CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the review of the relevant literature which is going to prepare the ground for the introduction of the theoretical background. The background includes definition of polite behavior and different conceptualization of politeness as reported in the literature. The chapter also deals with instrumental theories and views of politeness. Speech act theory will be elaborated and a brief introduction of the relevant notable studies on apology and request will be presented as well.

2.2 Concept of Politeness

As a socialization process competent adult members in every society learn how to behave politely, linguistically and otherwise. Hence, politeness has not been born as an instinctive mankind property, but it is a phenomenon which has been constructed through sociocultural and historical processes.

Historically, traces of the English term *polite* can be found in 15^{th} century. Etymologically, however, it derives from late Medieval Latin *politus* meaning ‘smoothed and accomplished’. The term *polite* was synonymous with concepts such as ‘refined’ and ‘polished’ when people were concerned. In the 17^{th} century a polite person was defined as ‘one of refined courteous manners’, according to the Oxford Dictionary of Etymology.

Ehlich (1992) believes that the French, Spanish, German, and Dutch courtesy values such as ‘loyalty’ and ‘reciprocal trust’ were used by upper class people in the Middle Ages to distinguish themselves from the rest of people. According to Ehlich (1992), the primary purposes behind following courtesy values were achieving success, winning honors and behaving appropriately at court.

Elias (1969) states that during the renaissance period not only upper class people but also the rest of people were concerned with the amelioration of social manners and social tact as well as a civilized society. The consideration that one person owes to another one was of great importance to maintain and balance social relations; moreover, the reciprocal obligations and duties among people of all walks of life needed to be determined.

In Persian, *adab* (politeness) is defined as the knowledge by which human beings can avoid any fault in speech, according to Dehkhoda dictionary. Dehkhoda dictionary, however, extends the realm of politeness to the knowledge of any affair through which man is able to abstain from any kind of offense which would result in a peaceful and brotherly relationship among people. Sahragard (2008: 406) states that “*Adab* primarily operates on the individual level. It can, nonetheless, be used to refer to a group’s interactive behavior” as well.

2.3 Politeness: Preliminary Remarks

Developing theories of politeness or investigating norms of politeness in different cultures as well as presenting the definition of politeness have been the focus of attention by most studies on politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Kasper, 1998; Fraser,1990; Chen, 1993; Watts, Ide & Ehlich, 1992; Xie, 2003).

The status quo in politeness studies reveals “numerous definitions of politeness” (Xie, 2003: 812) that indicates “varied conceptualizations of politeness” (ibid.). Several factors have given rise to the current states of affairs among which Xie (2003) calls the lack of a clear differentiation and a thorough examination of the relationship between commonsense and scientific notions of politeness as one of the important factors. Watts et al. (1992) use the term “first-order politeness” and “second-order politeness” to clarify the commonsense and scientific notions of politeness. They state that:

> First-order politeness corresponds to the various ways in which polite behavior is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups. It encompasses ... commonsense notions of politeness. Second-order politeness, on the other hand, is a theoretical construct, a term within a theory of social behavior and language usage (ibid: 3).

First-order politeness covers the common notion of politeness as realized and practiced by members of a community in everyday interactions. Felix-Brasdefer (2008: 10) divides first-order politeness into three components, namely “expressive, classificatory, and metapragmatic” politeness. The expressive first-order politeness is the polite intention that the speakers manifest through speech. The use of politeness markers such as ‘please’, and such conventional formulaic expressions as ‘thank you’ are instances of expressive first-order politeness. The classificatory first-order politeness involves the classification of behaviors as polite and impolite based on the addressee’s evaluation. This evaluation derives from metapragmatic first-order politeness, that is, the way people think of politeness and the way it is conceptualized in various interactional contexts. Altogether, first-order politeness is an evaluation of ordinary notions of politeness with regards to the norms of society; the way politeness is realized through language in daily interactions by speakers as well as the hearer’s perception and assessment of politeness. The study of linguistic politeness as one of the aspects of interaction has been considered as first-order politeness by researchers (e.g. Eelen, 2001; Ide, 1993) and has been the topic of investigation.

At the level of second-order politeness, it is an attempt to develop a scientific theory of politeness. The theory can elaborate the functions of politeness in interaction and provide the criteria by which im/polite behavior is distinguished. Second-order politeness also can present universal characteristics of politeness in different communities. Accordingly, various models of politeness have tried to account for politeness universal characteristics as a theoretical construct (e.g. Brown & Levinson, 1978; 1987).

As Watts et al. (1992) call for a clear distinction between commonsense and scientific notions of politeness to prepare the ground to have a better understanding of politeness definitions, Eelen (1999) also argues that a distinction between commonsense and scientific notions of politeness is necessary. He observes that when researchers talk about politeness they “somehow never seem to be talking about ... those phenomena ordinary speakers would identify as ‘politeness’ or ‘impoliteness’” (p.166). Moreover, the presuppositions that these researchers adopt when discussing politeness “do not come from their talk with ordinary speakers asking what these ordinary speakers ... have to say on this matter” (Xie, 2003: 811-812). As a result, scholars elevate “a lay first-order concept ... to the status of a second-order concept” (Watts et al., 1992: 4). Put another way, they “qualify certain utterances as polite or impolite, where it is not always clear and sometimes doubtful whether ordinary speakers do [so]” (Eelen, 1999: 166).

With regard to the above remarks, in the following section a thorough introduction of notions of politeness and different conceptualizations of this notion proposed through different theories will be dealt with so that a background of the conceptualization and the theory this study would adopt is developed. However, introductory remarks will be presented below first.

As for the manifestation of politeness, Haverkate (1987) puts forward a categorization by which he states that politeness can be expressed through communicative and non-communicative acts. In spite of the fact that there is no “unanimous agreement as to what is interpreted as communicative” as Marquez-Reiter (2000:4) believes, the categorization might be of help as a starting point to classify various manifestation of politeness.

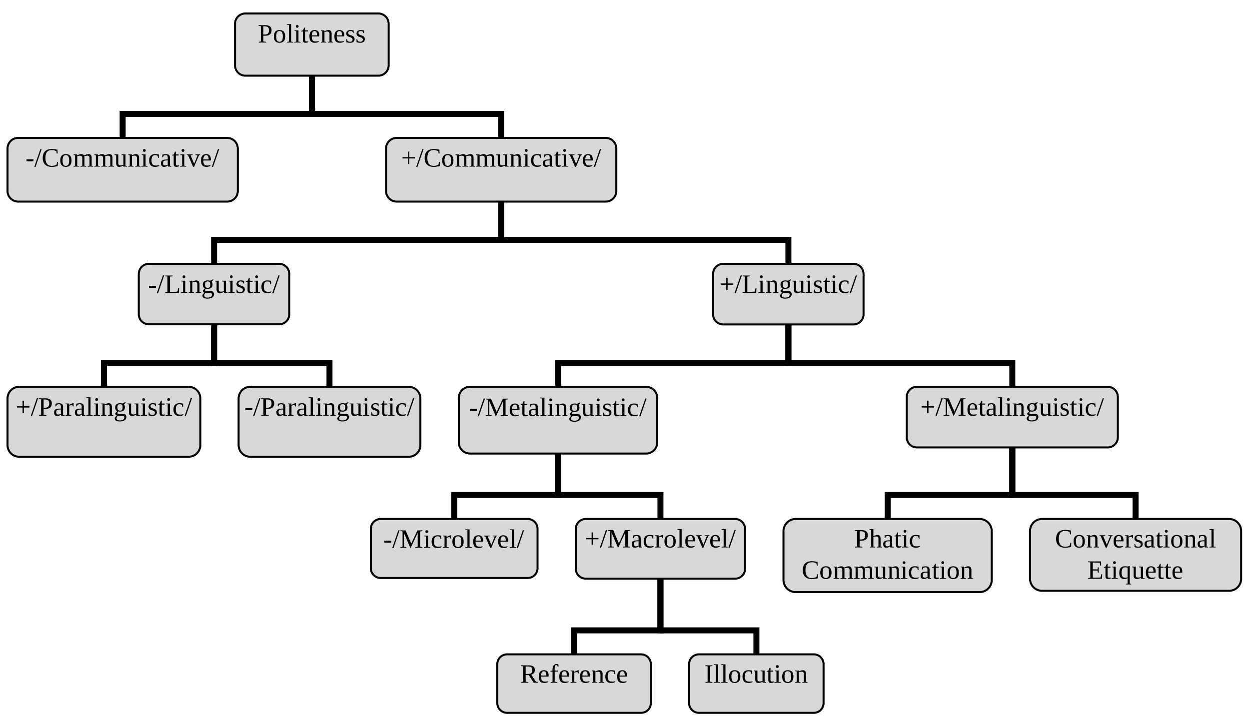

Figure 2.1 Politeness Manifestation (Marquez-Reiterz, 2000:4)

According to Figure 2.1, acts that are only realized instrumentally can be categorized as non-communicative politeness. The case can be observed, for instance, when students stand up as a professor enters the classroom.

Communicative politeness consists of linguistic and non-linguistic forms as depicted in Figure 2.1, with the latter form manifested as paralinguistically or non-paralinguistically. Gestures along with simultaneous verbal signs are called paralinguistic type of politeness, e.g. bowing and greeting as it is customary among the Japanese. The use of such prosodic features as intonational contours, stress and tone of voice are signs of paralinguistic forms of politeness. The prosodic features function either as mitigating or as aggregating the force of messages because as Searle (1969, cited in Marquez-Reiter, 2000: 5) states "the illocutionary force of an utterance may not be signaled by the mood of the verb or by its word order, but also by prosodic features". The expression of the other kind of non-linguistic politeness, that is non-paralinguistic, is just through gestures without any verbal signs accompanied. An example of the type of politeness is when someone nods his/her head to indicate interest in what is being said or to direct attention to the speaker.

Metalinguistic politeness as a type of linguistic politeness prepares the ground to establish and maintain social contact and keep any kind of social tension off as well. Marquez-Reiter (2000: 5) classifies "phatic communion together with conversational etiquette" as a type of expressing metalinguistic politeness. Malinowski (1930) points out continuing talking, avoiding silence, and talking about stereotypical topics as instances of phatic communion.

Drawing on figure 2.1, non-metalinguistic politeness is commonly understood as linguistic politeness and has been explored from different perspectives in many studies and is going to be investigated here too.

2.4 Politeness: Notions, Conceptualizations, and Theories

Politeness research ranged from developing theoretical notions of politeness and claiming universal validity across diverse cultures and languages to investigating politeness in individual cultures to discover cultural slants on commonsense notions of politeness. However, relevant literature of the field lacks a consistency in definitions of politeness among researchers. In additions to inconsistency in politeness definitions, there are cases in which the writers even fail to define politeness explicitly due to their blurry comments on the term.

Fraser's (1990) critical overview of the way researchers approach politeness, leads him to come up with four major models by which researchers can treat the term politeness more systematically and conduct their research based on the model of their taste. He explains the models and provides a characterization of every model to shed light on the major pillars of each one. Although Fraser just classifies the treatment of politeness in the past research, his classification is a point of departure for many researchers of the field since the date of publication onward to base their theoretical framework on a systematic model of politeness. Moreover, Fraser's (1990) work has been one of the most frequent sources referred to in the relevant investigation and explorations of politeness.

