)	My friend I'm going to a party can you please borrow me your blue shirt.	Role	HO	Prep	PM		G
MC (DCT)	Could you please borrow me your blue shirt cause I don't have a suitable one for the occasion.		HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G
MD (DCT)	Sorry man! I have nothing to wear, will you please help me and borrow me one of you blue shirts.	AG	HO	Prep	PM, CD		G
ME (DCT)	Bro can you please borrow me a shirt. Can you borrow me the blue.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 18: Strategies employed by S in Situation 6 where H is =P, -D (School 3)

SCHOOL 3: SITUATION 6							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	You know that blue shirt of yours, could I please borrow it on Friday night?		SO	Prep	Cond, PM		CA
FB (DCT)	Sarah, are you wearing your blue shirt tonight or would I possibly be able to borrow it, I will give it back to you tomorrow.	FN	SO	Prep	Cond, DT		CA, Rew
FC (DCT)	If you are not wearing your blue shirt tonight please may I borrow it?		SO	Prep	PM, Cond		CA
FD (DCT)	What are you wearing? Okay. Please could I borrow that blue one of yours.		SO	Prep	PM, Cond		CA
FE (DCT)	Are you wearing your blue shirt tonight? If not would you mind me using it. I'll return it ASAP.		HO	Prep	Cond, CD		CA, Rew
MA (DCT)	Howzit bud, you know your blue shirt? I was wondering if you are going to wear it tonight? If not, is it alright if I borrow it?	AG	SO	Prep	CD		CA
MB (DCT)	Hey Bru, listen we going to a party on Saturday night. Please can I lend that blue shirt of yours.	AG	SO	Prep	CD, PM		
MC1	Hey man, I need you to lend me your blue shirt for this party.	AG	SO	SF			G
MC2 (DCT)	Whatzzup. If you're not using your blue shirt could I please borrow it.	AG	SO	Prep	Cond, PM		CA
MD1	If you aren't wearing that blue shirt to the party would it be possible if I could seeing I don't have anything to wear.		SO	Prep	Cond, CD		CA, G
MD2 (DCT)	Can I please borrow that blue shirt to the party I've got nothing to wear.		SO	Prep	PM		G
ME (DCT)	Hey buddy. What are you wearing to the party? Would you mind if I wore your blue shirt?	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, CD		CA

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	**ALERTERS**	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	**REQUEST PERSPECTIVE**	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	**REQUEST STRATEGY**	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	**DOWNGRADERS**	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	**UPGRADERS**	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	**SUPPORTIVE MOVES**	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 19: Strategies employed by S in Situation 7 where H is -P, +D (School 1)

SCHOOL 1: SITUATION 7							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Sorry child would you mind if you can close that gate for me please.	AG/ U	HO	Prep	Cond, CD, PM		
FB (RP)	When you are going outside, please close the gate.		HO	MD	PM		IM
FC (RP)	Sorry young child can you help me to close the gate.	AG/ U	HO	Prep	CD		
FD (DCT)	Please child come in and then close this gate because this car in way.	AG/ U	--	MD	PM		G
MA (DCT)	Sorry child will you please help me to close that gate.	AG/ U	HO	Prep	PM		
MB (T-A)	Sorry my boy can you help me to close that gate.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	CD		
MC (T-A)	Sorry can you please close that gate for me because somebody left it open.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		G
MD (DCT)	My friend would you please close up the gate for me.	Role	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		
ME (DCT)	Sorry boy would you please close that gate for me.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	**ALERTERS**	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	**REQUEST PERSPECTIVE**	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	**REQUEST STRATEGY**	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	**DOWNGRADERS**	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	**UPGRADERS**	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	**SUPPORTIVE MOVES**	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 20: Strategies employed by S in Situation 7 where H is -P, +D (School 2)

SCHOOL 2: SITUATION 7							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Hallo. What's your name. Will you please close that gate for me.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		Intro
FB (DCT)	Sorry could you please close that gate for me.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		
FC (DCT)	Sorry can you go and close the gate.	AG	HO	Prep			
FD (DCT)	Sorry there would you please close the gate as you pass by.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		IM
FE (DCT)	Excuse me could you please close the gate for me.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		
MA (DCT)	Sorry can you close the gate.	AG	HO	Prep			
MB (DCT)	Child can you please close that gate for me.	Role	HO	Prep	PM		
MC (DCT)	Can you please close the gate for me.		HO	Prep	PM		
MD (DCT)	Sorry Lady! Can you help me, please will you close the gate for me. *Here the pair misinterpreted this to be an older person - +P, +D.*	AG	HO	Prep	CD, PM		
ME (DCT)	Sorry you, can you please close the gate for me.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 21: Strategies employed by S in Situation 7 where H is -P, +D (School 3)

SCHOOL 3: SITUATION 7							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Excuse me, hi, sorry. Please can't you close the gate for me when you walk past. Thanks so much!	AG	HO	Prep	PM, Cond, PM		IM
FB (DCT)	Excuse me, please could you quickly close that gate for me when you walk past.	AG	HO	Prep	PM, Cond	LU	IM
FC (DCT)	Hi, do you mind closing the gate for me?	AG	HO	Prep	CD		
FD (DCT)	Hello! Won't you do me a favour and close the gate. Thanks.	AG	SO	Prep	PM		P-C
FE (DCT)	Sorry! Please won't you close the gate for me.	AG	HO	Prep	PM, Cond		
MA (DCT)	Excuse me, please would you close the gate there.	AG	HO	Prep	PM, Cond		
MB (DCT)	Hey little dude, do me a favour and close the gate otherwise our dogs are going to get run over.	AG	SO	MD			P-C, G
MC (DCT)	Sorry man, could you please close that gate for me.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		
MD (DCT)	Hey, could you close the gate for me.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond		
ME1	Hey, please would you close the gate. Thanks a lot.	AG	HO	Prep	PM, Cond, PM		
ME2 (DCT)	Sorry buddy. Excuse me don't you want to do me a favour? Please can you close my gate quickly! Thanks a lot.	AG	HO	Prep	CD, Cond, PM, PM	LU	P-C

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 22: Strategies employed by S in Situation 8 where H is +P, =D (School 1)

SCHOOL 1: SITUATION 8							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Sorry teacher, would you mind if you can borrow me your book because I want to read it.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	Cond, CD		G
FB (DCT)	Please teacher I asked you to borrow me this book because I have something interested in this book could you borrow me please.	AG/ Role	SO	EP	Cond, PM		G
FC (DCT)	Sorry sir I want to ask to you talk about my book why you borrow your book because I don't have question in my class.	AG/ Title	HO	EP			G
FD (DCT)	Please class teacher borrow me a book because this book is very interesting to me.	AG/ Role	SO	MD	PM		G
MA (DCT)	Sorry teacher will you borrow me your book for a day or for two day I will soon return it just as soon as I finish with it.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep			IM, Rew
MB (T-A)	Please mam please, can't you borrow me this book and as you know that I have a problem in tenses so I want to learn it at home and please mom to help me.	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	PM, Cond		G
MC (T-A)	Sorry teacher, can you please borrow me that book of yours because I want to read something from it.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	PM		G
MD (DCT)	Teacher would you please borrow this me this book because I love to read some book and interesting ones.	Role	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G
ME (DCT)	Sorry mem would you please borrow me the book because it is interesting, soon I finish it I will give you.	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G, Rew

