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Inglesa y Alemana

1. Plenary talks

Smart mobs, cyber public shaming, and social justice

Pilar G. Blitvich - *University of North Carolina at Charlotte*

The aim of this presentation is to explore public shaming (PS) in the digital age. Different ways of PS have been implemented by culture groups as a response to transgressions (Goldman, 2014). Often PS had socialization (Fader, 2006) and reintegrative functions (Braithwaite, 1989) aimed at deterring future occurrences of the transgressive behavior and reinstating justice or public morality (Cheong & Gong, 2010; Boudana, 2014; Zingerle, 2015). Of particular interest are those transgressive behaviors that involve inappropriate use of language and more specifically language use that can be considered aggressive or demeaning, such as instances of hate speech. PS as a reaction to impoliteness or language aggression could then be theorized within extant models of responses to impoliteness (Culpeper et al., 2003; Bousfield, 2008; Dobs & Garces-Conejos Blitvich, 2013; Bou-Franch & Garces-Conejos Blitvich, 2014). Through the analysis of a case study involving a recent instance of cyber PS in which a crowdsourced smart mob (Harmon & Metaxas, 2010; Lazarus, 2017) emerged as a response to a call for a Human Flesh Search Engine (Gao, 2016), this presentation problematizes extant models of responses to impoliteness and argues that we need new ways to conceptualize the transgeneric, transmedia, transinstitutional, multimodal, multisequential trajectories through which phenomena such as cyber PS occur (Lemke, 2009; Cheong & Gong, 2010). Although cyber PS, smart mobs, cybervigilantes (digilantes) (Julilano, 2012; Nahn et al., 2017) and HFSE have received some attention recently in criminology, law, and related fields, it has been argued that we need to understand these phenomena from the point of view of participants who act as digilantes or members of a smart mob (Cheong & Gong, 2010). By analyzing user-generated comments in which participants engage in critical civic self-reflectivity (Cunliffe & Junn, 2005) regarding the scope and repercussions for the target in question of cyber PS, this presentation also aims to advance research. What emerges are crucial connections between language aggression and moral values; these connections are paradoxical as language aggression is seen as an instrument both to either destroy or to restore a community's moral values by achieving social justice (Juliano, 2012).

Faces and face work: Mockery, irony and rapport in ‘ugly’ selfies

Ruth Page - University of Birmingham

In this paper, I explore the challenges and opportunities that multimodal forms of social media open up for the study of (im)politeness. I focus on selfies, which as a form of discourse entail both impression management and interpersonal potential as they circulate in different social media sites and services. ‘Ugly’ selfies are a particularly interesting subgenre, which appear to be a form of selfmockery that follow Leech’s (2014) modesty maxim to avoid praise of self, and which result in a range of different relational work for the selfie-taker and recipients including compliments and critique. I argue that in order to understand how and why ugly selfies achieve different kinds of relational outcomes we need to pursue a multi-layered, contextual approach centred on the participants’ perspectives of their interactions with these selfies. The data I report includes a focus group discussion with 12 students, 200 posts marked with the #uglyselfie hashtag extracted from Instagram using Netlytic (Gruzd, 2016), and an experiment with 160 participants which tested the effect of interpersonal space on the perception of ugliness. The results of these studies show the relational work of ugly selfies is embedded in different kinds of contexts, where as part of the students’ lived experience, ugly selfies were sent and resent as performances of relationality. The analysis of the Instagram interactions showed how the face-threatening potential of #uglyselfies was scaled up as forms of ironic resistance that critiqued beauty ideals (Widdows 2018) and was particularly marked in the context of Instagram’s aesthetic norms. Lastly, the experimental research showed how the camera angle and proximity was perceived as humorous, and hence might contribute to the rapport associated with the so-called ‘ugly’ images.

"My friend thinks you are beautiful". Playfully aggressive interactions in a telecollaboration context

Barry Pennock-Speck - *Universitat de València*

In this talk, I explore facework and teasing in an exchange involving German and Spanish adolescents during synchronous task-based video-conferencing in the context of a secondary school language class. My approach to facework can be described as neo-Goffmanian (1967) and is also informed by the work of Craig, Tracy and Spisak (1986), Brown and Levinson (1987), Penman (1990) and Wood and Kroger (1994). Regarding teasing, I agree with most researchers who see it as both playful and aggressive (Keltner et al, 1998). Unlike Keltner, et al (2001), who state that teasing normally consists of one or more face-threatening acts that are offset by some kind of redressive paralinguistic or

extra-linguistic actions, the examples in the exchange under scrutiny begin with unadorned leading questions (Pawluk, 1989). These are of a very personal nature and might even be considered rude and do not seem to constitute instances of mockimpoliteness. In the literature, teasing is generally said to occur almost always among friends but in this case, the participants had never met. Nevertheless, my analysis shows that by the time the initial question and answer sequences had finished and before the teasing proper took place, an easy-going relationship had already been created. In this sense, I will explore the way the interaction moves from being essentially transactional to interpersonal. Along with Kowalski (2004), I found that an audience played an important role in the teasing sequences. From a facework perspective, I conclude that for a tease to be successful, it must not only enhance the teaser's face but also that of the butt of the tease. So, what may look initially like aggressive facework actually contributes towards creating common ground among those participating in the tease.

Variational pragmatics, pragmatic variation and im/politeness

Klaus P. Schneider – *Universität Bonn*

Verbal behaviour and perceptions of im/politeness vary not only across languages, but also across varieties of the same language. Speakers sharing a language often use it in markedly different ways, and notions of what is considered polite or impolite differ between communities and social groups (Schneider & Placencia 2017). This particular type of intra-lingual pragmatic variation is the focus of variational pragmatics. Variational pragmatics is aimed at establishing empirically and systematically recurrent patterns of language use and their distribution in geographical and social space (Barron 2017). Such patterns are interpreted as reflections of norms and expectations, stored in the long-term memory as cultural models which guide perceptions and productions in interaction (Schneider 2012). In the present talk, the original framework of variational pragmatics is briefly summarized, in which levels of analysis and social factors effecting variation are specified (Schneider & Barron 2008); later modifications and extensions of the framework are also outlined (e.g. Félix-Brasdefer & Koike 2012, Nilsson et al. 2018). Regarding the relevant social factors, it is important to note that neither an essentialist nor a constructionist approach is adopted. Instead, an emic first-order approach is advocated in which social factors are treated as displayed and perceived identities (Haugh & Schneider 2012). Methodological issues are also discussed, including a number of methodological innovations (Schneider 2010, *forthc.*). Responses to thanks in English-speaking communities serve as an example to demonstrate the theoretical and methodological questions addressed, most notably the scope of variation, the relevant pragmatic variables, and salient patterns of language behaviour reflecting notions of appropriateness (cf. Schneider 2005, Rüegg 2014,

Bieswanger 2015, Dinkin 2018, Schröder & Schneider in press). Further examples are taken from studies of phatic discourse, specifically in initial encounters, based on data collected by employing various experimental and observational methods (Schneider 2008, Haugh & Carbaugh 2015, Schneider & Schröder forthc.). The overarching aim of variational pragmatics is the development of a theory of pragmatic variation which accounts for intergroup and interpersonal differences in language use and interactional behaviour.

Im/politeness and in/civility: A neglected relationship?

Maria Sifianou - *National and Kapodistrian University of Athens*

Recent approaches to im/politeness have emphasised the importance of lay understandings of politeness and suggested that they should not be ignored in politeness research. Such lay views can be found in online newspaper articles dealing with issues of im/politeness and the comments they receive. These are worth exploring even though they may reflect stereotypical and ideological knowledge (Mills, 2009). The data for this presentation come from such an article entitled “Greek impoliteness: 10 things that kill you in this city” and the subsequent comments. The article appeared in the free press online newspaper LIFO. Research on computer-mediated communication has noted the rampant impoliteness in such contexts which is mostly attributed to the anonymity and the ensuing deindividuation afforded by online platforms (see, e.g., Bou-Franch and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2014; Santana, 2014). Impoliteness has been found to proliferate especially when contentious topics are involved. Im/politeness can be such a topic because people disagree as to what it is and how it is manifested. Yet, one would assume that concern with issues of im/politeness and willingness to get engaged in such interactions would be expressed in a polite way. However, the brief analysis of my data indicates that, despite the topic, some posters use impolite language. In addition, it appears that the understandings of impoliteness presented are not restricted to impoliteness as such, but reflect the rather broader concept of incivility, a term that can be used to refer to im/politeness at a societal level (Lakoff, 2005). It is also worth noting that in the cases of such online data, politeness scholars talk of impoliteness whereas scholars in fields such as journalism, sociology and political science talk of incivility. Interestingly, it is political scientists who have attempted to distinguish between the two (e.g., Papacharissi, 2004). Thus, the aim of this presentation is to try and explore the relationship between im/politeness and in/civility.

2. Panels

Social functions of pragmatic attenuation: politeness and impoliteness

Marta Albelda-Marco – *Universitat de València*

María Jesús Barros-García – *Saint Xavier University*

This panel will bring together six scholars who are interested in exploring im/politeness from a diversity of approaches, including media studies, critical discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, conversation analysis, and variational pragmatics. The panel will focus on the use of attenuation as a pragmatic strategy and its connection to facework, either for polite and/or impolite purposes.

The six participants in this panel have been part of several international research projects—Es.Por.Atenuación, Es.Var.Atenuación, Es.Vag.Atenuación—which analyze pragmatic attenuation in European and Latin American Spanish and Portuguese. The ultimate goal of these projects is to investigate the formal and functional patterns of pragmatic attenuation in these two languages.

The research question that the panel will address is: what is the relationship between pragmatic attenuation and im/politeness phenomena? To answer this question, panelists will present and compare their studies on pragmatic attenuation in different varieties of Spanish and Portuguese, and in different discursive genres, such as colloquial conversations, interviews, debates, oral trials, and transactions.

Two perspectives are adopted by the studies presented at this panel: on the one hand, a qualitative analysis of mitigating structures and pragmatic factors (e.g. position of the mitigating element, discursive unit in which the element is located, type of speech act where mitigation is used, the impact of mitigation on the interlocutors' face, and so on). On the other hand, a quantitative analysis provides patterns and frequencies of each device used to mitigate an utterance, and the instances when the pragmatic attenuation functioned as a strategy that generated im/polite effects.

Politeness and Class Panel Proposal

Karen Grainger – *Sheffield Hallam University*

Since the burgeoning of the field of linguistic politeness research from the 1990s onwards, the politeness practices of many different linguistic communities have been studied and commented on. However, very rarely has the socio-economic status of the speakers been the focus of study. Indeed, empirical studies of interactional behaviour tend to be, in reality, studies of middle-class behaviour. (There are some notable exceptions to this, such as Holmes and Stubbe's 2003 study of politeness in workplaces, which included blue collar workplaces.) This is because most academics and researchers are, by definition, middle-class themselves and so their empirical studies tend to be of communities to which they have easy access. Thus, as Mills (2017) has observed, there is an unintentional bias in most linguistic politeness research. This panel is an attempt to address this bias by stimulating discussion and further research on the topic of politeness and social class.

The purpose of the panel is to begin to address Mills' (2017:80) question: "... we might ask ourselves what non-elite groups actually do in relational work, and what they are represented as doing?" The panel will explore both methodological and theoretical issues concerning research into politeness and class and will invite contributions that address some of the following questions:

How do people from non-elite groups define polite behaviour?

What sort of linguistic relational behaviours do people from non-elite groups exhibit?

How are these behaviours evaluated by elite groups?

How is linguistic relational behaviour represented in various media?

How can we gather data on the politeness of non-elite groups?

3. Presentations

The role of prosody in expressing (im)politeness in evidential markers

Marta Albelda Marco - *Universitat de València*

María Estellés Arguedas - *Universitat de València*

PANEL: *Social functions of pragmatic attenuation: politeness and impoliteness (Convenors: M. Albelda Marco & M. J. Barros García)*

This paper analyses the social functions of three Spanish evidential particles, namely *parecer*, *por lo visto* and *según parece* (translated as ‘apparently’, ‘seemingly’) by means of studying their prosodic behaviour. Our aim is to observe the incidence of their different prosody in triggering the polite, impolite and neutral meanings that they can express. Many authors have posited that these evidentials can be used as mitigators in many contexts (Caffi 1999, Kotwica 2013, Albelda 2016, González Ramos 2016, Estellés & Albelda 2017, etc). Our hypothesis is that their different meanings are dependent on the discursive genre in which they are used.

To do so, a prosodic analysis of these particles in a corpus of circa three million words has been carried out. We have compiled a corpus with a variety of registers (formal and informal) and oral genres (confrontational and non-confrontational): conversations, political debates, TV entertainment programmes and interviews. The occurrences of the particles have been analysed phonically with PRAAT. Three acoustic parameters that are related to the expression of prosodic prominence have been considered, namely intensity, pitch, and speech rate, as also analysed by Culpeper (2011). The values for each archive were obtained by applying the script Analyse Tier (Hirst 2012). We have also added the criterion of Levinson’s (2000) Manner-heuristic, in the sense that when prosody behaves in an unexpected and different manner, it signals an extra meaning. Thus, building upon this criterion we have considered that when one of these particles is prosodically marked, it indicates a marked meaning as well.

The results obtained from the corpus-based analysis confirm a wide variety of functions in these three particles. Along with cases where evidentials are used with their neutral meaning (real evidentials), we have also found contextual nuances of politeness and impoliteness depending on the discursive genre and context.

(Im)politeness in Spanish to English translation: from *Manolito Gafotas* the brat to *Manolito Gafotas* goody two-shoes

Pilar Alderete Diez - *NUI Galway*

Owen Harrington Fernández - *Heriot-Watt University*

This presentation analyses the translation of three books from the *Manolito Gafotas* series into American English. The aim is to explore the controversial topic of morality in the translation of literature for children and young adults, with special reference to the issue of transposing the fictive identity of the main character into a new (in this case, North American) context by identifying the censorship of socially and politically incorrect language during the process of translation and the concomitant shift in the portrayal of the main character.

We will identify and describe instances where the target text modifies the source text with a view to explaining how these shifts lead to an incongruous interpretation of the target text in relation to the implied target reader. The analysis will focus especially on analysing translation shifts motivated by a perceived notion of (im)politeness. Lastly, we would like to promote a debate about where to situate the concept of freedom of expression within translation, a practice which operates in a mediating space among cultures in the 21st century.

Rising intonation of North-western Colombian polite wh-questions

Kata Baditzné Pálvölgyi - *Eötvös Loránd University*

There are different suprasegmental devices to express politeness (Hidalgo 2006: 971-975), but in this investigation we have only focussed on intonational patterns found in wh-questions of North-western Colombia. Our theoretical background is based on the methodology set up by Cantero & Font-Rotchés in 2009 (the *Melodic Analysis of Speech* method).

In general, polite non-polar questions in Spanish are accompanied by a rising final intonation (Seco 1980: 67, Alcina & Blecua 1975: 478), though the final rise does not necessarily add a touch of politeness to wh-questions: it can also be a sign of insecurity (RAE 1999: 471), reiteration (Navarro Tomás 1966: 153-181), or it can also accompany guess-questions (Hualde & Colina 2014: 273-275), and other, not yet fully identified meanings (Sosa 1999: 217, Prieto-Roseano 2009-2013).

In this study, we analyzed 80 non-polar questions with final rise of 22 native Colombian speakers altogether, all found in YouTube videos from the last decade.

According to our corpus, ascendant melodies were basically used for two types of wh-questions:

- 1) wh-questions not expecting an answer:
 - questions followed by another question shortly
 - rhetoric or guess-questions
- 2) polite wh-questions expecting an answer:
 - questions expressing extra interest in the answer
 - reiterative questions asking for information that should already be known

We carried out a three-step investigation:

- Our primary aim was to see whether there is a melodic difference that distinguishes polite wh-questions from other types of ascendant wh-questions.
- Also, we wanted to discover whether the rising intonational patterns used in Colombian wh-questions coincide with the rising /+interrogative/ patterns described for peninsular Spanish dialects (Cantero & Font-Rotchés 2007, Font-Rotchés & Mateo Ruiz 2011).
- As a final step, we selected a sample of 10 utterances from our corpus representing all the four subtypes, and without context we submitted them to a perceptive test: 55 native Colombian listeners had to guess the intention of the speakers by listening to the contextless utterance. This way we have been able to control if listeners are conscious of the intended meaning (such as politeness) conveyed by ascendant melodies in non-polar questions even when there is no context available.

As far as our results are concerned, the four different wh-question subcategories attested in our corpus were accompanied by different types of ascendant melodies (only partially coinciding with the European patterns). Wh-questions were generally accompanied by higher rises when they were polite in their contexts. Even so, listeners did not seem to be able to identify politeness: according to the perceptive tests, the politeness of the wh-questions was detected by less than 50% of the informants if the aim of the speaker was to express extra interest in the answer, and the proportion of the correct guesses was not significantly higher either when the polite question was reiterative. This corroborates the observation (Cantero 2002: 215) that politeness is a trait that definitely needs more contextual clues besides intonation so that listeners could identify it.

Pragmatic attenuation and politeness in Spanish informal conversation

María Jesús Barros García - *Saint Xavier University*

PANEL: *Social functions of pragmatic attenuation: politeness and impoliteness*
(*Convenors: M. Albelda Marco & M. J. Barros García*)

In the past three decades, pragmatic attenuation in Spanish language has been the subject of extensive study, with much of the conducted research exploring its link with politeness. This presentation will explore the polite and non-polite functions performed by pragmatic attenuation in Spanish informal conversations between young friends from Southern Spain. The theoretical and methodological principals in which this study is based were established by the directors and researchers working in three international projects: Es.Por.Atenuación, Es.Var.Atenuación and Es.Vag.Atenuación.

Among all sorts of interactions, informal oral conversations are the most frequent in daily life. This genre, language register, language variety, and the characteristics of the participants in the analyzed conversations (their age and their relationship) are characterized, in general terms, by a direct speech style, spontaneity, dynamism, and colloquialism (Briz, 1998). Therefore, the data used for this study is not generally linked to mitigation and/or to politeness. Briz and Albelda (2013: 9) explain that, in informal situations, speakers are linguistically and socially relaxed, which is to say, they are not controlling their communicative contributions as much as in formal situations. Thus, they stop worrying about politeness and their use of mitigation decreases. Lacking a firm basis for predicting how pragmatic attenuation and politeness play out in informal conversations between young speakers from Southern Spain, I pose the following research question: Do speakers in the data make use of pragmatic attenuation as a politeness strategy? The results from the analysis will be discussed with illustrative examples.

Linguistic (im)politeness in Turkish: Refusal strategies in emails

Sezen Bektaş - *Boğaziçi University*

Gizem Mutlu-Gülbak - *Boğaziçi University*

Yasemin Bayyurt - *Boğaziçi University*

Previous research on refusals varied in terms of their study context, mainly as follows: intra-lingual, cross-cultural, and learner-centered studies (Tuncer, 2016; Morkus, 2014). The present study aimed at contributing to the first research line by examining the emails exchanged in Turkish between people of equal and unequal status in a university context. More specifically, the study investigated (i) the realization patterns of refusal strategies in emails sent to refuse invitations; and (ii) the extent to which social distance between the interlocutors has an impact on strategy use. To this end, naturalistic email

data were collected from a total of 63 graduate-level Turkish students. As a reply to an invitation, half of the participants were required to write an email to a research assistant (i.e., equal status) while the other half wrote to a professor (i.e., unequal status). Each refusal in the data has been coded and counted. Further, refusal strategies used by the participants were categorized according to Beebe et al.'s (1990) classification. The results revealed more similarities than differences in the realization of refusal strategies, which could be attributed to the nature of the given context. In both groups, the use of indirect strategies was more prevalent than the use of direct ones. Among the various types of indirect strategies, "negative willingness", "statement of regret", and "excuse" were the most commonly used refusal strategies for both of the groups. However, the status of the addressee played a role in the use of the "avoidance" strategy in that the participants interacting with a person of unequal status tended to use this strategy more frequently compared to the other group. Finally, the findings of the study were discussed in relation to Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory.

Hedging as a politeness strategy that brings the discourse of English for Academic Purposes into effect

Molly Bellamy - *Trinity College London*

In the UK University, the linguistic feature of 'hedging' is considered crucial to good academic writing. It is taught as a form of humility and reflexivity in the making of academic claims. It is valued as a politeness strategy in the development of arguments where 'cautious language' is deemed the most sophisticated way of ascribing deference to alternative positions.

The highly nuanced character of this complex modality however is also the site of failure in academic writing (Hyland, 1994) for those deemed 'less academic' or those with English as an additional language (EAL).

Often perceived by those whom it excludes, as 'vague language', 'out-moded', 'code' or even hypocrisy (Davidson, 2004), hedging serves as a linguistic device to delimit access to the legitimate language of the University, standardised by the discourse of English for Academic Purposes (EAP). Expertise in hedging is symbolic of high social and academic status, in much the same way that 'polite English' was deemed to be a marker of social class (Watts, 1999) and access to 'polite society' in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

In Foucauldian (Foucault, 1980) terms, it is the very exclusion or prohibition of certain groups (the 'less academic' or 'EAL' students) - that is their *limits*, that brings the discourse of English for Academic Purposes into effect.

In this context, the paper considers politeness as a genealogy of knowledge, which has recurred in different forms, at different historical moments to serve specific hegemonic interests as a form of elitist conduct exercised through complex linguistic modalities. It

considers the way this genealogy of knowledge is reproduced in the Ciceronian strategy of *amicitia* (Burton, 2011) the humanist tradition of *civilita* and the enlightenment republic of letters' *polite society* (Marshall, 2006) and again as a linguistic feature of academic writing today, in hedging.