As a point of departure, therefore, Fraser's (1990) four perspectives namely, the social norm view, the conversational maxim view, the face-saving view, and the conversational-contract view as the most classic perspectives on the treatment of politeness are discussed first.

2.4.1 The Social Norm View

According to Fraser, "the social norm view of politeness assumes that each society has a particular set of social norms consisting of more or less explicit rules that prescribe a certain behavior, a state of affairs, or a way of thinking in a context" (Fraser, 1990: 220). One example of these rules is the difference between a formal address *vous* and an informal *tu* in some languages. Ide (1989) was one of the first to express this view in her study of politeness phenomena in the Japanese society. According to Nwoye (1992: 312), within the social norm view, politeness is "seen as arising from an awareness of one's social obligations to the other members of the group to which one owes primary allegiance."

According to Held (1992: 137) the social norm view consists of two factors:

a) status conscious behavior which is realized by showing deference and respect to others' social rank.

b) moral components and decency which involves a concern for general human dignity (by protecting others from unpleasant intrusion, and respecting taboos and negative topics) as well as the maintenance of others' personal sphere (by reducing or avoiding territorial encroachment).

The social norm view has been connected to a type of politeness called "discernment" (*wakimaei*) by some researchers like Watts et al. (1992). Ide states that *wakimae* is "the practice of polite behavior according to social conventions" (1989: 23). W*akimae* is a behavior according to "one's sense of place or role in a given situation". Ide (1989) believes that this is helpful in order to have a friction free communication which runs smoothly.

Socio-cultural conventions have also been regarded by Janney and Arndt (1992) as one of the frameworks which shapes politeness as 'social politeness' which is akin to the social norm conventions. 'Social politeness' gives prominence to in-group conventions to organize the interaction among members of groups smoothly. Such conventions as 'conversational routines', 'politeness formulas', and 'compliment formulas' are among strategies that prepare the ground for members of a group to get 'gracefully into, and back out of, recurring social situations such as: initiating ... maintaining ... and terminating conversation' (Janney & Arndt, 1992: 23).

2.4.2 The Conversational Maxim View

The second politeness model, i.e. the conversational maxim view, relies principally on the work of Grice (1975). The cornerstone of politeness studies is based on the Cooperative Principle (CP) and according to Felix-Brasdefer (2008: 11) Grice's Cooperative Principle is "the foundation of models of politeness". Among the main contributors to this view Lakoff (1973; 1989) and Leech (1983) have been the major figures, although Edmonson (1981) and Krashen (1989) are also among adherents to this view, though to a lesser extent.

Grice argues that "conversationalists are rational individuals who are, all the other things being equal, primarily interested in the efficient conveying of message" (Fraser 1990:

222). The superior principle according to Grice is the Cooperative Principle (CP) that is to "make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged". To put it more simply, the Cooperative Principle calls for what one has to say, at the time it has to be said, and in the manner in which it has to be said. In Arundale's (2005) term CP means 'operating together' when the creation of a verbal interaction is expected.

Grice bases the Cooperative Principle (CP) on four maxims, which he assumes speakers will follow. The maxims are termed, as Lakoff (1977) reports, as follows:

- maxim of quantity (say as much and no more than is necessary),
- maxim of quality (say what is true),
- maxim of relevance (say what is relevant),
- maxim of manner (say in a non-confusing way).

Grice believes that in order for the speakers to produce utterances which are informative, true, relevant, and non-confusing they have to adhere to CP. However, Grice also explains situations in which one or more of the maxims are violated in an attempt for extra meaning. That is to say, the speakers lead the addressee's attention to making an inference, or 'conversational implicature' as Grice terms.

Arundale (2005) suggests that conversational implicature happens when an inference is made from what the speakers says; conversational implicature is triggered through the violation of one or more maxims by the speaker and is elicited by the hearer relying on the assumption that the speaker is still adhering to the CP. People who do not follow the maxims in communication but still seem cooperative, resort to another set of rules to communicate that according to Lakoff (1973) are called “the rules of politeness”. Leech (1983) uses the term ‘the politeness principle’ to refer to the same rules. Lakoff’s (1973) ‘rules of politeness’ and Leech’s (1983) ‘politeness principle’ can be covered by the umbrella term of conversational maxim view of politeness.

Despite the frequent adoption of Grice’s CP, it has encountered some critiques. Leech (1983) states that Grice’s “framework can not directly explain why people are often indirect in conveying what they mean” (cited in Felix-Brasdefer, 2008: 12). Keenan (1976) also questions the universality of Grice’s maxims, because according to Keenan (ibid.) achieving politeness through CP is not observed in all cultures.

In addition to the above-mentioned criticisms, I believe although Grice’s maxims are useful at theoretical levels, it lacks the practicality and applicability of a good theory due to the vague and overlapping maxims. For example, it is practically impossible to discuss Irony within the maxims; in other words, it is not clear whether Irony is implicated by flouting the maxim of relevance or the maxim of quality. Irony, as an implicature, can be fit quite comfortably into both maxims. It flouts both at once, and perhaps the Manner maxim, too. The desire to decide which maxim Irony flouts can be subjective and different based on the interlocutors’ impression from the context. Therefore, Grice’s CP seems to lack the strong bases to be applied in such studies as the linguistic politeness in the realization of particular speech acts.

2.4.2.1 Lakoff's Rules of Politeness

Although the Cooperative Principle fails to account for politeness directly, as a reference it gave rise to the formulation of the other theoretical and empirical work such as Lakoff's rules of politeness. Lakoff (1973) integrated Grice's conversational maxims with her own taxonomy which consisted of two rules: 'be clear' and 'be polite'. She summarized Grice's maxims in her first rule and proposed the following sub-rules as the sub-rules of her second rule, i.e. 'be polite'. These sub-rules aim at "making one's addressee think well of one" and accordingly "imparting a favorable feeling" as far as the content of communication is concerned (Lakoff, 1973: 298). She put forward the sub-rules of politeness as follows:

- Rule 1 (Don't impose)
- Rule 2 (Give options)
- Rule 3 (Make a feel good – be friendly)

The first sub-rule, according to Lakoff (1977), is concerned with "distance and formality", the second rule is concerned with "hesitancy" and the third one with "equality".

Lakoff (1973) states that speakers employ the above-mentioned rules to either express politeness or avoid offence as a consequence of indicating speaker/addressee status. Rule 1 (Don't impose) is realized once a sense of distance is created between the speaker and hearer by the speaker. The realization of Rule 1 would result, according to Lakoff (1977: 89), in "ensuring that status distinctions are adhered to, that no informality develops, that the relationship remains purely formal." The use of title + last name as a form of address, the preference of the passive to the active, and the use of technical terms to avoid the unmentionable in such situations as medical, business, legal, and academic ones are examples of the implementation of this rule.

As for Rule 2 (Give options) – "the rule of hesitancy" in Lakoff's (1977) term– the speaker gives the addressee options to express uncertainty over the speech act he, i.e. the speaker, is performing. Lakoff states that in realizing Rule 2 "the speaker knows what he wants, knows he has the right to expect it from the addressee, and the addressee know it" (1977: 90). Rule 2 is also used as a sign of true politeness i.e., "the speaker knows what he wants, but sincerely does not wish to force the addressee into a decision" (ibid.). The use of '*please*'; particles like '*well*', '*er*', and '*ah*'; euphemisms; hedges like '*sorta*', '*in a way*' and '*loosely speaking*' can be considered as some linguistic realizations of Rule 2.

Rule 3 (make a feel good) is concerned with "the equality rule" which expresses that although the speaker is superior or equal in status to the addressee, the speaker implies that s/he and the addressee are equal to make the addressee feel good. This sense of camaraderie or solidarity can be verbally expressed by the use of first names or nicknames which gives the impression of an informal relationship between speaker and addressee; particles such as '*I mean*', '*like*' and '*y'know*' enable the speaker to show with it his feelings about what he is talking about (Lakoff, 1977: 94-5). The linguistic manifestation of Rule 3 can be achieved through giving compliments and using explicit terms for expressing taboo terms. Lakoff (1990: 39) considers modern American culture as a culture in which "the appearance of openness and niceness is to be sought".

Lack of sufficient empirical evidence for cross-cultural politeness strategies has been named as one of the criticisms addressing Lakoff's notion of politeness. She also does not distinguish clearly polite behavior from appropriate behavior. According to Felix-Brasdefer (2008: 15) "what is considered appropriate during social interaction (e.g., greeting, leave-takings, and other routine formulas) may not always be interpreted as polite behavior".

2.4.2.2 Leech's Politeness Principle and Maxims of Interaction

Relying on a Grician framework, Leech (1983) proposed the Politeness Principle (PP) and elaborated on politeness as a regulative factor in communication through a set of maxims. Politeness, as Leech (1983: 131) found out, is a facilitating factor that influences the relation between 'self', by which Leech means the speaker, and 'other' that is the addressee and/or a third party. To Leech politeness is described as "minimizing the expression of impolite beliefs as the beliefs are unpleasant or at a cost to it" (1983: 131).

Leech attached his Politeness Principle (PP) to Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle (CP) in an attempt to account for the violation of the CP in conversation. The author regarded politeness as the key pragmatic phenomenon not only for the indirect conveying of what people mean in communication but also as one of the reasons why people deviate from CP. Leech (1983: 82) explains the relation between his own Politeness Principle and Grice's Cooperative Principle as follows:

> The CP enables one participant in a conversation to communicate on the assumption that the other participant is being cooperative. In this, the CP has the function of regulating what we say so that it contributes to some assumed illocutionary or discoursal good(s). It could be argued,

> however, that the PP has a higher regulative role than this to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enables us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place.

Moreover, Leech (1983) proposed a pragmatic framework consisting of two components: textual rhetoric and interpersonal rhetoric which are constituted by a set of principles each one respectively. The Politeness Principle as a subdivision is embedded within the interpersonal rhetoric domain along with two other subdivisions, that is, Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP) and Leech's Irony Principle (IP). Leech (1983, as cited in Marquez-Reiter, 2000: 9) regards the IP as "a secondary principle which allows a speaker to be impolite while seeming to be polite", in other words, the speaker seems ironic by violating the cooperative principle. "The IP then overtly conflicts with the PP, though it enables the hearer to arrive at the point of utterance by the way of implicature, indirectly" (ibid.).

One very important characteristic in Leech's theory is the distinction he makes between 'absolute politeness' and 'relative politeness' with an emphasis on the former, in his attitude. 'Absolute politeness' is brought into play in an appropriate degree 'to minimize the impoliteness of inherently impolite illocution' and 'maximizing the politeness of polite illocution' (Leech, 1983: 83-4). 'Absolute politeness' involves the association of speech acts with types of politeness and has a positive and negative pole, since some speech acts, such as offers, are intrinsically polite whereas others such as orders are intrinsically impolite.