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	**ALERTERS**	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	**REQUEST PERSPECTIVE**	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	**REQUEST STRATEGY**	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	**DOWNGRADERS**	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	**UPGRADERS**	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	**SUPPORTIVE MOVES**	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 23: Strategies employed by S in Situation 8 where H is +P, =D (School 2)

SCHOOL 2: SITUATION 8							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA1 FA2 (DCT)	Sorry, Mr. B please will you borrow your book for me if you don't mind. Sorry, Mr. B I wanted to know have you finished that book yet because I also want to borrow it.	AG/ Title/ S AG/ Title/ S	HO SO	Prep WS	PM, CD		CA
FB (DCT)	Miss please borrow me that book of yours I promise to bring it back first thing in the morning.	Title	SO	MD	PM		Rew
FC (DCT)	Sorry miss would you borrow me your book when you finish it.	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	Cond		IM
FD (DCT)	Sorry miss I really like this book and its very interesting, do you mind borrowing it, please.	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	CD, PM		S
FE (DCT)	Excuse me sir, could I please borrow your book, I'll bring it back first thing tomorrow.	AG/ Title	SO	Prep	Cond, PM		Rew
MA (DCT)	Sorry miss the book look very interesting. I would like to borrow it please.	AG/ Title	SO	Prep	Cond, PM		S
MB (DCT)	Teacher can you please borrow me your book I'll bring it tomorrow.	Role	HO	Prep	PM		Rew
MC (DCT)	Miss, could you please borrow me your book.	Title	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		
MD (DCT)	Sorry sir, do you still use that book of yours? I will like to borrow it, and I will give you tomorrow first thing when I see you.	AG/ Title	SO	WS	CD		CA, Rew
ME (DCT)	Good morning sir can you please borrow me a book.	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	PM		

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	**ALERTERS**	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	**REQUEST PERSPECTIVE**	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	**REQUEST STRATEGY**	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	**DOWNGRADERS**	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	**UPGRADERS**	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	**SUPPORTIVE MOVES**	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 24: Strategies employed by S in Situation 8 where H is +P, =D (School 3)

SCHOOL 3: SITUATION 8							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Sorry Mrs. X, please could I borrow that book of yours for the weekend.	AG/ Title/ S	SO	Prep	PM, Cond		IM
FB (DCT)	Mam, please could I borrow the book you spoke about in class today. I'm very interested in the topic and I would like to read more about it.	Title	SO	Prep	PM, Cond		S, G
FC (DCT)	Sir, please may I borrow your book sometime?	Title	SO	Prep	PM, Cond		IM
FD (DCT)	Mam, would you mind if I borrowed your book for the weekend?	Title	HO	Prep	CD, Cond		IM
FE (DCT)	Mam, please could I borrow that interesting book of yours. I promise I'll look after it and bring it back as soon as possible.	Title	SO	Prep	PM, Cond		S, Rew
MA (DCT)	Sorry sir, I am interested in reading your book, please may I borrow it for a while.	AG/ Title	SO	Prep	PM, Cond		G, IM
MB (DCT)	Hello Ma'am, could I please borrow that book as it seems to be rather interesting.	AG/ Title	SO	Prep	Cond, PM	Int	S
MC (DCT)	Hi ma'am, your book looks really interesting, please could I borrow it from you.	AG/ Title	SO	Prep	PM, Cond		S
MD1 MD2 (DCT)	Please sir/ma'am could I borrow your book? Sir can I please borrow that book I find it very interesting.	AG/ Title Title	SO SO	Prep Prep	PM, Cond PM		S
ME (DCT)	Sorry sir would you mind if I borrowed that book if you're not using it.	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	Cond, CD		IM

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	ALERTERS	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	REQUEST PERSPECTIVE	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	REQUEST STRATEGY	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	DOWNGRADERS	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	UPGRADERS	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	SUPPORTIVE MOVES	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 25: Strategies employed by S in Situation 9 where H is =P, =D (School 1)

SCHOOL 1: SITUATION 9							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Sorry sir/madam would you mind if you can teach me this lesson because I don't understand.	AG/ Title	HO	Prep	Cond, CD		G
FB (RP)	Please my classmate, could you teach me the geography because I don't understand it.	AG/ Role	HO	Prep	PM, Cond		G
FC (DCT)	Sorry my friend can you help me? … I don't understand and lesson my geography because my teacher his talk to fast.	AG/ Role	HO	SH			P-C, G
FD (DCT)	Please someone help me because I don't understand geography.		Imp	MD	PM		G
MA (T-A)	Please will you help me there is a little bit of the lesson in geography that I do not understand.		HO	Prep	PM, Und		G
MB (T-A)	Friend, can't you please help me with geography - there is a lesson that I don't get. So because you are good in geography please my friend help me then if there is a subject that I can help you with that you don't understand - I can.	Role	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G, S, Rew
MC (DCT)	Sorry, can you please help me in that lesson because I didn't understand it when teacher was talking.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		G
MD (DCT)	My friend can you please taught me that geography lesson because I didn't understand it.	Role	HO	Prep	PM		G
ME (RP)	Would you please help me maybe to climatology so I don't understand what the teacher said in the class would you please help me - I don't understand nothing in climatology so please I want to understand something - I don't want to fail the test at the end of the month, so will you please help me with that lesson.		HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	**ALERTERS**	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	**REQUEST PERSPECTIVE**	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	**REQUEST STRATEGY**	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	**DOWNGRADERS**	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	**UPGRADERS**	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	**SUPPORTIVE MOVES**	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 26: Strategies employed by S in Situation 9 where H is =P, =D (School 2)

SCHOOL 2: SITUATION 9							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA1	Sorry I didn't understand this lesson and I need you to help me since you the only one in the class who understand please.	AG	SO	WS	PM		G, S
FA2 (DCT)	2FA1 will you help me with my geography if you don't mind if you do just get because I won't beg you.	FN	HO	Prep	CD	Exp	
FB (T-A)	Sorry X, I know that you the greatest person in geography, really I understand that but I've got a slight problem because I don't understand it very well. If you have time will you please come to my place and show me some of the stuff I don't understand, but if you don't have time I'll understand that. Please really, I'd really like you to come and show me the things I don't understand and I promise you I won't let you down, but I will pass the subject.	AG/ FN	HO	Prep	Und, PM, PM		S, G, CA, IM, S, IM
FC (DCT)	Please can you explain the lesson to me I don't understand it.		HO	Prep	PM		G
FD1	Sorry I'm having trouble understand geography do you mind explaining it to me.	AG	HO	Prep	CD, Cond		G
FD2 (DCT)	Hi would you please help me with my geography because I'm finding problems with this lesson	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G
FE (DCT)	Could I come over to your house so that you could please explain the geography to me.		HO	Prep	Cond, PM		IM
MA (DCT)	Sorry I didn't understand this lesson. Would you help me with this one please.	AG	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G
MB (DCT)	Jackson can you please come over to my house and explain the geography to me.	FN	HO	Prep	PM		