In a world characterised by populist psychology, assertive self projection and direct address, the genealogy of knowledge we call 'politeness' is reproduced today as a linguistic feature of academic writing. As a form of personal knowhow, politeness is institutionalised by EAP - an emergent discourse that is shaping the global 'English Industry'.

Discourse Markers of politeness: 'you know' and 'then' in English and 'ya'nī' in Arabic: The case of political verbal interactions in television broadcasts

Saliha Ben Chikh - *Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris III*

Each language is organized in accordance with its culture; it follows the social purposes of the interactants within that culture. The main concern in this paper is to reveal the extent to which discourse markers like 'you know', 'then' and 'ya'nī' (I mean/It means) are multifunctional in English and Arabic political discourse. In final position, the three pragmaticalized linguistic items convey politeness.

Using a corpus based approach, our study analyses material from political interviews aired on CNN and Aljazeera. After selecting and sorting the linguistic data with the aid of the aConCorde tool, our study involves three steps: a syntactic analysis identifying the positions of the markers, a semantic analysis distinguishing their uses and a pragmatic analysis defining their functions.

We assume that these expressions are inherently related to social criteria, context and syntactic position. The relationship between participants is also of paramount importance in our analysis of discourse markers. Our particular focus is to explore the correlation between the syntactic distribution (initial, middle and final) and the pragmatic purposes of discourse markers. Our framework thus makes use of pragmatic theories about language (Brown & Levinson 1987, Dostie 2004, Orecchioni 1990-1998, Erman 2001, Brinton 1996, Blakemore 2002) in examining the three data sets.

Our findings indicate that these three discourse markers can be used differently from one speech situation to another and from one position to another; they perform a range of interpersonal functions. Providing a variety of meanings, 'you know', 'then' and 'ya'nī' are thus strongly poly-functional and play an essential role in softening and weakening face threatening acts in political conversations.

Impoliteness triggers in the interaction of Czech populist politicians

Martina Berrocal - *Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena*

The Czech Republic has got some unwelcome attention in international politics and media due to the opinionated and often controversial statements by its current President, Miloš Zeman, and recently also due to the election victory by the bluntly-speaking billionaire, Andrej Babiš. The latter has confirmed a shift towards populist sentiment which has been observable in numerous European countries for some time. These two politicians are known for their critical stance towards elites and their hard verbal attacks towards their political adversaries.

In the context of this political status quo, this paper aims to examine the impoliteness strategies that are used by these two politicians. The theoretical focus is based on the Culpeper's approach (1996, 2005, 2011, 2016) to impoliteness which throughout the years has developed into a solid framework that considers not only the individual (quality) face but also integrates categories from Spencer-Oatey's model of rapport management (Spencer-Oatey 2000, 2002, 2005, 2007, 2009), namely relational and social identity face, and the sociality rights and obligations, which are particularly relevant in the context of political discourse.

The analysed corpus includes ten weekly interview-programs with Miloš Zeman (Oktober 2017 – Januar 2018) and his two presidential candidates' debates from January 2018, Andrej Babiš's parliamentary speeches, as a finance and Prime Minister and a number of selected political debates of A. Babiš and his political rivals.

Methodologically, a bottom-up approach will be applied and processed in UAM Corpus Tool. Special attention will be dedicated to the impoliteness triggers and possible impoliteness formulae in the Czech political context.

Impoliteness and rudeness in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and in its Catalan translation by Carner-Ribalta

Alba Bodí García - *Universitat de València*

This paper applies an analysis of impoliteness and rudeness to Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (A text, pub. 1604) and to its Catalan translation by Josep Carner-Ribalta (1981). *Doctor Faustus* and *Edward II* are the only Marlowe's plays translated into Catalan. This has motivated this study (part of a larger analysis of early modern English drama), to enquire into the translation procedures and difficulties Carner-Ribalta encountered when transferring pragmatic and socio-cultural meaning to the Catalan society. As a departing point, a classic pragmatic view of politeness, regarding Culpeper's (2005) analysis, serves as theoretical background to analyse a few excerpts from the play according to the presence of 'impoliteness' in them. This involves

identifying the concepts of ‘positive face’, ‘negative face’, ‘face threatening acts’ and ‘pragmatic superstrategies’ in the play. To complete this study, a more recent socio-cultural view of politeness is regarded to review and expand the previous model and classify the selected lines according to Culpeper’s (2011) analysis and typology: affective, coercive and entertaining impoliteness. Afterwards, Beebe’s (1995) personal and social perspective on the concept of ‘rudeness’ is taken into account to identify those lines where characters are ‘rude’ as opposed to ‘impolite’. To make this study more specific, Sagarra’s (2007) definition and typology of the concept of ‘rudeness’ is applied to the selected passages in order to classify them (rudeness of word, rudeness of action or inaction rudeness). Overall, this analysis is based on the premise that, whereas rudeness is always intentional, impoliteness may as well occur intentionally or accidentally. Finally, this paper pays attention to the way some of the impolite and rude lines are translated into Catalan by Josep Carner-Ribalta (1981), considering the need to capture both the referential and relational function of language meaning in spite of the cross-cultural variation.

Cross-generational study of conversational humour amongst Taiwanese speakers of Mandarin Chinese

Wei-Lin Melody Chang - *The University of Queensland*

There has only been limited research on conversational humour in contemporary Mandarin Chinese to date. It has generally been investigated through quantitative methodologies, such as questionnaires (Liao 1998, 2001, 2003) or corpus analysis (He, Chen and Zhang 2015), and studies of the interactional practices by which various forms of conversational humour are actually achieved among the participants in face-to-face settings are relatively rare (Chen 2016), and studies of possible variation with respect to age even more so. The aim of this paper is thus to examine conversational humour practices through close interactional analyses of conversations in Mandarin and Taiwanese sourced from a number of spoken corpora, including COPRA, MCDC, and the NCCU Corpus of Spoken Mandarin. The primary focus of this analysis is a comparative analysis of these conversational humour practices across two distinct generations of speakers (those in their young 20s, and those in their mid-40s to mid-60s). Preliminary analysis indicates that different conversational humour practices are more prevalent across those two generations, in particular, with a greater frequency of instances of language play amongst the older generation and instances of biting teasing amongst the younger generation, as ways of establishing relational bonding with interlocutors among friends, acquaintances and even among strangers. This broad tendency does not mean that those practices do not appear in the conversational humour repertoire of the other generation, but it does appear that particular conversational humour practices are more salient in particular generations.

Interpersonal (dis)affiliation in online offence in polylogue

Qian Chen - *Guangdong University of Foreign Studies*

Yongping Ran - *Guangdong University of Foreign Studies*

Offence is usually viewed as face-threatening acts in face-to-face communication. However, medium factors such as anonymity and physical remoteness of online discussion make online users do not afraid of losing face in public. Thus, face may not be the primary concern in a multiparty interaction in online context. From a new perspective of moral order, this study demonstrates that online offence will lead to the reconstruction of interpersonal relationship in terms of affiliation and disaffiliation in multiparty interactions. Maroccia (2004) indicates that the conversation structure and the participation framework of an online polylogue appear so fuzzy and complex that the formal analysis of conversation is no longer suitable. As a result, the present study attempts to analyze the data in an informal and creative way by considering the distinctive features of online polylogue. Drawing upon the data collected from Baidu *Tieba*, the largest Chinese asynchronous communicating community, the study firstly conceptualizes online offence by sketching a number of methodological and theoretical challenges in impoliteness studies. Secondly, the study analyzes episodes and preliminary results suggest that online offence is manifestly made up of three interrelated characteristics: (1) online offence is provocative with a potential to provoke a dispute among participants; (2) Online offence is direct with overt features of negation, negative evaluative lexical items, and ritual insults etc., which has few aggravation mitigators; and (3) online offence is sequential with a feature of multiparty confrontation. Finally, the study explores the interpersonal (dis)affiliation in online offence, indicating that the construction of momentary relationship in online discussion boards is a process of (non)conforming moral order negotiation. The analysis undertaken in this study would provide us insights not only into how online offence itself works, but into the role it plays in relationship construction in ongoing interaction.

Politeness evaluations in the indexing of character in Colm Toibin's *The Master* and *Brooklyn*

Christine Christie - *Loughborough University*

This paper demonstrates how a politeness framework can be applied in the analysis of literary characterisation. Focusing on Colm Toibin's *Brooklyn* and *The Master*, I show how the attributions of value to the speech and silence of key female characters within each novel are derived from politeness evaluations grounded in the sociolinguistic values of the cultures Toibin constructs in the novels. The analysis builds on a premise underpinning Brown & Levinson's (1987 [1978]) theory of politeness: to account for

the attribution of value to linguistic resources requires an engagement with both the patterning of behaviour that results from sociolinguistic inquiry and the processes of utterance interpretation theorised by pragmatics (1987, 281). Since the pragmatics and the sociolinguistics that inform Brown & Levinson's original account have long been superseded, the politeness framework applied in this chapter is predicated on more recent models (see Christie 2015). Specifically the analysis draws on a framework that synthesises the theorisation of meaning developed within a third wave sociolinguistics informed by indexicality theory (Ochs 1996; Agha 2003; Silverstein 2003; Eckert 2012,) and within a pragmatics informed by relevance theory (Clark 2013; Sperber & Wilson (1995 [1986]; Wilson & Sperber 2012). The framework brings into view the stances and the social identities that key female characters are able to index through their speech.

Bloody hell and Blooming heck. Potentially offensive lexical items and their parallel euphemistic forms: a corpus-based study of usage and change

Stephen Coffey - *University of Pisa*

This paper reports on a study of phonologically related lexical pairs of the type *fucking - flipping* and *bloody hell - blooming heck*, where one of the pair is generally considered to be potentially offensive and the other is a milder alternative (see, among others, Adams 139-158, Allan & Burridge *passim*, Bauer 756-8, Hughes 7, 12-15, Marsh 225-6, Mencken 389-400, and Warren 132-7).

Data from two corpora will be presented: these are the spoken component of the original British National Corpus (BNC Spkn), for which recordings were made in the period 1991-1994, and the recently released Spoken British National Corpus 2014 (BNC Spkn 2014), which is based on recordings from the period 2012-2016.

With regard to BNC Spkn, comparative frequency data will be presented for the stronger and milder lexical alternatives; here, two separate sets of figures will be given, one for the demographically sampled part of the corpus (informal conversation), and the other in relation to the 'context-governed' recordings (see <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/docs/URG/>). The frequency figures themselves only relate to the items as decontextualized lexis, but additional information will be provided regarding the extent to which items appear to comply with 'politic behaviour' (Watts 2003) and cases where transcripts and/or recordings suggest possible perception of im/politeness by participants.

With regard to the raw frequency data for the stronger and milder lexical alternatives, comparison will also be made between the demographically sampled part of BNC Spkn and the textually analogous BNC Spkn 2014 (taking into account the difference in size between the two corpora); this will attempt to verify the following hypothesis:

“over time, the stronger forms will become less offensive, and therefore more frequent, while the milder forms will become less used”.

Impersonalization as pragmatic attenuation in Spanish colloquial conversations

Josefa Contreras Fernández - *Universitat Politècnica de València*

PANEL: *Social functions of pragmatic attenuation: politeness and impoliteness*
(Convenors: M. Albelda Marco & M. J. Barros García)

This study forms part of the “Pragmatic attenuation and its genre variation: written and oral discursive genres in European and Latin American Spanish” project (MINECO FFI2016-75249-P), and involves a pragmalinguistic analysis of impersonalization as an attenuation strategy. The phenomenon of impersonalization has been studied as both a politeness strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1987) and a mitigation strategy (Albelda & Cestero, 2012; Villalba, 2015). In this research, we now focus on the relationship between impersonalization as a politeness strategy and as an attenuation strategy. Brown & Levinson (1987) suggested that the use of impersonal verbs or the indefinite pronoun ‘one’ functions as a politeness strategy that allows speakers to avoid making direct reference to themselves as agents and to avoid the face-threatening act to the hearer as object. We propose that the impersonalization strategy functions in most cases as a mitigation strategy, and does not always function as a politeness strategy. To address our hypothesis, we will analyse ten Spanish colloquial conversations from Val.Es.Co. In the qualitative analysis, we will focus on pragmatic factors such as the position of the attenuation mechanism, the discursive unit in which the mechanism is located, the type of speech act in which attenuation is used, and the impact of the attenuation on the interlocutor’s face. This approach allows the different variables of impersonalization that function as attenuation strategies to be distinguished from those that do not. Likewise, connections between facework and politeness will be analysed. The results of the quantitative analysis will provide information on the frequencies of each mechanism used to mitigate an utterance, as well as the attenuation mechanisms used for politeness. In the conclusion it will be explained in which cases the Spanish speaker uses impersonalization to produce a polite effect.

Euphemism, face and PC language in US Local and state politics

Eliecer Crespo-Fernández - *Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha*

Effective political leadership involves success in addressing and persuading the public. The language skills that political actors display are key to generate support for their position and influence people’s thoughts on a wide range of issues. As politicians need

to be approved of and have one's goals considered as desirable, they try hard to avoid putting their face, i.e. public safe image, at risk by avoiding any word which may sound inconsiderate to people's feelings. Euphemism is, from this viewpoint, an ideologically-based discursive strategy (Van Dijk 2006) that politicians use to approach unsettling or embarrassing issues without appearing inconsiderate to people's concerns. Following a critical discourse-analytic approach to political language (Chilton 2004; Wodak & Meyer 2015; Krzyżanowski & Forchtner 2016), this paper discusses the communicative functions that euphemism performs in the discourse of local and state politicians from New Jersey (USA) in a sample of language data excerpted from *The Star-Ledger*, the state's largest newspaper. This study seems to be justified: in spite of the fact that local and regional politics constitutes a key level of political action and dialogue, little exists regarding the language used by politicians below the national level. The analysis reveals that (metaphorical and non-metaphorical) euphemism constitutes a major strategy of self-protection and positive self-presentation for local legislators which allows them – mostly by understatement, periphrasis, and metaphor – first, to refer to socially disadvantaged groups or address delicate subjects without sounding insensitive, in line with PC language use; second, to criticize their political opponents in a socially acceptable way; and third, to purposely conceal from the public unsettling or controversial topics.

Further thoughts on reciprocity and (im)politeness: A matrix of options, a method and requests

Jonathan Culpeper - *Lancaster University*

Vittorio Tantucci - *Lancaster University*

This paper begins with a rapid overview of the roots of reciprocity, building on the introductory points we made at the 10th international symposium on politeness in 2017 at York St John University. Reciprocity, we argue, is a constraint on human interaction such that the (im)politeness threshold of an addressee is constrained to match that of the addressor, thereby maintaining a balance of social payments. Of course, interlocutors do not always comply with reciprocity. Such deviations are of particular interest because they trigger further inferencing and/or reflect social constraints.

We will map out and illustrate a matrix of reciprocity options, plotted according to the interlocutors' (im)politeness thresholds and whether they match or not. Matches might involve, for example, the performance of 'politic' behaviour or banter. Mismatches might involve, for example, a strong upshift as a means of seizing the moral high ground, or a strong downshift as a means of rejecting something and/or somebody.

Finally, we focus on reciprocity in the context of requestive exchanges. We describe a method we have developed for modelling pragmatic constraints. It involves coding requestive exchanges in corpus data, substantiating our coding with an informant study,

and then statistically plotting our results drawing on conditional inference trees, random forests (e.g. Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012) and distinctive collexeme modeling (e.g. Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004). This method aims at measuring the degree of attraction between (im-polite) requests and subsequent (un-)reciprocal responses.

Politeness, pragmatics and Sociolinguistics: Why has class been the ‘poor relation’ in politeness research?

Bethan Davies - *University of Leeds*

PANEL: *Politeness and Class (Convenor: K. Grainger)*

Class has been a key variable in traditional dialect research and then variationist sociolinguistics from its inception in the 1960s. Yet it has been largely ignored in pragmatics and politeness, despite many politeness researchers claiming to bring a social perspective to their analysis of language use.

Key exceptions to this are Watts (1999, 2003) and Mills (2003, 2004, 2017). Watts’ research is historically situated, emphasising the different meanings of ‘politeness’ and its role as a means of social gatekeeping. Mills’ earlier work considered intersections between gender, class and politeness (2003, 2004) and her recent publication is the only book-length consideration of this topic (Mills, 2017). However, this focuses on lay linguistic ideologies of politeness rather than on why it has taken politeness researchers so long to address this topic as something that deserves serious attention.

This talk explores some of the differences between sociolinguistics and pragmatics as subdisciplines within linguistics, and how this relates to assumptions about variation and variability within the field of politeness. What are the differences in ontological structures across sociolinguistics and pragmatics? How has politeness been positioned in relation to them? Has the ‘discursive shift’ meant the same thing in politeness as in sociolinguistics?

These questions are important because understanding the ontological – and potentially ideological – structures of the disciplines we are working within can help us address the limitations of current approaches and methodologies in a more informed and targeted way.

Mitigating face threatening acts (FTAs) as distancing technique and narrating the political self in parliamentary discourse

Areej S. Dawood - *Cardiff University*

This presentation considers the linguistic strategies that mitigate FTAs as part of facework and self-presentation in parliamentary discourse. Parliamentary debates are marked by performing either intentional face-threatening, when directed at the opposing party, or face-enhancing when addressed to one's own side (Harris, 2001). However, members of parliament (MPs) are expected to convey criticism and accusation in the House of Commons without violating the parliamentary rules of conduct (Bull & Wells, 2012). Given that parliamentary interaction is a competition for power and leadership role as well as popularity (Ilie, 2003), the study aims to examine the ways in which mitigation can be manipulated not as politeness *per se*, but rather for the sake of appropriateness (Locher, 2008; Locher & Watts, 2005, 2008). The analysis is based on 40 Prime Minister's Questions (PMQs) sessions (2016-2017) focusing on the exchanges between the Leader of Opposition (LO) and the Prime Minister (PM), 20 with Conservative PM David Cameron and 20 with his successor Theresa May; in all 40 sessions, their opponent is Labour LO Jeremy Corbyn. It is proposed that those opponent party leaders resort to mitigation strategies as a means of distancing themselves from the responsibility of accusing or criticizing the other to provide a safe ground for the speaker's offensive intention, and thus avoiding inappropriate behaviour. Simultaneously, these strategies allow MPs to narrate the political self through justifying the effectiveness of their ideologies and actions to persuade the audience of their political goals. To gain more insight into the pragmatic realization of language used in this confrontational discourse, a discourse analytical approach has been carried out to examine how mitigation strategies are used in both the questioning and response turns, how they can account for shaping institutional relationships, and how their use in terms of facework (face enhancing/threatening) varies according to political self-presentation.

Refusal strategies and the role of transfer in learners of Italian as L2

Anna De Marco - *University of Calabria*

The present work is concerned with the production of refusals by Spanish, Turkish, and Polish learners of Italian as L2. This act that involves delicate interpersonal negotiation can sometimes include very long sequences containing indirect sub-acts such as apologies, excuses, offer of alternatives and so on. The study explores the frequency of transfer, the order and the semantic formulas of the strategies employed in refusals in relation to the level of proficiency of the learners. For a comparative analysis, native speakers of Italian have also been involved in the study.

Several studies have examined refusal patterns in different interlanguages, and have underlined different linguistic behaviors in relation to the semantic formulas, the order and the frequency of the pattern strategies speakers employ. As regards the acquisition of politeness, they also provide evidence of L1 transfer phenomena of functional patterns in the target language.

Thirty-six Erasmus students (Spanish, Turkish and Polish) of two proficiency groups of Italian participated in the study. The students were asked to fill out six DCT tests, including three requests and three invitations, and they were engaged in six role play tasks. Participants had to verbalize their strategies to different interlocutors with different levels of social distance and intimacy with the subject. The strategies used by the participants were classified according to the taxonomy by Beebe *et al.* (1990).

The study showed that frequency and types of semantic formulas were influenced by the level of proficiency of the learners: learners with a lower level of proficiency showed a higher frequency of transfer than learners with a higher level of proficiency. In Turkish and Polish learners' productions, the order of the indirect strategies was different from the one used by native speakers regardless of their level of proficiency. The order in which they express the refusal was influenced by the context and the distance between the interlocutors perceived by the participants in the specific situation. Both Turkish and Polish used less indirect strategies than those used by native speakers and Spanish learners. In all groups, high proficiency learners employed, in a single reaction to an invitation or a request, a higher number of strategies compared to those of lower proficiency students.

The role of prosody in the realization of apologies by L2 Italian learners

Anna De Marco - *University of Calabria*

Emanuela Paone - *University of Calabria*

The present study examines the relationship between prosodic cues and politeness strategies employed by L2 learners of Italian coping with a face-threatening act (FTA): apologies. The study will focus on the type of strategies used and the prosodic cues learners rely on to convey the speech act. The choice of these strategies will be analyzed with regard to sociolinguistic variables: distance, power and role of imposition of the act (Brown, Levinson 1987). For a comparative analysis, the study involved also native speakers of Italian.

20 Spanish learners of Italian as L2 (with B1 level of proficiency) and 5 native speakers of Italian participated in the study. Data has been collected through the implementation of a set of prototypical situations involving the use of apologies (see Rilliard *et al.* 2013). Participants were required to enact six role plays and to perform the apologies in accordance with the given context.

Native and non-native speakers' performances have been recorded by means of a professional audio recorder. Sequences containing speech acts and politeness strategies have been isolated, labeled, and analyzed, taking into account morphosyntactic, lexical

and prosodic features. Acoustic analysis has been carried out by using PRAAT, considering intonational and temporal parameters, as well as intensity values.

Preliminary results have revealed that learners produced a number of speech acts characterized by grammatical and phonological errors, including intonational and morpho-syntactic transfers from their L1. Since the most robust correlate of politeness is pitch range (see Nadeu, Prieto, 2011), learners experienced difficulties in modulating their intonation in accordance with different social contexts. Learners' productions were less variable and were characterized by a narrower pitch range than native speakers' performances. This research can contribute to shed light on intercultural politeness studies, specifically on sociopragmatic and prosodic competence of learners' interlanguage.