‘Relative politeness’, as Leech (ibid: 84) states is relative to the norms of ‘a particular culture or language community’ and context or speech situation is influential on its variations. This relativity is a matter of the difference of language speakers in the application of the politeness principle.

Leech (1983) establishes a set of maxims to form the PP as stated below:

(I) TACT MAXIM (in impositives and commissives)
(a) Minimize cost to *other*
[(b) Maximize benefit to *other*]

(II) GENEROSITY MAXIM (in impositives and commissives)
(a) Minimize benefit to *self*
[(b) Maximize cost to *self*]

(III) APPROBATION MAXIM (in expressives and assertives)
(a) Minimize dispraise of *other*
[(b) Maximize praise of *other*]

(IV) MODESTY MAXIM (in expressives and assertives)
(a) Minimize praise of *self*
[(b) Maximize dispraise of *self*]

(V) AGREEMENT MAXIM (in assertives)
(a) Minimize disagreement between *self* and *other*
[(b) Maximize agreement between *self* to *other*]

(VI) SYMPATHY MAXIM (in [expressive])
(a) Minimize antipathy between *self* and *other*
[(b) Maximize sympathy between *self* and *other*]

(Locher, 2004: 64)

The degree of tact or generosity appropriate to a particular speech act can also be determined by a set of pragmatic scales proposed by Leech (1983: 123). The scales have been termed as:

- the optionality scale which is “the amount of the choice of addressee to perform a proposed action” (Locher, 2004: 63),
- the indirectness scale, that is “how much inference is involved in the proposed action” (Sifianou, 1992: 27),
- the authority scale which “describes the degree of distance between the speakers in terms of power over each other” (Marquez-Reiter, 2000: 9),
- and the social distance scale (which describes the degree of solidarity between the participants” (ibid.).

The Tact Maxim is used for impositives (e.g. ordering, commanding, requesting, advising, recommending, and inviting) and commissives (e.g. promising, vowing, and offering). These illocutionary acts refer to some action to be performed by either the hearer (i.e. impositives) or the speaker (i.e. commissives). Under this maxim, the action “may be evaluated in terms of its cost or benefit to S or H” using a cost-benefit scale (Leech, 1983: 107). Using this scale, an action which is beneficial to H is more polite than one that is at a cost to H.

The Generosity Maxim, which works most of the time together with the Tact Maxim, concerns impositives and commissives too. However, the hypothesis that the Tact Maxim receives greater emphasis than the Generosity Maxim results in impositives that omit reference to the cost to H of an action and that describe the intended goal of the act as beneficial to S.

The Approbation Maxim requires people to avoid talking about whatever unpleasant, especially when the subject is related to the hearer. The strategies of indirectness included in the Politeness Principle, however, let speakers balance the unpleasant side of criticism. The Modesty Maxim which works closely with the Approbation Maxim involves both self-dispraise and avoidance of other people dispraise due to the impolite nature of dispraising others. Observing the Modesty Maxim is a matter of relativity, that is to say, it is effective when one avoids being tedious and insincere as a result of continuous "self-denigration" in any situation (Leech, 1983: 133). The Approbation Maxims along with the Modesty Maxim are concerned with expressives and assertives.

The next two maxims of politeness, namely the Agreement Maxim and Sympathy Maxim, concern assertives and expressives respectively. The Agreement Maxim seeks opportunities in which the speaker can maximize "agreement with other" people on the one hand, and can "mitigate disagreement by expressing regret, partial disagreement, etc." on the other hand (Leech, 1983: 138). Concerning the Sympathy Maxim, It is best instantiated in condolences and congratulation speech acts when speakers make an attempt to minimize antipathy with others and maximize sympathy with others.

Leech (1983) believes that all his maxims are not of the same importance. He points out that the Tact Maxim and the Approbation Maxim are more crucial compared to the Generosity and Modesty Maxims, since in his idea the concept of politeness is more oriented towards the addressee (other) than self. As Leech (1983) considers two submaxims for every one of the maxims, he regards sub-maxim (a) within each maxim to be more important than sub-maxim (b). As such, Leech (1983:133) claims that “negative politeness (avoidance of discord) is a more weighty consideration that positive politeness (seeking concord)”.

Leech’s Politeness Principle has been welcome by both criticisms and praise. Juker (1988) as one of the critics believes that Leech’s theory is problematic as far as the methodology is concerned, since a new maxim can be introduced to account for the regulatory use of any language. Hence, the number of maxims is infinite and arbitrary. This view has been shared by several researchers as Dillon et al. (1985), Thomas (1995), Brown and Levinson (1987), Lavandera (1988), Fraser (1990), Turner (1996), Locher (2004), Eelen (2001), and Watts (2003).

A second criticism of Politeness Principle theory concerns Leech’s equation of indirectness with politeness. This idea has found many counterpoint cases where a direct utterance can be the appropriate form of politeness in a speech situation (Locher, 2004).

Leech’s theory also seems “too theoretical to be applied to real languages”, as Locher (2004: 65) states, but “the maxims can be used to explain a wide range of motivations for polite manifestation”. O’Driscoll (1996: 29) points out that Leech’s maxims do not contribute to the universality of politeness, but they can be used to account for many culture-specific realization of politeness. Leech’s Politeness Principle can also be employed to account for the cross-cultural variability of the use of politeness strategies, as Thomas (1995) pointed out. Brown and Levinson (1987: 15) express that cross-cultural variability will then “lie in the relative importance given to one of these maxims contrary to another." Leech (1983) suggests that in Japanese society, for instance, the Modesty Maxim is preferred to the Agreement Maxim since "Japanese mores make it impossible to agree with praise by others of oneself".

However, this model is not yet supported by sufficient empirical research cross-culturally and needs to be tested in various cultures for further corroboration.

2.4.3 The Conversational-Contract View

In the Conversational-Contract (CC) approach, when entering into a conversation, each party "brings an understanding of some initial set of Rights and Obligations that will determine, at least for preliminary stages, what the participants can expect from the others" (Fraser, 1990: 232). These rights are based on parties' social relationships and during the process of interaction there is always the possibility for parties to renegotiate the initial rights and obligations on which the parties have agreed. The rights and obligations define the interlocutors' duty as a Conversational Contract (CC).

Politeness here means operating within the terms and conditions of the existing Conversational-Contract and as long as the interlocutors respect the terms and rights agreed upon at the primary stages, they are interacting politely. Due to the possibility of negotiation and readjustment of terms and rights, there is always the opportunity of negotiating the intentions and behaving politely for the interlocutors. Accordingly, Fraser (1990: 23) regards politeness as "getting on with the task at hand in light of the terms and conditions of the CC". The Conversational-Contract view is similar to the Social Norm view in that politeness involves conforming to socially agreed codes of good behavior. It is different from the Social Norm view because in the Conversational-Contract view the rights and obligations are negotiable.

Universal applicability is a remarkable feature of this model. Socio-cultural norms and patterns are the determinant factors in applying the Conversational-Contract model of politeness. Kasper (1998: 679) believes that the Conversational-Contract model cannot be applied regardless of the members of “specific speech communities”. However, the Conversational-Contract model as Thomas (1995) reports is not empirically applicable due to the lack of model details.

Watts (2003) questions the terms and rights as it is not clear what social conditions may prepare the ground for the readjustment and renegotiations of rights and terms. He also believes that the nature of the terms and rights are open to question. Furthermore, Felix-Brasdefer (2008) calls for further empirical application of Fraser’s model of politeness in cross-cultural contexts in order to determine the validity of CC.

2.4.4 Brown and Levinson’s Face-Saving View

The most influential politeness model to date is the Face-Saving view proposed by Brown and Levinson in 1987 (Watts et al., 1992; Kasper, 1998). David and Cheng (2008: viii) introduce Goffman “as one of the key founder of the politeness theory” who “argued that people measure and save faces in order to maintain harmony and rapport”. Building upon, Goffman’s (1971) theory of face, Brown and Levinson (1987) constructed a Model Person (MP) who is a fluent speaker of a natural language and equipped with two special characteristics, namely ‘rationality’ and ‘face’. Rationality enables the MP to engage in means-ends analysis. By reasoning from ends to the means the MP satisfies his/her ends. Face, as the other endowment of the MP, is defined as the public self-image that the MP wants to gain. Brown and Levinson (1987: 61) claim that face has two aspects:

- *Positive face* which is the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' claimed by interactants (in other words, the desire to be approved of in certain respects).
- *Negative face* which is the 'basic claim to territorial personal preserves and rights to non-distraction' (in other words, the desire to be unimpeded by others).

Positive face is, therefore, a matter of culture and social group where the person shares socio-cultural norms and rules and it is of a peculiar nature from culture to culture. Accordingly, to Brown and Levinson (1987) face is a matter of emotional investment which can be subject to loss, maintenance, and boost. It must be the focus of attention in any interaction, consequently. Since the maintenance of face calls for a bilateral observance from the parties engaged in interaction, Brown and Levinson (1987) believe that attending each other's face meets the mutual expectations of interactors and is to everyone's interest; so, they suggest their taxonomy of linguistic devices as politeness strategies for face-saving purposes.

2.4.4.1 Positive and Negative Politeness Strategies

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) offer their strategies in politeness as *negative* and *positive* politeness strategies, involving redressive actions and attempt to satisfy the addressee's positive or negative face wants. These two strategies include the majority of linguistic devices in every day conversations. Followings are illustrations from their charts of positive and negative politeness manifestations:

Positive Politeness:

Claim common ground

1. Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods)
2. Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)
3. Intensify interest to H
4. Use in-group identity markers
5. Seek agreement
6. Avoid disagreement
7. Presuppose /raise/assert common ground
8. Joke

Convey that S and H are cooperators

9. Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants
10. Offer, promise
11. Be optimistic
12. Include both S and H in the activity
13. Give (or ask for) reasons
14. Assume or assert reciprocity

Fulfill H's want (For some x)

15. Give gifts to H (goods/sympathy, understanding, cooperation).

(Brown and Levinson, 1987: 102)

Negative Politeness:

Be direct

1. Be conventionally direct

Don't Presume/assume

2. Question, hedge

Don't coerce H (where X involves H doing A)

3. Be pessimistic
4. Minimize the imposition, Rx
5. Give deference

Communicate S's want to not imping on H

6. Apologize
7. Impersonalize S and H: Avoid the pronouns 'I' and 'you'
8. State he FTA as a general rule
9. Nominalize

Redress other wants of H's derivative from negative face

10. Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H

(Brown and Levinson, 1987:131)

To Brown and Levinson (1987: 70) positive politeness is "approach based; it 'anoints' the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, S wants H's wants (e.g., by treating him as a member of an in-group, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked". In contrary, negative politeness "is essentially avoidance-based ... [and] characterized by self-effacement, formality and restrain, with the attention to every restricted aspects of H’s self-image, centering on his want to be unimpeded” (ibid.).

2.4.4.2 Face-Threatening Acts (FTA)

Generally speaking, speech acts in Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory threaten both positive and negative face of the speaker and the addressee engaged in an interaction. Hence, request, suggestion, advice, and threats are classified as “face-threatening acts (FTA)” which jeopardize the negative face (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 65). Positive face of the speaker is threatened through performance of such speech acts as apology and by accepting compliments as well, according to politeness theory.