MC (DCT)	Can you please explain to me what we did in the geography class today because I didn't understand it.		HO	Prep	PM		G
MD (DCT)	Sorry man, there's something I don't understand, and I think you understand it will you please help me to understand it.	AG	HO	Prep	PM		G, S
ME (DCT)	Do you understand this question? Could you explain in more detail the question the teacher gave us.		HO	Prep	CD, Cond		

KEY OF STRATEGY ABBREVIATIONS FOR REQUESTS							
DIMENSIONS		CATEGORIES					
1	**ALERTERS**	Attention Getters (AG)	Surname (S)	First Name (FN)	Undetermined Name (U)	Title	Role
2	**REQUEST PERSPECTIVE**	Hearer Orientated (HO)	Speaker Orientated (SO)	Speaker + Hearer Orientated (SHO)	Impersonal (Imp)		
3	**REQUEST STRATEGY**	Preparatory (Prep)	Strong Hint (SH)	Want Statement (WS)	Explicit Performative (EP)	Statement of Fact (SF)	Mood Derivable (MD)
4	**DOWNGRADERS**	Politeness Markers (PM)	Understater (Und)	Consultative Device (CD)	Downtoner (DT)	To Head Act: Conditional (Cond)	
5	**UPGRADERS**	Intensifier (Int)	Lexical Uptoner (LU)	Expletives (Exp)			
6	**SUPPORTIVE MOVES**	Imposition Minimizer (IM)	Grounders (G)	Disarmers (Dis)	Sweetener (S)	Getting Pre-commitment (P-C)	Apology (Apol)
		Check Availability (CA)	Introductions (Intro)	Reward (Rew)			

Table 27: Strategies employed by S in Situation 9 where H is =P, =D (School 3)

SCHOOL 3: SITUATION 9							
Uncoded Responses		Coded Responses					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
FA (DCT)	Z, I really didn't understand the lesson today. Could you please help me sometime?	FN	HO	Prep	Cond, PM		G, IM
FB (DCT)	Bronny, I was wondering if you could possibly go over the notes with me today or tomorrow.	FN	HO	WS	CD, Cond, DT		IM
FC (DCT)	Please can you help me with geography when you are not busy?		HO	Prep	PM		IM
FD (DCT)	Did you understand the lesson today? Cause I am so confused, would you help me with a few things.		HO	Prep	CD, Cond		G
FE (DCT)	Seeing you're such a bright spark, please can you help me with my geography when you've got time because I really don't understand. I'll understand if you say no.		HO	Prep	PM		S, IM, G, Dis
MA (DCT)	Yus, I'm doing badly at geography, do you think you can help me understand what went on today?	AG	HO	Prep	CD, Cond		G
MB (DCT)	Howzit, can you help me with my geography tonight, if you do I will help you with another subject, when you need it.	AG	HO	Prep			CA, Rew
MC1 MC2 (DCT)	Hey man, you're waxing this geography right? Please help me out. You're pretty good at geography. Please can you explain it to me.	AG	SO HO	MD Prep	PM PM		S S
MD (T-A)	You're the absolute fontaine at geography please help me with my work because I didn't understand the lesson.		SO	WS	PM		S, G
ME (DCT)	Have you got a lot of work to do? If you've got some spare time, please will you help me with my geo. Cause I really don't understand what's going on.		HO	Prep	PM		CA, IM, G

APPENDIX FIVE:
TABLE SHOWING KEY RESPONSES TO SITUATIONS BY RESPONDENTS FROM SCHOOLS 1, 2 AND 3

Table 1: Key responses to situations by respondents from Schools 1, 2 and 3

	SITUATION 1 (+P; -D) You want to go to movies with your friends but you don't have enough money. Your mom comes home from work and you decide to ask her for the money - what do you say?	
School 1		Results
	• **Pair FA:** Did not respond as to why they said it that way, but recognised onerousness of request.	R
	• **Pair FB:** "Need to see that movie".	A
	• **Pair FC:** "I don't force mommy, because she is mother who has no money enough".	R
	• **Pair FD:** "Say please because you ask".	F
	• **Pair MA:** Reasons for requesting in this way include, "not forcing her", "begging her", "showing respect for her" and "because she is older than you".	F&+P
	• **Pair MB:** "Because it is not my money I am supposed to please her", meaning that they must say please and "I am doing it to respect her".	F
	• **Pair MC:** I respect my mother "cause she's older that me and she's my mom". That's not your money and you are asking for the money".	+P
	• **Pair MD:** "I think if you forced her she would never give you this", "because my mother is very special to me and that's why".	-D
	• **Pair ME:** "Because I don't want to forced her, she is older than me, she is my mother and I have to respect her – I have to say please because I am begging her".	+P
School 2		Results
	• **Pair FA:** "Because it's you mother and you must respect her – she's an older person".	+P
	• **Pair FB:** "Because she is older than you and she is your mom".	+P
	• **Pair FC:** "Because he is older than me and I am respecting him and why I saying please is because I doesn't have the money, so I have to say please".	+P
	• **Pair FD:** "Because you respect her and she is far older than you".	+P
	• **Pair FE:** "Because she's older", "she's your mom and she's older than you and she's the one that brought you into the world".	+P
	• **Pair MA:** "Because she is older than me".	+P
	• **Pair MB:** "Because she's my mom and she is older than us", "respect is alles (everything)".	+P
	• **Pair MC:** "Because she's older – she's an old person".	+P
	• **Pair MD:** "Because respect – you must have respect for elders".	+P
	• **Pair ME:** "I know that she is bigger than me", "she is a person and you have to respect a bigger person", "she is older and you must respect your elders".	+P

		Results
School 3	• **Pair FA:** "Because she's you mother. Because well – she's older that you, first of all, and she deserves the respect".	+P
	• **Pair FB:** "She is the one that has brought us up…", "because we love her and respect her and want to show her that we are grateful for everything"	-D&+P
	• **Pair FC:** One respects ones mother "because she does so much for you", "and she's cool", "because she's older that you also".	-D&+P
	• **Pair FD:** "Because she's like old and she's your mom – she's used to being respected and stuff".	+P&-D
	• **Pair FE:** "Ja, because she's an authority or whatever", "she's older than you and she's your mom".	+P
	• **Pair MA:** "I think that this would be, 'mom, is it alright if I can borrow money to go to movies' – it is not like begging and it's not like demanding them, it's just like asking them".	-D
	• **Pair MB:** "Because she gave birth to you", "your parents are the reason why you're here so you have to be nice to them", "because you have to like respect your elders".	-D&+P
	• **Pair MC:** "She's done like so much for us", "It's just the way things are – you should be polite to your mother – that's just the way things are".	-D
	• **Pair MD:** "Because she's your family and you don't (.)", "she's older than you and she's paying for you to be…" "for your tuition and she's paying for you to stay in the house so you should respect her for that".	-D&+P
	• **Pair ME:** "She looks after you…", "She sort of brought you up to where you are today – sort of she's sent you to school, she's helped you through life".	-D

SITUATION 2 (=P; +D)

You are at the shop buying bread for your mother and when you are in the queue you realise that you are R1 short. Behind you there is a stranger. This stranger looks about the same age as you, but is from another school. You want to borrow R1 for the bread from them. What do you say?