The relation of (im)politeness and opinion markers in Hungarian

Csilla Ilona Dér - *Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church*

Hungarian language is quite rich in opinion marking discourse markers (further opinion markers, OMs), e.g. *szerintem*, *ényszerintem* 'to my mind', *azt/úgy hiszem* 'I think', *úgy/azt gondolom* 'I think', *úgy vélem* 'I think'. They seem to differ in pragmatic force: some of them can boost and – with different characteristics – mitigate the force of opinion, including (dis)agreement, some of them have only the former or the latter function.

This is the first attempt to determine the connection between (im)politeness and OMs in Hungarian based on corpus data and questionnaires. Using the MNSz2 and BEA corpus we collect all uses of three OMs (*szerintem*, *ényszerintem*, *azt hiszem*). We analyse the distribution in different genres, possible positions, typical collocations of these OMs with other words (incl. discourse markers), the type of opinion (evaluation, probability, cf. Pearsson 1993) in which they occur, and the strength of the (dis)agreement.

Using a survey of native Hungarian speakers we investigate the uses of these OMs regarding to (im)politeness, especially to face-saving and face-threatening (Brown & Levinson 1987).

Our main hypotheses are:

- 1) OMs in initial and medial position rather boost and in final position rather mitigate the force of disagreement (cf. Aijmer 1997).
- 2) The three OMs differ in pragmatic force: *ényszerintem* has a very strong boosting effect (and almost never appears as mitigator), *azt hiszem* is a typical hedging device, and *szerintem* is the most flexible in this respect.
- 3) From intercultural point of view face-saving is very important in Hungarian regarding to disagreement (Szili 2002, Koczogh 2012), the expression of direct opposition is very rare, therefore the usage of OMs is essential and they are often combined with explanation.

Unpacking and re-defining compliments and compliments responses in a cross-cultural Facebook corpus

Funda Dörtkulak - *Çankaya University*

Hale Işık Güler - *Middle East Technical University*

In interpersonal face-to face communication, compliments have historically been regarded as expressive speech acts which maintain and/or support the addressee's positive face. However, social networking sites have become a new mode of communication where much information transfer is through photo-initiated prompts. Compliments and responses to them in such computer mediated interaction are very commonly used and being studied more and more (Kuntjara, 2013; Maíz-Arévalo, 2012, 2013; Maiz-Arevalo & Garcia-Gomez, 2013; Matley, 2017; Placencia & Lower, 2013). The compliment speech act in this domain of use has, thus, significantly evolved in both function and structure, revealing unique strategies of response and the im/politeness it involves and subsumes for interlocutors.

Starting with a discussion surrounding the need for a re-definition of compliments, this corpus-driven study aims at challenging the misconceptions and overgeneralizations about compliments and responses to them, with the utilization of a comparative corpus of 2000 Facebook compliments on photo comments, evenly compiled from women and men, and from Turkish and American English. Based on the results of the tagged discourse data (via Nvivo 11) and analyses of the quantitative results (using SPSS 22.0), this study depicts a cross-cultural and gender-based comparison of compliments and compliment responses based on structural, topical and functional properties of use. The findings indicate that the claimed formulaicity of compliments (Manes & Wolfson, 1981) and universal patterns of compliment responses are not strictly valid for Turkish, due to the structural variation it exhibits and the unique cultural features embedded in the contextualized use of this speech act. On the other hand, Turkish and American English display similarity in *topical* characteristics with some minor cross-cultural and intracultural (gender-based) differences. Although the *functions* of compliments are mostly alike, some prominent unique cultural elements such as the wish 'maşallah' to keep away from the evil eye and a noteworthy number of sarcastic compliments were identified. Contrary to the previous definition of compliments (as attributing the positive value to someone "other than the speaker" (Holmes, 1988)), in a considerable number of data samples, the focus of facework was on self-face support rather than other face-maintenance. The analysis of additional system of choices available (e.g. emoticons, Like buttons, etc.) to Facebook users and their combined use with verbal responses revealed that these new choices were predominantly preferred by complimentees. In this regard, the "Like" button will be discussed as a mild appreciation token in terms of im/politeness value.

All in all, new modes of communication brought about new aims, new strategies and multimodality in social interactions. Therefore, the (im)politeness value of this new language in use is a fruitful area to study and it shapes the main focus of this study.

Orienting to the other: Address terms and the intertwinement of face-work and interactional organization

Pepe Droste - *University of Münster*

People across the world recurrently use address terms, getting by in the small and big practicalities of everyday life. It has long been noticed that address terms are resources which allow us to manage social relations. While previous research has mostly emphasized the role of long-term relational concerns like people's social distance and relative power determining the use and selection of address terms (e.g. Brown and Ford 1961; Brown and Levinson 1987; Clyne et al. 2009), this paper puts at center stage social relations emerging in the moment-by-moment flow of social interaction. The paper analyzes the reflexive relationships between address terms amid other formal features of turn-design and the interactional contexts of their use. It focuses on the use of proper names as address terms in everyday informal interactions among speakers of German sampled from a diverse corpus of video recordings, and draws on methods from conversation analysis, interactional linguistics and multimodal analysis. The paper aims to contribute to our understanding of language and social relations by showing that practices of address are fundamentally shaped by orientation and sensitivity to the particular other that inextricably intertwines face-work and interactional organization.

Politeness strategies for disagreement at conflict resolution meetings in the multicultural workplace

Ping Du - *University of Nottingham Ningbo China*

This study aims to investigate patterns of politeness strategies employed by the Chinese and Western expatriate participants when expressing disagreement at conflict resolution meetings. The data includes audio recordings of meetings, interviews, emails, field notes and organizational documents, drawing on an ethnographic case study of conflict communication at a multicultural organization in Beijing China. There had been continuous conflicts and confrontation within the organization between the Chinese and expatriate middle managers when the data collection started, to the extent that four Chinese managers expressed the intention to quit their positions. The conflicts were mainly caused by difference in views of the organizational goals, professional values and practices, and styles of management and communication. To resolve this

management crisis, the Chinese CEO organized a number of problem-talk and problem-solving meetings ‘to enhance mutual understanding and trust through in-depth communication’ (CEO interview) among the middle managers. This paper will focus on how the participants from different cultural and professional backgrounds express disagreements in the process of negotiation of workplace goals and practices. This study converges with the discursive approach to politeness study and argues for an analytical approach beyond the utterance level by examining language use at different levels of the discourse with reference to the broader context such as the situational, inter-event and organizational contexts. The linguistic analysis of politeness strategies will focus on exploring the patterns and relational functions of the design of the speech act scheme (the hierarchical organization of speech acts in an extended piece of discourse), turn-taking and other interactive behaviours such as shared laughter, with reference to the degree of tension in the process of negotiation.

Can a form of address change society? – An exploration into politeness and class in Portugal

Rita Faria – *Portuguese Catholic University*

PANEL: *Politeness and Class (Convenor: K. Grainger)*

A recent 2017 study shows how, based on occupation, income and education, social mobility is practically inexistent in Portugal and considerably lower than the European Union average. In what remains a pivotal study of linguistic address in European Portuguese, Cintra (1986) points out how the myriad of forms of address in this language is somehow connected to a heavily stratified society.

European Portuguese linguistic address knows a range of pronominal and syntactical options which are part of the speaker’s pragmatic knowledge. As Oliveira (2003) elucidates, “unless the speakers have negotiated an address form relationship different from conventionalized norms, they must select the appropriate title for each situation”. This aspect of negotiation is crucial for an exploration of politeness and class as the Portuguese system of address has been shaken by the loss of the V form *vós* and by the introduction of the pronoun of address *você*. The latter is the object of clear social stigma by elite groups, illustrated by a popular saying which goes *você é moço de estrebaria* (loosely translated, *você is for people who work in a stable*). However, the usage of *você* seems to be clearly on the rise across media and between mutually unfamiliar participants, which begs the following questions – can *você* be heralded as a form of address used by certain (middle class or lower middle class) groups as a linguistic asset imposing more socially equalitarian relational work? And can we attribute a symbolic value to the rejection of this form by elite groups as a means to assert their social status?

The answer to these questions may reveal distinct concepts of politeness amongst different social groups and may indicate that the progressive usage of *você* is an actual

indication of more progressive social relations. We will attempt to answer these questions by looking at different usages of forms of address in the media and by the use of questionnaires.

A multifaceted framework of impoliteness for rapport management in face-to-face service encounters

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Noraini Ibrahim - *Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia*

Impoliteness is summarised as a face-aggravating behaviour in a particular context. In the context of service encounters, where customer sovereignty is still the prevalent philosophy, rapport management is vital for service quality. This is because impoliteness on the part of service providers would be unforgivable. This in-depth qualitative case study presents a multifaceted framework grounded in the perceptions of impoliteness of the service providers to explain how rapport is managed where hidden perceptions or latent impoliteness is concerned by identifying workplace emotions. It also describes the strategies employed to remain professional in the counter service interaction. Data were collected from service providers at the International Office (IO) of a Malaysian public university employing Hermeneutic Phenomenological to investigate perceptions of impoliteness that may not be evident in the counter service discourse. The instruments used were reflective written exercises, in-depth semi-structured interviews, and observation. Data were also triangulated using a questionnaire survey distributed to consenting international students. The findings showed that in the context of service encounters, the impoliteness perceived are not necessarily face aggravating or rapport-threatening behaviours as behaviours that hinder productivity are also seen as impolite. Furthermore, the strategies used by service providers depend on their personality, their work philosophy and their level of empathy. This study concludes that identifying the service providers' perceptions of impoliteness can assist in maximizing service quality and customer experiences through introducing interventions that can reduce service providers' impoliteness perceptions.

Impoliteness and creativity in the American late-night talk show *Real Time with Bill Maher*

Mariya Fedyna - *Ivan Franko National University of Lviv*

Impoliteness studies emerged as a new development in *linguistic pragmatics*, *interactional sociolinguistics* and *communication studies*, involving an explosion

of interdisciplinary and international research in the last couple of decades or more, on how people manage negativity in discourses.

In this study, we will explore the notion of *impoliteness* (Culpeper 2011) in the media discourse, namely American late-night political comedy show *Real Time with Bill Maher*. Moreover, we will analyze *figurative language* through which impoliteness is expressed, thus arguing that impolite language can be creative by means of figurative language (Carter 2004, Colston 2015, Dancygier and Sweetser 2014), at the same time opposing the idea of impoliteness being a debased form of language. Furthermore, we claim that impolite language can be used not only for anti-social purposes. Thus, we will try to show what pragmatic effects are achieved by such linguistic representation of impoliteness and what role creativity plays in figurative language usage for purposes of impoliteness.

Many studies have dealt with impoliteness. However, none of these studies focuses comprehensively on impoliteness in an attempt to prove its being verbally creative by means of figurative language.

This study follows some recent studies in *linguistic pragmatics* and *interactional sociolinguistics*, notably on impoliteness (Culpeper 1996, 2003, 2005, 2011, Bousfield 2008) and face-work (Goffman 1967, Brown and Levinson 1987), as well as studies in *cognitive linguistics*, particularly on figurative language (Carter 2004, Croft and Cruse 2004, Colston 2015, Dancygier and Sweetser 2014). Moreover, more general theory about pragmatic interpretation of meaning (Grice's conversational implicatures) is applied to the analysis of our data.

As yet relatively little attention has been paid to figurative language embedded in linguistic impoliteness, notably in American late-night talk show. This study therefore adds to the growing field of impoliteness as well as figurative language studies by examining the monologues of Bill Maher in *Real Time with Bill Maher*.

(Im)politeness in service encounters in Spain: hotel receptionists' point of view

Lucía Fernández-Amaya - *Universidad Pablo de Olavide*

Customer satisfaction in hotels has been measured by taking into account different aspects of the client's experience, such as the quality of the facilities, the food and the price, among others (Danaher and Mattsson, 1994; Han et al., 2016; Yung and Chan, 2001). Most of these aspects are manifest, but others are much more subtle and difficult to identify, as is the case with staff members' verbal and non-verbal communication styles (Blue and Harun, 2003; Bunzel, 2007; Cardoso, 2003; Leung and Lo, 1996; Sparks and Callan, 1992). As Czepiel (1990) indicates, customers are often incapable of distinguishing between the individual and the organisation: if an individual fails to provide an expected service, the organisation is also seen as having failed to satisfy the

customer's needs. In this context, the receptionist is probably the most important member of staff, since this person is not only the first that the customer meets upon arrival, but also the person who is consulted when there is a problem or doubt. However, there are few studies that analyse receptionists' opinion of their own performance when dealing with clients.

In this paper, receptionists' views regarding what they consider to be appropriate verbal and non-verbal behaviour in reception desk service encounters in Spain are analysed. The results show that a) the participants have very specific expectations regarding what constitutes appropriate receptionist behaviour and b) there appears to be a general preference for deference and independence politeness strategies and a focus on the transactional part of the conversation. Receptionists' preference for deference and independence over solidarity and involvement, in general terms, challenges prior research that identifies Spanish culture as a positive politeness culture. This demonstrates that the specific genre in which the interaction is taking place must be taken into account when drawing conclusions regarding (im)politeness or (in)appropriateness.

Discursive and cognitive dimensions of mitigation in advice

Carolina Figueras Bates - *Universitat de Barcelona*

PANEL: Social functions of pragmatic attenuation: politeness and impoliteness (Convenors: M. Albelda Marco & M. J. Barros García)

In the realm of discourse analysis, linguistic mitigation has been defined, in general terms, as a pragmatic operation of downgrading the interactional parameters directly related to facework. Beyond its linguistic and social dimensions, mitigation is also a cognitive phenomenon, linked to both expressions of politeness and reactions to stressors, such as blame or responsibility (Martinovski et al. 2005). Mitigation thus emerges as a dynamic appraisal process, in which cognitive procedures and linguistic mechanisms are mapped into each other to save face and to react in interaction (Martinovski et al. 2005). A predicted or expected face threat triggers an initial appraisal that generates certain emotions influencing the coping strategy to deal with the stressor. These coping strategies are projected into discourse through the linguistic mitigation moves interactionally construed. One suitable scenario to examine the deployment of mitigation is Internet support groups, where users discuss and look for advice when suffering from a health condition. Adopting the framework of relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995), the aim of the present qualitative study is to analyze the procedural role played by mitigation mechanisms when performing interactively the speech act of advice in a recovery forum for eating disorders. By focusing on the operations of giving advice and reacting to it, I explore the ways linguistic mitigation mechanisms trigger specific cognitive-domain processes of theory

of mind, emotion and epistemic vigilance, in order to discursively deal with the stressors of blame and attribution of responsibility in discourse.

Local moral order(s): A case study of conventionalised e-politeness in Japanese

Saeko Fukushima - *Tsuru University*

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This paper examines the moral order(s) (see Kádár 2017) and conventionalisation (see Terkourafi and Kádár 2017) of online interactional practices and politeness by providing a case-study in Japanese. Conventionalisation becomes expected/normative in certain interpersonal contexts. Engaging in such conventionalised interactional practices helps communities and societies to uphold their moral order (see Whutnow 1989). Conventionalisation is particularly important in the context of e-pragmatics, as groups of language users tend to engage in the conventionalisation of practices. We overview the phenomenon of the meta-conventionalisation, namely, the coding of the conventional interpersonal practices of a particular group, or various groups, in the form of entertainment as films and novels, of interpersonal practices in the context of computer-mediated communication. Meta-conventionalisation has been an understudied phenomenon, in spite of representing an important aspect of our daily lives. We illustrate how this phenomenon operates by examining a Japanese popular novel, *Densha otoko* ('Trainman'), which features the online interactions of a group of otaku, that is, asocial young people who lock themselves up and interact in highly specific ways.

We analysed the data in *Densha otoko* to capture recurrent features in the interactions of the otaku community. The results show that otaku interactional style has distinctive features, such as the use of abbreviations, intentional typos, intentional variation in the inflectional endings of imperatives, *kanji* (Chinese characters) puns, unique and intentionally agrammatic ways of describing past tense, alphabets in combination with Japanese phonetic scripts, pictographs/face marks/ASCII arts, meaningless words/letters. Some of these features are depicted as Channel 2 interactions in some previous studies (see e.g. Nishimura 2003). These styles are used to index wish to align with other group members hence recruiting solidarity, to mitigate potential offenses and to reinforce in-group solidarity (Kádár 2013).

Modelling the Chilean Spanish address system from an interdisciplinary perspective on im/politeness: morpho-syntax, pragmatics and socio-linguistics

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Modern Chilean Spanish displays a five-way pronominal address system towards a single addressee (cf. (1) to (3); the polite form is (3)):

- (1) tú_{2sg}duermes_{2sg} (= tuteo)
- (2a) vos_{2pl}duermes_{2sg} (= pronominal voseo)
- (2b) tú_{2sg} dormíh_{2pl} (= verbal voseo)
- (2c) vos_{2pl}dormíh_{2pl} (= pure voseo)
- (3) usted_{3sg} duerme_{sg} (= ustedeo; marked for politeness)
'You (Sg.) sleep'

Remarkable efforts have been done to investigate the Chilean address system from a sociolinguistic perspective: cf. especially Torrejón (1991), Kluge (2005) and Rivadeneira (2016). A grammatical analysis is Gaglia (in prep.) who models the free variation of pronouns and verb forms in (1) and (2a-c) in terms of morpho-syntactic agreement. Of course, the system shown above is by no means exclusively grammatical but there are strong restrictions with respect to socio-linguistic and pragmatic factors. Within the present talk we claim that for Chilean Spanish pragmatic agreement must be considered as a second level of agreement besides morpho-syntactic agreement. While morpho-syntactic agreement deals with grammatical features, the domain of pragmatic agreement depends on the socio-pragmatic context of an utterance (cf. Pollard & Sag 1994, among others). On the grounds of the contexts identified by Rivadeneira (2016) with respect to the Chilean address system and the analysis in the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG; cf. Kaplan & Bresnan 1982) by Arka (2005) for Balinese, who adds a prag(matic)-structure to the levels of linguistic description (the traditional LFG-architecture displays only the levels of c(onstituent)-, f(unctional) and s(emantic)-structure besides the lexicon), we show that pronominal voseo and pure voseo are usually banned by the Chilean middle class because of pragmatic agreement restrictions between the pronoun vos and a verb in the sense of social predicates (e.g. *inferior/superior, old/young*) and im/politeness conditions on the context.

Educational complex “Hanyu jiaocheng” and politeness teaching at the first year studying Chinese in Kazan Federal University

Svetlana Yurievna Glushkova - *Kazan Federal University*

The past ten years have seen a huge increase in the extent of cultural exchanges and business cooperation between the Chinese and Russian. Researches found out that study of cultural differences became very important. Clarification of the differences and similarities between the cultures with regard to traditional ideas, values, beliefs and behavior in order to prevent failures in intercultural communication started to be the point of big discussions. In intercultural communication, politeness could be studied from sociolinguistics, psychology and pragmatics. All this made to increase communicative competence of the speakers in intercultural communication.

The study explores the presentation of politeness in education complex 汉语教程第一册上, 下 that we used for students of first year study in Kazan Federal University. Teaching and studying Chinese at the beginning considered in comparison of politeness use between Russian and Chinese languages. The study focuses on how politeness represented in education complex. How cultural differences in politeness represented in it. Also data emphasizes the advantages and disadvantages that we found out during use of this complex. Our attention is drawn at lexical constructions, grammatical features and syntactical peculiarities of language that authors of the education complex give and we consider them as polite.

Often when discuss politeness researches represent it like relation of the concept of face, namely the image speakers have and wish to project for themselves. When studying Chinese we often point out that the face, saving of the face are very important for the Asian people at all, and the leader are not acceptance. It is the aspect of their culture and collectivistic society. Politeness related to the culture and it is important to mention that what is said, how is said and how many are representation of cultural differences, different habits and rules. Liang Jinghong, Dániel Z. Kádár, Jonathan Culpeper, and others mentioned it many times.

Therefore, politeness is an important element of intercultural communication and a unique instrument. Students when started learning new language they should absorb the cultural aspects of politeness in order to be an educated person in intercultural communication, be able to form a specific image in the eyes of society. Politeness helps to establish harmonious interpersonal relationships. Therefore, it is important to emphasize politeness features in teaching process.

How polite is non-standard English?

Karen Grainger - *Sheffield Hallam University*

PANEL: *Politeness and Class (Convenor: K. Grainger)*

First-order discourses on politeness would suggest that politeness is largely regarded, at an ideological level, as the preserve of women and the middle-classes (Mills 2017). For example, a recent UK government poll found that white working class men are regarded by the majority of British people as rude. Furthermore, recent research into attitudes towards youth 'slang' suggests that it is perceived as a challenge to authority and therefore the variety itself is treated as the opposite of conventional definitions of politeness (Gates and Ilbury 2017). On the other hand, there is also evidence to suggest that British working-class people value language that reinforces social bonds and may eschew distancing politeness practices (negative politeness) as being unfriendly.

This paper seeks to explore these attitudes to politeness and in particular the relationship between non-standard language usage and so-called 'politeness'. I will be discussing this issue from 2 angles: firstly, from the perspective of how speakers of non-standard varieties view their own usage and whether they would regard it as polite, and secondly from the perspective of the dominant discourse on standards of politeness among the British working-class. I will report on the findings of focus groups of young working-class people talking about their attitudes to politeness as well as presenting examples of the current dominant discourses of British working-class language that can be seen in the British media.