The degree of the face threat involved in any face-threatening act (FTA) depends on the degree of the following variables as stated by Brown and Levinson (1978; 1987): the social dominance or power distance (P), the social distance (SD), and the ranking of speech acts. Accordingly, the weight of any FTA can be estimated, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), by adding the value of these variables. Therefore, Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest the strategies that can be employed for performing any FTA to minimize or soften the inherent threat to face, as displayed in the following Figure.

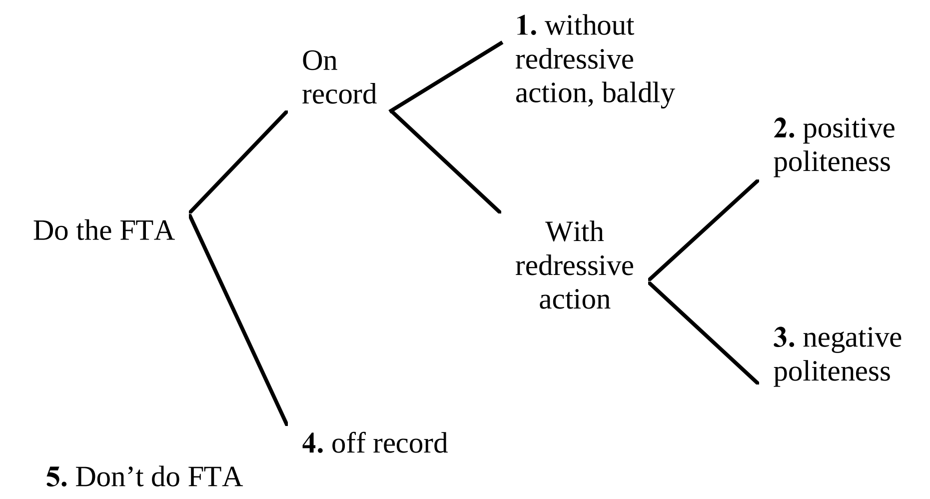

Figure 2.2 Face-threatening Act Avoiding Strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 74)

The strategy Number 1 in Figure 2.1 is the most direct way for performing a speech act. The strategy is employed when there is no or minimal face loss, e.g. promising someone. The strategies Number 2 and 3 are performed with redressive action, that is to say "the speaker tries to maintain his/her face as much as possible and at the same time s/he tries to mitigate the potential threat of act" (Marquez-Reiter, 2000: 14). The most indirect strategy is strategy Number 4, namely off record strategies. This strategy can be employed when there is a risk of face loss. It is employed because "more than one meaning or intent can be attributed to the act" (Marti, 2006: 1839). Finally, when the risk of face loss is too great for a FTA to be performed the strategy employed is not to do the FTA.

Drawing upon the 'rational capacities', the MP is able to decide on the linguistic behavior necessary for the maintenance of face. In short, the emphasis on addressing social members' face needs results in politeness strategies; polite behavior is basic to the maintenance of face wants. Face wants consists of “the wants of approval” (i.e. positive face) “the wants of self-determination” (i.e. negative face) (Kasper, 1998).

2.4.4.3 Criticisms of Brown and Levinson’s Face-Saving View

Brown and Levinson’s model received many criticisms among which the *individualistic* nature of social interaction is the most important one. Werkhofer (1992: 156) describes the rational model person presented by Brown and Levinson as a model “who is, during the initial phase of generating an utterance at least, unconstrained by social considerations and thus free to choose egocentric, asocial, and assertive interaction”. However, in non-western cultures, where group norms and values is the framework in which the interaction forms, the model speaker proposed by Brown and Levinson is not considered polite. Lebra (1976) for instance, reports Japanese culture as collective, where the interaction context is influenced by rules representing social group attributes. This also holds true for Chinese culture in which one’s face is highly affected by the group reputation to which one belongs (Mao, 1994).

Another criticism addressing Brown and Levinson’s theory, concerns the politeness strategies proposed by the authors. Since no utterance can be inherently interpreted as polite or impolite, consequently any assessment of polite or impolite verbal interaction must be performed with regard to “the context of social practice” as suggested by Watts (2003: 141). As such, Felix-Brasdefer (2008: 20) find the term ‘pragmatic strategies’ more appropriate than Brown and Levinson’s label ‘politeness strategies’ for describing “the expressions used during the negotiation of face in social interaction”.

As for social variables namely, social distance, social power, and ranking of imposition, Brown and Levinson (1987) have also been criticized. They consider the social variables as constant. However, Fraser (1990) believes the social variables presented by Brown and Levinson (1987) can be changed in a short time span. Therefore, such variables as power and social distance must be treated as constantly changing variables according to the context of the interaction.

2.5 The Current Study: Theory of Politeness, Face, and Relational Work

Although in most of non-western societies collective norms and values shape the framework through which an interaction is formed as in Chinese culture; however, in Persian culture, the author maintains, the collective norms and values are favorable when they endorse the individual rights and expectations. It is, then, a dual face (as positive and negative face) system that can be applied in Persian context. Moreover, the author believes that at a certain point of time and for a specific interaction, the interlocutors choose a constant value for distance, power and imposition, although the value might be varied again. The value chosen at the time of interaction determines the strategies which realize politeness.

In this regard positive and negative face aspects proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) seem to suit best for analyzing the linguistic strategies employed to realize apology and request speech acts. Brown and Levinson's claim that the notion of positive and negative face is universal is a strong statement on which many studies have been conducted (e.g. Bharuthram, 2003; Matsomoto, 1988; 1989; Ide, 1989; Gu, 1990; Nwoye, 1992; Mao, 1994) to support or dispute the claimed universality. This study can make an attempt to test the validity of this universality within the Persian speaking community, i.e. to see whether Persian language provides speakers of this language with strategies claimed to be universally employed in several other languages. Therefore, the Face-saving view seems applicable for the purpose of comparability of this research findings with other studies conducted in other languages.

This study is primarily an analysis of linguistic politeness manifested in request and apology realizations among Persian males. In this regard, this study narrows down the analysis to Politeness 1 as suggested in Watts (2003). In the area of Politeness 1, the expressive politeness one, that is, the linguistic expression employed to negotiate face by the interlocutors when apologizing or requesting is the main concern; metapragmatic (see page 16 for further information) Politeness 1, that is, the evaluation of politeness in situations different in terms of contextual variables by the participants of the study who are representatives of Persian male culture is of great interest as well. Therefore, due to the importance that is given to contextual variables in Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness (1978, 1987), it can fulfill the theoretical framework of this study.

As for relational work, this study finds relational work as "the work interlocutors engage in during the course of dynamic social interaction when negotiating and renegotiating their intentions with others in specific situations and according to the cultural values of a given society"(Felix-Brasdefer, 2008: 32). The relational work is influenced by social factors, that is, power, distance and "the dynamics of the specific situation such as ... gender and age difference between the participants" (ibid.). The study can, therefore, account for the Persian males' attributes as far as requests and apologies are concerned based on relational work estimated through the analysis of data collected from among the participants.

Finally, this study considers polite behavior as the behavior which negotiates and renegotiates the face needs of interlocutors engaged in relational work. One aspect of polite behavior that can be performed verbally is linguistic politeness which is the main theme of this research.

2.6 Speech Acts Theory

Speech act theory has been the focus of attention in different fields of study such as anthropology, philosophy, linguistics, and sociolinguistics (e.g. Sadock, 1974; Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969; Bach & Harnish, 1979). The British Philosopher John Austin is one of the prominent figures who brought speech act theory into light.

Austin (1962) in his initial studies highlighted two functions which language can serve through utterances. Through the first function speakers describe some state of affairs, for instance a fact, or report information through utterances which can be judged as true or false as far as the propositional meaning of the utterances is concerned; Austin terms these utterances constative. In addition to providing information and facts, Austin (1962) observes that utterances can also be used to accomplish an action. That is to say, upon saying something, we can also do or perform an action which is labeled performative by Austin (1962).

To elaborate the difference between constative and performative utterances take the following examples. A speaker may use the phrase ‘I got a bad mark’ to communicate some information as a constative utterance. The same utterance can be rephrased as 'I apologize I got a bad mark' which performs the act of apologizing as a performative utterance. Other examples includes 'I nominate, beg, warn …' and 'you are fired, sentenced…' According to Austin (1962), the validity of a performative utterance can be achieved through authority condition. If, for instance, some one from among a company staff addresses the other one saying 'you're fired', this can not function as performative unless the speaker is the boss. Otherwise, the action will not be fulfilled due to the lack of authority in the speaker. Austin's (1962) applies the term felicitous/infelicitous to distinguish valid performative utterance from invalid ones.

Later, Austin (1962) realized that the truth condition of the performative is not always obviously recognizable. As an example, Stapleton (2004: 11) writes if one says "I swear that the President lives in Kansas', he is using a performative that represents truth for his belief system in 'I swear…' but the true value of the utterance may be seen as either true or false". Although the phrase 'I swear the President lives in Kansas' is true based on the speaker belief system of information, however the subordinate clause 'the President lives in Kansas' may not be true when taken alone. Finally, Austin (1962) came to the conclusion that almost all utterances are performative in nature and the aim of any utterance is performing something. Performing something through a speech act, under the influence of such social variables as age, gender, power, distance is an area of investigation in sociolinguistics. The way a given speech act, e.g. a request or an apology, is performed can influence the success of the speech act. Accordingly, the exploration of the ways a community formulate different speech acts –in this study request and apology in Persian– can highlight some of the linguistic behaviors of the community under investigation.

2.6.1 Levels of Speech Acts

To supersede the blurry distinction between performative and constative utterances with a more stable distinction, Austin (1962) proposed speech acts in a three-level taxonomy. He suggested:

A) *Locutionary* act as the act of articulating something meaningful containing a literal sense, e.g.:

'It's hot in here'

B) *Illocutionary* act as what the speaker does in saying something, that is, utterances in which certain conventional force such as a request, an order, a complaint, or a refusal is involved, e.g.:

'It's hot in here'

The example could be taken as:

a) An indirect <u>request</u> for someone to open the window.
b) An indirect <u>refusal</u> to close the window because someone is cold.
c) A <u>complaint</u> implying that someone should know better than to keep the windows closed (expressed emphatically).

(Jaworowska, 2004)

C) *Perlocutionary* act which refers to what one achieves by saying something; in other words, it is the effect that an utterance has on the hearer, e.g.:

'It's hot in here'

The example could result in someone opening the window.

The relationship between the words uttered in '*It's hot in here*' as the form said by the speaker and the function act of requesting the hearer to open the window can be elaborated as follows. In the most direct connection between the form and function of the speech act, 'It's hot in here' can function as a statement about the temperature; however, another connection can be established when the hearer takes the example through inference as a request to open the window. That is to say, the connection between the form and function of the speech act is both indirect and inferential in nature in this case. The possibility that which function, statement or request, is intended by the speaker and is taken by the hearer is believed to be dependent on contextual information figured out by the interlocutors.