		Results
School 1	• **Pair FA:** "And you don't know this person".	+D
	• **Pair FB:** Did not articulate a response.	A
	• **Pair FC:** "Please because it is not my money".	F
	• **Pair FD:** Did not understand situation, therefore could not articulate response.	A
	• **Pair MA:** You must "respect them because the money is not yours", "must beg them", "when you are begging money from someone you don't know you must be kindly".	F
	• **Pair MB:** "Because this money is not mine and I am just pleasing him to give me that money so when I force him he can't give me because I forced him. I supposed to gain by pleasing him".	F
	• **Pair MC:** "When you are talking to someone you cannot just say what you are wanting to say – especially if you don't know each other. You have to say sorry", "you don't have to be rude if you are asking something from somebody…you have to say sorry".	+D
	• **Pair MD:** Because I don't even know him, but I want this R1, so that is why I have to say please".	+D
	• **Pair ME:** "I don't know her or him, this is my first time to see her so cannot forced her I have to beg her…"	+D
School 2		Results
	• **Pair FA:** "Because he is a stranger and you do not know him".	+D
	• **Pair FB:** "He's a stranger", "you have to say please because without saying please he won't give it to you".	+D
	• **Pair FC:** "I don't know the person so I have to talk to them first and say hi or what", "It is not your money or whatever so you have to say please".	+D
	• **Pair FD:** "You can't just ask him. You have to ask him if he won't mind because you don't know him and he might be like 'jeez, this person is like forward or something'. So you ask them and you tell them the reason why you are borrowing the R1", "you are making friends" by introducing yourself.	+D&=P
	• **Pair FE:** "Because first of all you don't know the person and it is polite to say excuse me", "He or she is a stranger and you are seeing them for the first time, so we should be polite".	+D
	• **Pair MA:** "Because you must have good manners".	F
	• **Pair MB:** "Because they are a stranger. So I say please to him. Because it is not my money it is his money, so I say please".	+D&F
	• **Pair MC:** "Because you don't even know him".	+D
	• **Pair MD:** "This guy is a stranger and you don't know him and this is like the first time you seeing him – you need R1".	+D
	• **Pair ME:** "Because you don't know him".	+D

		Results
School 3	• **Pair FA:** "Because you don't know them and you want to be polite so you say 'excuse me' then 'sorry' because you are using a Rand of theirs, because you won't give it back", "But you don't feel so bad because R1 isn't like a terrible amount – it is not huge".	+D
	• **Pair FB:** "Because you are asking something from them, but you don't even know them so you are going to have to give them a bit of respect if they re going to give you what you want".	+D
	• **Pair FC:** "Because they're a stranger so you want to be polite to them and also you're asking them a favour", "well, generally people our age aren't that polite or stuffy and stuck-up and they might think you're a bit like that if you were like 'excuse me sir, please could I…"	+D&=P
	• **Pair FD:** "Because you're talking to a stranger so you wouldn't exactly be like 'hey buddy'", "you don't know him so you wouldn't exactly be like relaxed with him or her".	+D
	• **Pair FE:** "Because this is going to be an inconvenience to them because you don't know them and they're going to think this person is a bit strange when they're asking me when we've never met. And so you have to also be polite to them or they won't give it to you", "If they're the same age as you it would be easier to ask them than an adult because they're on the same level as you".	+D&=P
	• **Pair MA:** "You don't know him", "and if you're unfriendly and that he probably wouldn't give you money".	+D
	• **Pair MB:** "Because they are like your age…" "and you can easily relate…" "Ja, you can relate with this person and speak a lot more relaxed with them".	=P
	• **Pair MC:** "He's more of a peer ma'am, so you just talk to him as you'd talk to your peers", "I don't really know how the guy thinks so I don't really know what to say to them", "Because he's a stranger", "He's doing you a favour so you have to ask him nicely".	=P&+D
	• **Pair MD:** "Well, you know, he's a stranger to you so you don't really - like for me if I had to ask a stranger for money I'd use similar words to this because I don't really know that person too well and you have to sound slightly polite if you're asking them for money – I mean, it's like if you go to your parents – I suppose it would work as well – I'd put in a please somewhere – it sounds better".	+D
	• **Pair ME:** "This is a difficult one, ma'am, because you never think about what you'd say to a stranger", "because you want to give a good impression. You don't just want to say 'give me R1' – you try and be friends with him then at least if you see him another time you can do it again".	+D&=P

SITUATION 3 (-P; =D)

You are a prefect and are responsible for seeing that the classroom gets tidied after school. You are busy tidying it one day, when another student from your class comes in. You want to ask them to help you tidy the classroom. What do you say?

		Results
School 1	• **Pair FA:** Recognised group ownership.	=D
	• **Pair FB:** Did not articulate a response.	A
	• **Pair FC:** Did not understand the situation, therefore could not respond properly.	A
	• **Pair FD:** Did not articulate a response.	A
	• **Pair MA:** "Mustn't be rude when it's your responsibility".	F
	• **Pair MB:** The importance of saying please, "It doesn't matter who's speaking, it must be like please to please".	F
	• **Pair MC:** "Because you must respect each other – you cannot force somebody to do it".	F
	• **Pair MD:** "Because when you in charge it don't mean that you have the right to give instructions to the other guys".	-P
	• **Pair ME:** "Okay, I mean, even if I am in charge – I mean I'm that class rep – I'm a prefect, I mean I can't have… …I have to beg them because they are human beings, like me".	=D
		Results
School 2	• **Pair FA:** "If you want someone to help you, you must ask please can you do this".	F
	• **Pair FB:** "If you don't show respect to the younger ones, then she won't show respect to you".	F
	• **Pair FC:** "I think it is going to sound like rudeness- you have to ask them".	F
	• **Pair FD:** "But you can't force somebody because the person might have to go to the doctor or he might have to go with his mother, so he might have to be somewhere so you can't force him", "because you basically have to respect someone else, even though you are a prefect doesn't mean you can disrespect the other person".	-P
	• **Pair FE:** "They would think that you want to bully them and that you just want to get out of it – you don't want to clean the class".	R
	• **Pair MA:** "Because that is not an example, you want him to follow your examples, your footsteps. You must be a role model".	-P
	• **Pair MB:** "A prefect must respect other people so that if he a fair prefect".	-P
	• **Pair MC:** "As a prefect you should respect others", "you are also a member of this school and you are in the same standard as this person".	-P&=D
	• **Pair MD:** "If you ask them in a rough way they will not help you, but if you are friendly with them they will help you", "because they are not going to do it because you are asking them in a rude way".	F
	• **Pair ME:** "A prefect must also have respect for the younger ones. He should set the example so he can't just say 'hey you, come here and help me clean – help me tidy the classroom."	F