“I might as well keep your money!”: Analysing im/polite linguistic strategies in credit control negotiations

Leigh Harrington - *University of Nottingham*

In this paper, I will demonstrate how im/politeness research can be effectively synthesised with the study of organisational discourse, as well as organisational infrastructure and culture. By drawing on a corpus of 100 authentic credit control telephone calls, I will investigate the im/polite linguistic strategies that a credit controller at a UK-based credit union uses to recover missed loan repayments from the credit union's members.

Credit unions are cooperatively-owned, not-for-profit enterprises, which provide financial products to adults, especially those who cannot access traditional lending services. The cooperative and ethical ethos of credit unions means their relationships with their members whose loans are in arrears are bound up in a uniquely complex nexus of face-concerns, obligation, power, and persuasion. Hence, the credit control

interactions they initiate with those indebted members provide compelling sites for im/politeness research.

Employing a first-order informed, second-order approach to im/politeness (Archer and Jagodzinski 2015), the analysis illustrates how the credit controller employs conditional face-threats and acts of conditional face-protection with persuasive intent, and uses immediate or deferred face-enhancing behaviour to incentivise member repayment. The members' responses to these strategies, such as using face-threatening behaviour to resist face-incentives, and the instrumental use of damaging their own face, are also addressed.

The paper highlights that the understanding of everyday, understated “manifestations of impoliteness” and politeness, and their responses in authentic credit control interactions can be used to develop and refine existing models of responses to impoliteness (e.g. Bousfield 2007) so that they reflect the strategic performances of im/polite behaviour, and their potential effects, in real-life contexts (Mueller Dobs and Garces-Conejos Blitvich 2013: 114). I reveal how the cooperative, ethical organisational make-up of credit unions may permeate its staff's use of im/politeness when interacting with members.

“Pass the fucking screwdriver”: Requests and “(im)politeness” amongst blue collar Australians

Michael Haugh - *University of Queensland*

Lara Weinglass - *University of Queensland*

PANEL: *Politeness and Class (Convenor: K. Grainger)*

Politeness is stereotypically associated with middle-class speaker norms (Allan 2016; Mills 2004), and for that reason has been argued to constitute a form of social capital by politeness researchers (Mills 2009). Requests are a case in point. It is claimed that requests - in English at least - are frequently treated as dispreferred firsts (Schegloff 2007), and that “politeness” formulae such as “I was wondering if...” can be used to indicate a lower degree of entitlement to be making a request (Curl and Drew 2008), or to decrease the perceived degree of threat to “negative face” (Brown and Levinson 1987). However, such findings are based on interactions collected from speakers who for the most part would likely identify themselves as middle class (Haugh and Schneider 2012). Indeed, in many, if not most studies of requests, the social class of the speakers making the requests is not considered. As Mills (2017) points out, then, it remains an open question just how speakers of English who do not readily identify themselves with middle-class norms fit their requests to particular locally situated contexts.

In this paper, in order to broaden our analytical and theoretical lens, I examine instances of requests identified in everyday interactions amongst “blue collar” Australians, that is, Australian speakers of English who are colloquially known as “tradies”. I hypothesise that such speakers indicate a high level of entitlement to be making a request through bald imperatives, sometimes accompanied by swearing, while a lower level of entitlement is indicated through “can you”-type modals. I propose that not only do “blue collar” Australians distinguish between different levels of entitlement in the design of requests, but that they demonstrate awareness that such distinctions are unlikely to sound “polite” to a middle-class ear through instances of self-repair that arise when such speakers are orienting to the (potential) presence of middle-class over-hearers. However, I caution against essentialist views of social class vis-à-vis “politeness” in suggesting that ultimately what counts as a “blue collar” request is not so much a function of the socioeconomic status of the person making that request, but rather that making requests in those ways constitutes a dynamic, locally situated claim to a particular class (and likely gendered) identity.

Applied (im)politeness research: How (im)politeness studies could inform teaching and learning Chinese as a foreign language

Yun He - Independent researcher from University of Huddersfield

This presentation reports on the preliminary results of an ongoing project that explores the way in which (im)politeness studies can inform and be informed by research on teaching and learning Chinese as a foreign language (TLCFL). I will start by providing an overview of how (im)politeness phenomena are presented and explained in various materials including textbooks and pedagogical grammars. It will be shown that a notable shared feature is their implicit adoption of the modern approach to (im)politeness, the weaknesses of which include, among others, its static view of culture, assumption of more or less direct link between linguistic structure and (im)politeness, and its conceptual bias toward speech production. Following discursive politeness theorists such as Eelen (2001), Watts (2003), Culpeper (2011) and Mills (2011), I will argue that the linguistic expressions or utterances labelled ‘polite’ or ‘appropriate’ in these materials may differ from or even contradict participants’ perception in interaction and hence the materials may consequently turn out to be ineffective or even misleading for teaching and/or learning the language in question.

As a case study, I will illustrate this by evaluating the six-volume *New practical Chinese reader* (NPCR) (Liu *et al.* 2003), which is believed to be the most widely used TLCCFL textbook series currently available in the market. The evaluation will focus on invitation, gift-giving and compliment responses presented as politeness phenomena in NPCR. I will show in detail that despite the use of ‘culturally authentic materials’ (Liu *et al.* 2003:6) in the textbooks the pragmalinguistic devices and interactional structure used to realize these speech events are extremely limited in comparison with empirical

studies (Mao 1992; Zhu *et al.* 2000; Spencer-Oatey & Ng 2001; Yuan 2001; He 2012; Zhuang 2017). Moreover, little or no mention is made of the variation of ‘politeness’ strategies, variation across individuals and contexts, and the dynamic aspect of culture although the textbooks aim to ‘cultivate the learner’s communicative ability’ and ‘emphasize the communicative function’ of language structure (Liu *et al.* 2003: V) As a result, I will argue, these materials do not appear to be effective to develop learners’ pragmalinguistic competence, let along their sociopragmatic ability. Thus, TLCCFL materials development should draw insights from theoretical and empirical politeness research.

When traveller’s expectations are not met: dispraise and criticism in Airbnb online consumer reviews

María de la O Hernández-López - *Universidad Pablo de Olavide*

The last few years have witnessed an increasing preference for travellers to take part of sharing economy platforms, such as Airbnb, “a social website that connects people who have space to spare with those who are looking for a place to stay”, with emphasis on those interested in having a “personal, meaningful experience” (Airbnb website). In this sense, this emerging trend in tourism is halfway between social media and travel accommodation websites, and makes interaction and sociability the core of its existence. As a consequence, users pay special attention to the way their comments are expressed in the reviews they post. However, while research has highlighted Airbnb’s positivity bias in the online reviews users post on the website (Bridges and Vásquez 2016; Hernández-López 2018), there are no studies that explore user’s dissatisfaction in the said platform to date.

With this in mind, this study aims to examine 60 lukewarm or negative reviews from an illocutionary and stylistic perspective in order to, first, understand what aspects of the experience make *airbnbers* feel dissatisfied; second, whether relational aspects of the experience make an impact on (dis)satisfaction; and third, how rapport (Spencer-Oatey 2000, 2008) is managed in reviews containing at least one neutral or negative comment. The results show that, even though dispraise and criticism are rapport challengers, a great amount of users tried to keep the positivity bias, with attempts to maintain or even enhance rapport by means of mitigation, vagueness, humour and other compensatory strategies that make the message subtle and, on some occasions, difficult to interpret as negative. With the analysis of this under-researched genre, this study intends to bring to the fore the function of rapport in Airbnb negative evaluations so as to gain knowledge of how users post their comments when face, relational issues and personal experience are central.

Thai honorifics as a negotiated politeness system

Songthama Intachakra - *Thammasat University*

Thai is often considered a language with a complex honorific system (e.g. Shibatani, 1998; Ide, 2005), yet there has been a paucity of research into the characterisation and extent of the systematicity of Thai honorifics. Many scholars (e.g. Cook, 2011; Hudson, 2011) set out with the pre-conception that some language forms are examples of addressee honorifics whilst others are in the realm of referent honorifics (see Comrie, 1976). However, this dichotomy is not adequate for describing Thai honorifics, since a more contextualised approach reveals a highly fluid phenomenon beyond a straightforward one-to-one form-function correspondence. In this paper, politeness¹ and politeness² assessments of socially sanctioned honorifics in Thai will be discussed. I put forward the hypothesis that multifunctionality and flexible order of linguistic tokens are a powerful force that drives the dynamics of Thai honorifics. In order to grasp a clear picture of how the Thai honorific system works, I contend that usage conventions of each type of honorifics (e.g. gender-preferential particles, verbs, nouns, personal pronouns, titles, routine formulae, etc.) need to be scrutinised separately, prior to moving on to considering cases where these language items are deployed as politeness-marking devices (addressee honorifics) or markers of deference (referent honorifics) (cf. Brown, 2015: 44-45), as well as how both functions are manipulated at the same time.

Online peer enhancement: Exploring the use of compliments as other-deprecation resources in a conflict community

Ester Iyanga-Mambo - *Universitat de València*

The participation of active users in YouTube comments sections allow the formation of a social collective with shared social, communicative rules and organisation, also known as a community of practice (cf. inter alia Wenger 1998, Cox 2005, Pihlaja 2012 and Bedijs, Held and Maaß 2014:20). In this way, individuals virtually interact in a polylogue (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2004; Marcoccia 2004; Lewinski 2011; Lorenzo-Dus et al., 2011; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2010 and Bou-Franch et al., 2012) to express their reactions after watching mutual audiovisual content. Active users with different background are gathered in the same communicative setting because of their shared interest, that is, the content created by the same online content creator. Thus, these environments acquire a social media dimension due to the consistent interaction among e-commentators who gradually undergo a process of self-disclosure and self-organisation up to the point that a collective with a group identity is developed (Bedijs, Held and Maaß 2014:11). Nonetheless, like in any other online and offline interactional context, conflict within a group identity might emerge (Angouri and Tselinga 2010) as well as when two collectives with a different understanding of face work meet in the

same conversational situation which might lead to conflicted faces, (Bou-Franch and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2014). However, even when online environments have given way to an increase in impoliteness as many studies have proven (cf. inter alia Thaler 2014; Helfrich 2014 and Pihlaja 2012), no much research has been focused on the use of politeness, that is, face-enhancing acts (FEAs) such as compliments in these encounters. Then, starting from the premise that a compliment (Holmes 1986: 448; Holmes 1988: 446, 1995: 117) “is a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some 'good' (possession, characteristic, skill etc.) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer”, I defend that in conflicts FEAs can be used as face-attacking resources (cf. also Bedijs 2014). Following previous research (Bedijs 2014) on the different types of compliments or FEAs that can be found in YouTube comments section, my analysis aims at providing a better understanding of FEAs employed by followers of a specific video blogger with celebrity status or ‘micro-celebrities’ (Marwick 2015) through a qualitative examination of two conflict situations which take place in the comments section of videos produced by online embodied video bloggers. As a result of a thorough study as well as the comprehension of the nature of the different types of compliments, this preliminary approach allows the identification of FEAs as self-defending and peer enhancement strategies utilised by commentators in a community of practice to enhance their online celebrity face and damage the attackers’ face. The main findings prove that some usages of intentional impoliteness can lead to peer enhancement to attenuate the attackers’ intentions.

“A U.S green card, available to be exchanged for a second-hand motorbike”

Pragmatic analysis of Iranians’ social network reactions to Donald Trump

Arash Javadinejad - *Universitat de València*

Recent research has focused on aspects of identity/face negotiation and (im)politeness in different online platforms (Joseph 2013, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013, Bou-Franch and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2014, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou 2017). Moreover, these concepts have also found their way into the research on political exchanges (Tracy 2017). In this presentation, I investigate such aspects through the concept of collective identity. Proposed by Melucci (1989), collective identity has been a point of reference in different branches of social sciences. Snow (2001) developed the concept into its expressive forms that proves its usefulness in the study of social movements (Polletta and Jasper 2001). Collective identity in this sense is similar to that of social/group identity (Van Dijk 1997, 2015) but, as Snow (2001) argues, “it has an action oriented” component. This study is aimed at studying impoliteness in Iranians’ reactions to a Donald Trump’s post about Iran in Instagram. Iranian/Persian identity construction has recently become the subject of discursive analysis (KhosraviNik and Zia 2014, KhosraviNik and Sarkhou 2017) but more research is needed as the

expression of Iranian identity in the form of “social media raids” to celebrity pages is becoming more and more frequent. The most recent example of this, an Instagram post by Donald Trump about Iran, hit the record as it triggered more than 4 million bilingual comments (the corpus of this study). A combination of qualitative and quantitative (collocation, Ngram and cluster tools) analysis based on Baker et al’s model (2008) will be carried out to identify how (im)politeness is used to express and negotiate collective Iranian identity in the data with a focus on differences that could be observed between Persian and English comments.

Neo-economy principle in politeness: A case of Chinese online forum requests

Mian Jia - *Beihang University*

The study of linguistic politeness has gained momentum since the introduction of Brown and Levinson’s universal model of politeness strategy. Despite some cross-cultural counterexamples and theoretical objections from the Post-modernist scholars, their theory remains to be the most influential model for its wide applicability, especially compared to the explanatory inadequacy of the Post-modernist approaches. While B&L’s tripartite of Power, Distance, and Ranking of imposition explains the employment of the five super-strategies, it is insufficient to account for the uneven choices of individual output strategies evidenced cross-culturally.

Taking Chinese online forum requests as a case study, this paper ascribes the variation of output strategies to language economy and attempts to explain it with Xiang’s Neo-economy Principle. The data are extracted from two Chinese online forums: *Buaabt* and *Corpus4u*. Applying B&L’s framework, we map out the politeness strategies realized in our data and explicate the rationale of employing different output strategies with the Neo-economy Principle.

Our study has yielded three findings. First, it identifies 13 output strategies with some unique polite expressions engendered in Chinese cyberspace, affirming its general applicability of B&L’s model in Chinese online setting. Second, our data show a predilection for using more positive than negative politeness strategies, which is the results of the four salient characteristics of online communication: asynchronicity, anonymity, task-orientation, and longevity. As for their face sensitivity, posters have strong concerns for hearers’ positive face, some foci on their negative face, and very little consideration for their own positive and negative face. Third, we find that the most used output strategies are truncated or conventionalized polite expressions as well as cyberspeak. These findings conform to the observatory maxims postulated in Xiang’s Neo-economy Principle. Therefore, it proves that this principle has strong explanatory power in politeness studies and can compensate the inadequacy of B&L’s. Future studies could be carried out to explore the applicability of the Neo-economy Principle in wider contexts.

The discourse of im/politeness in eighteenth-century English literature

Andreas H. Jucker - *University of Zurich*

Politeness, impoliteness and related concepts are subject to both cultural and historical variation. This is particularly obvious when we look at how people in specific cultures and in specific historical contexts talk about such concepts. The eighteenth-century in England is often called the age of politeness, and indeed it has been argued that politeness at that time was an ideology closely related to the increasingly porous class boundaries. While higher social classes maintained politeness as a distinguishing criterion to separate themselves from lower levels of society, lower levels insisted on high standards of moral behaviour of which they often found the higher levels lacking. In this presentation, I want to substantiate these claims with a detailed analysis of the discourse of im/politeness as represented in the literature of the time. My examples are drawn from plays (Richard Steele's sentimental comedy "The Conscious Lovers", 1722; and George Lillo's domestic tragedy "The London Merchant, or the History of George Barnwell", 1731) and from epistolary novels (Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, 1740, and *Clarissa*, 1747/48; and Frances Burney's *Evelina*, 1778). Literary texts are complex communicative acts with an extradiegetic level (the author communicates to his or her readers) and possibly several intradiegetic levels. My analysis will show that issues of im/politeness can be detected on all these levels. Prefatory material of the plays makes it abundantly clear that authors had distinct didactic intentions with their works and wanted to educate their audiences with the example of polite and less polite characters. The epistolary novels, which focus on psychological processes and descriptions of characters, rather than events and actions, and are related to conduct books and letter writing guides, regularly contrast middle class virtues with aristocratic licentiousness and, thus, also have a strong educational and moralising impact.

Preference for noticings and beforehand apologies to withhold the complainable

Eleni Karafoti - *National and Kapodistrian University of Athens*

In terms of politeness research, complaints are characterized as 'face threatening acts' (i.e. Brown & Levinson, 1987, Kraft & Geluykens, 2002) and the main focus of analysis contains mitigation strategies for the teller of the complaint or description of the ways a recipient of a complaint acts. Furthermore, the fact that complaints are contextually-sensitive and contextually-embedded (Edwards, 2005), indicates that the interpretation and recognition of a complaint is very much contingent on its discourse context. This tricky nature of the complaint sequences has led to different categorization, one of

which is the distinction between direct and indirect complaints. Direct complaints, concern cases where the recipient is one of the participants of the on-going conversation (cf. Dersley & Wootton 2000) and indirect complaints, refer to cases where non-participants or facts that are not relevant with conversation are addressed (cf. Drew 1998). The core difference between them is, as Curl et al. (2002) underline, the level of their performed affiliate nature and since there might be a clue of accusation a complaint the level that complaints hold the recipient accountable (Sacks 1995: 90-91).

The present paper by adopting a conversation analytic perspective aims at studying direct complaints in ordinary conversation, in order to describe the turn-by-turn construction and management of a complaint sequence. More specifically, the data of the study consist of 20 audio-recorded conversations between friends and relatives and the main focus of the paper is on instances where the participants themselves reveal their understanding not only in the structural features of a complaint sequence but also of the social function of the ongoing act. Moreover, the study addresses the focus on mitigation and accounting practices of a complainee/complainer respectively, by paying particular attention on noticings and beforehand apologies used from the participants to withhold the appearance of disaffiliative complaint for the co-participants. With this practice, the candidate recipient of the complaint and not the assumed complainer mitigates the impact of accountability by overriding the appearance of a complaint

The superior as a *taboo* entity: Systemic metaphor in Japanese honorifics

Alan Hyun-oak Kim - *Southern Illinois University Carbondale*

This paper argues that the system of Japanese honorifics operates on the basis of a metaphoric premise: Superior (with respect to a subordinate speaker) is a *taboo* entity. In this premise, the speaker (subordinate)'s superior is conceived of as a supernatural being, and such a person is able to do anything at will with no effort - allegorically, the superior's action occurs spontaneously. In contrast, the subordinate speaker provides maximal service for the well-being of the superior. In fact, native speakers of Japanese do apply grammatical means congruent to the premise: inchoation for Subject Honorification with the full intransitive verb *nar-u* 'become,' and inchoative suffix like *-ar*; whereas for Object Honorification with the transitive verb *su-ru* semantically representing maximal voluntary servitude toward the superior. Given un-made non-honorific sentences like *Sensei-ga sinbun-o yom-u* 'My teacher reads a newspaper (SH) and *Watasi-ga simbun-o yom-u* 'I read newspapers for my teacher' (OH) would be modified as in (1) and (2), respectively.

(1) Subject Honorification

- a. *Sensei-ga sinbun-o yom-ar-e-ru*

- (i) ‘My teacher honorably reads newspapers’
- (ii) ‘My teacher does honorably his reading of newspapers’ (Literal reading)
- b. Sensei-ga sinbun-o o-yom-i nas-**ar**-u
 - (i) ‘My teacher honorably reads newspapers’
 - (ii) ‘My teacher does his honorable reading of newspapers’ (Literal reading)
- c. Sensei-ga sinbun-o o-yom-i-ni **nar**-u
 - (i) ‘My teacher honorably reads newspapers’
 - (ii) ‘My teacher becomes in the state of reading newspaper’ (Literal reading)

(2) Object Honorification

- a. Watasi-ga sinbun-o o-yom-i **su**-ru
 - (i) ‘I humbly read newspapers for my teacher (at his hospital bedside)’
 - (ii) ‘I do newspaper reading for my teacher (at his hospital bedside)’ (Literal reading)

The morpheme *-ar* in (1a) and (1b) is an inchoative verbal suffix that turns the verb phrase ‘reads newspapers’ to ‘does the honorable action of reading newspapers.’ Alternatively, as shown in (1c), a full intransitive (unaccusative) verb *nar-u* ‘become’ may be chosen. In OH, in contrast, the subordinate speaker’s action is represented by the typical transitive verb *su-ru* as a token of the maximal service for the well-being of the *taboo* superior.

Is this Kangnam Style? A metapragmatic analysis on politeness evaluations with CMC data

Hyunji Kim - *University of Oregon*

Whereas very early politeness studies tend to analyze utterance-level data from the perspective of an observer or analyst, in the last 20 years, a large volume of research on politeness has employed naturally-occurring interactions and evaluations about politeness-related phenomenon as its data. Specifically, with the rapid development of technology, computer-mediated communication (CMC) has emerged as the source for analyzing politeness evaluations (Kádár & Haugh, 2013). Following this trend, the present study uses online comments of a Korean celebrity, a half-Japanese singer, whose name is Kangnam. This study focuses on evaluations related to this public figure’s successive controversial remarks in two different Korean entertainment shows and his subsequent apology on SNS. In the first show, Kangnam said “If I were asked to beat her up, I would” in response to a question about the possibility of a romantic

relationship with his female colleague. In another show, he posed several problematic questions to his African friend from Ghana such as “Is there television in Ghana?”, “Are there public and cable TV stations?” and the like. He later posted an apology when his remarks caused a serious public outcry. Online comments written in Korean, Japanese, and English are used to investigate the influence of Kangnam’s cross-cultural identity. The metapragmatic approach, which involves the reflexive awareness on the part of participants and observers of interaction about the ways in which language is used (Kádár & Haugh, 2013), is adopted in this study. In order to understand how Kangnam’s behavior is evaluated, this research examines specific terms or expressions repeatedly used to describe Kangnam’s verbal and nonverbal behavior in online comments. The result of analysis on Korean evaluative terms reveals that the general assessment of Kangnam’s behavior is negative; his remarks were commonly found ‘rude’, ‘ignorant’, ‘thoughtless’, ‘uneducated’ and the like. The analysis of referential terms related to Kangnam across three languages imply that politeness-related evaluations are influenced by the perceived identity of the referent; on one hand, the Japanese identity of Kangnam was exclusively emphasized in the Korean and Japanese data, although his Japanese identity was not negatively evaluated by Japanese commenters whereas it was by Koreans. On the other hand, English commenters most frequently referred to Kangnam as *oppa* which literally means ‘older brother’ but used to express ‘romantic attraction’ by K-pop fangirls (Brown, 2013: 18), i.e. Kangnam’s Korean identity received more emphasis in the English data. In addition to Kangnam’s cultural identities, there were comments in the Korean and English data related to his other identities as a broadcaster and adult who is expected to be aware of socially sensitive topics. In sum, the results indicate that politeness-related evaluations are dependent upon the moral order of the specific community the evaluators are part of.