2.6.2 Speech Acts Typology

Communication is not generally the only intention a speaker has by the act of saying something. One generally intends to produce some effect on the hearer which can be of physical action or else.

The American philosopher John Searle in his book *Speech Acts* (1969), drawing on Austin's foundation of speech acts, developed his theory of speech acts. Searle et al. (1980: vii) point out that "the theory of speech acts starts with the assumption that the minimal unit of human communication is not a sentence, but rather the performance of certain kinds of acts".

The speech acts, being at locutionary level or illocutionary level, follow ulterior desire which can be fulfilled at perlocutionary level. They must be, however, distinguished and classified, according to Searle (1977), by a dozen criteria for instance as, apology, reports, claims, and threats. Out of twelve criteria Searle (1977) proposed as the criteria for the classification of speech acts, Mey (2001: 119) reports four criteria were used only for that purpose by Searle (1977) as follows:

- Illocutionary point (the 'force' of the speech act in Austin's terminology)
- Direction of fit (the way the speech act fits the world, and/or the world the speech act)
- Expressed psychological state (of the speaker: a 'belief' may be expressed as a statement, an assertion, a remark etc.)
- Content (what the speech act is 'about'; e.g. a 'promise' to attend the party has the same content as a 'refusal' and so on).

Mey (2001: 119) adds his own criteria as an important criterion as:

- Reference (to both speaker and hearer(s)).

Based on the above criteria, Searle's (1977) five-type taxonomy of speech acts is developed as follows:

- *Representatives (or assertives):*

  Representatives include assertions made by the speaker about a state of affairs in the world. They have a binary value of true or false in nature. Claims, reports, and assertions are instances of this type of speech acts.

- *Directives:*

  They are speech acts which "embody an effort on the part of the speaker to get the hearer to do something, to 'direct' him or her toward some goal (of the speaker's mostly)" (Mey, 2001: 120).

- *Commisives:*

  Searle's commisive category is almost of the same nature of Austin's commisive category. Commisives "operate a change in the world by means of creating an obligation; however, this obligation is created in the speaker, not in the hearer" (ibid: 120-121). To clarify the difference between commisive and directives speech acts take a request and promise; the former is a directive and the latter is a commisive. To name a few more examples include, swearing, inviting, volunteering, and guaranteeing as well.

- *Expressives:*

  Through this type of speech act, as the name signals, an inner state of the speaker is examined; expressions of this sort do not reveal anything about the world and are subjective in nature. Apologies, congratulations, compliments, and condolences are classified as expressive.

- *Declarations:*

  "Declarations bring about some alternation in the status or condition of the referred to object or objects solely by virtue of the fact that declaration has been successfully performed" (Searle 1977: 37). To clarify this class of speech acts Mey (2001: 122) reports "I declare you to be husband and wife" as an example of this category and states that upon this declaration “the marriage candidates cease to be just an ordinary (albeit loving) pair of people, and become a married couple”. The classic example of this class is baptism.

The felicity conditions proposed by Austin could not function by itself to test the validity of speech acts according to Searle. Consequently, Searle (1977) formulated a set of felicity conditions according to them one can accept whether a speech act has a particular illocutionary force. The first condition, the propositional condition, concerns the reference as well as the prediction of a certain kind of act. Accordingly, the utterance ‘I advise you to study hard’ would be a piece of advice, provided that, it is addressing the right person in the appropriate time about the future. However, the utterance ‘I advised you to study hard’ would not function as felicitous in case the speech event has already occurred. In other words, it does not have the illocutionary force of a piece of advice and would either be a statement about a previous speech act or functions as blame.

The second condition, namely the preparatory condition, deals with the speaker’s intention. To use the previous utterance, when a speaker gives a piece of advice through ‘I advise you study hard’, s/he informs a hearer that the hearer must be prepared for the consequences of his/her own deeds.

The third condition proposed by Searle is the sincerity condition. The third condition has to do with the speaker’s feeling and intention. For this condition to be felicitous, when uttering ‘I advise you study hard’ for instance, the speaker must sincerely believe that bad consequences await the hearer in case the advice would not be taken seriously.

Finally, Searle reports the essential condition as the place "where the force of the utterance lies" (Stapleton, 2004:14). It is a combination of previous conditions "and transforms them into an act of warning, or promising," or advising, etc. (ibid). The analysis of the essential condition, therefore, can reveal the effect of utterance.

The conditions proposed by Searle deal with different aspects of an utterance. Felix-Brasdefer (2008: 37) suggests that "the propositional content focuses only on the textual content; the preparatory condition focuses on the background circumstances; the sincerity condition reflects the speaker's psychological state; and, the essential condition centers on the illocutionary point of what is said".

Searle's classification of speech acts has been criticized, arguing that including every utterance in the five-type taxonomy is not always possible (e.g. Bach & Harnish, 1979; Lyons, 1977). Wunderlich (1980) criticizes the criteria applied by Searle for his classification of speech acts. The author points out that the main grammatical moods as well as the propositional content and satisfactory condition must be taken into account in order to develop a classification of speech acts (Stapleton, 2004).

In view of the classification of speech acts, this study, however, adopts Searle's five-type taxonomy for the classification and analysis of speech acts, narrowing down the analysis to request and apology speech acts, which are classified as directives and expressives respectively. In the following section a brief explanation of the distinction made between speech acts in terms of directness and literality is provided.

2.6.3 Speech Acts: Direct vs. Indirect and Literal vs. Non-literal

The speech act, whatever it is, can be performed directly or indirectly; it can be performed literally or non-literally with regard to how we use our words; and, it may be performed explicitly or inexplicitly considering whether it fully spells out what it means or not. The first two concepts, namely *directness* and *literality* deal with the relations between an utterance and its illocutionary act.

When the speaker utters a sentence and exactly means what s/he says literally, a direct relation between the type and function of the speech act is established. For example, the utterances '*give me a pen*' and '*I apologize*' would be direct speech acts providing that the former is a request to get the hearer's pen and the latter is an apology to express the speaker's regret, that is, the literal meaning matches the speaker's intention. The above example '*give me your pen*' could be uttered also through '*I don't have a pen*' which can be classified as a declaration. In this form when the speaker's intention is to perform a request to get the hearer's pen, the relation between the type and function of the speech act would be an indirect one. In other words, the speech act is performed indirectly because a declarative speech act is employed to function as a directive speech act. In direct speech acts, the utterance contains a literal meaning and a secondary meaning, called non-literal, as well. When the non-literal meaning is the main intention concerned, the illocutionary act performed does not match the one predicted from the literal meaning of the words formulating the utterance. In the example '*I don't have a pen*', the literal meaning is declaring the speaker's need for a pen while the intended meaning is for the hearer to pass his/her pen. This is where an illocutionary act is performed indirectly (Searle, 1975).

The indirect speech acts are believed to have properties which indicate the importance of the speech acts as a source of language analysis (Clark, 1979). Stapleton (2004: 19) rewrites the properties as follows: 1) Indirect speech acts "have multiple meanings", namely literal and non-literal (secondary); 2) Indirect speech acts "follow logical priority of meaning", that is to say, "since multiple meanings are available in the utterance, the most logical and salient one will be selected based on the given context"; 3) Indirect speech acts "are rational", that is "based on the principles of cooperativeness found in Grice (1968), speakers and hearers assume that the utterance is rational and according to the maxims set for conversation"; 4) Indirect speech acts "have conventionality", conventionality in the sense that "speakers tend to speak idiomatically rather than directly" and "this idiomatic usage has become conventional". Thus '*can you reach the salt?*' is not a question about the hearer physical capabilities, but functions as a request to get the hearer to pass the salt. Finally, indirect speech acts are reported to be "5) polite and 6) purposeful", in the sense that they are "used to fulfill a certain societal norm of indirectness and serve the purpose for meeting the speaker's intentions" (ibid.).

Among the properties reported above, the polite characteristic of indirect speech acts is of great relevance and importance to this study. Searle (1975), as reported by Felix-Brasdefer (2003: 37) states that through the use of indirect speech acts "the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and nonlinguistic, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer". It follows that indirect speech acts are employed by people as a sign of politeness according to Searle

(1975); he adds that the link between politeness and indirectness is highlighted in interaction when the interlocutors' face is concerned.

2.6.4 Speech Acts Sequences and the Role of Context

Although speech act theory has been addressed by criticisms since it "fails to account for an interactional model" as suggested by Marquez-Reiter (2000: 34), however new attempts have been made to extend the scope of this theory to discourse level and apply this theory in studies of social interaction (e.g., Felix-Brasdefer, 2008; Vanderveken & Kubo, 2002; Schiffrin, 1994).

Edmonson's (1981) analysis of speech act as sequential organization, namely uptake, head, and appealer, led him to conclude that some speech acts are not made up of a single attempt to utter a sentence but are accumulated and formulated as a result of sequences of interaction between two people. Schiffrin (1994) also applied speech act theory for the analysis of interaction, holding that interactions are constituted by sequences of utterances made of speech acts. It is, therefore, possible to analyze speech acts in relation to the sequential structure of speech acts in an interaction (macro level) or they can also be analyzed with regard to the literal structure of a speech act (micro level) (Felix-Brasdefer, 2008).

2.6.5 Request Speech Act

Hassall (2003:1907) reports Searle's (1969) definition of a request as "a directive speech act which counts as an attempt to get H[earer] to do an act which S[peaker] wants H to do, and which S believes that H is able to do; and which it is not obvious that H will do in the normal course of events or of H's own accord". The term 'directive' as Culpeper and

Archer (2008: 45) state “includes both commands and requests (which can be distinguished by appealing to the power differential between the interlocutors)”. A request can be realized through a head act and supportive moves. According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 275) “head act is the minimal unit which can realize a request; it is the core of the request sequence”. The supportive moves are the “peripheral elements and refer to the pre- or post-posed moves or strategies that accompany the head act” (Felix-Brasdefer, 2005: 67) and are employed most probably in an attempt to modify the impact of the request as in the following example:

John,	Could you *possibly* lend me your lecture notes?	I missed the class.
Alerter	***Internal Modification*** (*possibly*) ***Head Act***	***External Modification***

Felix-Brasdefer (2005: 66) believes that “a request is a directive act and pre-event which initiates the negotiation of face during a conversational interaction”, since requests have a face-threatening nature according to Brown and Levinson (1987). The hearer’s negative face (the desire not to be impeded by others) and the speaker’s positive face (the desire to be appreciated and liked by others) are jeopardized when a request is realized. It is rationally to the interlocutors’ advantage to do their best to minimize the probable threat addressed to the face of the parties engaged in any interaction.

To Blum-Kulka et al. directness means “the degree to which the speaker’s illocutionary intent is apparent from the locution” (1989: 278). With regard to the directness/indirectness of FTAs, requests are classified theoretically into three levels, according to Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984). The first group, namely Direct requests, is the most direct way of requesting, for instance an order. The second group consists of Conventionally Indirect requests. Hassall (2003: 1907) states this group “comprises indirect formulas that are conventionalized in the language as a means of requesting”. The third group, Non-Conventional Indirect requests, is made up of requests which are not performed according to conventional norms of a given language, and consequently call for more inference processing by the addressee in order for him/her to figure out the main intent. The three levels of requests furthermore consisted of several strategies which are illustrated and exemplified in Chapter 3.