		Results
School 3	• **Pair FA:** "She is your friend and I don't know but when friends come in and we're doing what ever and you ask them something you don't say – I don't know because they're friends so you don't..." "...say I'm so sorry", "You are not very polite or, like to your mum, because they're the same age and they're your friends and you get along on a friendship basis", "if you're a prefect it shouldn't change the relationship with your classmate".	-P&=D
	• **Pair FB:** "It depends if they're in your standard or not, because if they're like in our standard then we are friends with them, but if we were in matric and they were in Standard 6 you could probably demand it – or tell tem to tidy your room or whatever, so we would probably demand it if we were in the standard above them, but ask if we were in the same standard", "you've got power over them and so..." "you've got a lot more authority over them".	-P&=D
	• **Pair FC:** "But still you must respect other people".	-P
	• **Pair FD:** "Cause they could have other things to go, but you're still like quite friendly because it is a student like in your class and your age so you'd try and be quite relaxed with them, like 'hi there'", "they not younger than you, they are the same age as you, so you'd still have the same amount of respect for them".	-P&=D
	• **Pair FE:** "You've got authority as well", "especially if they're in your own class, it's also hard if it was someone else you'd say 'tidy the classroom', but if it's your class you're friends with them".	-P&=D
	• **Pair MA:** "Seeing he's your classmate you're not really asking him to do it, but sort of not telling him to do it, but... so I'd just say 'please just help me tidy up the class' like sort of if you know he's going to do it because he's your classmate and he also uses the facility so", "you've got more rank, so I guess you can tell him, but seeing as you are from the same class – prefects don't always have rank over their own age group".	-P&=D
	• **Pair MB:** "Because you're an authority", "Ja because you a prefect and authority figures – people usually listen to your prefects".	-P
	• **Pair MC:** "He's also a peer so you don't have to talk to him in like formal language, but he's still doing you a favour by helping you clean the classroom so there's no need to be mean about it or anything".	=D&-P
	• **Pair MD:** "I mean you've got rank, you could just tell them to do it", "rank because the school is founded on rank and if you have rank you have power and if you have power you can do anything that you want", Because you've got rank but you're in the same place because he's in the same class, you're the same year, you can't over-rank him", "I'd use the words that I put here because even if I was a rank-holder because if I just said 'come here and help me tidy the classroom' the person would probably come, but they wouldn't do it willingly. They'd be like 'ja, well, fine, whatever', whereas if you said please and tried to sound friendly then they might want to do it a bit more than they would if you didn't ask them nicely".	-P&=D
	• **Pair ME:** "Well, he's your friend – well hopefully he's your friend, so you're generally very relaxed around him", "It says he's in your class so he must be a friend of yours – so it doesn't change things between friends if you're a prefect or if you're friends – or it shouldn't. I mean, you're put in that position. It shouldn't change relationships between people".	=D&-P

SITUATION 4 (+P; +D) You are at the library when you see the mayor. You want him to sign your book - how would you ask him to do this for you?		
School 1	• **Pair FA:** Recognised importance and honesty of the mayor. • **Pair FB:** Did not understand the situation, therefore could not respond properly. • **Pair FC:** Did not understand the situation, therefore could not respond properly. • **Pair FD:** Did not articulate a response. • **Pair MA:** You must be polite to the mayor "because he is a respected person". • **Pair MB:** There has to be an introduction "because I am just easing him [the mayor]". "You won't give me if I don't come by respect because it is not mine". • **Pair MC:** "You say sorry sir, or mister, ...also if somebody is older that you cannot just call him by his name", "he is also a respectable person because he is the mayor". • **Pair MD:** "The mayor is a respectable person". • **Pair ME:** "Maybe the Mayor is an old man. I respect her when I talk to her – I can't force him", "He's my parent and secondly he's older than me – maybe his age is equal with my father's age".	Results +P A A A +P F +P +P +P
School 2	• **Pair FA:** "The thing is he is the mayor and he is a big man – an adult", "you have to respect your elders". "He don't know me, you know? He can't just sign a stranger's book, you know", "he's the mayor, your know – the emperor". • **Pair FB:** "He is a person who needs to be respected because he is the mayor of this town", "because he's like in charge", "he's a big thing in the community", "He's older and you have to respect someone". • **Pair FC:** "He is someone respected, so at first I will say 'sorry sir', then I would introduce myself ", "I think that if you are a student you cannot talk to an old person like that". • **Pair FD:** "He's like famous and most famous people don't like to be intruded on their personal life", "he's like running most the stuff". • **Pair FE:** "People consider him an honourable man and therefore they respect him". • **Pair MA:** "Because he is our leader". • **Pair MB:** "Because we don't know what he is doing. Maybe he is busy", "He is going to say I have no respect for elders that is why we say please. He is older than us so we say please". • **Pair MC:** "You have never seen him and this is your first time meeting him and you want something from him...", "he is like a big person". • **Pair MD:** "You have to respect the mayor because he's like the mayor of the whole town, so you must respect him". • **Pair ME:** "Because if you go to him and say 'could you give me your autograph', he would say you must have respect for the elderly. You can't just say 'could you give me your autograph because you don't know how this person means to you. You actually kind of know him, now you must go to him like he's the head of your city".	Results +P&+D +P +P +D +P +P R&+P +D&+P +P +P&+D

		Results
School 3	• **Pair FA:** "Because you are like speaking to someone higher than you", "because he's older than you", "because you are not on buddies terms so you'd call him mister".	+P&+D
	• **Pair FB:** "Well, you've got to say sir because he's older than you and a government authority".	+P
	• **Pair FC:** "Because he's like a respected guy and you've got to…", "well, also, he's like a person in power…", "and also, you don't know him on a one to one basis".	+P&+D
	• **Pair FD:** "He has authority above you, so you should really give him respect", "Because he's older than you and he's going to say 'who do you think you are' – and if you're the mayor you obviously expect respect".	+P
	• **Pair FE:** "Because he's older than you and he's got much more authority".	+P
	• **Pair MA:** "Because he has an important role…", "Because he is in such a high rank".	+P
	• **Pair MB:** "He's like quite a respectable man", "it's a more formal kind of talk. Ja, as I said, it's your mayor – it's usually like quite a formal person, so you have to be more formal to him", "he's in a place of power and all people in places of power deserve respect".	+P&+D
	• **Pair MC:** "Because he's a person in a respectable position so you talk to him nicely", "he's in charge of a lot of things that affect you. He's in a position of authority – he does a lot of things that make your life better", "because he's older than you and you have to respect someone older than you. He's also an authoritative person".	+P&+D
	• **Pair MD:** "Because he owns the town so he can do anything", "In other words, the mayor has like supreme power of the town that you're in – it's, you respect people with position, like in prefect systems in government".	+P
	• **Pair ME:** "Because he's an important person in the city or town or what ever".	+P

SITUATION 5 (-P; -D)

You are trying to do your homework and your younger brother is working at the table with you. You can't reach one of the books you need, which is close to him. You want to ask him to pass it to you. What do you say to him?