Korean disjunctive generalizers or something: From polite hedging to negative stance marking with cross-linguistic comparisons

Minju Kim - *Claremont McKenna College*

Using a natural conversation corpus (142 audio-recorded conversations from CallFriends and the Sejong Project), this study examines the interpersonal functions of Korean disjunctive generalizers (translatable as ‘or something’) such as *tunci ha* (or do) and *kena ha* (or do), comparing them with Japanese *tari suru* (or do) and English *or something*. They are all derived from listing constructions; when listing only one item, they can imply a vague category of one item (hence, “generalizers”). In verb-final Korean and Japanese, general ‘do’ verbs come at the end whereas in English, it is the general pronoun *something*.

Studies on *or something* and *tari suru* demonstrate they can express tentativeness and hedging. Suzuki (1998, 2008) argue that these hedging (negative politeness) expressions, ironically, can convey trivializing or contemptuous feelings in some

context because their non-specification implies the speaker's non-committal, and hence negative attitude toward the combined referent.

In Korean, although both *tunci* and *kena* generalizers can express vague category, tentativeness and hedging, only *tunci* generalizers can express negative feelings. In my data, 61% of the *kena* generalizers (total 28) are negated whereas none of the *tunci* generalizers (total 31) are. *Kena* generalizers mostly attenuate potentially face-threatening assessments or facts by negating an ideal (e.g. *this play was not quite perfect*). *Tunci* generalizers also frequently occur in making suggestions in a non-imposing manner. Speakers' negative feeling became conventionalized in those contexts where suggesting a solution that is obvious but has *not* been tried. Further extended, speakers can use this to state a solution to their own problem to express their upset feeling.

This study reiterates the importance of examining language change within contexts of use (Bybee 2010). Even when *kena* generalizers are suspected to carry a negative connotation, it results from its frequent use as a hedge in dispreferred contexts rather than conceptual shifts that Suzuki argues.

Effects of audience and L2 proficiency on L2 learners' pragmatic choices when writing emails

Ibtissem Knouzi - *University of Toronto*

Khaled Barkaoui - *York University*

Successful written communication in a second language (L2) depends on mastery of the L2 grammatical and discourse conventions as well as the socio-pragmatic and sociolinguistic norms assumed/expected by the interlocutor. L2 learners' misunderstanding of these norms may lead to communication breakdowns and/or offensive exchanges. However, there is little research on the pragmatic choices of L2 learners when writing in L2. This study starts to address this gap by examining L2 learners' realization of a face-threatening directive speech act, making a suggestion, when composing emails to different audiences.

Each of 16 L2 learners at two levels of English language proficiency (low and high) wrote four emails to audiences that differ in terms of their familiarity and power status relative to the writer suggesting solutions for a given problem. Each participant then watched a video recording of their writing session and provided stimulated recalls about what they were thinking while writing each email.

Using a taxonomy developed by Martinez-Flor (2005), each of the emails ($N= 64$) was analysed in terms of the frequency, directness, and type of suggestions made as well as the politeness strategies and redressive forms used. Devices used to mitigate the imposition of the suggestions as well as examples of impoliteness (e.g., threats) were

also identified. The stimulated recalls were analyzed in terms of participants' explanations of their pragmatic choices while writing. The results were then compared across audiences and proficiency levels. The findings and their implications for the teaching and assessment of L2 writing and pragmatics will be discussed.

Twitter on the RAE: Frames of (im)politeness

Dale Koike - *University of Texas at Austin*

Gloria Pérez Cejudo - *University of Texas at Austin*

One form of advanced computer-mediated technologies (Herring & Androutsopoulos 2015) is that of *Twitter*. One can send 'tweets', or any short of expression of their thoughts and information, by merely being a recognized user of the site and posting online, at any time of the day. One can also follow other users' tweets. We examine here the posting and responses to posts. Specifically, we look at interaction from 20 threads of about 7 tweets or more posted to the website of the Real Academia Española, regarded as the leading authority concerning what is 'correct' or not in Spanish language.

Our tweet data reflect those that convey a negative illocutionary force of disagreement, complaints, displeasure and even insults in speech act sequences (one or most posts followed by others reacting to them), largely in reaction to a RAE representative who posts something regarding what is acceptable or not in Spanish. Looking at these acts via a framework of discourse frames (e.g. Bedanrek 2005; Terkourafi 2005), we argue that tweets illustrate how a definite illocutionary force from the point of view of the viewer cannot be determined, simply because the force is relative to each individual. Each person's interaction expectations, culminating from a lifetime of experiences, knowledge, and personality traits, shape the way the illocutionary force of these utterances is understood and reacted to (Koike 2012; 2017). For that reason, participants may have different reactions to a given post. We argue that a frames-based approach provides more explanatory and descriptive power to show how idiosyncratic (im) politeness readings can be obtained.

Impoliteness in computer-mediated communication: Deconstructing corporate and PR social media crises on Twitter

Aleksandra Kosla - *University of Vienna*

The goal of this project is to categorize impoliteness strategies in Twitter communication. What makes this project difficult is the fact that language of social media is multifaceted and engages a variety of semiotic resources such as hashtags,

memes, gifs, etc. necessary for meaning making. According to Culpeper, “naturally occurring impoliteness is relatively rare” (2011: 9) but social media crises provide is with this exceptional possibility to collect this kind of data for analysis. For the purposes of this project a total of 18 293 tweets that were posted in 50 different instances of social media crises were collected. The data will be analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Data will be analysed by means of Herring’s (2013) CMDA framework and appraisal theory. Appraisal theory states that expressing feelings in language is institutionalized by a society and can be categorized in the system of affect, appreciation and judgement (Martin & White 2005: 45). Grouping data in those systems will reveal which strategies are used in computer-mediated communication and will be useful for building a more detailed model of impolite communication strategies. Preliminary results of the project suggest that there is a correlation between the severity of a social media crisis (and the reason why it happened) with the kind of tweets Twitter users post. Additionally, sarcasm, irony and humour seem to play a bigger than expected role in impolite communication.

Dealing with disagreement: Politically influenced impoliteness in news interviews

Clelia LaMonica - Stockholm University

Strategic use of rhetoric, and “playing at semantics” is often performed within political discourse, either manipulated by one party or the other to frame and control the discussion or debate (Lakoff, 2004). This strategy is widely used on political talk shows and in the news, but spoken political discourse can also be investigated in a more detailed light within the realm of conversational analysis and impoliteness, especially when examining interviews. The way in which interviewers begin and frame the conversation, especially when confronted with a party they will likely disagree with, plays a large part in forming a desired image of the interviewee. This study, therefore, examines news-related discourse on American political TV shows. A detailed conversational analysis is used to investigate this topic, building off of Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness and face theory, Grice’s (1975) conversational maxims, and Culpeper’s (2011) research into impoliteness. The data is composed of transcribed excerpts from television news-show interviews involving two parties: the network-appointed interviewer (and singular host of a show), and an interviewee. Two excerpts of interviews are provided as examples, each from separate networks. Instances of impoliteness will be highlighted, and observations on the analysis of each conversation’s structure are made. Finally, similarities between the interviews’ use of impoliteness for framing purposes are addressed. The results suggest that timing plays a role— impoliteness may be used early-on in the interview to rile an interviewee and ultimately discredit their argument by putting them on unequal standing.

Impolite questions during Chinese New Year festive visitations in Singapore

Cher Leng Lee - National University of Singapore

This paper examines the impolite questions during Chinese New Year festive visitations to relatives' and friends' home in Singapore. Research questions addressed are: What are the impolite questions in the context of traditional Chinese New Year in globalized Singapore? What are the responses to these questions? What do these show about the conflict of Chinese traditions in globalized Singapore? The differences between the older and the younger generation in globalized nations?

This research will adopt the ethnographic method in collecting and analyzing data. Chinese New Year is the most important festive season for Chinese in Singapore. University students are asked to observe and write down impolite questions when they go for Chinese New Year visitations to the homes of friends and families (Lee 2009). About 400 students took part in this exercise which is one of the tutorial topics of a class. 100 students whose recordings are more complete are chosen for analysis.

Preliminary analysis shows that the impolite questions are:

- Do you have a boyfriend/girlfriend?
- When are you getting married?
- When are you planning on having a child?
- When is the second one (child) coming?
- How much did you score for your exams?
- What school will you be going to next year? (indirect way of asking if the youth had attained good results to be admitted to a prestigious school)

The older generation considers these conventional questions as a way of showing concern to the younger generation who perceive them as being impolite and intrusive. According to Chinese tradition, the older person has power over the younger ones (Kádár and Pan 2011; Terkourafi 2008). Most younger generation perceives these questions as impolite shows that there are underlying differences between traditional ways of the older generation and the modern/globalized ways of the younger generation in countries such as Singapore where the East and West are in constant interaction.

Investigating the role of multimodality in the expression of (im)politeness in Modern Family family comedies — A theoretical and methodological account

Chun Liu - University of Leeds

Recent work on (im)politeness has frequently drawn upon audiovisual texts which provide a plethora of data. The previous work on (im)politeness in audiovisual texts has chiefly focused on the linguistic channel and largely overlooked the multimodal nature

of such texts. As a result, the role of multimodality in the communication of (im)politeness in such texts remains to be largely unexplored. This study endeavours to fill in this gap by investigating the role of multimodality in expressing (im)politeness in *Modern Family* (2009-ongoing), an American mockumentary (or mock documentary) family sitcom — as a representative of family comedies.

Searching for an apt theoretical and methodological framework represents the biggest challenge in this study. This challenge might be a common denominator that shared by studies examining the role of multimodality in expressing (im)politeness. This study proposes a framework that combines both Norris' (2004, 2011) multimodal (inter)action analysis (MIA) and Spencer-Oatay's (2000, 2002, 2005, 2007, 2008) rapport management theory to investigate how (im)politeness is expressed multimodally in *Modern Family*. The former enables the analyst to discern how participants perform different level of actions in interactions that feature in (im)politeness in detail; whilst the latter equips the analyst to see beyond these actions and explicate them in depth. The combination of them allows the analyst to examine (im)politeness in fictional settings from both form and function.

It is hoped that the theoretical and methodological approaches suggested in this study can be further tested in other studies that examine the role of multimodality in expressing (im)politeness. It is also hoped to highlight the need to go beyond the analysis of linguistic forms in expressing (im)politeness, in not only fictional settings but also non-fictional ones.

Moments of relational work in English fan translations of Korean tv drama:

“Okay, unni. (Unni = sign of respect or ‘older sister’ from a girl)”

Miriam Locher - *Universität Basel*

This study is situated in the field of the pragmatics of fiction and audio-visual translation studies (Díaz Cintas/Nikolić 2018; Locher/Jucker 2017) and explores renditions of relational work and (im)politeness in the English fan subtitles of Korean dramas, as provided by the platform www.viki.com (Dwyer 2012). An important aspect of tv drama as a cultural artifact are story lines and within those the indexical potential of language is used (among others) for character positioning, character development, relationship development and (indirectly) reflection of cultural norms and expectations (Planchenault 2017). Fictional data is thus an ideal source for studying linguistic ideologies about relational work. The case of Korean is challenging for subtitlers since it dynamically indexes relationships through a complex system of grammaticalized politeness forms (adj/verb morphemes) and a set of honorific morphemes and vocabulary (influencing factors are hierarchies, seniority, age, social distance; see, e.g. Brown 2015; Koh 2006). The Korean nuances often cannot be translated as there is no straightforward correspondence to indexes of politeness in the target languages.

Furthermore, subtitling space may not be sufficient to go into detail. Nevertheless, the English subtitles give access to an abundance of foregrounded *relational work moments*. The paper works on 200 scenes (from 18 dramas) and explores the paths the subtitlers take to give their target audience access to some of the nuances of the original. Four themes emerged: (1) address term negotiations; (2) meta-comments on the (wrong) linguistic level of relational work by characters; (3) meta-comments by subtitlers on language and culture, and (4) meta-discussions on role understanding by characters. The results demonstrate two main issues: (a) these relational work moments are intricately connected with (character) identity construction (Locher 2008); (b) the subtitlers take an active role in translating cultural assumptions about relational work on the one hand (e.g. in the use of meta-comments in brackets to explain kinship terms: “*Unni = sign of respect for or ‘older sister’ from a girl*”) but also at times orient towards the target rather than source language in order to facilitate smooth texts (e.g. with respect to address terms they often use first names in English rather than kinship terms in Korean).

Emic perceptions of *omotenashi* style hospitality by Japanese

Christopher Long - *Tohoku Gakuin University*

Saeko Fukushima - *Tsuru University*

In the lead up to the 2020 Tokyo Olympics, there has been much discussion regarding the preparedness of Japanese businesses to accommodate the predicted increase in foreign tourists. Alongside praise for the high quality of Japanese service, however, some have questioned whether Japanese style hospitality (i.e. *omotenashi*) is effective in intercultural service encounters (e.g. Brasor, 2015). Central to this issue is the question of expectations regarding ‘attentiveness’ (Fukushima, 2015) and how evaluations of behaviors relate to such expectations in service encounters. The importance of lay interpretations to the analysis of interaction is widely recognized by ‘second-wave’ politeness researchers (for discussion see Grainger, 2011). Working within this framework, the current research investigates Japanese impressions of the emic construct *omotenashi*. Definitions of *omotenashi* were gathered from 49 Japanese undergraduate students using an open-ended questionnaire and analyzed using a content analytic approach (Krippendorff, 2013). Analyses identified 158 content units which were grouped into 12 categories. Statistical analyses then assessed which categories were most significant to Japanese perceptions. One significant finding was that 71% of respondents (35 out of 49) defined *omotenashi* as anticipating customer needs. This was in contrast to only 24% who defined *omotenashi* as responding to individual requests of customers. According to Long, Fukushima, and Márquez-Reiter (2017) although both Japanese and non-Japanese evaluate Japanese service as being of high quality, only non-Japanese perceive it as lacking in flexibility. In contrast, Japanese evaluated Japanese service as expressing a high level of ‘attentiveness.’ The current findings offer a potential explanation for these seemingly contradictory findings. They also illustrate

how ‘attentiveness’ can be associated with expectations that potentially vary across cultures. These results we explain using a social cognitive account of relational work (Long, 2016) within which behaviors are understood as being perceived (and evaluated) in relation to culture-specific expectations.

A sociopragmatic study of the congratulation strategies of Saudi Facebook users

Mohammad A. Mahzari - *Prince Sattam bin Abdulaziz University*

The aim in this sociopragmatic study was to identify the linguistic and nonlinguistic types of responses used by Saudi Facebook users in the comments of congratulations on the events of happy news status updates on Facebook. People usually express their feelings and emotions positively to others when they have happy occasions. However, the ways of expressing congratulation may vary because the expressive speech act “congratulations” is not the only way to express happiness and share others their happy news, especially on the new social media such as Facebook. The ways of expressing congratulation have been investigated widely in face-to-face communication in many languages. However, this has not yet been studied on Facebook, which lacks prosodic strategies and facial expressions that help to convey feelings, despite a few contributions on studying various expressive speech acts such as compliment, condolences, and wishing, among others. Therefore, a total of 1,721 comments of congratulation were collected from 61 different occasions and analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively by using the frame-based approach to understand the construction of politeness of congratulation on Facebook. This approach aims to establish the regularities of co-occurrence between linguistic realizations of speech acts and the particular types of contexts of use in real-life situations which means that it is data-driven, not theory-driven, because norms are discovered from the bottom-up analysis of the empirical data (Terkourafi, 2001, 2005). The results showed 23 verbal types of responses used by the users; however, the use of “congratulations,” “offer of good wishes,” “praise,” and “statements indicating the situation was warranted” were the most frequently used strategies. The results also showed 100 patterns of verbal compound strategies, but the use of “congratulations” with “offer of good wishes” was the most frequently used compound strategy. In addition, 42 types of emojis were found in the comments and categorized into seven different functions. However, the function of expressing endearment was the most frequently used one. Finally, the results showed that the posts received 31 sharings and 3 types of emoji reactions, such as “like” (Thumbs up), “love” (Beating heart), and “wow” (Surprised face), but the use of “like” was the most frequent emoji reaction to the posts. The explored different ways of expressing congratulation and sharing with others their happy news indicated that the linguistic strategies are not the only way to express happiness on Facebook. Therefore, users employed nonlinguistic strategies to express happiness and intensify their congratulations.

Exploring the moral compass: denunciations in a Facebook carpool group

Rosina Márquez Reiter - *University of Surrey*

Sara Orthaber - *University of Maribor*

With the advent of the internet and social media car and vanpooling have become easily available alternatives to public transport in many parts of the world. This paper draws on publicly available data from a Facebook car and vanpooling group used by Slovenian cross-border commuters to make their journeys to and from Austria more economically sustainable. It examines public displays of moral indignation following allegations of malpractice by relatively new members whose whole purpose in joining the group was to earn a living from driving vans across borders. Vanpool users collaboratively denounce van service providers for transgressing some of the social responsibilities that ought to bind members of the group together and for their lack of accountability. The accusations which entail exaggerations, complaints, insults and threats, among other hostile verbal attacks, convey moral indignation and are similarly resisted and challenged by the drivers. They offer a window into conflicting behavioural expectations at a time of socioeconomic change and transition.

The alleged lack of van providers' accountability which, in turn, informs the users' displays of moral indignation is indicative of the moral relativism that emerges as result of the relocalisation and transforming nature of a contemporary global practice at a time when changes in social life are underway. The primacy of the economic return that vanpooling provides van service providers and cross-commuters with is oriented to by the former as outstripping typical social responsibilities related to the provision of the regulated services, and by the latter, as morally unjustifiable despite acknowledging its economic value.

“Sorry :(” – brief emails and their politeness features

Elizabeth Marsden - *University of Huddersfield*

Anyone who has engaged in significant and frequent email communication has probably at some point sent a very brief email. Something along the lines of “Thank you so much” or indeed “Sorry :(”, but do these short emails have any unique characteristics? This talk argues that they do, and that they compensate for brevity with increased density in text of some CMC cues (Liebman & Gergle, 2016; Vandergriff, 2013) and the ‘thank*’ politeness marker (Pilegaard, 1997). These very short emails are additionally highly context dependent for their interpretation relying on knowledge of

the historical relationship between the sender and recipient (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 76).

This talk will discuss the composition of such short emails in comparison to a larger dataset of emails with diverse lengths, of which these brief emails form a part. This larger dataset is a collection of 1072 emails between a sole trader and her international academic clients who require proofreading or transcription services. The talk will focus on how writers can use such sparse text to effectively convey their message, and why such short messages such as “Thank you so much” are deemed worth the effort of sending, and how these may be necessary in terms of relationship management/relational tie maintenance (Goffman, 1971; Milroy & Milroy, 1992; Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2003).

Professional face and politeness: Functions of the German *mal* in assessments

Jessica Marsh - *University of Surrey*

In this paper I examine some of the interpersonal functions of the German particle *mal*. I concentrate on the use of *mal* in the performance of assessments (DuBois, 2007) in the context of the German television show *Bares für Rares*, a reality antiques show that begins each segment with the guest(s), host, and expert discussing an object a guest has brought with the goal of evaluating the item’s worth. The paper examines approximately 40 instances of *mal* across two episodes of the program from a general discourse analytic perspective that draws on (im)politeness.

The preliminary findings show two distinct contexts within the overall activity of assessments where *mal* occurs: firstly, as a way of modulating a stance when the expert (or, less frequently, the host or guest) is venturing an opinion or drawing a conclusion on the basis of opinions rather than stating a sure fact (cf. Kotorova, 2015; Bardovi-Harlig & Griffin, 2005; Möllering, 2001; Hentschel, 1991 on *mal* as a request downtoner); and secondly, when one of the participants orients to potential intrusions of another participant’s responsibilities related to his or her rightful role in the program.

The results suggest that *mal* occurs at interactional moments that interactants orient to as potentially delicate (Márquez Reiter et al. 2016). In the first context, *mal* modulates an assessment that could later prove to be wrong. It is thus oriented to protecting the expert’s professional face (Márquez Reiter 2009). In the second case, the presence of *mal* attends to the participants’ face needs. It shows the speaker’s understanding of the responsibilities associated with each participant’s role in the program, and the potential interpersonal and interactional repercussions that assuming someone else’s role may entail. In this sense, therefore, the first case of *mal* signals a primarily self-oriented concern with impression management (Holtgraves, 2005) whereas the second appears to attend to politeness concerns. It is interpersonally oriented as it focuses on both self and

the other. It is indicative of the speaker's calibration of the other program participants' face needs and responsibilities relative to his or her own, thus of politeness concerns.