2.6.6 Apology Speech Act

An apology can be an attempt by the apologizer to compensate for an act that has caused an offense threatening the recipient’s face (Brown and Levinson, 1987). According to Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), apologies are called for when three preconditions are met. Tsai (2007: 29) rewrites the preconditions as follows:

a) “the apologizer did a violation or abstained from doing a violation (or is about to do it)

b) a violation is perceived by the apologizer only, by the hearer only, by both the apologizer and the hearer, or by a third party as a breach of a social norm”; and

c) a violation is perceived by at least one of the parties involved as offending, harming, or affecting the hearer in some way.

Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984: 206) suggest that the apologizer awareness of the precondition would lead him/her to apologize; once the apology is performed the apologizer “pays tribute to the social norm (recognizes precondition (b)) and attempts to placate the hearer (recognizes precondition (c))”.

Apologies fall under the expressive category, according to Searle’s (1969) taxonomy, performed to indicate the psychological emotions of the speakers. Apologies as important verbal devices – which can be manifested also nonverbally – were subjected todefinition attempts by researchers from various perspectives. One of the most cited definition of apology is Goffman’s (1971) which is quoted in Bergman and Kasper, (1993: 82) as “remedial interchanges, remedial work serving to reestablish social harmony after a real or virtual offense”. Olshtain (1989: 156-7) defines an apology as “a speech act which intended to provide support for the hearer who was actually or potentially malaffected by a violation”. *Explanation* is the Greek meaning of apology, which is a strong apology strategy as Sami-Hou (2006) suggests. The definition presented by the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) for apology includes “a defense, a justification, and an excuse” (ibid.) by which one can infer the varieties in which apology strategies may be manifested.

Since apology attracted the attention of researchers as a popular topic, different classifications of this speech act have been proposed. Fraser (1980), for instance, classified apologies into two main groups, namely direct and indirect apologies. He further subdivided the direct apology strategies as announcement of apology, stating the obligation to apologize, an offer for apologizing, and request for apology acceptance. Fraser (1980) suggested five indirect apologies as well; his indirect apology strategies include expressing regret, requesting forgiveness, acknowledging responsibility, promising forbearance, and offering redness. Then, it was Olshtain and Cohen (1983) whose apology strategy classification formed a contributive classification. They suggested that apologies can be realized as an illocutionary force indicating device (IFID), an expression of the speaker's responsibility for the offence, an explanation or account of the situation or of the cause which gave rise to the violation, an offer of repair, and a promise of forbearance.

Blum-Kulka and Olashtain (1984) later on, built on Olshtain and Cohen (1983) and presented a set of strategies for the performance of apologies. Their classification consisted of IFIDs, an explicit or implicit account of the cause of violation, taking on responsibility that they believed ranges from self-humbling to complete denial of the offense, making an offer, and promise of forbearance. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain's (1984) classification was the basis for the investigation in Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) in the analysis of apologies which will be elaborated in detail in the following section.

Regardless of the strategies through which an apology may be performed, there are components which usually make up apology speech acts. According to Afghari (2007) an apology can be realized through three main components namely *Alerters*, *Head acts* and *Adjuncts*. *Alerters* function as an initiator to alert the addressee's attention to the ensuing speech act. A *Head act* is the minimal unit through which the main apology is realized and can be also intensified internally. *Adjuncts* which follow the main apology strategy are what called by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) as Supportive Moves. Supportive Moves are realized when the speakers opt for strengthening the apology strategy in order to make it more appropriate with regard to the severity of the offence committed and with regard to power and distance relations between the interlocutors engaged in a situation. As such, the apology strategies may be intensified through two methods. The first method is to intensify the apology strategy internally within the syntactic structure of the utterance; while the second method is to support the apology strategy by repeating or employing another apology strategy outside the syntactic structure of the first apology strategy. This study refers to the strategies of the first method as apology *internal intensifier* and the strategies of the second method as *supportive intensifiers*. An example of apology speech act including the internal intensifier and supportive intensifiers could be as follows.

Ali, I am *really* sorry. *It took more than I thought.*

Alerter ***Internal Intensifiers*** ***Supportive Intensifier***

Head Act

2.7 Previous Studies on Request and Apology

Numerous studies have been conducted to investigate request and apology speech acts realizations in different languages. Therefore, the literature on request and apology speech acts realization is rich both in L1 and L2 contexts. These studies include the realization pattern of request and apology speech acts among native speakers of a given language in L1 contexts; and in L2 contexts the studies of request and apology speech act explore the foreign language learners' realization of request and apology. A lot of comparative studies also have been reported in the literature in which the realization patterns of a given speech act or request and apology speech act have been sought.

In this section, a selective review of pioneer studies in the area of linguistic politeness on request and apology will be provided. The studies reviewed will be introduced in the sequence of request and apology studies together, request speech act studies, apology speech act studies, and speech act studies in Persian. This is not a comprehensive review within each area; however it is rather a description of the primary works in relation to this study.

2.7.1 Request and Apology Studies

Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) is one of the primary studies initiated in (1982) by a group of researchers led by Blum-Kulka in order to compare the realization patterns of request and apology speech acts across a number of languages such as American English, Canadian French, Hebrew, Russian, and German. The project aimed at establishing the similarities and differences between native and non-native speakers' realization patterns of request and apology speech acts in each one of the languages under investigation. CCSARP is one of the most comprehensive studies in the area of linguistic politeness on request and apology which has been referred to in most of the studies conducted afterwards as a primary resource. The project employs a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) to collect the relevant data and discusses the effect of various factors as context-internal variables, context-external variables and gender on linguistic choice of participants in different languages. Based on in-depth investigation in languages included in CCSARP project, strategies of the same nature were identified which resulted in the formation of a coding scheme by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) for the analysis of request and apology speech acts.

The coding scheme developed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) for the analysis of request head act is presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) Request Head Act Strategies

Level of Directness	Strategies and Examples
Direct	**1. Mood Derivable:** Leave me alone/ Clean up the kitchen. **2. Explicit Performative:** I am asking you to move your car. **3. Hedged Performative:** I must/have to ask you to clean the kitchen right now. **4. Locution Derivable:** Madam you'll have to/should/must/ought to move your car. **5. Want Statement:** I'd like to borrow your notes for a little while.
Conventional Indirect	**6. Suggestory Formula:** How about cleaning up the kitchen? **7. Preparatory** Could you possibly get your assignment done this week?
Non-conventional Indirect	**8. Strong Hint:** (Intent: borrowing hearer's lecture notes) I wasn't at the lecture yesterday. **9. Mild Hint:** (Intent: getting a lift home) I didn't expect the meeting to end this late.

The request strategies in Table 2.1 are ordered from the most direct to the most indirect strategies. To Blum-Kulka et al. directness means “the degree to which the speaker’s illocutionary intent is apparent from the locution” (1989: 278).

The Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Pattern project presents a coding scheme from among supportive moves which can be used by speakers to mitigate their request. Supportive moves are external to the request head act (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). Table 2.2 illustrates the supportive moves classified by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989).

Table 2.2 Request Mitigating Supportive Moves (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 287-288)

Strategy	**Example**
1. Preparator:	May I ask you a question ...
2. Getting a precommitment:	Could you do me a Favor?
3. Grounder:	I missed class yesterday, Could I borrow your notes?
4. Disarmer:	I know you don’t like lending out your notes, but could you make an exception this time?
5. Promise of Reward:	Could you give me a lift home? I’ll pitch in on some gas.
6. Imposition Minimizer:	Would you give me a lift, but only if you’re going my way.

CCSARP introduces a classification of strategies which “serve as optional additions to soften the impositive force of the requests by modifying the Head Act internally through specific lexical and phrasal choices” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 283) as exemplified in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Request Lexical and Phrasal Downgraders (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:283-285)

Strategy	Example
1. Politeness Marker:	Clean the kitchen, *please*.
2. Understater:	Could you tidy up *a bit?*
3. Hedge:	I'd *kind of* like to get a lift if that's all right.
4. Subjectivizer:	*I'm afraid* you're going to have to move your car.
5. Downtowner:	Could you *possibly* lend me your notes?
6. Cajoler:	*You know*, I'd really like to present your paper next week.
7. Appealer:	Clean up the kitchen, dear, *will you?*

The strategies in Table 2.3 are labeled lexical and phrasal downgraders in Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). However in this study they are referred to as internal modification, since the items, whether lexical or phrasal, are embedded within the main syntactic structure of request speech act strategies. This can provide a more convenient way to distinguish internal modifications from external modifications which are performed out of the main syntactic structure of request speech act strategies.

As for the apology speech act, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) introduce a coding scheme to classify the apology strategy in CCSARP based on an identical procedure. As indicated previously an apology head act may be preceded by an alerter and be followed by an adjunct. There is also the possibility that an apology head act be intensified internally. CCSARP used the coding schemes for the analysis of the apology head act, adjunct and internal intensifiers as shown in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989: 290-292) Apology Head Act Strategies

Category	Strategies and Examples
Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID)	**1. Illocutionary Force Indicating Device:** Sorry/ Excuse me/ I apologize/ Forgive me/ I regret that … Pardon me for …/ I'm afraid… **2. Concern for the Hearer:** I hope I didn't upset you.
Taking on Responsibility	**3. Explicit Self Blame:** My Mistake. **4. Lack of Intent:** I didn't mean to upset you. **5. Justifying Hearer:** You're right to be angry. **6. Expression of Embarrassment:** I feel awful about it. **7. Admission of Fact but not Responsibility:** I haven't read it/ I missed the bus/ I forgot about it/ I haven't time to mark it yet. **8. Refusal to Acknowledge Guilt** It wasn't my fault
Other Categories	**9. Explanation or Account:** The traffic was terrible/ My tutor kept me late. **10. Offer of Repair:** I'll pay for the damage/ I'll go and enquire in the kitchen **11. Promise of Forbearance:** This won't happen again.

The strategies introduced in CCSARP as intensifiers of apology are reported in Table 2.5. These intensifiers are embedded within the apology structure and are considered as one syntactic unit together with the apology head act.

Table 2.5 Apology Intensifier (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 290-291)

Strategy	Example
1. Intensifying Adverbials:	I'm *very/terribly/ so/ really/ awfully* sorry.
2. Emotional Expressions/ Exclamations:	*Oh*/ Oh no/ Oh Lord/ God
3. Expression Marked for Register:	I *do* apologize …
4. Double Intensifier or Repetition of Intensifying Adverbial:	I'm *really dreadfully* sorry/ I'm *very, very* sorry.
5. Please:	Please forgive me.