		Results
School 1	• **Pair FA:** "Because I want him to know that I respect him. I don't want him to be afraid of me".	-P&-D
	• **Pair FB:** "Ask him nicely because otherwise he will say fetch it yourself".	R
	• **Pair FC:** Did not understand the situation, therefore could not respond properly.	A
	• **Pair FD:** Did not articulate a response.	A
	• **Pair MA:** "Because he is doing his homework too and you are disturbing him so you should be respectable to him".	R
	• **Pair MB:** The idea of mutual respect when talking to someone younger "He can't pass it…because I force him".	-P
	• **Pair MC:** "Because you are disturbing him – he is also doing his work, so you have to please if you want him to help you", "you have to respect him even if he is younger than you".	R&-P
	• **Pair MD:** "My brother can understand me no matter what way I am talking to him – he can understand me because I am his brother – I am staying with him at home so that means he is understanding me".	-D
	• **Pair ME:** "I have to respect even if he is younger than me".	-P
		Results
School 2	• **Pair FA:** "Because he is younger than me – why must I please him?" was one response from this pair. The other comment was "if I do not say please and thank you to him, how will he be able to respect his own sister, you know?"	-P&-D
	• **Pair FB:** "When you don't ask nicely and say please then they just ignore you", "in my home you always have to use the words please and thanks".	F
	• **Pair FC:** "If I say 'pass that book for me!', he will say 'why don't you do it for yourself?'".	R
	• **Pair FD:** "Because he is also there with his books so you are probably disturbing him", "you have to flatter him a little to get him to pass it".	R
	• **Pair FE:** "He is younger and he has to respect me for who I am", "when you say please he will do it more quickly because he'll think that you respect him too".	-P&-D
	• **Pair MA:** "I still think you must respect".	F
	• **Pair MB:** "He will say 'no, why can't you get the book self because you are sitting at the table and I ask him rudely".	R
	• **Pair MC:** "And he won't give you the book that you are asking me to give you".	R
	• **Pair MD:** "I have to be friends with him too. If I say like 'give me that book', he'll say, like, 'go fetch it yourself'."	-D&R
	• **Pair ME:** Here the respondents disagreed. The one felt that one could be less polite "because he is younger" while the other said, "You have to do it and so if he does it to you, you must do it *visa versa*".	-P

		Results
School 3	• **Pair FA:** "And you are older", "and it won't make a difference to his life – he just has to pass it to you so it is just like 'pass the book' - it's not like PASS THE BOOK!", "Ja, not in a harsh voice or anything. He'd know you weren't angry"	-P&-D
	• **Pair FB:** "Ja, I usually say please – it's sort of automatic, you don't really think about it", "because it is like friendly like slang", "because this is more informal, like the mayor was formal – this is not formal", "because he's your brother and he probably irritates you and it's not that you're too much older that him that you have to respect him, and that he's too much younger…", "and you've grown up with each other so you know each other so it's not going to make a difference what you say to each other".	-P&-D
	• **Pair FC:** "I don't know because it's not like my brother and I are not polite to each other, but it's just – actually would say that. It's just they way we've been brought up", "because you're like comfortable – you know him, you've grown up with him and he's not going to like think you're rude if you're like 'pass me the book'. He'll ignore you or hear you out – you don't have to – not impress him, but like, you have to be polite around him".	-P&-D
	• **Pair FD:** "Well, you're quite relaxed with him, you like…", "you wouldn't be like 'pass that book' (angry tone), you'd just be like 'pass that book' and I don't know – you could make like a joke out of it or something", "because you've lived with them and it's a different sort of respect – I don't know like a different sort of relationship".	-P&-D
	• **Pair FE:** "Because he's younger than you so you don't have to look up to him or anything", "But then he's doing you a favour so you have to be nice to him".	-P
	• **Pair MA:** "Because he is sort or like around you every day – it's such a small thing".	-D
	• **Pair MB:** "Because he's a younger person, so you … Well the way you speak to him would be like quite…" "he's your brother – you don't need to be all formal", "It's hard ma'am because you just know these things, it's just been taught to you and they don't say you do this because of this."	-P&-D
	• **Pair MC:** "Cause he's you brother, especially if he's your younger brother you can just talk to him casually. He won't get offended if you don't say 'please pass that book for me.'"	-P&-D
	• **Pair MD:** "Because he's you sibling – he's the closest thing to your family, the closest person to you, you would tell him things and he wouldn't care if they were like…"	-D
	• **Pair ME:** "Because he's your brother and if he's your younger brother, especially if you're wicked to him then he's not going to want to be nice to you", "And it's a sign that if he's your younger brother you sort of look out for him. He's your family – it's the same thing with like your mother with your brother".	-P&-D

SITUATION 6 (=P; -D)

You are going to a party but you don't have a suitable shirt for the occasion. One of your good friends has many lovely shirts. There is a blue one that you particularly like. How do you ask your friend if you could borrow this shirt?

		Results
School 1	• **Pair FA:** Stressed the want for the shirt: "You must ask nicely because it is not yours".	F
	• **Pair FB:** "Because the shirt is not mine".	F
	• **Pair FC:** "The shirt is not mine, it is yours".	F
	• **Pair FD:** "Tell her you love the skirt then she will lend it", "because she loves that".	F
	• **Pair MA:** "Because you are begging him", "because your friend is like a brother".	-D
	• **Pair MB:** "So you must go by respect because it is not yours".	F
	• **Pair MC:** "Because that shirt is not yours so you have to ask him".	F
	• **Pair MD:** Chose not to perform the speech act.	R
	• **Pair ME:** "Firstly the shirt is not mine and secondly…that shirt is being buyed by his parents so I have to respect his clothes".	F
		Results
School 2	• **Pair FA:** "The thing is she's kind of like my best friend and if she needs something I will give it and if I need something she will give it". While the one respondent actually refused to perform the speech act, the other one said one had to ask nicely because otherwise it "is disrespectful and she would never lend it to me".	-D&F
	• **Pair FB:** "I think if you don't say please to your best friend and you don't say thanks, which is essential, then she will never be your friend again!"	-D&F
	• **Pair FC:** "You are borrowing something from her – you do not have it, it is not yours so you have to say please…"	F
	• **Pair FD:** "That's rude because even though she is your friend it is hers. You can't just tell her what she must do with her stuff – it is hers and she owns it and if you want to borrow it you have to ask nicely".	-D&F
	• **Pair FE:** "Because then she is going to think you just want to be her friend because she has grand clothes".	R
	• **Pair MA:** "It's not yours".	F
	• **Pair MB:** "He is my friend so I must ask him the right way, like, it's his shirt not mine…"	-D&F
	• **Pair MC:** "Because it is not yours", "and you really want it so you should behave - if you ask like that he won't give you".	F
	• **Pair MD:** Did not articulate an answer.	A
	• **Pair ME:** "You have to say please because you the owner of your shirt – of that particular shirt. Your mother didn't buy it, it's his mother".	F