Identity co-construction by fictional and real minds: Perspectival alignment, facework, and inner speech (im)politeness in narratives

M^a Ángeles Martínez Martínez - *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*

Within an approach to linguistic communication as a means whereby participants co-construct their identities on the basis of ongoing negotiation (De Fina et al. 2006; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013), the presence of (im)politeness phenomena in narrative inner speech can be considered to intervene in processes of interactional positioning on the part of narrators - for themselves and for focalizing characters - and readers (Martínez, in press: 80-81). My study focuses on two novels in English; Jeff Lindsay's *Darkly Dreaming Dexter* (2004), and Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* (1927). In the former, the first person narrator, Dexter, is a serial killer trying to construct for himself an identity that readers may wish to identify with. Given that this involves aligning with Dexter's perceptual, ideological and evaluative stance, it is no wonder that he uses connectedness facework (Arundale 2010; Haugh 2010) to reinforce links of familiarity, solidarity, intimacy, and identification. Separateness facework, on the other hand, is massively present in Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, showing a strong concern on the part of the narrator with projecting non-imposition, autonomy, dissociation, and independence in the construction of the focalizing characters' identities. This seems to reflect the social environment in the storyworld, in which appearances and manners often force characters away from their inner selves, a process which readers may have to undergo too during narrative engagement. Furthermore, the fact that this narrative is presented from the point of view of different characters reinforces these detachment mechanisms. Interactional alignment between fictional and real minds through (im)politeness thus seems to play a crucial role in the linguistic organization of these two narratives, in which the identities and stances projected by narrators and focalizers invite the co-construction by readers of corresponding stances and identities for themselves.

Combining pragmatics, corpus linguistics and conversational analysis to study disagreement in Catalan

Alba Milà-Garcia - *Universitat Pompeu Fabra*

This paper presents the methodological framework and some of the results of a PhD thesis on the study of disagreement in the Catalan language. It was carried out through

the analysis of a small spoken corpus compiled with samples from three different genres: conversations, meetings and office hours. In this study, disagreement is understood as a common occurrence, expected in some contexts and not intrinsically negative (Angouri and Locher 2012), but politeness and face still play a crucial role when it is expressed. The contrast among these three conversational genres and the variety of speakers and situational factors offered in the corpus allows for an in-depth analysis of the different strategies used in each case and how face is managed in context.

In order to carry out a multifaceted analysis of disagreement (Sifianou 2012), it was necessary to draw from different disciplines: pragmatics, and im/politeness and face in particular, in order to study the strategies used to mitigate or aggravate the illocutionary force; conversational analysis, which is interested in disagreement for its (debated) status as a dispreferred second pair part; and, finally, corpus linguistics, which is used as a methodological tool (Waksh et al. 2011). In fact, pragmatics and corpus linguistics have recently been combined into a new discipline, corpus pragmatics (Aijmer and Rühlemann 2014), which introduces the possibility to combine a quantitative (in this case, limited by the corpus size) and a qualitative approach to study pragmatic features. Through the presentation of some results, this paper will show how fruitful this interdisciplinary approach can be for the study of im/politeness.

Cumulative effects of impoliteness: suppressed evaluations remain salient in follow up interviews

Nathaniel Mitchell - *Griffith University*

This paper investigates an interaction between two strangers, A and B, and a follow up interview with participant A. It finds that there is a cumulative effect of inappropriate activities (evaluations of impoliteness) on participants. Impoliteness evaluations seem to stack with other negative perceptions and evaluations (epistemic incongruity, non-shared jocular interactions). This stacking affect may be highlighted by using follow up interviews, especially when clearer evidence of cumulative offence is not shown within the interaction itself. A follow up interview was conducted with participant A but was unable to be conducted with B. The interview showed that A had strong, salient negative memories of B, yet these were not clearly presented in the original interaction.

Such a finding suggests that even though the participants themselves are not actively orienting to impoliteness on-record, an impropriety might still be perceived. Perceptions are subject to evaluations and (to some extent) may remain salient and recallable for the participant. Negative perceptions and evaluations (impoliteness) are readily recalled, suggesting that the negative evaluation, even when not produced on-record, makes a strong impression on the memory of a participant. This example shows therefore a suppression of in-situ evaluations of impoliteness and a further exercising of agency

(Mitchell and Haugh, 2015) to not be offended in-interaction. This finding aligns with a model of impoliteness that contains an element of choice.

**Comparing polite and impolite linguistic patterns of requestive speech acts
produced by Japanese learners of English**

Aika Miura - *Tokyo University of Agriculture*

This paper compares polite and impolite linguistic patterns of requestive speech acts extracted from the NICT JLE Corpus.

The author (Miura, 2017) developed multi-layered annotation schemes to extract various linguistic patterns of requestive speech acts produced by Japanese learners of English. The corpus is composed of written transcripts of an interview test containing a role-play, wherein learners were asked to play the role of a customer who had to negotiate a refund or exchange of a purchased item with an interlocutor, who was playing a shop assistant.

The researcher investigated the utterances produced by 66 B1 learners in the role-play as follows: (i) identified the functions of all of the utterances, (ii) classified linguistic patterns of requestive speech acts based on the coding scheme proposed by Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989), and (iii) asked 20 respondents to evaluate the degree of politeness of some of the learners' requests.

The author manually identified 1,072 utterances in total; 26.77% of them functioned as 'requesting an action'. Thus, the subcategory functioning as 'negotiating for exchange or return' was the most frequent, with 159 occurrences. Ten samples of the requests were presented to the respondents including 10 native English speakers and 10 Japanese, both of whom teach English at tertiary education institutions in Japan; they were asked to choose the degree of appropriateness from *polite enough*, *a little too polite* or *a little impolite*, or *too polite* or *very impolite*. A significantly high agreement among the respondents was observed according to Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance (W). For example, 'I was wondering if I could exchange it for something else' was assessed as polite enough, while 'So if you can, I really want you to exchange. But is it OK?' was a little impolite, and 'Why can't you exchange it?' was very impolite. Various linguistic patterns of requests with varying degrees of politeness and different functions are presented and compared.

Teaching middle-class politeness: Conflict in the English as a foreign language classroom

Gerrard Mugford - *Universidad de Guadalajara*

PANEL: *Politeness and Class (Convenor: K. Grainger)*

Developing foreign-language pragmatic competence includes recognising target-language im/politeness practices and patterns and subsequently interacting in appropriate ways within a given context. Whilst attempting to gain the necessary social, cultural and pragmatic knowledge of target-language im/politeness practices, foreign-language users are all too often exposed in the classroom, and through teaching materials, to middle-class understandings and representations of im/politeness which may only reflect the practices of a dominant group in the target culture (Bella, Sifianou and Tzanne, 2015).

In the case of English as a foreign language, learners are often taught the British middle-class politeness practices of self-deprecation, indirectness and reserve (Mills, 2017) which may be projected and generalised as English politeness per se. Language learners, especially those who have limited contact with target-language speakers i.e. those living in Expanding Circle countries (Kachru, 1992), such as Mexico, Japan and China, need to be able to evaluate and negotiate im/politeness practices on a much wider social and cultural scale.

A pedagogic framework that enables learners to acquire the necessary knowledge and resources can be developed from classic and discursive approaches to politeness. Classic approaches (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1973) provide useful and generalizable frameworks with which to teach target-language practices. On the other hand, discursive approaches (e.g. Locher and Watts 20005; Spencer-Oatey, 2008) help learners to develop their own understandings and attitudes as they react to and express im/politeness in their own individual ways.

To discover the challenges of teaching politeness in Expanding Circle countries, I interviewed 25 Mexican teachers of English as a Foreign Language to identify their approaches towards teaching politeness and how these are transmitted to their students. Results indicate that teachers often face pedagogical conflict as personal beliefs, histories, experiences and intuition frequently clash with textbook and didactic material that all too often reflect middle-class perceptions of politeness.

Translating requests in audiovisual translation

Vittorio Napoli - *Università di Pavia*

My study takes issue with im/politeness in audiovisual dialog and investigates how the speech act of requests is translated from English into Italian dubbed films. Following

taxonomies proven successful for the analysis of requests (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, Aijmer 1996, Leech 2014) and combining them to maximize the validity of the categorization, my research project addresses the following research questions:

- 1) How are requests realized in Italian films dubbed from English films?
- 2) What is the relationship between the request features found in dubbed Italian dialogue and their original English counterparts, on the one hand, and the features of requests found in original Italian film dialogue, on the other hand?
- 3) Do English request features undergo major changes in the transition process? If so, how are requests modified in translation? What role does the multimodality of film dialogue have in these changes?

The parameters used as a yardstick for the comparisons are: in/directness of requests (Blum-Kulka 1989) and downgrading/upgrading, internal/external modification (Trosborg 1995, Sifianou 1999, Achiba 2003, Barron 2003).

Using the Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue (Pavesi, Freddi 2009) I analyzed a sample of six English films, their six Italian dubbed counterparts and a sample of six original Italian films as a *tertium comparationis*. I will present some revealing results of a pilot study which shed light on the quite unexplored relationship between Translation Studies and Pragmatics/Politeness Research, showing how a special form of translation (Audiovisual Translation) influences the alteration of the illocutionary force of requests. My study uses a corpus-based method, widely used and proven suitable for Descriptive Translation Studies.

Combining quantitative and qualitative analyses, I will establish whether requests are translated under the influence of the pragmatic norms of the original English or, conversely, they follow the Italian norms and adapt to the target language system (Toury 1995).

For its scope and methods, my research analyzes Im/Politeness potential in relation to three other disciplines: Translation Studies, Corpus Linguistics and Multimodality.

What makes an utterance threatening or menacing and how much? Im/politeness and speech act theory

Jim O'Driscoll - *University of Huddersfield*

Beyond face-threat, there is actual threat – and menace; that is, threats to a recipient's sense of personal safety. Instances of utterances which are perceived this way can incur legal sanction, so it is important to find a principled way of assessing whether such a perception in each case is justified. On what basis are such legal decisions made? An obvious linguistic tool which presents itself in such contexts is speech act theory. After all, what a court has to decide is whether a text really does have the illocutionary force which the charge claims it has, so an obvious yardstick by which to measure such texts

is Searle's act-specific conditions for an act "to have been successfully and non-defectively performed (Searle 1969: 154.)

This paper starts out by attempting to apply speech act theory to small number of CMC postings, some of which resulted in the conviction of the perpetrator and some not. It is found that speech act theory can indeed help, but only after its lack of attention to wider context, especially its woeful under-specification of the notion of H=hearer, is compensated for by incorporation into the analysis of Mey's (2010) concept of pragmatic acts, Goffman's (1981) participation framework, the perspectives of non-seriousness and CA sequencing, and, of course (because menacing words invariably cause offence at the same time), impoliteness theory (Culpeper 2011).

This enquiry is part of larger project aiming to identify in cases of offence exactly what it is about the language used – what aspect(s) of it - that is found to be offensive.

Politeness in autism

Eva Ogiermann – *King's College London*

Gabriella Rundblad – *King's College London*

This paper presents some preliminary findings regarding the understandings of politeness in individuals with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD).

While there is a growing body of research on autism in the context of social interaction (Ochs & Solomon, 2010; Fasulo & Sterponi 2016), only a few studies have looked into the production and comprehension of politeness in individuals with higher functioning ASD (Sirota, 2004; Surian et al, 1996). Given that autism is characterised by a pragmatic impairment, it is not surprising that these studies have mainly tested their pragmatic capabilities, largely following Brown and Levinson's (1987) definition of politeness as a set of strategies used to mitigate face-threat and taking the form of indirect utterances and implicatures.

The current study, in contrast, follows recent developments in politeness research, which emphasise emic understandings of politeness (Eelen, 2001). Such an approach enables us to potentially uncover ways of conceptualising politeness reflecting the experiences and views of people with Autism. To this end, we have conducted semi-structured, episodic interviews with ten high-functioning ASD adults, tapping into their understanding of politeness and their recollections of how that understanding has developed through time. The findings emerging from the interviews are complemented with data derived from online blogs and discussion forums where individuals with Autism initiate discussions about politeness themselves

Advice-giving practices as a reflection of relational work: Advice in Turkish Agony aunt's column

Suhan Akıncı Oktay - *Hacettepe University*

Agony aunt is a setting that people solicit for advice about the problems they experience via problem letters and the agony aunt (i.e. Güzin abla) is in charge of responding to the problem letters as an expert. On the side of the people demanding advice, this can be evaluated as a relief method from the constraints of life and provides chance for people to get help from an expert about life matters. Many studies have been carried out concerning advice-giving practices of cultures and it is known that cultural practices and perceptions differ from culture to culture. Locher (2006) has studied advice and its relation with relational work in a detailed manner in his book. Sometimes advice is solicited and people try to advise each other naturally. Whatever the conditions can be, advice has a face threatening nature (Brown & Levinson 1987) and needs to be regulated by the use of language. Bayraktaroğlu states that (2001) while English culture refrains from advice-giving, in a different culture like Turkish advice-giving is perceived as a reflection of solidarity and a reflection of demanding help from someone. Thus, advice-giving may require skill and needs to be handled carefully by the use of language and it has relations with politeness and impoliteness.

The current study focuses on advice giving patterns such as bonding, boosting, criticizing, empathizing, hedging, praising and the use of humor employed by the agony aunt in regulating the response letters. The data were analysed quantitatively and qualitatively, and patterns in the employment of advice-giving were uncovered. The study also aims to look at relational work and to uncover where relational work shows itself in the operation of advice giving and through displaying the tendencies used in response letters, the study aims to find out the typical advice-giving practices of Turkish culture. Those types that are preferred or dominant in the analysis may display the habitual patterns of advice giving practices in Turkish culture. Furthermore, the findings of the study reveal subtle differences concerning the use of humour in agony aunt's column.

Achieving asymmetry in improvised oral poetry duels in Latin America

Adriana Orjuela - *Albert-Ludwigs Universität Freiburg*

This paper contributes from a conversational analysis and multimodal perspective to the studies on two so far under-researched topics: improvised verbal duels in Latin America and impoliteness in Spanish. My presentation will focus on improvised oral poetry duels, known as *trova*, in particular on the *contrapunto*, i.e. the exchange of face threatening acts (FTA), a very popular and still strong going discursive practice in Latin America.

The Trova is a staged verbal confrontation, in which two or more rival trovadores face each other alternating improvised stanzas, which follow strict parameters of meter, rhyme, and thematic coherence, while accompanied by music. Although there are several forms of confrontation, the most popular and extended is the *contrapunto*, which is the more or less explicit exchange of face threatening acts (Brown & Levinson, 1987) between the rival poets, in order to create a humorous effect and to entertain the public (Pagliai, 2009).

It resulted from a previous analysis of the most recurrent verbal resources used by the trovadores to create FTAs, that the background strategy is the creation of an asymmetric relationship with the rival. In doing so the actual speaker positions himself as the best, most experienced trovador and the one with the most authority. This asymmetry is achieved through categorization in standardized relation pairs (Sacks, 1972).

In my speech I will first present the standardized relation pairs used by the trovadores in order to create an asymmetric relationship with the rival and secondly how they construct and deconstruct symmetry and asymmetry in the interaction, both verbally and multimodal. The first part is based on a corpus that collects 20 performances from five countries, the second part is the result of a sequential analysis of one performance.

Fellow Moms conflict “politely” with each other: How and why they conduct facework from the perspective of demeanor

Seiko Otsuka - *Osaka Institute of Technology*

Ryogo Yanagida – *Osaka University*

By examining how and why Fellow Moms (or *mama-tomo* in Japanese) manage interactional facework in a conflictive interaction via text messaging, this paper argues the analytical concept “demeanor” rather than “deference” (Goffman, 1967) would provide us with a better understanding of im/politeness phenomenon.

Relationships between Fellow Moms are generally considered “difficult” in Japan (Miyaki, 2004) as they need to maintain it not only for themselves but also for their children. This seemingly motivates them to avoid a “wrong” behavior which can cause them and their children to be isolated from the circle of friends.

The dataset analyzed in the present study consists of seven conflictive interactions through messaging applications which occurred between several pairs of Fellow Moms in 2016. It shows they used off-record impoliteness strategies (Culpeper, 2011) when opposing the other’s idea or attacking the other’s face with more honorific or more friendly language expressions than the other parts, or sometimes by shifting positionings (Davies & Harré, 1990). Even reciprocal face-attacks pretending to be “good friends” were observed. In so doing, they mask the intentionality of attacking the other’s face to keep showing their good demeanor.

The analysis concludes that they tried to keep the relationship for not suffering a loss of benefit such as friendship or information they are supposed to gain from it by avoiding being evaluated to be “a socially inappropriate person” while somewhat fulfilling the desire to retaliate against the other.

Although the analytic perspective from demeanor has been relatively neglected in im/politeness research to date, our analysis suggests introducing demeanor can give a better explanation to their interactional facework.

Pedagogical implications for incorporating pragmatics of politeness in EFL teaching in Japan

Mai Oyama - *University of Bath*

Toward globalization, the primary goal of higher education in Japan is fostering human resources who can command English on business (MEXT, 2003). Communicating in English at global business setting requires not only the knowledge of vocabulary and grammar but also abilities to use the language appropriately in a given social context. Pragmatics of politeness has been drawn on in the literature on the development of such pragmatic competence of EFL learners. Despite the growing awareness on the significance of pragmatic-focused instructions, the implementation has been largely neglected in English teaching and learning in Japan (LoCastro, 1994). This is partly due to the lack of teaching options and resources (Shimizu, Fukasawa and Yonekura, 2007) to put theoretical insights into the optimal instructional practice in classroom setting. The aim of this study is to provide further evidence on the effect of teaching pragmatics of politeness and explore pedagogical implication of promoting pragmatic instruction into EFL teaching. The research was conducted to examine the effect of instruction and awareness raising on the development pragmatic competence (Eslami-Rasekh, 2005) by Japanese EFL learners, bearing in mind what counts as the development of pragmatic competence. A crucial part of this research was the examination on what extent the *request* strategies acquired through instruction were carried over to the production of uninstructed *refusal* speech acts. This was to verify the improvement in speech acts were not simply by memorizing the formulae taught in the class but by truly improving their pragmatic skills. The effect of raising pragmatic awareness was shown beyond what students acquired through instruction, which highlights a somewhat generative dimension to pragmatic competence, suggesting that even a modest amount of instruction offers manifold ramifications for students’ communicative competence that can be applied in the business setting students may encounter in the future.

Slurs, expressive APs and expletive NPs: A relevance-theoretic account of their similarities and differences

Manuel Padilla Cruz - *Universidad de Sevilla*

Slurs –e.g. ‘hori’, ‘chink’– and expressive APs and expletive NPs – e.g. ‘fucking’ as in “That fucking guy”, or Spanish ‘puto’, as in “El puto niño”– are often used as insults and/or derogative terms in order to express disparaging attitudes, offend and/or aggress. Slurs have received relatively more attention, as researchers have looked into how they function (Cepollaro 2015; Lycan 2015); their offensiveness (Croom 2015; Fasoli et al. 2015; O’Dea et al. 2015); their usage as face-threatening or face-enhancing devices (Allan 2015; Archer 2015; Beaton and Washington 2015; Gaucher et al. 2015); occurrence in racial talk (Embrick and Henrick 2015), to fight back against injustice (Herbert 2015), or to form identity (Imoagene 2015), or how they are responded (Rahman 2015; Saucier et al. 2015). However, little attention has been paid to their similarities and differences with expressive APs and expletive NPs.

This presentation will adopt a cognitive perspective and rely on relevance-theoretic pragmatics (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995; Wilson and Sperber 2004) in order to address such issues. Like intonation, interjections and paralanguage (Wharton 2003, 2009, 2016; Wilson and Wharton 2006), these three types of words will be regarded as *expressives* conveying elusive things like feelings, emotions or attitudes. They will also be considered *procedural* elements that encode processing instructions enacting the construction of attitudinal descriptions (Carston 2016; Wilson 2016; Wharton 2003, 2009, 2016). However, slurs will be portrayed as hybrid linguistic elements that also encode a *conceptual* content (Blakemore 2015), while expressive APs and expletive NPs will be argued to be procedural items. The procedures that these three elements activate, nevertheless, are peculiar (Padilla, in press), since they trigger the construction of attitudinal descriptions differing from what in relevance-theoretic pragmatics is known as the *higher-level explicature* of an utterance (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995; Wilson and Sperber 1993, 2004).

Evaluative language and impoliteness in customer complaints on Facebook

Patricia Palomino Manjón - *Universitat de València*

The rise in popularity of recent technological advances has resulted in the integration of electronic devices in the daily lives of people, changing the way in which they relate with each other (Tagg & Seargeant, 2016). Social networking sites have emerged as powerful tools which cater to people’s communicative needs (Page, Barton, Unger & Zappavigna, 2014). Businesses have been forced to migrate to these new social media platforms to keep in contact with (new) customers and to promote and market their products more effectively. However, social networking sites have empowered

customers, since these platforms not only allow communication between the company and customers, but also among customers themselves (Kelly-Holmes, 2016). Customers take advantage of this situation to voice their opinions and to form alliances with or against companies (Bou-Franch, in press). Despite the fact that social networking sites seem to play a major role in people's lives, very few linguistic studies have been devoted to the study of service encounters in social media (Márquez Reiter & Bou-Franch, 2017). The main objective of this study is to analyse what discourse resources and strategies customers employ to express their dissatisfaction with a company in social media. The corpus on which this study is based consists of 217 comments published by customers (10,439 words) on the Facebook page of a British grocery store. The data were analysed drawing on a mixed methodology which combined the theories of appraisal (Martin & White, 2005; White, 2008) and impoliteness (Culpeper, 2005, 2011). Findings suggest ways in which customers resort to negative appraisal resources to express dissatisfaction and disaffiliation, and how these result in the use of impoliteness strategies to create conflict and disharmony between the company and those customers.