One of the other studies on request and apology is that of Marquez-Reiter (2000). She investigates request and apology speech acts in a contrastive study in British English and Uruguayan Spanish from a linguistic politeness perspective. Relying on Brown and Levinson's face-saving theory and stressing the social nature of polite behavior compared to individual performance of polite behavior, Marquez-Reiter investigates request and apology speech acts with regard to variables as power and distance as well as the individual variable gender. Employing an objective and statistical-base methodology, Marquez-Reiter administers open role-plays to elicit the data required for analysis. The role-play used in her study depicts various situations in terms of social power and social distance. The ranking of the request and the severity of offense, as two context-internal variables, are also different in situations through which data is elicited to check the effect of the former variable on requests and the latter variable on apology speech acts in British

English and Uruguayan Spanish. The author adopts the coding scheme originally developed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) with some modifications which she states make the coding scheme fit for her study. The coding scheme she uses for the analysis of the request head act strategies are provided in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6 Marquez-Reiter's (2000: 89) Request Head Act Strategies

Level of Directness	Strategy and Example
Direct or Impositive	**1. Mood derivable:** Open the window and ask that bloke for directions **2. Performative:** I'm leaving you in charge of answering the telephone **3. Obligation statement:** You are gonna have to cancel your holiday **4. Need statement:** 'I need you to type some letters for me' **5. Need/want statement in Conditional or Imperfect:** I'd like/love to try your computer
Conventional Indirect	**6. Query preparatory in the Present Indicative:** Do you want to answer the telephone? **7. Suggestory formulae:** Why don't you ask the pedestrian over there? **8. Query preparatory:** Could/would you type these letters for me? **9. Query preparatory with more than one precondition or in suppositional future and subjunctive in US only:** 'Would you be able to help me financially?'
Non-Conventional Indirect	**10. Hint:** I could really do with X book.

The modifications that Marquez-Reiter (2000) incorporates in her coding scheme include using a ten-point scale of request strategies which are mutually exclusive. Following Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), Marquez-Reiter's (2000) request strategies coding scheme is according to utterance directness. However, Marquez-Reiter (2000) makes a distinction between the Want Statement category and the strategy Need/Want statement in the indicative and in the imperfect or conditional form as one of the strategies in the category Direct or Impositive. She also differentiates the Query Preparatory strategy based on "whether they are in the indicative, in the conditional or imperfect and in the suppositional future and/or subjunctive" (ibid., 2000: 88). Another modification in Marquez-Reiter's coding scheme compared to that of Blum-Kulka et al. is the lack of difference between Mild and Strong Hint strategies. In other words, Marquez-Reiter (2000) merges Mild and Strong hint strategies as Hint making up Non-Conventional Indirect requests.

As for the apology strategy coding scheme, Marquez-Reiter (2000) replicates that of Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) since it suited her data. She only crosses out two strategies introduced in Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), namely Concern for Hearer from IFID category and Justifying Hearer from the category Taking on Responsibility to fit the coding scheme with her data.

The other apology strategies employed in the coding scheme applied by Marquez-Reiter quite match those in Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) as reported in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7 Marquez-Reiter's (2000: 95-96) Apology Head Act Strategies

Category	Strategies and Examples
Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID)	**1. IFID:** The use of Sorry
Taking on Responsibility	**2. Explicit Self-Blame:** My fault. **3. Lack of Intent:** It was an accident. **4. Express Embarrassment:** I feel awful about it. **7. Admit Fact:** The book's still at home, I haven't read it yet. **8. Refusal to Acknowledge Guilt** It wasn't my fault
Other Categories	**9. Explanation:** Sorry I'm late, the boss asked me to stay behind to finish some work. **10. Offer of Restitution:** Your computer got smashed but don't worry we'll get you another one **11. Promise of Forbearance:** I promise it won't happen again.

2.7.2 Request Studies

The studies that only investigate request speech acts have attracted researchers' attention since requests involve face work in polite interaction. This section discusses a selective review of request studies in a chronological order as follows.

Izaki (2000) examines sociolinguistic differences in request behavior in French and Japanese, focusing on supportive move strategies or pre-request moves as he terms. Native speakers of Japanese and French role-played three request dialogues, and their performance was compared to that of seven French speakers learning Japanese (three beginners, three intermediates, and one advanced learner). Japanese speakers always used the pre-committal strategy (e.g., *Jitsuwa onegai shitai kotoga arimashite* 'In fact, I have a favor to ask of you') before making a request. The request can be preceded by another optional pre-request move that provides or asks for relevant information. In French, no pre-committal strategy appeared in the data; instead a pre-request move and a response to the pre-request are present in all request interactions. Sometimes since the pre-request move functions as a requestive hint, the speaker has no need to make an actual request. The author states that there are sociocultural differences in determining distance, power, and the degree of imposition of the request, and this can result in differential politeness levels between the two languages.

Drawing upon the assumption proposed by Searle (1975), Felix-Brasdefer (2005) investigates the relation between indirect requests and politeness in Mexican Spanish. Searle (1975, cited in Felix-Brasdefer, 2005: 66) states "in indirect speech acts the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and non-linguistic, together with the rational powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer”. Felix-Brasdefer (2005) explores the inventory of request strategies among Native speakers of Mexican Spanish in formal and informal situations. He analyzed his data collected from among a group of Mexican students through the administration of an audio/video recorded role-play containing situations which included five experimental and five distractor items. Felix-Brasdefer (2005) analyzed the data according to a modified classification of request strategies originally developed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) including strategies used as head acts and strategies used as external modifications to the head act. He also controls for distance and power as two social variables in his study. He found out that conventional indirectness, mostly realized by means of the strategy query preparatory, was the most common means of requesting in situations where the relation between the interlocutors is a dominating and distant relation; in addition directness was more common as the relationship between the interlocutors was closer (-Distance). He also concluded that *on-record* or direct requests are situation-dependent and seem to be the expected behavior among these Mexican subjects in a solidarity politeness system (-Power, -Distance). He reports that directness should not be considered as impolite, but rather should be seen as a way of expressing closeness and affiliation in Mexican Spanish.

Marti (2006) focuses on both the realization and politeness perception of requests made by Turkish monolingual speakers and Turkish-German bilingual returnees. She administered a discourse completion test (DCT) to Turkish monolinguals and Turkish-German bilingual returnees, in order to elicit requests in 10 different situations where informants were asked to provide requests. Marti (2006) uses some situations from CCSARP in order to ease the comparison of her results. She also employs a politeness rating questionnaire to investigate the perceived politeness of Turkish native speakers and to explore the relation between indirectness and politeness. Her results support the relationship between indirectness and politeness, however the relation, she maintains is not a linear linked concept. Moving beyond the Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) coding scheme, Marti's study shows that informants in her study employ strategies other than those reported in most studies using DCTs, for instance deliberate choices of opting out, providing alternative solutions, and attempts at negotiation.

Zhang, Shin, and Rue (2007) examine the patterns of request speech acts produced by native speakers of Korean under the variables of social power and social distance. As for data collection, they employed video-recorded role-plays of three situations in a workplace setting. Zhang et al. (2007) follow the principles used by the CCSARP proposed originally by Blum-Kulka et al (1989), but a slightly modified version of its coding system is used in order to suit the Korean language. The authors find power status an influential variable on Korean request strategies. That is to say, the higher the power status of the addressee, the more indirect request strategy is preferred by Koreans. The participants in their study made direct requests when there was social distance between the interlocutors and especially to junior addressees. Hint strategies were preferred by Korean speakers when the addressee possessed a dominant social power compared to the speaker. Generally speaking, Zhang et al. (2007) report that Korean participants of their study are prone to conventionally indirect requests, however they prefer to make direct requests to juniors of lower social power; moreover, for Koreans conventional indirect requests are used with regard to power relation between the interlocutors, although it has been reported a universal method for realization of request regardless of social power of the interlocutors by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989).

2.7.3 Apology Studies

Following the organization of request studies provided in the previous section, a number of selective studies conducted to investigate apology speech acts will be reviewed in chronological order of publication in this section.

Wouk (2006) conducts a research on apologizing in Lombok, Indonesia as well as intensification of apologies. She utilizes a Discourse Completion Test or Task (DCT), as she terms it, to collect data based on six situations written in Indonesian in DCT. The situations she uses in her data collection instrument varied according to the relationship of the interlocutors engaged in that situation in terms of social distance and power status determined by age and social position. However, the severity of the offences committed in the situations is reported to be approximately equal by Wouk (2006). The data Wouk (2006) analyzes is collected from among one hundred and five participants including both male and female fluent native speakers of Indonesians. Wouk (ibid.) adopts the coding scheme developed in CCSARP for the classification of apologies and Trosborg's (1995) categories for type of apology intensifications identified in her data. She compares the results collected from among male participants with those of female participants to provide gender-based differences in her study. Wouk (2006) reports the use of Request for Forgiveness in almost all apologies in her study. A rare use of Expression of Regret is found, reflecting that it does not function as an apology strategy in Indonesian but as a supportive move. As for intensification of apologies Wouk (ibid.) finds that Indonesians use emotive particles with regard to the nature of the offence and nature of relation between the interlocutors; as “deference strategies were used with higher status addressees, while solidarity strategies were used with social intimates” (ibid.: 1482). The author also points out “some gender difference in the use of upgrading, with males in some situations being somewhat more likely than females to use solidarity-oriented upgrading” (ibid.).

Nureddeen (2008) in her study makes an attempt to outline the type and extent of use of apology strategies in Sudanese Arabic and to shed light on the sociocultural attitudes and values of this community. Based on the assumption made in politeness theory developed by Brown and Levinson’s (1987), Nureddeen (2008) investigates the effect of social power, social distance and the degree of imposition in an FTA on Sudanese participants’ apology realizations. The corpus examined by Nureddeen contains 1082 apologies collected through a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) that consisted of 10 different social situations of varying severity of offense, strength of social relationship and power between hypothetical speakers and hearers. The DCT used by Nureddeen adopts some situations from CCSARP developed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) because they suit the Arabic context studied by Nureddeen (2008). The participants who took part in Nureddeen’s (ibid.) study were 110 college educated adults in Khartoum, Sudan. The author’s survey was written in Sudanese dialect to elicit responses that approximate verbal apologies that might be given to situations explained in DCT. She analyzes the corpus based on a more restricted classification of apology strategies compared to that of Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) to determine the strategies used and the frequencies of their use.

Although Nureddeen's (2008) study shows that the participants in her study apologized more often through Illocutionary Force Indicating Device and Explanation strategies, she concludes that there is an orientation toward positive politeness among Sudanese participants. Nureddeen (ibid.) explains that Sudanese participants generally, by using Explanations, preferred not to apologize explicitly and they used IFIDs in a ritualistic method which does not threaten the speaker's positive face.

To have an image of the studies conducted in Persian on linguistic politeness in general, and on request and apology speech acts in particular, a review of the relevant studies will be discussed in the following section.

2.7.4 Speech Act Studies in Persian

Kalantari-Khandani (1997) explores the perception of request speech acts among Persian native speakers to find how Persians realize appropriate requestive patterns. In his study, he investigates the relation between requestive patterns and such variables as social power, social distance and imposition of request. To elicit the relevant data he employs a questionnaire containing 24 situations administered to 48 native speaking Persian university students. He reports that a direct request strategy modified internally is considered as an appropriate request realization in situations where there is no social distance between the interlocutors and where the speaker is dominating the hearer in terms of social power. Although the participants in his study are from among both male and female Persian university students, however, Kalantari-Khandan (ibid.) does not control possible gender difference effects on the realization of request speech acts patterns.