		Results
School 3	• **Pair FA:** "It's your good friend anyway. If I were like borrowing someone's shirt or whatever I would say please, but I wouldn't give a whole long explanation on why I needed the shirt".	-D
	• **Pair FB:** "And you don't want to inconvenience them, because you are asking them for a favour", "Ja, I'd be very put off if my best friend came and said 'give me your shirt!'", "because they're my best friend and I thought that they would have more respect and be nicer about it".	-D
	• **Pair FC:** "because they'll say no and obviously they're your friend, so you obviously like them".	-D
	• **Pair FD:** "And also because it's their property it's not yours".	F
	• **Pair FE:** "Because you're like friends and that would add value to your friendship", "well, if you're not going to ask her nicely then you're not really friends – I suppose you could say that".	-D&=P
	• **Pair MA:** "Ja, because if it's like one of his good shirts you know you'll have to be like friends with him in order for him to like lend it to you because he would not like lend it to someone that he doesn't like".	-D
	• **Pair MB:** "It's you best friend so you're going to be close to him, but when you speak – even though it's someone you can relate with – cause you want to borrow something, you have to be kind to him so like ja".	-D
	• **Pair MC:** "Well, I mean it's not like I'm forcing hi to do it – he knows me well enough to know I'm his friend", "because you're friends – you can't force him to do things for you in friendship"	-D&=P
	• **Pair MD:** "And it's about being polite to your friend", "Cause I want to keep him as a friend – if I just said 'give me that blue shirt' – then he'd be 'okay, take it' and then you probably wouldn't be... I don't know – I don't know, it's just the way I speak, the way things are".	-D
	• **Pair ME:** "Because it's not your shirt, first of all, and if he's your good friend – that's not the way you speak to your good friend", "Because you're supposed to be close to each other – to respect each other. I mean, if you speak casually with each other, but you still..."	-D&=P

SITUATION 7 (-P; +D)

You are sitting next to the window and you see a young child that you do not recognise walking past your house. You notice that the gate to the yard has been left open and you want to ask this child to close the gate for you. What do you say?

		Results
School 1	• **Pair FA:** "I don't have to talk strong language with because I don't recognise", "you must talk softly because you want him to close the gate".	+D
	• **Pair FB:** Did not respond.	A
	• **Pair FC:** Realised imposition of the request therefore used the word "sorry".	R
	• **Pair FD:** Did not articulate a response.	A
	• **Pair MA:** "You don't even know the child", "must have respect for the one who is growing".	+D&-P
	• **Pair MB:** "Because it is his right to leave that gate open because you force him".	R
	• **Pair MC:** "Because you have to respect him or her because you want him to help you".	F
	• **Pair MD:** "You don't just tell him what he or she must do".	R
	• **Pair ME:** "I have to respect the younger person, I mean, so he can give me respect".	-P
		Results
School 2	• **Pair FA:** "We don't know her and at least we must appear nice", she is small and when she grow up she will know how to respect me".	+D&-P
	• **Pair FB:** "Well, I would say, sorry listen here, could you please close the gate for me and if he does not respond then I will say 'thank you very much' because he wasn't on his way to close the gate, he was passing by so that is why I had to say please and I had to say thanks and if I don't then he will say 'jeez, this girl is very rude…'"	R&F
	• **Pair FC:** "I would say 'you go and close the gate', like I am older so you must go and close the gate".	-P
	• **Pair FD:** "Like you have to be nice…", "…because you don't know the person".	+D
	• **Pair FE:** "You couldn't just say 'close the gate', because he's just going to run away or not do it because he thinks you are rude to him".	F
	• **Pair MA:** "I still think that sorry is also a part of manners. So you say 'sorry, can you close the gate'. There is no need to add some actual words in, like please – you only need to say sorry".	F
	• **Pair MB:** The reason why I am saying please is that young children don't respect elder people".	-P
	• **Pair MC:** "That is what you would have said if he was your little brother and you have been taught manners at home and that you should say please an thank you to anyone even though he is a small child or a big person".	F
	• **Pair MD:** "I don't know him so I can't just say 'Close the gate for me'", "Because they are on their way or even I cannot talk to them as I talk with you the then I'll be rude like that for the first time and I don't even know you exactly so I just talk like that", "And even if you do some people will recognise you rude because if you don't respect other people and they say 'if you don't respect the youngsters then the youngsters won't respect you'."	-P
	• **Pair ME:** "First of all, you don't know this person", and they felt they had to say please "because I wanted to be polite"	-P&F

		Results
School 3	• **Pair FA:** "If you were a child and someone shouted 'hey you with the yellow shirt' or something I wouldn't really want to help..." "I'd get scared", and you would have to thank the person because "you would want to recognise that they actually did a favour for you".	-P
	• **Pair FB:** "And you don't know them so you have to sort-of respect them – if it's a small child you might upset them".	+D
	• **Pair FC:** "Well, they're a little kid so you're not really going to be like 'excuse me sir', they'd probably be more like scared than if we just said hi to them", "Well you obviously don't know them and the do deserve respect even though they are little".	-P&+D
	• **Pair FD:** "They are younger so you're not sort of like 'excuse me sir', you're just kind of ja..." "you don't want to be over polite, but you are asking them a favour so you say please".	-P
	• **Pair FE:** "Well, he's not like an authority – he's on the same level as you..."	-P
	• **Pair MA:** "you'd have to ask him like a nice way cause he doesn't know you and like he's just walking past your house...", "Ja, if you ask a child like nicely to do something he'll do it".	+D&-P
	• **Pair MB:** "Because he's younger that you", "You are like in a higher level than him with respect", "it sort of entitles you to tell him to do some stuff, ma'am. Not to order him, but more to...", "it's a lower level of politeness".	-P
	• **Pair MC:** "Cause they're older", "The younger child prefers to be talked to in that way – not like you talk to an old person. You don't walk around school going 'excuse me, please pass me my book, my friend' and all that kind of thing".	-P
	• **Pair MD:** "He's a stranger and you don't know him so maybe he'll say 'I'll do it' or maybe he won't do it so if you say please it's a waste of please", "if you say to a small child 'do this, do that' they will. They think you know everything and they want to do it, if you ask them nicely".	+D&-P
	• **Pair ME:** "If you don't recognise him you don't know him, he's a stranger, you not asking him as if he was your friend, say like your friend was coming into the gate then you'd say like 'X, would you close the gate behind you or whatever – you'd just shout at him, but if you don't know him, you've got to sort of say 'sorry, excuse me' because you don't know him, you can't just say 'hey, close the gate'. You say 'don't you want to do me a favour and close the gate. So you're making it like it's a simple thing to do, like you do somebody a favour".	+D

SITUATION 8 (+P; =D)

Your class teacher has a very interesting book that you would like to borrow. How would you ask them if you could borrow it?