Complaints strategies and perceived politeness: a study on native and non-native speakers of Italian

Emanuela Paone - *University of Calabria*

This study explores the relationship between complaints strategies employed by non native speakers of Italian and native speakers' perception of (im)politeness. As reported in previous research, complaints can be performed with an expression of judgment and/or a request of reparation. Realization patterns can be direct, e.g. underlining the addressee's responsibility for the negative event and asking for reparation, or indirect, e.g. underlining the negativity of the event itself (Nuzzo, 2007: 153). In Italian, the use of indirect strategies and morphosyntactic and lexical modifiers is supposed to mitigate the negative judgment, in order to be perceived as more polite (see Nuzzo, Gauci, 2012: 18). These strategies are not universal, though: it is well known that cultural and linguistic factors may affect the way complaints are performed and perceived. In view of this, the present research aims to verify to what extent L2 learners' strategies differ from those employed by native speakers and how non-natives' complaints are perceived by native speakers.

The study has involved a sample of 20 learners of Italian as L2 with B1/B2 level of proficiency coming from Spain and Russia, and 5 native speakers of Italian. Data has been collected by means of 8 role play scenarios. Each scenario was supposed to elicit a complaint, but the context varied in each situation according to different sociological variables (see Brown, Levinson, 1987). Native and non-native speakers' performances have been audio-recorded. Sequences containing speech acts and politeness strategies

have been annotated and labeled, considering the presence of direct/indirect strategies, request of reparation, expression of judgment, morphosyntactic and lexical modifiers.

A perception test containing native and non-natives' performances has been submitted to a sample of 40 native speakers of Italian. These were supposed to listen to the dialogue, knowing the context and the purpose of the speaker, and to judge the perceived politeness on a Likert scale from 0 (impolite) to 3 (very polite).

Preliminary results have revealed that learners used more direct politeness strategies than native speakers and a limited number of lexical and morphosyntactic devices, independently of the context. Different strategies have been also observed between Spanish and Russian learners. The perception experiment has revealed that Italian listeners perceived NNS' performances as more impolite than native speakers' productions.

Literary devices and author-reader dialogue in Italian conduct books of the long nineteenth century

Annick Paternoster - *Università della Svizzera italiana*

When conduct books discuss rules and formulae for linguistic (im)politeness they contribute to their conventionalisation (on historical conduct books see Culpeper 2017, Paternoster and Saltamacchia 2017; Terkourafi 2011). However, conduct literature also explicitly discusses the moral values behind the rules: it plays an important role in maintaining the moral order by raising moral awareness (Kádár 2017), a process called ethicalisation (Kádár and Fukushima, under review). Finally, conventions can be discussed in entertaining artwork, like films or novels: Kádár and Fukushima (under review) call this meta-conventionalisation. The theoretical goal of this proposal is to show how the prominent fictional elements in my corpus constitute an interface between ethicalisation and meta-conventionalisation.

Nineteenth-century Italy is literally inundated with conduct manuals and etiquette books. Tasca (2004) counts 186 original titles, resulting in at least 450 different editions, a true boom that can probably be explained by conventionalisation processes in regards to the emerging bourgeois code of conduct. Numbers of conduct books peak after the Unification of the country (1861). Conduct books represent the nation-building effort to rally the population around the official values of the time. Many texts use literary devices: rules are often couched in an entertaining, fictional format.

The practical part of my intervention consists in an overview of the fictional devices used within a corpus of 50 popular conduct and etiquette manuals printed between 1800-1920: theatre plays, conversations, letters, collections of short stories, coming of age novels, verse and anecdotes. It will also include a quantitative section, in which I present data collected with a corpus annotation tool, UAM Corpus Tools (O'Donnell 2008a, 2008b), in a subcorpus of 20 conduct books published between 1860-1900. I

have annotated those linguistic features (f.i. rhetorical questions, allocutions, interjections) indicating a continuous dialogue with the reader. This fictional dialogue is very common, and I will argue that both the literary devices and the author-reader dialogue are aimed at reinforcing the ethicalisation process.

When swearing is polite: Variation of English pragmatic borrowings in Finnish

Elizabeth Peterson - *University of Helsinki*

Johanna Vaattovaara - *University of Tampere*

In our initial investigation of the swearing habits of native speakers of Finnish, a key finding was that English-sourced swear words in Finnish discourse appear to be used as a face saving strategy and a form of deference for the potential audience. In other words, using English sourced swear words, an example of pragmatic borrowing (Andersen 2014), allows Finnish speakers to gain the social benefits of swearing, but without the potential risk to public image (Beers Fägersten & Stapleton 2017, Stapleton 2010).

Our current study builds on our initial findings by focusing on the distinctions between the English sourced swear words shit, oumaigaad ‘Oh My God’, damn and fuck and the heritage Finnish semantic equivalents. To explore this relationship, we designed an attitude survey to gain quantitative data from different parts of the country and different social groups. Making use of an audio-based matched guise experiment, we explore if the (1) gender, (2) age and (3) variety (vernacular variant) of the voice affects the results with regard to acceptability and social evaluations of the target swear words.

Through an online survey (currently in distribution) we are collecting data across different age groups and from rural and urban areas of Finland. The results will show if the respondents differ in their acceptance of English vs Finnish swearing forms, or if there are differences in the attitude judgments based on region, gender, education and age. Both quantitative multivariate analysis and qualitative methods will be used to account for the data.

Interpersonal work in service encounters on Mercado Libre Argentina: A comparison between buyer and vendor patterns across two market domains

María Elena Placencia – *Birkbeck College, University of London*

This paper looks at vendor-buyer interactions on *Mercado Libre Argentina*, an online market place. It examines how users address (or not) interpersonal aspects of the service encounter across two distinct market domains: pets and toys. Based on a corpus of 145 interactions (290 individual posts) selected at random from these two domains, it

examines the realization of two core elements of the transaction: openings and closings. In addition, it looks at how users employ forms of address as a resource for interpersonal communication.

In terms of results, overall there were more similarities than differences in the behaviour patterns of users across the two domains. For example, all users overwhelmingly favoured informal address. However, some clear distinctions between buyers and vendors could be discerned, in particular, how each user group structured their posts: buyers were far less restricted by formal convention than vendors, often omitting greetings and/or leave-takings.

All in all, our findings suggest that users across both domains view their *Mercado Libre* interactions as familiar, although vendors seem to perceive them slightly more as Bulge (Wolfson, 1988) relationships. Some data, nonetheless, display that users are unsure of how to approach their online interactions as they use a mixture of politeness strategies.

The study draws on politeness theory (i.e. Spencer-Oatey 2000/2008; Locher & Watts 2005; and Scollon & Scollon 2001); computer-mediated discourse analysis (cf. Locher 2006), as well as face-to-face studies on service encounters in the Spanish-speaking world, in particular (see Félix-Brasdefer 2015, and Márquez Reiter & Bou-Franch 2017 for an overview), and on work on e-service encounters (cf. Placencia, 2015, 2016).

Fictional fag hags, lezzies and fags: Mock impoliteness or face-threatening acts?

Joaquín Primo-Pacheco - *Universitat de València*

Fictional texts can undoubtedly provide useful linguistic data to yield interesting insights into the study of im/politeness (Culpeper 1998, 2011; McIntyre & Bousfield 2017).

Bearing this in mind, the purpose of the present paper is to analyze and shed light on the occurrence of identity markers (Culpeper 1996; Bousfield 2008) denoting gender and sexual identities (Cameron & Kulick 2003) in two American television series from an im/politeness perspective informed by a corpus-assisted critical approach to discourse (Baker et al. 2008; Baker 2005, 2014).

The series in question are *Will & Grace* (NBC, 1998-2006 – henceforth *WG*) and *Queer as Folk* (Showtime, 2000-2005 – henceforth *QF*). The reasoning underlying this selection is that each series belongs to a distinct fictional genre (*WG*: sitcom; *QF*: drama); has two distinct groups of people as main characters (*WG*: two heterosexual women and two gay men; *QF*: two lesbian women and five gay men); and thus addresses and/or attracts distinct audiences (*WG*: mainly heterosexual; *QF*: mainly homosexual).

In the light of these two fictional contexts and their implications in the interactional dynamics of the various characters in both series, the analysis seeks to determine whether and when the use of said identity markers instantiates mock impoliteness (Culpeper 1996; Bousfield 2008; Haugh 2015), fostering in-group membership and solidarity among characters and creating entertainment and humor for the audience; or rather constitutes a positive face-threatening act, rendering the identity markers derogatory, causing offence among characters and even the audience and ultimately promoting a negative attitudinal evaluation (Haugh 2015) of said identity.

By the same token and in connection to the issue of research bias in critical discourse studies (Baker 2014), the paper also addresses how “the ethical reality of the researcher” (Eelen 2001: 181) may bias the analysis of im/politeness in gender- and sexuality-related topics.

Doing collaborative disagreement in leadership context

Yongping Ran - *Guangdong University of Foreign Studies*

Using naturally occurring data this study explores how collaborative disagreement is done in multiperson interaction in Chinese context of leadership. This research is needed because current works have mainly targeted individual disagreement, the issue of collective disagreement and its (im)politeness have been much neglected.

How to manage disagreement is an important issue in interaction. Much attention has been focused on finding disagreement patterns (Netz 2014), different kinds of disagreement, such as weak and indirect disagreements (Zhu & Boxer 2013), disagreement alignment (Kangasharju 2002), or how disagreement is related to power and politeness (Locher 2004). Moreover, disagreement has been traditionally considered as face-threatening and thus impolite, which interactants seek to avoid (Brown & Levinson 1987; Leech 1983, 2014). Almost all these studies have focused on how individuals voice disagreement, or how strategies are adopted to mitigate or avoid disagreement in context. Literature on collaborative disagreement can hardly be found although disagreement in multiperson settings offers the participant options which are not found in one-on-one disagreements (Kangasharju 2002).

Following Kakava (2002: 1538) and Netz (2014: 143), this study defines disagreement as “the negation of a stated or implied proposition”, “the negation of or objection to not only factual statements, but also points of view, positions, plans and actions”. Based on the analysis of sequential discourse segments from naturally occurring Chinese data, this study focuses on how oppositional alliances of disagreement are formed in multiperson interaction, that is, how collaborative disagreement is done by people in leadership positions. After socio-culturally rooted constraints are discussed, this study finds that collective disagreement cannot be interpreted as dispreferred and thus

impolite in practice, where there have appeared oppositional alliances in leadership context.

Refusals and relational work: interactional negotiation and sequential realisation

Isabella Reichl - *University of Kent*

This paper investigates the interplay between negotiations of refusals, on the one hand, and relational work (Locher and Watss 2005), on the other hand. It is argued that refusals cannot be analysed in isolation, but need to be analysed interactionally, in order to be understood as ‘moves’ within the negotiations of goals and interpersonal relationships. For this purpose, two sets of data are examined and analysed, both quantitatively and qualitatively: private face-to-face conversations between friends and family, taken from the SPICE-Ireland corpus (Kirk et al. 2011), and telephone conversations between strangers, taken from the Switchboard Dialogue Act (SWDA) Corpus (Jurafsky et al. 1997).

The analysis of refusal interactions reveals differences between the two datasets with respect to three aspects:

- 1) The kinds of actions requested/offered/suggested and refused
- 2) The number of turns from initial refusal to acceptance of refusal
- 3) The interpersonal strategies employed

These differences can be linked to the respective situational contexts and interlocutor relationships. While, in the SWDA Corpus, the subject matter of the refusals tends to relate to the ongoing conversation itself (e.g. turn-taking, topic change), the requests, offers, and suggestions in the SPICE Corpus refer to a wider range of actions. In addition, refusals in the SPICE Corpus are frequently achieved interactionally and negotiated over a number of turns, whereas those in the SWDA Corpus tend to be accepted immediately.

The qualitative analyses of face work particularly in the SPICE data further suggests that the frequently-used method of examining refusals in terms of the level of in/directness (Beebe et al. 1990) is insufficient. Two further dimensions need to be taken into account: decisive power and affective stance, which, as will be argued, are important factors in the interactional negotiation of refusals and interlocutors’ interpersonal relations.

Translating forms of address in Don Quixote: Power and solidarity across gender relations

Damián Robles - *Texas A&M University*

This study compares forms of address in *El Quijote* (1607, 1616) and its earliest English translation by Thomas Shelton (1612, 1620) in terms of how power and solidarity are communicated, or not, in gender relations. In particular, it examines the use of the pronominal forms: tú (T), vos (T/V), and Vuestra Merced (V) in the discourse between male and female characters of different echelons of society.

Translating address forms in *Don Quixote* is complicated by the existence of status differences and interpersonal relationships between characters, and by the state of flux of the Spanish Golden Age tripartite pronominal system. No studies have approached Cervantes' work in translation from the perspective of address, but previous research on Golden Age Spanish has claimed that the default pronoun between lovers is tú, which established affection and familiarity, while between spouses vos, which expressed mutual respect (Barrio Estévez 1997, Castillo Mathieu 1990, and St. Clair Sloan 1922 for *Don Quijote* and King 2009; 2010; Moreno 2002; Rogers 1924 for other works by Cervantes). However, across 28 passages extracted from both parts of *El Quijote*, there is evidence of variation in pronominal usage often based on contextual factors, e.g., if the female character was a love interest (e.g. *Don Quixote* to *Dulcinea*), or a spouse (e.g. *Sancho* to *Sancha*). Female characters display a more consistent use of either tú or vos, depending on their relationship with the male character, while there is variation in pronominal forms used by male characters when addressing women.

Nevertheless, the rich and complicated interplay of linguistic and societal factors that results in address variation in Siglo de Oro Spain is lost in Shelton's translation, which conflates tú and vos into a single form, thou (T), thereby eliminating the gender dichotomy that was expressed in Spanish.

Students' follow-up emails to faculty: Is politeness addressed in openings and closings?

Patricia Salazar - *Universitat Jaume I*

Victòria Codina - *Universitat Jaume I*

Nowadays, most interaction between students and lecturers is carried out by means of emails. According to Crystal (2006), emails include an obligatory element (obviously, the message) and two optional elements: greeting (or opening) and farewell (or closing). Some previous research (e.g. Bou-Franch, 2011; Félix-Brasdefer, 2012) has examined openings and closings in emails, but, to our knowledge, research investigating these two moves in follow-up emails is scarce. Thus, the present study aims at addressing this gap

by analyzing the pragmalinguistic patterns in openings and closings of follow-up request emails sent to lecturers by native speakers of Spanish to ascertain whether politeness is present beyond the first-contact email. The corpus consisted of 50 emails which included a three-step sequence: (1) first-contact email, (2) lecturer's reply, (3) student's follow-up email. Contrary to the first-contact email, in which politeness markers in the opening move included greetings and address terms, and in the case of closings, thanking the lecturer and leave-taking formulae, findings for the follow-up emails point to the use of informal greetings (*Hola* + lecturer's first name) and (intensified) forms of thanking the lecturer for providing the requested information. In view of this lack of politeness indicators, students in their follow-up mails seem to establish a more egalitarian and close relationship with faculty members, ignoring some variables such as unequal status and power of the interlocutor.

Greek women's stories about heterosexual relationships: An attempt to conceptualize im/politeness through 'small stories' and identity analysis

Vasiliki Saloustrou – *King's College London*

While sociolinguistic studies of im/politeness and identities present many disciplinary parallels, their paths have not intersected until recently (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou, 2017: 227). It is within this context that the present paper uses 'small stories' research (Bamberg 2006a; Georgakopoulou 2006a, 2007a; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008) and identity analysis as a framework to study im/politeness-in-interaction (Georgakopoulou, 2013d). It particularly looks at a group of three Greek women and their narrative practices in face-to-face and Skype-mediated communication, and focuses on their 'small stories' about the tellers' and others' management of im/politeness norms in heterosexual relationships. This paper aims to explore the participants' emic conceptualizations of im/politeness, as they are indexed by the tellers' explicit evaluations of characters and actions as 'polite' or 'rude'. This is done in 'breaking news' stories (Georgakopoulou, 2006b: 243) and 'references' to shared stories (ibid.248), which both narrate im/polite behavior, and position the characters vis-à-vis dominant capital-Ddiscourses (Gee 2005). The rationale of this study is that particular types/genres of stories foreground particular types of im/polite behavior and particular types of tellers. A multimethod approach to data collection is used that involves both naturally-occurring narratives-in-interactions in self-recorded spontaneous conversations, and reflexive tellings in playback interview sessions. The analysis draws on Georgakopoulou's (2007a) triptych of 'ways of telling-sites-tellers', as well as on Bamberg's (1997; 2004b) three-level model of positioning, and shows the significance of im/politeness-related identity claims (Georgakopoulou, 2013d: 71; 2008: 603) for signaling lay/emic norms of im/politeness ratified by the local Community of Practice (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992). It also illustrates how im/politeness construction is intertwined with the interactional fabrication of identities. The

implications of my findings for a synthesizing analysis of im/politeness and identities construction are twofold: first, my analysis puts forth the validity of im/politeness-related evaluations for storytelling, which has been intrinsically linked with identity construction. In addition, it foregrounds the pivotal role that the tools of identity analysis can play in im/politeness research.

Emoji and politeness: A multimodal account

Agnese Sampietro - Universitat Jaume I

Emoji are a popular set of little images available on several electronic platforms and applications, such as Twitter or WhatsApp (The Unicode Consortium, 2015). Most of the research on emoji still links their use to emoticons, sequences of punctuation marks that mimic facial expressions, such as :).

Over the last decade, it has been proposed that emoticons may perform pragmatic functions in digital communication: they can signal the illocutionary force of the utterance (Dresner & Herring, 2010), indicate irony or sarcasm (Maíz Arévalo, 2014; Yus, 2014), mitigate threatening formulations (Darics, 2012; Wilson, 1993) or strengthen expressive speech acts (Skovholt, Grønning, & Kankaanranta, 2014). Even if these accounts remain valid, the increasing integration of different semiotic resources in digital communication, such as emoji, pictures or audios, requires a more comprehensive view of multimodal materials (Herring, 2015; Thurlow, 2015).

The present research explores the pragmatic functions of emoji in a corpus of 300 private dyadic WhatsApp chats in Spanish. The methodology combines speech act theory and multimodality, modifying the approach previously used by Maíz Arévalo (2014). Besides the association of emoji with several speech acts, their link with the written text was considered, adapting Unsworth's (2006) taxonomy of intersemiotic relations.

Results confirms that emoji in the corpus are used to mitigate orders and requests and strengthen expressive speech acts, but they are commonly associated to positive rather than negative politeness formulations. Regarding intersemiosis, numerous examples of expansion and projection (Unsworth, 2006) of the meaning expressed in the written text were founded.

This research sought to overcome the compensatory view that sees the features of digital discourse (as emoticons) as a way to compensate for the lack of the physical presence of the interlocutor (Garrison, Remley, Thomas, & Wierszewski, 2011), studying WhatsApp, one of the most popular mobile applications in Spain (Fundación Telefónica, 2015).

Class ties through divisive and offensive language in Internet forums

Carmen Santamaría-García - *University of Alcalá*

PANEL: *Politeness and Class (Convenor: K. Grainger)*

Current times are witnessing many divisive and controversial issues across the world. Challenges concerning economy, digitalization and data protection, refugee and migration crisis, foreign and security policies and other geopolitical threats are fuelling heated discussions on various internet forums. This presentation will aim at contributing to further research on the topic of politeness and social class by describing (im)politeness by non-elite groups in heated discussions on several internet forums. The preliminary study of a corpus that is being compiled by the author allows for the observation of explicitly offensive language behaviours, which would most probably be evaluated as very rude behaviours by elite groups. Such behaviours seem to be aimed at building a feeling of community with those who identify as members of the same group. Even if comments are offensive for target addressees, they may be used as positive politeness strategies, building camaraderie among those who identify as members of the same group. The more offensive comments are for “the others”, the tighter the in-group membership bonds they will create. It will be possible to identify the social class of participants in the forums by looking at the information in the descriptions of their profiles. Also interesting to consider that different forums are typically visited by members of different social classes.

Original politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987) will be extended to include a discursive approach to the management of interpersonal relations (Spencer-Oatey 2008), and further developments towards the expression of impoliteness. (Im)politeness and rapport management will be analysed in combination with appraisal theories (Martin 2000, Martin and White 2005, Hunston and Thompson 2000, Santamaría-García 2014, Thompson and Alba-Juez 2014) in order to examine the role of negative evaluative meanings in the construction of (im)politeness.

Leadership in conflict: Disagreement and consensus negotiation in a start-up team

Christian Schmitt - *University of Surrey*

This paper examines the discursive construction of leadership in computer-mediated interactions (Skype, email, Google calendar) among the members of a start-up team, a contemporary business setting that has not yet received any discourse analytic attention (cf. Holmes and Marra, 2004; Svennevig, 2008; Schnurr and Chan, 2011; Choi and Schnurr, 2014). The team represents a case of what is generally known as distributed leadership (Vine et al., 2008) as there are no formally assigned leaders. Hence, leadership has to be negotiated. The study examines the dynamics between leadership

and conflict by focussing on how the members of the entrepreneurial team deal with a particular conflict - a business proposal - across media and time. It analyses how the proposal is endorsed, rejected, abandoned and a new one devised as a result of disagreements between team members across different computer-mediated communication channels.

The study draws on politeness theory to evaluate the impact and strength of the disagreements in relation to the participants' face needs and their prior and on-going interpersonal relationship. Special attention is paid to the way the team members support or reject the proposal according to the medium of communication in which they interact. The analysis takes into account how their behaviour is influenced by retrospective and prospective communications between them (Sigman, 1991), including how their professional face (Márquez Reiter, 2009) needs and existing personal relationships play out in the way disagreements are performed and reacted to. Overall, the analysis shows two facets of leadership in conflict: as a conjointly enacted, yet contested process.

(Im)politeness in reports of interactions with hallucinatory voices

Elena Semino - *Lancaster University*

Zsófia Demjén - *University College London*

Agnes Marszalek - *University College London*

Filippo Varese - *University of Manchester*

This paper reports on a pilot study investigating how 10 voice-hearers with diagnoses of psychosis describe their interactions with hallucinatory voices. We focus particularly on how relative power and control manifest themselves through (im)politeness phenomena in the reported interactional behaviour of voice and hearer.