Salmani-Nodoushan (2006) investigates whether Persian ostensible and genuine invitation as a direct request could be differentiated from one another based on five properties and seven defining features originally developed by Clark and Isaacs (1990). Adopting a revised version of Wolfson's definition (1989: 119) of invitations, Salmani-Nodoushan rewrites it as "a speaker (A) invites a hearer (B) to receive something or to perform some task the primary aim of which is to benefit the hearer himself/herself". The author makes a distinction between genuine invitations which he believes are employed as arrangements for social commitments and ostensible invitations which are used not for establishment of an invitation but to achieve another purpose that is politeness. Following Clark and Isaacs (1990), Salmani-Nodoushan (ibid.) considers ostensible invitations as face-saving devices. The data in Salmani-Nodoushan's study is collected by field workers who recorded any instances of invitations they witnessed in written form. His data is supplemented by face-to-face interviews collected from among Iranian University students and staff. Salmani-Nodoushan (2006) concludes that politeness is manifest in Persian invitation through ostensiblity. That is to say, when an invitation is not a genuine invitation the speaker, using specific features, tries not to threaten the hearer face through making an ostensible invitation. He points out that politeness is of great importance in Persian speech acts in general and in invitations in particular and "the purpose of ostensible invitations, for the most part, is politeness" (ibid.: 911).

Amou-Ali-Akbari (2007) studies the use of politeness strategies among Persian university students when they make a request within the theoretical framework presented in Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness. She seeks to find the effect of the addressees' power on the addressor's choice and frequency of politeness strategies; and to find the effect of the addressor's gender in the use of politeness strategies in terms of choice and the frequency of strategies. She applies a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) consisting of five questions different only in terms of the interlocutors' social power to collect the relevant data from among ninety Persian university students. Although she does not control for other variables such as social distance and imposition of request involved in the realization of request speech acts, she concludes that both male and female participants of her study favor negatively polite realization of request speech acts. Amou-Ali-Akbari (2007) also reports that the addressee's social power is influential on the addressors' choice of politeness strategies.

Jalilifar (2009) conducts a cross-cultural study to compare request strategies used by Iranian learners of English and Australian native speakers of English. He collects his data from among 96 Persian university students majoring in Teaching English as a Foreign Language and English Language Translation and 10 Australian native speakers. The Persian participants whose English proficiency was evaluated as low, mid, and high based on the administration of the Nelson Language Proficiency Test (Fowler and Coe, 1976) provided the data required, through the administration of a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) consisting of situations depicting scenarios of different levels of social power and social distance. Based on Austin's (1962) speech act theory and drawing upon Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness, Jalilifar (2009) analyzes the request speech acts according to the CCSARP coding scheme developed by Blum-Kulak et al. (1989). Jalilifar (2009) concludes that English language proficiency affects request speech acts realized in English among Iranian participants, as high proficient participants overused indirect request strategies and low proficient participants overused direct request strategies compared to Australian native speaker, although he does not report on gender differences. Although Jalilifar (ibid.) does not control for imposition of request on the realization of request speech acts and Persian participants' linguistic choice; however, he finds that Persian participants' linguistic choice varies according to a social power variable. Moreover, Jalilifar (2009) does not find that Persian participants' linguistic choice was influenced by social distance.

Eslami-Rasekh (2004) explores Persian speakers' apology strategies in response to complaints in a cross-cultural comparison between Persian and American English to find similarities and differences in speech acts realization patterns of Persian and English with regard to cultural values and attitudes. She uses a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) containing six complaint situations representing different relationship between the interlocutors in terms of social distance and social power. The offences committed in her DCT are also different in the degree of severity. Eslami-Rasekh (ibid.) administers an adapted version of DCT to collect the relevant data from among a group of thirty Persian university students both male and female. For the purpose of comparison she collects apology strategy examples through DCT from among a group of thirty university students, native speakers of American English too. Eslami-Rasekh (ibid.) employs a coding scheme based on previous studies, namely Frescura (1995), Cohen and Olshtain (1981), Olshtain and Cohen (1983), the CCSARP coding scheme developed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), and that of Bergman and Kasper (1993) to analyze her data. The author finds that the strategies IFID, accepting the responsibility, offer of repair, and explanation are respectively the most frequent apology strategies not only among Persian speakers but also by American English native speakers. As for social distance perception, the researcher finds Persian and American English different as American speakers emphasize private territory and more social distance compared to Persian speakers who “are more publicly available to one another”; she adds Persian speakers “tend to be much more detailed, elaborate and emotional” through the strategy explanation of situation in situations with minimal social distance (Eslami-Rasekh 2004: 191). Although in her study Eslami-Rasekh (2004) controls for social power and severity of the offence, however no discussion regarding the effect of these variables on her participants’ linguistic choice is provided.

From a sociopragmatic perspective, Afghari (2007) examines the apology speech acts performed in Persian to categorize apology strategies. Afghari (ibid.) explores the effect of the value assigned to context-internal variables, namely social power and social distance, only on the frequency of apology intensifiers. In his study, Afghari (2007) employs a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) to collect apology speech acts from among one hundred male and female native Persian-speaking university students. The data collected by Afghari (ibid.) is analyzed based on the coding scheme developed by CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) with some modification.

Afghari (2007: 181) finds that Persian apologies are “as formulaic in semantic structure as are English apologies. He reports IFID apology strategy as the most frequent apology strategy among Persian participants of his study which is in harmony with other languages studied by Olshtain and Cohen (1983). He maintains the strategies Explanation or Account of Situation, Acknowledgment of Responsibility, Offer of Repair, and Promise of Forbearance are respectively the most frequent apology strategies in Persian after IFID strategy. As for internal intensifiers, Afghari (2007: 181) states “the adverbial and the emotional intensifiers in the participants’ apology utterances made up the highest frequency of the internal intensifiers”. Afghari (ibid.) adds among the apology formulas used as supportive intensifiers, the strategy Acknowledgment of Responsibility is registered as the most frequent strategy in apology utterances, followed respectively by the strategies IFID, Offer of Repair, Explanation of Situation and Promise of Forbearance as supportive intensifiers. As for the effect of context-external variables on the frequency of apology intensifiers, he concludes that apologies are most intensified when they are offered to close friends with no dominance over the apologizer; in the contrary apologies are least intensified when they are offered to strangers with no dominance over the apologizer.

Although Afghari’s (2007) study is a good contribution to the field, he collects his data from a mixed-gender population and does not address single-sex attributes in his study; the evaluation of the context-internal variable, that is, severity of the offense is not addressed either in his study. He also leaves the investigation of the effect of context-external and context-internal variables on apology realizations for future studies.

Shariati and Chamani (2010) investigate the apology strategies used by Persian speakers to see the frequency, combination, and the sequential position of apology strategies in Persian. They collected the relevant data through an ethnographic method of observation from among male and female Persian native speakers in different situations. Shariati and Chamani (ibid.), analyze the data according to the framework provided by Olshtain and Cohen (1983). Shariati and Chamani (2010) find IFID apology strategies as the most frequent strategies in their corpus. On the other hand, promise of forbearance was used as the least frequent apology strategy. As for combination of apology strategy realizations, explicit expression of apology together with acknowledgement of responsibility is reported as the most frequent combination of apology strategies in this Persian study by Shariati and Chamani (2010). The use of naturally occurring data is a contributive factor for the study conducted by Shariati and Chamani (ibid.); however, they are not able to control for such factors as context-external and internal variables, as well as gender of the participants.

2.7.5 Gender in Request and Apology Studies

A number of studies have been conducted in an attempt to account for male and female differences from physiological and psychological perspectives (e.g. Eisenmen, 1997). The social differences between males and females are also of great relevance in gender studies. Based on "differences theory" Uchida (1992) concludes that the cultural attributes that male and female members of the same community develop may be quite different, which in turn can result in "different ways of speaking" (Nemati & Bayer, 2007: 30). In addition to genders' different ways of speaking which derive from the cultural attributes of the community in which people live, a number of other explanations, for instance innate biological differences, have been investigated in an attempt to account for gender differences in language use in general and in politeness manifestation in particular (see Kramarae 1981; Uchida, 1992; Noller, 1993).

In the area of linguistic politeness gender differences have been highlighted as well. In general, previous studies (e.g. Holmes, 1995) have indicated the conclusion that women are more polite than men are, when all the necessary reservations and qualifications have been taken into account. However, politeness strategies in the realization of request and apology speech acts as well as the strategies used to modify requests and intensify apologies in single-sex interactions among Persian male native speakers have not been addressed as this study intends to explore. As such, this study narrows down the analysis of request and apology speech acts along with an analysis of request modifications and apology intensification to single-sex interactions among Persian male native speakers to highlight the Persian males' linguistic behavior when request and apology realizations are concerned. Accordingly, this study is believed to contribute to the literature on politeness studies in general and on males' request and apology realization patterns and attributes in the Persian context in particular.

2.8 Summary

The review of the respective literature on request and apology studies reveals that the Cross-Cultural Speech act Realization Project (CCSARP) has triggered many attempts to check the availability of politeness strategies in other languages. In this regard most of the studies have adopted the coding scheme developed in CCSARP sometimes with minor modifications (e.g., Marquez-Reiter, 2000; Felix-Brasdefer, 2005; Marti, 2006; Wouk, 2006; Zhang et al., 2007; Afghari, 2007; Nureddeen, 2008; Jalilifar, 2009 to name a few). As such, the CCSARP coding scheme still seems to be valid as a coding scheme for data analysis purposes. Moreover, the frequent use of DCT or Role-Play as data collection instruments in request and apology studies (e.g., Kalantari-Khandani, 1997; Izaki, 2000 ; Marquez-Reiter, 2000; Eslami-Rasekh, 2004; Felix-Brasdefer, 2005; Marti, 2006; Wouk, 2006; Zhang et al., 2007; Afghari, 2007; Amou-Ali-Akbari, 2007;

Nureddeen, 2008; Jalilifar, 2009 to name a few) indicates that DCT and Role-Play are suitable data collection instruments, particularly when the assessment of social and contextual variables are the questions to be investigated.

As for the subjects of the studies in which request and apology speech acts have been investigated, two orientations seem be more popular. First, most of the studies collect the relevant data from among university students. It seems that university student participants are a good group representing the population under investigation in the study. Second, most of the studies have explored request and apology speech acts among mixed populations. In other words, the studies have not made a distinction between male and female participant linguist behavior as far as request, apology, request modifications, and apology intensifications are concerned.

Although few studies have highlighted gender differences in the realization of request and apology speech acts (e.g. Marquez-Reiter, 2000) in languages other than Persian, the investigation of request and apology speech acts and the ways the former is modified and the latter is intensified in single-sex interactions in Persian are still untouched. Therefore, the intended study looking at male interaction is new, and as well the lack of research in the area of politeness strategies that Persian males employ based on their assessments of the context-internal and context-external variables to perform request and apology speech acts will fill the gaps and provide answers lacking thus far.