		Results
School 1	• **Pair FA:** Did not articulate.	A
	• **Pair FB:** "Say please because it is not yours".	F
	• **Pair FC:** "It is not my book, it is your book".	F
	• **Pair FD:** "Because she's older than you and you must respect your teacher".	+P
	• **Pair MA:** "You have to say sorry because teachers are always busy", "because your teacher is the parent", "you have the respect them in the same way as you'd respect your mother or father".	+P&=D
	• **Pair MB:** "Because it is her book not mine so I am supposed to please her when I want that book".	F
	• **Pair MC:** "You have to give him respect because your teacher is older than you although it may be that we are the same size – the same age, but as long as he or her is your teacher so you have to give respect".	+P
	• **Pair MD:** "Because a teacher is like my parents".	=D
	• **Pair ME:** "He is older than me, he is my class teacher then I can't forced him because he is old. Here is school he is my parent and I have to respect him".	+P&=D
School 2		Results
	• **Pair FA:** "He is the eldest and is like a role model to us and he teach us school and he teach me, just by the right things you know", "and he is very nice".	+P&=D
	• **Pair FB:** "I think your teacher is more like your parent and for us, if you say thanks to your parent you must also respect your teacher as your own parents so that's why I would say thank you for helping me", "because if you don't respect your mom then you don't respect your teacher because the teacher is the same age as your mother".	=D&+P
	• **Pair FC:** "Maybe you didn't say please, but you know very well the teacher and you understand each other so you are just borrowing the book".	=D
	• **Pair FD:** "Because she's our teacher, she teachers us things, she is much older and we must respect her".	=D&+P
	• **Pair FE:** "You don't want to be rude to the teacher because he is the teacher and he is bigger than you".	+P
	• **Pair MA:** "Because he is an older person".	+P
	• **Pair MB:** "Because it don't belong to me - it belongs to her – that is why I say please", "because they are older that me".	F&+P
	• **Pair MC:** "Because he's you teacher – he learns you...and at the school they teach you manners as well", "He teaches you how to...how to speak to other peoples – to talk to other peoples", "because it is the same way you act to your mother – she's a grown up person and she is older then you, you should ask her like you do to the others".	=D&+P
	• **Pair MD:** "Because this is not my book, it is his book so I have to ask him and I have to respect him", "because he is my teacher and he is teaching me things so I can't just call my friends because he is bigger than me and then I have to respect him".	+P&=D
	• **Pair ME:** "Like this for example, you have respect for your family at home so you must also have respect for her at school".	=D

		Results
School 3	• **Pair FA:** "She's older than you and she's your teacher, so she needs more respect that you would talk to your friend", "And you wouldn't speak as though you are talking to the mayor because she is your class teacher – you are on friendly terms with her".	+P&=D
	• **Pair FB:** "Because they're older than you and have more authority", "Well their job is to teach you and they spend their life teaching you and furthering your knowledge and stuff so they practically doing – what they focus their lives on is you, so you should be respectful for that and be thankful to them".	+P&=D
	• **Pair FC:** "If you want them to respect you and value you, you must respect them".	=D
	• **Pair FD:** "Because she's older and you should really respect her".	+P
	• **Pair FE:** "Cause she's older than you", "and again is the authority".	+P
	• **Pair MA:** "He doesn't have to so you can't just demand it from him because that's disrespectful and he's like a teacher – like he's an older person, so you don't just like tell them to do stuff for you".	+P
	• **Pair MB:** "Well, they are older than you and you are taught that you have to respect your elders, so you have to be polite to them, so that's why we saying 'can I please borrow your book'", "you generally have to do stuff for your teacher, so she's never polite to you – I mean with respect. On the respect thing they'd be like here (showed a high level with his hand) and you'd be like here (showed a lower level with his hand)".	+P&=D
	• **Pair MC:** "She's older and we've been taught to respect our elders – tell her like, 'Ma'am, I don't care about you, but can I read your book?' and she'll be a bit sad".	+P&=D
	• **Pair MD:** "It's because they're elders".	+P
	• **Pair ME:** "he's your teacher so you sort of more relaxed then when you're speaking to a stranger and your teacher obviously wouldn't mind if you're going to read a book because it can only benefit you...", "Well, they're an adult figure".	=D&+P

SITUATION 9 (=P; =D) Someone in your class is really good at geography and you really want them to help you because you didn't understand the lesson. What would you say?		
School 1	• **Pair FA:** Did not articulate. • **Pair FB:** "You have to say please when you ask". • **Pair FC:** Did not articulate a response. • **Pair FD:** "The person will only help you if you say please". • **Pair MA:** "you want something and there is no need to force". • **Pair MB:** "If I can say in all these questions the important thing is a respect because for instance it is worse if something is not yours. You must be pleasing him because it is not yours". • **Pair MC:** "You are also showing them where you are coming from, from what kind of home you are coming from…" • **Pair MD:** "We love to say please please please or my friend – one of those two things are very important even if you are not his friend or her friend that he will do it". • **Pair ME:** "Because I beg them. They don't have even time to teach me because we are all there in the class…"	Results A F A F F F F F R
School 2	• **Pair FA:** "You must always say please". • **Pair FB:** "I think I should treat my friend as I treat my brother and my sister". • **Pair FC:** No coherent response. • **Pair FD:** "If I say it rudely or something he wouldn't help me". • **Pair FE:** "Because he's probably the same age as you and you are in the same class and you don't understand so you'll ask him in a nice way to explain it". • **Pair MA:** "He will not help you if you ask him rude". • **Pair MB:** "He will refuse to explain it to me because I was at class as well". • **Pair MC:** "Or you say like 'give me your book' to copy the work he would say no because you don't ask him properly like you want it – like you really want it". • **Pair MD:** "It's like 'sorry, can you please help me', because it's like he knows the things and I don't know, so I have to be kind to ask him and if I go to him 'can you show me the things and help me!' then he won't do it so I have to show him I don't understand and I think it would be mean to him if I were like serious and said to him no please when I ask him to explain it to me". • **Pair ME:** "Because you are asking his work and he can't do it on order for he wants you to respect him, so he can do that too. If you don't respect him, he'll say, 'go and ask that one' – he can also be rude".	Results F =D A F =P&=D F R F F F

		Results
School 3	• **Pair FA:** "Because she's your friend and she's in your class".	=D&=P
	• **Pair FB:** "Because they're your friends…" "it's too demanding", "they're doing you a favour".	=D
	• **Pair FC:** "Well, they're probably like your friend – they're obviously in your class so there is no need to be overly polite – like sir or ma'am – to them, but you still want to be respectful and be polite".	=D&=P
	• **Pair FD:** "Because they're helping you – like they aren't getting anything out of it, they're not benefiting from it so they are doing you a favour so you should kind of grateful and be nice to them", "and they can say back to you 'no, I really don't have time' and that would be fine because they're the ones doing you a favour".	=D
	• **Pair FE:** "But the way you say it is friendly", "well it's someone on the same level as you, someone you can relate to".	=D
	• **Pair MA:** "He's in you own class – you've not got rank so you can't just tell him what to do. If you tell him like that and he does help you he's not going to like you well, you know? So if you ask him nicely he'll explain it properly and go through it with you".	=D&=P
	• **Pair MB:** "You're on the same level as them", "You can suck up, but not on the same level as you did with your mother, or your teacher".	=D&=P
	• **Pair MC:** "Well, he's my peer, but he's still doing me a favour – he'd help me anyway I just need to ask him. Don't use too much…it's just relaxed".	=D
	• **Pair MD:** "They're your friend".	=D
	• **Pair ME:** "It's sort of to try and convey to him that you really need help and if he's good at the subject as well, he probably won't mind because it's practice".	R