Voice-hearing is reported by approximately 70% of individuals with diagnoses on the schizophrenia-spectrum, but a sizable minority copewell with such experiences (Jenner et al. 2008). A key factor seems to be hearers' perceptions of the power of the voices to influence their actions and mental states (Peters et al. 2012) and the extent to which they in turn feel in control of their own thinking and of the voices' behaviour. However, this 'sense of control' is normally measured by psychometric assessments which rely on voice-hearers' awareness of and willingness to disclose the nature of their relationships with voices, and which do not distinguish between potentially different types of control.

We discuss the potential contribution of an analysis of face management and (im)politeness in voice-hearers' reports of interactions with voices in the 10 interviews. We show the ways in which the voices are reported to attack or, more rarely, enhance, different aspects of the hearer's 'face' (Spencer-Oatey 2002, 2007), and consider the variety of reported reactions on the voice-hearer's part. We argue that impoliteness in

particular can be one of the ways in which the voices exercise control over the hearer (cf. Culpeper's 2011 'coercive impoliteness') and report some preliminary evidence of a correlation between impoliteness on the voices' part and hearers' degree of distress. We finish by reflecting on the implications of our findings for a better understanding of the lived experience of voice-hearers and for new ways of assessing voice-hearers' relationship with voices.

Construing credibility/authority in the discourse of hotel websites: the role of attenuation and self-mentioning

Francisca Suau - *Universitat de València*

Credibility is a powerful concept in marketing (Ming 2006, Eisend 2006), tightly linked to that of authority, a generic necessary function that must be achieved through the way in which hotel websites are discursively designed. The need to express authority without sounding too imposing is one of the main aims that promotional genres, and specifically hotel websites, seek in order to attain persuasion. Authority is partly displayed by two important categories, attenuation and self-mentioning (Hyland 2005, Suau-Jiménez 2016, 2018 -forthcoming) that belong to the author's stance (White 2003, Hyland 2008). Attenuation or hedging, as a politeness strategy, is oriented towards the elimination of conflict in communication and seen as a pragmatic competence that diminishes the illocutionary force of a speech act (Brown & Levinson 1987; Fraser 2010), and, in this case, softens the force of self-mentioning. Attenuation is determined by tact, focusing on social distance and power relations (Holmes 1995). As for self-mentioning, its usability and adequacy in this promotional genre lies in the personalization and assertiveness that different discursive strategies provide, emanating from the author's voice (hotel) in different ways.

This research attempts to unveil the role that attenuation and self-mentioning play in their search for authority and credibility, in the discursive design of hotel websites. The study analyzes a 100,000-word corpus of hotel websites in English, following the stance framework (Hyland 2005, 2008). We aim to uncover how credibility/authority is construed, and more specifically, whether there is some kind of complementary and strategic relation between self-mentioning and hedging/attenuation. Results indicate that authors of hotel websites at times address future customers from an indirect "the hotel" that attempts to blur authority behind this indirect self-mention, whereas in other occasions, a direct "we" is displayed. As for hedging, results show that hotel websites display attenuation strategies that hedges fulfill, although in lesser amount than, for instance, the hedging pattern of academic discourse. Conclusions point towards constructions of authority in hotel websites with important lexico-grammatical and functional variance of category realizations. Implications for professional communities that use English as their lingua franca in the discursive design of digital promotional genres are suggested.

Face management in international workplace: Balancing between efficiency in business and personal relationship

Tomoko Tani - *Tokyo University*

Seiko Otsuka - *Osaka Institute of Technology*

In recent years, Japanese-affiliated companies operating in China are rapidly increasing. Under the situation, some studies have pointed out (Li, 2012; Osaki, 2003) that cultural differences can cause malfunction in their business or personal relationships. However, because of their methodological limitation of interviews and questionnaires, problems are attributed to only cultural differences and they do not explain how and why the malfunction occurs.

By focusing on their face management in a series of row conversation between Japanese business people and Chinese business people occurred at international workplaces, this study empirically reveals how they communicated for business purpose while paying attention to their own and others' face.

As an example, in a case of a Japanese boss (male) and a Chinese team member (female) at a meeting, a conflict frame started with complaints by the Chinese team member. She blamed her boss for a trouble with a customer in a louder voice by using rough expressions in front of some other Chinese members. The Japanese boss accepted the complaints somehow at first, but finally turned them down with a louder voice after some sets of persuasive interaction.

According to Sueda (1993), Chinese notion of face is closely connected to showing competence of a person and gaining an actual profit, while Japanese regard face as something relates to social appropriateness. In this case, along with follow-up interviews, it can be analyzed that the boss followed the Japanese criteria of face at first, then intentionally behaved more like "Chinese" as he needed to pursue the practical purpose of a business meeting. In both ways, his behavior was not interpreted as impoliteness by Chinese members referring to Chinese criteria of face, which means he entirely maintained his good demeanor (Goffman, 1967). He got both his face-achievement and the actual profit in business.

Self-praise on LinkedIn: (im)politeness strategies used in French and US professional biographies

Els Tobback - *University of Antwerp*

LinkedIn professional biographies may be expected to be one of the genres that do not respect the “Modesty maxim” formulated by Leech (1983): “minimize the expression of praise of self; maximize the expression of dispraise of self” (Leech 1983 in Dayter 2014: 91). In a comparable way to job applications and job interviews, indeed, these short texts placed on top of LinkedIn profiles explicitly aim at presenting one-self in a positive way. However, it appears that uttering positive statements about oneself may be done in a more or less bragging way (see e.g. Miller *et al.* 1992, Dayter 2014, 2016).

In this paper, we investigated self-praise strategies in LinkedIn biographies from a cross-cultural perspective, analysing a randomly compiled corpus of some 90 professional biographies written by French (46 bios) and US (46 bios) communication professionals. Following Hyland and Tse (2012), we analysed (i) the sequences of thematic chunks (called rhetorical ‘moves’) expressing what (which content) writers reveal to present themselves in a positive way and (ii) the way in which writers express these rhetorical moves.

Whereas the rhetorical moves analysis only reveals some subtle differences between both corpora, the data show some statistically significant differences when it comes to the linguistic strategies used by LinkedIn authors. US communication professionals use significantly more often than the French quantitative or qualitative expressions (e.g. expressions of judgement and appreciation, cf. Martin and White 2005) that explicitly enhance the positive image of their professional identity. These results interestingly support the hypothesis that, even on a globalised social media platform like LinkedIn, different cultures may show different attitudes with respect to the potentially face-threatening nature of self-praise.

From *how to say it right* to *how to do it right*: Russian speakers learn how to be polite in Italian

Victoriya Trubnikova - *University of Padua*

The aim of this work is to present the development, implementation and learners’ perception of a teaching unit on politeness in requests designed for native Russian learners living in Italy.

This work is the fruit of a PhD dissertation which was aimed at bridging the gap between cross-cultural pragmatics research and classroom practices. In the first place, the collection and classification of pragmalinguistic resources used by native Italians, Russians and non-native speakers of the Italian language create the baseline for the

definition of politeness tendencies. In the second place, the implementation of the collected data in the classroom setting proves the urgent need to expose the learners to this kind of linguistic input in order to enhance their pragmatic competence.

In particular, at the conference I would like to present the results of my guided discovery lessons with a group of four Russian female learners of Italian where the main focus was put on:

- 1) The metapragmatic reflections of learners on politeness in Italian and in Russian languages;
- 2) The results of written Discourse Completion Tasks (DCT) presented before and after the input exposure.

In order to investigate the perception of politeness and the acquisition progress the classroom interaction was transcribed and the DCT results were analysed. Namely, the conversation analysis traces the perception of appropriate linguistic behaviour while written responses to DCT show the preliminary results on acquisition of pragmalinguistic strategies and mitigation mechanisms.

The need for this study is based on the lack of empirical data for this language combination (Russian-Italian) and on the absence of pragmatic dimension and analytical tools in foreign language teaching in Russia. These premises have a great impact both on the perception of politeness as a strategic mechanism and on the speech act performance, which is shown by the results of this study.

How do age and gender factors influence on politeness strategies in Japanese conversation between newly acquainted people?

Mayumi Usami - *National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics*

The present study analyzed 72 Japanese dyadic conversations between newly acquainted people in order to examine the language use of 12 working women about 35 years old, depending on the interlocutors' age and gender. These twelve base subjects interacted with six different partners: 1) older-same sex, 2) the same age-same sex, 3) younger-same sex, 4) older-opposite sex, 5) the same age-opposite sex, and 6) younger-opposite sex.

The main hypothesis is that in modern Japanese society, the age factor takes precedence over the gender factor in conversation between newly acquainted people.

The major results were as follows: 1) the older people initiated topics more frequently than the younger people in age-asymmetric conversations, regardless of interlocutor's sex, 2) in age-symmetric conversations the frequency of topic initiations of the both speakers were about the same, and 3) "incomplete utterances" were used relatively more, when the younger people initiated topics. 4) Female interlocutors used significantly more honorifics than did males; this was the only gender-related result.

These results suggest that Japanese women's conversational style or language use, which has been reported to be passive, is changing to be more active, whereas the sense of seniority still remains strong in Japanese culture and is clearly reflected in language management strategies. On the other hand, the fact that female speakers used significantly more honorifics than did males suggests that the use of honorifics functioned more as a stylistic choice for the speaker than as a reflection of the actual relationship with the interlocutor as traditionally explained.

In the presentation, I will discuss these results in relation to so-called women's language in Japanese and the actual language use of the present Japanese women. I will also discuss the results from the viewpoint of culture-specific rules of conversational interactions, and how these results can be accounted in the framework of "Discourse Politeness Theory".

The polite usage of English epistemic and inferential modals and adverbs in linguistic and philosophical research articles

Liisa Vilkki - *University of Helsinki*

This presentation discusses the role of English epistemic and inferential modals (e.g. may, might, should) and adverbs (e.g. perhaps, certainly, evidently) in conveying politeness in linguistic and philosophical research articles. Politeness is interpreted as a matter of conventionalization, and conventionalization is inherently evaluative (cf. Terkourafi 2015). Politeness is an attitude composed of particular positive evaluative beliefs about particular behaviors in particular social contexts and within particular social groups (cf. Culpeper 2011). My theoretical framework is cognitive-functional, and as a background study, I refer to the results of my typological study of epistemic modality and inferentiality, based on the sample of 130 languages.

Previous research has established that written texts, such as academic texts, embody interactions between writers and readers (e.g. Hyland 1998, 2005). Academic writing has come to be seen as a persuasive endeavor involving interaction between writers and readers. From this perspective, expressions like epistemic and inferential modals and adverbs have an important role. For example, Hyland (2005) argues that these kinds of expressions are used to control the level of personality and that they are central to building a convincing argument in academic texts. Previous studies, however, do not explicitly discuss their relation to politeness.

In this study, an electronic corpus of 60 research articles was compiled. They were taken from five linguistic and five philosophical journals, published in 2015 and 2016. In this corpus, a detailed contextual analysis of utterances containing epistemic and inferential modals and adverbs suggests that these expressions are often used to convey politeness. For example, they are used to establish solidarity and indicate deference, modesty, or respect for colleagues. They are, however, not wholly conventionalized in

the expression of politeness, since they also indicate epistemic or inferential properties. Philosophical articles contain a higher amount of near conventionalized polite usages than linguistic articles. Various kinds of usages of the expressions can be described by means of the notions of meaning potential and cognitive domain (cf. Langacker 2006), and the differences in the degrees of conventionalization can be explained in terms of focusing, which represents construal phenomena (e.g. Verhagen 2007).

Face-threat, impoliteness and mitigation in Spanish courtroom

Cristina Villalba Ibáñez - *Universitat de València-Universitat Jaume I*

PANEL: *Social functions of pragmatic attenuation: politeness and impoliteness*
(Convenors: M. Albelda Marco & M. J. Barros García)

This study aims to reflect on the way face-threats and impoliteness are presented in Spanish trials. A second goal is to discuss those cases where mitigation appears once the face is damaged (Briz 1998, Caffi 1999). In terms of facework, trials can be understood as a tension between two forces. On the one hand, trials entail conflict, since the process is based on the confrontation of, at least, two versions. On the other hand, this conflict is framed in an institutional space where there is a behaviour code that rules the interaction in order to find a solution. This tension makes the courtroom a privileged environment to study negative attitudes towards some behaviours—that is, impoliteness (Culpeper 2011)—and to prove that in this genre, face-threatening acts are not always cases of impoliteness, as they may be contemplated as something appropriate in that context (Archer 2008, 2011; Culpeper 1998; Terkourafi 2008). In addition, the study of mitigation, a strategy oriented to reduce the illocutive force of an act or to defocus the presence of participants in order to satisfy a discursive goal (Briz and Albelda 2013), may shade some light to classify those cases that can be understood as impolite or as threats in this particular genre. To accomplish these purposes, I base my study on a corpus of eight trials (two for each jurisdiction in the Spanish legal system). The corpus contains 4 hours, 7 minutes and 9 seconds of recordings (49,227 words). Preliminary results show that judges are the participants that more likely will threaten the image of the interlocutors, and lawyers will be the group that more often use mitigation to minimize a threat.

**‘She looks like Michael Gove’: Online public participation and aggression in the
‘Misogyny as hate crime’ debate**

Dimitra Vladimirova - *University of Nottingham*

Louise Mullany - *University of Nottingham*

This paper reports on an ongoing project on ‘The Language of Misogyny as Hate Crime’ conducted at the Linguistic Profiling for Professionals Unit, University of Nottingham, UK. On the 4th April 2016, Nottinghamshire Police Force became the first in the UK to announce that ‘misogyny’ was now going to be officially recognized as a hate crime, causing a (digital) media debate which spread across various (social) media platforms.

This paper focuses on 2081 online comments posted as a response to the Daily Mail article “Wolf whistling to become a HATE crime: Police force starts recording ‘uninvited verbal engagement’ from men to women in the same category as racist abuse”. Building on previous work on the increasingly prominent phenomenon of gendered impoliteness and aggression against women (e.g. Bou-Franch & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2014; Hardaker & McGlashan 2016) and drawing on the concept of indexicality (Ochs 1992), we explore a series of emergent discourses targeted at Nottingham Police’s Chief Constable Susannah Fish and her close collaborator, Melanie Jeffs, from Nottingham Women’s Centre.

Our findings point to the emergence of authenticity, normativity, and legitimacy discourses, focusing on gender and sexuality (‘Who is a real woman/man?’, ‘Who is a normal woman/man?’), legitimacy (‘Who is a real professional?’) and crime (‘What is a real crime?’). These discourses index ideological representations of gendered and intersectional identities, often co-constructed by disparate interactants ‘from below’ and play a significant role in the construction of online communities of dis/affiliation. The paper also explores the role of public participation in targeting well-known public figures, issues around anonymity and eponymity and the normalisation of impoliteness and aggression in digital contexts of communication.

Politeness strategies in Mexican homiletic discourse

Małgorzata Wielgosz - *Adam Mickiewicz University*

This paper aims to analyze the politeness strategies used in homiletic discourse from a speech-act theory perspective. The purpose of the analysis is to examine how directive and commissive speech acts are formulated in Mexican Catholic sermons with regard to reducing the risk of face-threat to the hearers.

In order to carry out this analysis, twenty homilies delivered in Spanish in the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City in 2012 have been examined. Since the

character of the analyzed sermons is clearly persuasive, the preacher tries to influence his hearers' behaviours and attitudes using multiple linguistic devices, such as directive and commissive speech acts. Given that in the homiletic discourse both directive and commissive speech acts usually have a deontic character (and thus, they impose a requirement on the hearer's behaviour), they constitute face-threatening acts. Taking into account principles of politeness, and in order to gain the audience's trust and attention, the priest uses indirect speech acts as a mechanism to reduce the threat to the interlocutor's face.

Regarding directive speech acts, the priest could give the impression that he wants to forcibly impose his point of view if he used imperative forms. For this reason, imperative forms are rarely found in the corpus, and if they appear, they are formulated in first person plural. In order to avoid impoliteness, the priest formulates his orders and requests using modal verbs, generic forms, impersonal directives, directive acts presented as coming from God, and lexical resources.

As far as commissive acts are concerned, the most common way of expressing them in the corpus analyzed is through conditionals: the preacher describes the condition that should be met in order for the faithful to gain a benefit (e.g. salvation). On the one hand, such speech acts may be treated as promises; on the other, they may be interpreted as warnings or threats. The warnings, however, are not uttered in a direct way, but they are implied.

Heckling and counter-heckling in the Japanese parliamentary debates

Ryogo Yanagida - *Osaka University*

Seiko Otsuka - *Osaka Institute of Technology*

Japanese parliamentary interaction, in a similar way to its British counterpart, has a distinctive feature: ratified members of parliament (MPs), who have an institutionalised right to speak, are required to deliver a speech in a formal way (e.g. by using honorific language). At the same time, MPs tend to heckle ratified speakers by using an informal aggressive language (e. g. without using honorific language), which conventionally tends to be tolerated. In spite of that this form of institutionalized aggression is a fascinating phenomenon from the linguist's point of view, little attention has been paid to it so far (but see Kadar 2014; and Kadar & Ran 2015).

By analysing a data set comprising interactions between the Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and MPs of the Opposition from three representative meetings of the parliament (Prime Minister's Question Time and Budget Committee meetings of both Houses), this paper illustrates interactional dynamics of heckling and counter-heckling performances. Specifically, focusing on whether and how heckled MPs, who receive uninvited disaffiliative responses from unrated MPs, engage in counter-performances against heckling, the paper identified the interactional 'strategies' of 1) ignoring the heckler(s),

2) taking a non-verbal action such as hand gesture or changing posture, and 3) taking a verbal action such as laughing, ridiculing or criticising the heckler(s). The third strategies are typically designed to invite affiliative responses from the audience MPs such as laughter or clap (Bull 2016), therefore function as effective counter-measures. The analysis goes on to investigate how MPs attempt/manage to interactionally maintain their positive social values or face (Goffman 1967, Brown and Levinson 1987) in front of the other MPs present in the parliament, and potentially to the public through the media, and also the ways in which they maintain in-group solidarity with their parties through heckling and counter-heckling.

Implicational impoliteness in computer-mediated communication:

An observation on anonymous social media

Han-Shiou Camille Yang - *Shih Hsin University*

The rapidly changing new media technology has reformed the social communication from face-to-face to virtual interactions. Among the types of computer-mediated communication (CMC), social media provide users open cyberspaces to freely express themselves which relates online participants, and this text-based hyperpersonal communication (...) *actually helps some find their voice* (Wood and Smith, 2005). However, the nature of this voice in social media and forums encourage flaming online (Levinson, 2012; Yus, 2013) and as Groshek and Cutino (2016) suggest, (...) *mobile or web-based content tends more toward greater incivility and impoliteness*. Focusing on on-line participants' voices, this study examined the post and feedback messages on *D-Card*, the most popular anonymous social media platform among university students in Taiwan. The data are collected from one of the controversial topic of the day, *A 3-second crash course on poster* (13 January 2018), received 21075 *Likes* in 24 hours, and 284 feedbacks with 58 appointed-interactant interactions are analyzed. This study aims to (1) analyze how three groups of implicational impoliteness, form-driven, convention-driven and context-driven (Culpeper, 2011; Haugh, 2015) are performed in CMC context when one take offence at implications, and what impoliteness triggers they are; and (2) how sequences are formed when interactants' virtual faces are anonymously attacked. Results reveal that both form-driven and convention-driven implicational impoliteness are frequently triggered in the anonymous context, where participants' feedbacks are judgmental and criticisms are easily made. In some appointed-interactant interactions, participants optionally tag one of the interactants and reply directly to face-attack the appointed-interactants, where impoliteness is performed unambiguously and further encourage flaming.

Perceptions of (im)politeness in instrumental invitations and gift-giving in Chinese

Chenyu Zhuang - *Independent researcher from University of Huddersfield*

In empirical (im)politeness research there is a tendency to focus on either of the two types of speech acts that have been widely viewed as opposite in terms of orientation to face: ‘face-threatening acts (FTAs)’ (Brown & Levinson 1987) such as requesting and apologising (Blum-Kulka *et al.* 1989; Márquez Reiter 2000; Ogiermann 2009) and face-enhancing acts (FEAs) including complimenting (Holmes 1988; Sifianou 2001) and inviting (Mao 1992; Grainger *et al.* 2015). Despite their invaluable contributions, this gives us the impression that a speech act exists in a vacuum and hence can be pinned down independently. This is at odds with observations that a certain speech act may sometimes shade into another (Leech 2014: 181). More importantly, as a consequence of this assumption, speech events in which FTAs and FEAs are simultaneously embedded remain largely unexamined. Consequently, the questions await answers of how these opposing speech acts may be juxtaposed in a social encounter and how participants make judgements about (im)politeness in the unfolding of interaction.

Against this backdrop, this study explores participants’ perceptions of (im)politeness in invitations and gift-giving (henceforth I&G) that are motivated by the offerer’s private social goal (typically making a request), as opposed to those whose function is mainly to express friendship and good feelings (Befu 1966; Yang 1994; Zhu *et al.* 2000). By analysing a corpus of I&Gs from vernacular stories in pre-modern Chinese, the presentation will show that instrumental I&Gs tend to be more elaborate in structure than expressive or affective ones. We will argue that this can be partly attributed to the different amount of facework required by the presence/absence of a request. In the presentation we will illustrate how an offer was made and how it was mutually perceived to have ulterior motives. Moreover, following discursive theories (Eelen 2001; Mills 2003; Watts 2003; Locher & Watts 2005), we will argue that (im)politeness is essentially a matter of judgement that occasions in specific contexts.